

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
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67	9	08/1962	Other Document	Cover page of "A Study of the Election for Governor and United States Senator in California." 1pg
67	9	08/1962	Report	Report of "A Study of the Election for Governor and United States Senator in California." 34pgs.
67	9	n.d	Memo	Notes re: News Release, Speakers Manual, Fact Book, and Card Mail List. 1pg.
67	9	n.d	Report	An "Over-All Observation on the Brown-Nixon Race." 1pg.
67	9	n.d	Report	Poll Taken by Brown Organization RE: the Voters choice of Governor in the different counties. 1pg.
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67	9	10/01/1962	Letter	Letter to Robert Finch from Elmo Roper RE: a study of the General Election and Roper's comments/recommendations. 2pgs.
67	9	n.d	Report	Report RE: "'Knowledge' About Richard M. Nixon." A poll consisting of how much the voters knew of Nixon and how many would vote for him. 7pgs.
67	9	n.d	Report	A report RE: "'Knowledge' About Edmund G. Brown." A poll consisting of how much the voters knew of Brown and how many would vote for him. 7pgs.

A STUDY OF THE ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR AND UNITED STATES
SENÁTOR IN CALIFORNIA

August, 1962

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LOUIS HARRIS and ASSOCIATES, INC.

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A STUDY OF THE ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR AND UNITED STATES
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A WORD ABOUT THIS STUDY

This is the third wave of a series of studies we have conducted on the California elections of 1962. In accord with tradition in the state, the campaign for Governor has been in high gear now for nine months and the most hectic 10 weeks still lie ahead.

In our last survey in December, 1961, the basic lines of strategy of this campaign emerged abundantly clear. The question then was whether Governor Brown and the Democratic Party could successfully execute what clearly was a potential pattern of victory. As we shall see, in large measure, gains of the kind that are likely to pay handsome dividends on Election Day have been registered.

As in our last study, 1002 citizens of California over 21 were surveyed in considerable depth by the trained staff interviewers of Louis Harris and Associates. In addition, some 304 people in key selected "soft" areas in the recent Democratic Primary were surveyed to determine just how solidly the Democratic vote will be in these areas and what might be done about it.

Voters were probed in depth on their views about this election, about Nixon and Brown, about Kuchel and Richards, about the state issues of concern, the national issues they would like to see something done about, on President Kennedy and the job he has done, on what they think of the Brown record over-all and in detail. In short, all of the present and potential cutting edges that will determine the outcome of this California election this November were included in the roster and battery of questioning we subjected a carefully drawn cross section of this state's likely electorate in this election.

Interviewing was conducted between August 4th and August 14th, 1962. We might add that publication of any section of this report will automatically constitute permission by the Harris organization to reproduce the study in its entirety. The purpose of this survey is to enhance the Brown and Richards chances in this election, not as a public relations prop.

Now let us see what we found.

ANALYSIS

The Setting

In 1958, the turning point of the election for Governor and for U.S. Senator was the June Primary. . . Then, it became apparent that Attorney General Edmund "Pat" Brown was going to sweep the state to become the first Democratic Governor in the post-war era. In that election, it was evident that the Brown candidacy caught fire simultaneously with the deepening of the split in Republican ranks and the abiding sense Californians had that Senator Knowland, who might have been fine in the Senate, simply was not suited to be their Governor.

In 1962, the primary may have been the beginning of the turning point. But there is nothing like the clarity of likely outcome that there was four years ago. For in the uncontested Democratic primary in June, some seven percent of the voters left the Gubernatorial line blank, while another 21 percent voted for the minor opposition Brown had. The real question is how much of this vote is irrevocably lost in the final election against Nixon.

However, by the same token, Republican ranks were far from closed behind the former Vice President in the Primary. In fact, the depth of bitterness of the lop-sided struggle between right-wing conservative Joseph Shell and Richard Nixon are likely to linger on for many years in California Republican politics. There is no doubt that the primary was an all-out affair. And, despite the fact that Nixon won easily, Shell's obtaining almost exactly one third of the total vote cast was widely considered to be something of a moral victory for the conservative wing of the GOP.

Now, of course, the battle between the two titans of California politics is on for high and it will drive straight to the wire. Make no mistake about it, the contest for the Governorship is front and center and will dominate all other politics here in this state until November. The preliminaries are over, both sides have shown some soft spots in their own ranks. However, there are also signs that the months have brought solid gains for Pat Brown, while Richard Nixon has not produced even the same spark that carried him so close to the threshold of the Presidency in 1960. The real issues were just beginning to be joined. The role of the personality stamp of each man was beginning to harden. A fall debate now was in the offing. The national stakes for President Kennedy and for the Republican party in the nation were literally huge. Indeed, perhaps for all America, not only California, this 1962 election for Governor could mark a turning point in American politics for a decade to come.

Let us see how the pieces stand today, and then we will find out what are the keys that can help unlock a Brown victory in November.

The Present Standings

In the contest for Governor today, here is how the standings come out:

OVER-ALL PAIRING FOR GOVERNOR

	With Undecided In	With Undecided Out
	\$	\$
Brown	49	53
Nixon	45	47
Not sure	6	-

And in the election for U.S. Senator, here are the results we obtained:

OVER-ALL PAIRINGS FOR U.S. SENATOR

	With Undecided <u>In</u>	With Undecided <u>Out</u>
	\$	\$
Richards	38	48
Michal	42	52
Not sure	20	-

Over-all, then, in the important contests, Brown has forged into a slight lead over Nixon, and the undecided vote has begun to come down appreciably -- to only 6 out of every 100 voters. In absolute terms, Brown is only two points away from victory. By contrast, resolution of the Richards-Michal race is still to be determined, with fully one voter in five still not sure.

In this study, we also took readings on the other three major state races for lesser statewide offices. Here is what we found in the contests for Lt. Governor, Comptroller, and Attorney General:

RESULTS OF STATE OFFICE PAIRINGS

	With Undecided <u>In</u>	With Undecided <u>Out</u>
	\$	\$
<u>Lt. Governor</u>		
Anderson	37	51
Christopher	35	59
Not sure	28	-
<u>Attorney General</u>		
Hook	40	58
Coakley	29	45
Not sure	31	-
<u>Comptroller</u>		
Cranston	37	60
Began	24	40
Not sure	39	-

Here, while the race for Lt. Governor is narrower than that for Governor at this reading, as one goes down the line to Attorney General and Comptroller, the Democratic margin widens.

Observation: There are two clear and observable trends of major significance here. First, for a candidate who started out in April, 1961 behind by a 43 to 57 percent margin, Pat Brown has made one of the most remarkable political come-backs we have recorded. We quickly point out, however, that this election is not yet finally won, and the ground on which Brown stands is not so secure that it cannot be rocked in the home stretch. In addition, a desperate Nixon can be a resourceful politician and can make a close election out of what might with another man be a runaway.

The second fact of major significance is that as one moves down the ladder toward more minor office, the trend toward the Democratic Party is more pronounced. This holds real meaning, for it signifies that Pat Brown has a rather solid Democratic Party base on which to run this time. For the second time in many years, Democratic enrollment advantages give every prospect of paying off.

In a moment, we will want to take a hard-look at the key group breakdowns in this election. But before we do, let us see where various key figures stand in the eyes of the voters of California today.

Job Ratings of Key Public Figures

We asked people to tell us what kind of a job they thought each of four outstanding public figures are doing in office today -- President Kennedy, Governor Brown, Senator Rachel, and Justice Earl Warren (the latter because his son has come out for Brown and implicitly, Nixon has run away from the old Warren image in California politics):

KEY JOB RATINGS

	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	%	%	%
President Kennedy	68	32	(4)
Governor Brown	43	57	(12)
Senator Rachel	71	29	(51)
Justice Earl Warren	67	33	(23)

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Here we find President Kennedy known to virtually every voter, and well received by over a 2-to-1 margin. However, we would point out that back in December, the President was riding the crest of a 79-21 percent favorable rating. As has been recorded elsewhere, Kennedy's popularity has fallen roughly 10 points or so in the ensuing months. This drop has taken place chiefly with the decline of the stock market in late June and early July.

Observation: This decline in Kennedy popularity, however, must be understood in its proper context. The President is still enormously popular, has become the dominant political figure on the national scene, and can prove to be one of Pat Brown's most valuable assets in the stretch run ahead, as, indeed, Kennedy has proven to be up to now in the race. The proof of the real pulling power of Kennedy rests in the following pairing of himself against Nixon for President in 1964 in California. It should be recalled that Nixon carried this state against Kennedy in 1960:

1964 PRESIDENTIAL PAIRING BETWEEN NIXON AND KENNEDY

	With Undecided In %	With Undecided Out %
Kennedy	54	62
Nixon	33	38
Not sure	13	-

There is no doubt that as long as Richard Nixon is unable to shake himself loose from appearing to be Kennedy's 1964 opponent for the Presidency, a direct Kennedy-Nixon comparison will invariably put Nixon in one of his most unfavorable lights.

Based on this information, we would recommend in the strongest possible terms that the President be urged to come into California as often and as late as his schedule will permit to campaign for Pat Brown. We shall come back to the extent to which we believe Kennedy, and other Democrats for that matter, should directly go after Nixon. The indelible fact today is that every time Nixon inferentially or frontally criticizes Kennedy, Brown is undoubtedly the beneficiary. For a Brown-Nixon contest is also in many ways a Kennedy-Nixon race.

The Brown job rating actually represents an improvement in the Governor's standing with the voters. It is an indication that slowly but surely his record of achievement is becoming known. We would point out that the Governor's job rating has improved by 8 points over the past year and one half.

COMPARATIVE BROWN JOB RATING

	Job Rating:		
	<u>August 1962</u>	<u>December 1961</u>	<u>April 1961</u>
	\$	\$	\$
Positive	43	40	35
Negative	57	60	65

Observation: This is a mark of solid improvement in an area where it is patently difficult to get people to change their minds. But we are frank to say that the Governor has not yet hit the 50-50 mark of approval on an over-all basis. This suggests that rather than simply try to make the proposition in sweeping terms that the Brown record as such must be recognized as top flight, the specifics of the Brown record where the Governor has scored heavily should be the ammunition around which this campaign is organized. We shall pin-point these major elements when we come to the section on issues.

The Kuchel job rating is favorable, but it is significant that a full 51 percent do not feel sufficiently familiar with the Senator and what he has done to exercise a judgment. We shall see when we come to the Kuchel profile and the Senate race that this fact of not being known is Kuchel's chief handicap and a point that can materially add Richard Richard's chances of winning.

Chief Justice Warren is both a familiar and well liked figure in California, despite the pillorying he has received and the controversial nature of some of his decisions on the high court. We certainly can conclude that the Warren name is one that can help the Brown cause, and, in fact, in every move that Nixon makes to appease his smarting right wing, the invidious comparison can be drawn between the Nixon and Warren types of Republicanism.

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Now let us turn to the key groups and the changes that have been recorded in the political topology of California in these ensuing six months.

Key Group Analysis

The following table is rather massive, simply because in one place it puts down much of what is happening in this election. The first three columns are the Brown-Nixon race, today broken down by key groups. The next two columns show where Brown stood with these groups back at the turn of the year as well as in the middle of 1961. The final three columns indicate the lay of the land in the Richards-Kuchel contest:

KEY GROUP BREAKDOWNS IN RACES FOR GOVERNOR AND U.S. SENATOR

	Governor					U.S. Senate		
	August, 1962:					August, 1962		
	Brown	Nixon	Not Sure	Dec '61	Mar '61	Richards	Kuchel	Not Sure
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Statewide</u>	53	47	(6)	47	43	48	52	(20)
<u>By Area of State</u>								
<u>Total Los Angeles</u>	57	43	(8)	47	45	59	41	(22)
LA City	66	34	(8)	49	45	73	27	(23)
LA suburbs	51	49	(8)	46	46	50	50	(22)
San Francisco	63	37	(-)	69	77	43	57	(17)
East Bay	46	54	(5)	53	55	43	57	(21)
Peninsula	52	48	(3)	45	40	47	53	(29)
Upper Valley	39	61	(9)	32	28	36	64	(24)
Lower Valley	48	52	(5)	40	30	42	58	(30)
San Diego	39	61	(12)	27	23	39	61	(38)
<u>By Occupation</u>								
Professional and Executive	39	61	(8)	35	32	33	67	(16)
Small businessman	44	56	(7)	38	34	35	65	(18)
White collar	50	50	(6)	43	40	50	50	(26)
Labor	65	35	(8)	62	60	59	41	(31)
Farmer	40	60	(14)	32	22	26	74	(21)
<u>By Religion</u>								
Protestant	40	60	(6)	40	38	40	60	(24)
Catholic	75	25	(9)	61	64	61	39	(29)
Jewish	76	24	(14)	77	69	80	20	(21)
<u>By Union Membership</u>								
Union member	66	34	(7)	67	67	61	39	(25)
Union family	67	33	(8)	60	60	66	34	(24)
Non union	46	54	(7)	37	33	42	58	(26)
<u>By Nationality</u>								
Italian	59	41	(6)	39	40	52	48	(1)
German	40	60	(9)	38	29	41	59	(9)
English-Scotch	46	54	(5)	42	46	37	63	(16)
Irish	65	35	(8)	49	51	47	53	(19)
Scandinavian	48	52	(6)	51	47	46	54	(29)
<u>By Sex and Age</u>								
<u>Male</u>	54	46	(6)	49	44	49	51	(22)
21-34	61	39	(6)	47	53	50	50	(30)
35-49	59	41	(6)	49	38	53	47	(21)
50 and over	45	55	(5)	51	42	45	55	(17)
<u>Female</u>	51	49	(8)	47	47	47	53	(29)
21-34	56	44	(8)	49	44	49	51	(31)
35-49	48	52	(9)	48	46	49	51	(28)
50 and over	48	52	(8)	45	39	43	57	(29)

(CONTINUED)

GROUP BREAKDOWNS IN RACES FOR GOVERNOR AND U.S. SENATOR

	Governor					U.S. Senator		
	August, 1962:					August, 1962:		
	Brown	Nixon	Not Sure	Dec '61 Brown	Mar '61 Brown	Richards	Kuchel	Not Sure
By Race								
White	49	51	(7)	44	41	46	54	(24)
Negro	76	24	(7)	85	90	76	24	(32)
Mexican	84	16	(7)	86	85	83	17	(37)
By Income Level								
Upper middle	46	54	(8)	24	26	37	63	(22)
Lower middle	52	48	(7)	48	46	50	50	(26)
Low	64	36	(7)	68	66	56	44	(29)
By Primary Vote								
<u>Voted in Republican Primary</u>	10	90	(6)	-	-	-	-	-
Voted for Shell	24	76	(12)	-	-	-	-	-
Voted for Nixon	4	96	(3)	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Voted in Democratic Primary</u>	79	21	(7)	-	-	-	-	-
Voted for Brown	91	9	(8)	-	-	-	-	-
Voted for Other	43	57	(6)	-	-	-	-	-
Voted blank	40	60	(29)	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Did Not Vote in Primary</u>	62	38	(9)	-	-	-	-	-

Here are the key changes that have taken place:

--- Geographically, Brown has crashed through in the Los Angeles area.

The long and arduous concentration on the South has begun to pay off. Los Angeles City has seen a full 17 point rise in Brown's standing, spectacular by any standards. But Brown has also gained some in the LA suburbs, although, frankly gains here are like pulling teeth. In the San Francisco city and East Bay (including Contra Costa) areas, the Governor has slipped some and attention should be paid here. However, in the Peninsula area, the Governor has registered rather solid gains. Brown is still behind in the upper and lower valleys, but he has definitely firmed up support here, and the crisis over farm labor seems just about over, at least in political terms. San Diego is still the GOP stronghold, but Brown has again cut the sizable Nixon margin.

Observation: Obviously, each part of the state is important and none should be ignored. But Brown must make a deliberate decision on where to concentrate decisively in his own campaigning. We would now recommend in the strongest terms that having broken through in the LA area, Brown continue to pour it on there, primarily. The reason we say this is not only that this is the most populous part of the state, but also that if Brown can forge ahead even more here, he can move into a lead that Nixon will not be able to turn aside. What was Brown's weakest area now has become his stronghold. Every priority should be given to keeping this advantage.

Second, the Bay area should receive special Brown attention. Still a strong area, nonetheless, the Governor should spend time and effort trying to recoup losses in San Francisco and the East Bay and consolidating the gains in the Peninsula.

Third, the upper and lower valleys are not likely to be won by the Governor, but it is important that he make a respectable showing here. The lower valley especially holds out promise. We would not give the valley the same priority as Los Angeles and the Bay area, but effort should be expended to keep the gains made here.

Fourth, San Diego should not get much worse and might get better, but what will happen here is likely to be far more a following effect than anywhere else in the state. Democratic organizational efforts can be intensified here, but in terms of the Governor's time, heavy effort in San Diego will not pay off commensurate to other areas of concentration.

--- Occupationally, the Governor has made some gains with the white collar and professional groups, and has fortified his previously weaker showing in the ranks of labor. He has also moved up some with the farmers, a good sign.

In terms of concentration, the Governor must be certain that labor groups, coming to 32 percent of the electorate, feels and knows the stakes in this election so that they will pour out on Election Day. But now the job here is one of exciting and arousing, rather than converting. We would therefore strongly recommend that the Governor concentrate equally on lower middle income white collar areas from here on out. Not only are they populous (25%), but he has now moved back to a 50-50 status with them, and they seem responsive to the momentum of his campaign. As we shall see, there are certain issues which these people will respond to.

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--- The labor union vote, both members and families, reflect the solid status Pat Brown has here. With this group it is not going to require so much of the Governor's personal time and attention as it will the leadership of organized labor putting on a quiet but hard-hitting registration and get-out-the-vote drive.

--- Brown has scored well with the Italian and Irish groups, and special efforts should be made to consolidate these gains by appearances and separate concentration here.

--- The religious distribution of this vote is along classical lines. Brown has not budged an inch with the Protestants, but has moved to Kennedy proportions among Catholic voters. He has substantially held onto his good lead among Jewish voters.

Observation: While there might be very quiet efforts to keep the Catholic vote nailed down to its present moorings, it would be a serious mistake in this dominantly white Protestant state for Brown to in any way be known as a candidate of the minority Catholic group. A whispering campaign has already begun to indicate that Brown has appointed Catholics almost exclusively, and this will undoubtedly parallel directly the 1960 attack on Kennedy on religion. Brown should scrupulously avoid any overt gestures which will feed this suspicion.

--- Men tend to be more solidly for Brown than women, but this is a fairly normal voting pattern these days. Brown has gained with young men and middle aged men, along with young women. However, he has slipped some with older men, although he has picked up a few points among older women.

Observation: Brown's concentration on pensions and problems of older voters has paid off to a degree, and we would urge that he not drop this part of his program. However, his best hope now lies in the younger voters, and he should hit hard on the bread and butter and education issues that can bring them over in even greater numbers.

--- The Mexican vote holds up extraordinarily well, although the Negro vote is off some since our last reading.

Observation: The Negro vote under no conditions should be taken for granted. Special effort is needed here again, and despite his widespread reputation for being a champion of civil rights, again, in a quiet way, Brown should hit the Negro community hard.

--- The reconstruction of the primary vote is most intriguing. For it reveals that fully one Shell voter in every four expects to cast his ballot for Pat Brown in November. However, we quickly point out that Brown can do little and should do less to make any overt gesture to attract this vote. It is 100 percent anti-Nixon, to a point where these voters could not care less who Nixon's opponent might be.

--- As might be expected, Nixon wins the overwhelming support of people who voted for him in the primaries. Over-all, however, Brown's capturing 10 percent of the entire GOP primary vote is significant and could even provide his margin of victory in November.

--- By the same token it is more than apparent that the blanks and defections evident in the Primary against Brown are likely to stick. We shall dwell on this in more detail later on when we specially analyze our oversample of defecting areas. Brown obtains a reasonably high proportion of the vote cast for him in the primary.

Of greatest significance, however, is the fact that among the 34 percent of the electorate who did not vote at all in the primary and who are eligible to vote, Brown clearly possesses a wide lead, one which can give him victory over Nixon.

Observation: This is disturbing in one sense only: that a large part of the potential Pat Brown vote stayed at home last primary day. If this vote stays home in November, Brown will almost surely lose this election. By the same token, if it can be brought out, it is truly his insurance policy for victory.

We would therefore urge the heaviest kind of registration and get out the vote campaign from here on in. To get out the Brown vote in the areas of maximum strength will be the tall, make no mistake about that.

Now let us turn to the profiles of the candidates running for Governor.

Profiles of Nixon and Brown

There has been a dramatic change in the profiles of both the Governor and Nixon since December. In many ways, these results spell out the changes in the standings as much as any single set of information. First, let us listen to the way his fellow Californians speak about Richard Nixon these days:

In Duarte, a 44 year old building contractor who is a registered Republican but thinks of himself as a Democrat, voted for Brown in the past, but will switch to Nixon this year. He says:

"Well, I'm going by the fact that he's a common, ordinary man, struggling on his way up and I admire him very much. He took a tremendous interest in office as Vice President and did his best to sell America. He got a lot of experience from that job and I feel that he's as qualified as you can get for any public office. I like his courage too. Remember when he was under fire on his trips abroad, he wasn't afraid to say what was on his mind. He never seems to lack courage in anything he faces and he has come up against some pretty tough situations. I liked the man when he ran for Vice President and President, and I think he'll do good in whatever job he's placed."

And a 67 year old widow in San Francisco who, as a Republican, has always voted her party's ticket feels this way about him:

"Mr. Nixon has a very pleasant personality. He's a very thoughtful and kindly man and would bend over backwards to be fair. I like the way he talks and acts - you can tell he's sincere. He's a devoted husband and father and has a good religious background. I've never known him to be involved in any bad deals, although he's been tricked and others wanted to make it look like he has, but personally, I think he's a man of real integrity."

Our interview with the Negro wife of a machine operator in Los Angeles went like this:

"I thought when Nixon went into Venezuela and those groups spit on him, he showed himself to have plenty of guts. But in politics, he's wishy-washy. I mean, he don't stand pat - don't stand up to his opinions. He's not a guy to stick to his beliefs - whatever you think he thinks, he ain't got no beliefs of his own. Don't think he'd made a good politician in anything. He's prejudiced - I know he don't like colored people. He signed a petition to keep people out of Whittier, and some I know went down to City Hall to look it up, and sure enough, he did. More in politics should be for all people not a few. Another thing I don't like about him is the way he slings mud and is lookin for skeletons in closets. It seems to me if he can't knock you, he will find something your father or grandfather did and talk about that. I think skeletons should be left in closets and besides, he ain't so perfect himself."

In Pico Rivera, we talked with a 47 year old Democrat who has consistently voted the party ticket in state elections, yet supported Eisenhower and Nixon in past Presidentials. Her vote for Nixon was a protest vote against Kennedy who, although "he has proven himself to be a capable leader, has too much money and family power behind him, besides being a Catholic." About Nixon she says:

"I think he's a crooked politician - out to make all the money he can. There's nothing about him I like - he's treacherous, deceitful, insincere, and would serve up his Mother's liver if it would guarantee him an election. That man's out to get all the money and power he can get out of being in office. On top of this, he doesn't have the good sense to know how and when to do things. While he was Vice President, he was so antagonistic to people that we got into a lot of hot water. I think that's what caused so much trouble in Cuba - personal dislike for him blowing off his big mouth. He never handled anything with calmness and he just seemed to rub people the wrong way. I won't be voting for him this time around and sometimes I wonder why I did before."

When comments such as these are added up, here is the balance and statistical summary of the Nixon profile today:

THE NIXON PROFILE

	<u>August 1962</u>	<u>December 1961</u>
	\$	\$
<u>Positive</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>84</u>
Experienced as Vice President	18	10
Sincere, honest	16	17
Good family man	12	8
Good personality, good speaker	9	6
Courageous, outspoken	8	8
Hard-working, conscientious	5	4
Intelligent	5	6
Goodwill Ambassador	3	5
Experienced in foreign affairs	3	4
Conservative	3	2
Aggressive, ambitious	3	-
For the people	3	-
Level-headed	2	3
Made Vice Presidency into important job	2	2
Young	2	1
No snob	2	-
Would be good Governor	2	-
For California	2	-
Anti-Communist	1	-
<u>Negative</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>73</u>
Insincere, phoney moralist	14	16
Cold fish, poor speaker, poor debator	12	12
Out for himself	11	6
Mud-slinger (carpet-bagger affair)	9	9
Hot-headed	6	3
Indecisive, weak	6	3
Not for people (anti-Negroes, Jews, aged)	5	3
Ineffectual	4	2
Using Governorship to run for President	3	-
Criticized Kennedy	2	-
Not interested in California	2	-
Poor loser	2	-
Evasive	2	-
Involved in scandals	2	-
Poor on foreign affairs	2	-
Too Conservative	1	-
<u>Not Familiar Enough with him</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>

Here the most dramatic evidence of the Nixon slippage. Whereas in December Nixon had 53-47 percent positive balance in his profile, today it has slipped to a 48-52 percent negative balance. The change of five points is roughly approximate to the change in the standings.

Observation: This certainly indicates concretely that this election could vary by the degree to which Nixon is accepted by the people of California. At today's standing, Nixon is positively rejected by a majority. This is critically important, for if this negative majority remains that way, then clearly Brown can win, provided he can get his vote out.

Of major significance, then, is to examine carefully this Nixon profile to determine whether Brown and the Democrats should allow Nixon to dig his own political grave or to crawl out of it, or whether this is the time for the Governor and his party to take the offensive against Nixon in a personal way.

The positives in the Nixon profile are that he has had experience as Vice President, a mark that having served in that high post, he is certainly qualified to serve as Governor of the state. Balanced against this is the feeling that Nixon is ineffectual. However, there are better than four times as many people who are positive about Nixon on the count of experience than are negative.

Observation: Obviously, it would be a serious mistake for the Democrats to attack Nixon on the element of experience. This is his strongest asset.

Where California voters really divide down the middle, however, is over Nixon's sincerity. It is one of his strongest assets, volunteered by 16 percent, but it is also one of his strongest deficits, in that 14 percent say that he is insincere, a phony moralist. This means that by a 53-47 percent count, Nixon is thought to be a man of integrity.

Observation: Clearly, any man running for important office is in trouble when nearly half the people concerned with his sincerity severely question it. And when coupled with an additional two percent who feel the former Vice President has been touched by scandals (mainly his house with Hoffa and his brother with Hughes Tool Company), then the division is an absolutely even one.

To charge, however, that Richard Nixon is either corrupt or dishonest is strong medicine. We would state frankly that unless some new specific proof of his dishonesty is forthcoming, it would be a serious mistake to overstate the criticism of Nixon on these grounds. For the risk is that he could take refuge a la Checkers in being attacked below the belt.

Rather, we believe that this belief that Nixon is a phoney moralist will accelerate as a discovered attribute of the man by the voters without a great deal of prompting by Democrats. We would leave it alone as a direct campaign issue.

Allied to the criticisms of Nixon as a phoney moralist are a roster of beliefs that do add up, however, to some really effective campaign ammunition that can be used most effectively. They are that Nixon is a cold fish, lacking in warmth and human compassion, that he is a mud-slinger, as witness the charge of "carpet bagger" against Kennedy, and that he is out for himself, and lastly, is not interested in California or the Governorship, but rather wants to run for President against Kennedy again.

Observation: Here, the charge that Nixon is interested in running for Governor to use that office solely as a stepping stone for the Presidency has a resiliency and effectiveness. It adds up to an indirect charge that Nixon is not sincere as a person, but it gears it to a specific act on his part, namely his race for Governor. It also allows the Democrats to charge that Nixon is not interested in California and the problems of the state. It also allows Brown to maneuver Nixon into making the 1962 Gubernatorial election a re-run of the 1960 Presidential election, except that this time Kennedy holds a 62-38 percent lead.

We specifically tested this proposition in this survey. We asked voters if they thought Nixon were primarily interested in serving as Governor of California or in preparing another run for the White House. Here is what we found:

NIXON'S PRIME INTERESTS

	<u>Total Voters</u>
	\$
Serving as Governor of California	36
Running for President	64
Not sure	(15)

By a clear 64-36 percent count, the voters have not been sold at all on the proposition that Richard Nixon is genuinely interested in the state or the job of Governor. Part of the reason is that he has been so widely identified with national and international problems that this part of his reputation is today fighting his efforts to identify with California issues, as the following table indicates:

NIXON'S GENUINE INTERESTS

	<u>Total Voters</u>
	\$
California problems	37
National and international problems	63
Not sure	(19)

Here the margin only varies by one percentage point. Clearly, Nixon is not thought to be interested primarily in California problems.

The three sets of facts all check out with remarkable uniformity: Nixon is really using the Governorship as a stepping stone, he is not really interested in state problems, and he is not really interested in serving as Governor of the state.

What they add up to is that Richard Nixon is out for himself, trying to get the voters of the state to allow themselves to be used for his own ambition and his own schemes of achieving power. This charge can be made by top Democratic Party spokesmen first, and then should be picked up late in the campaign by Governor Brown, especially when he is campaigning with President Kennedy. Brown should turn to Kennedy on the platform and say that Nixon's real aim is not to serve as a Governor of California and to meet the very real problems facing the people of the state, but rather to run against this man, John F. Kennedy. Brown can then ask the voters who they would choose in such a case today, and that the way to stop such a calloused power play is to reject the Nixon bid for Governor in 1962.

*We can shoot this down a la Kent
if we announce it ahead
of time*

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Now let us turn to the public profile of Governor Edmund "Pat" Brown. Here are some typical comments by voters about the Governor:

A young Democrat who supplements her husband's salary by working as a medical receptionist in Oakland, feels this way about Governor Brown:

"In spite of propaganda, he has been consistently principled and has followed through on his beliefs. Particularly in relation to Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, he has done more and fought harder for the people than anyone. When he feels he is right on something, he'll stand his grounds and fight. He is a sincere and honest man and demonstrates this in many ways. I don't always agree with his position on questions, but I do recognize them and respect them. When it comes to this November's election, I wouldn't vote for Nixon on a bet. But more than that I think more advances have been made quietly and unassumingly under Brown than I can remember under any other Governor."

In Newhall, we talked with a farmer who raises stock cattle, cows, chickens and wheat. Over 50 years of age, he is a Catholic of Polish ancestry. He is a registered Democrat and having rated Brown's job as excellent, he said:

"He's all man. He most generally digs til he gets what he wants and he stands up for the people. He's bringin' the water in and that oughta' be helpful. I think California is going to be caught short of water one of these days and he's tryin' to not let that happen. He's done a lot and he's ready to do some more if they'd let 'em. I feel he's got things in his hands and if he continues, this will be a fine old country. He's for change and growth and we need someone just like that. As long as we get 'em, we might as well keep 'em."

In Tustin, we talked with an elderly insurance agent. He feels the Governor has been doing a poor job and gives his reasons why:

"I don't think he's been decisive on taking a stand against narcotics or law enforcement. In fact he's vacillated a great deal in most every aspect. I haven't felt any strength of character in him. Look at the way he handled the Chessman case - he emasculated the obligation of his office and displayed the most namby-pamby leadership imaginable. I don't like to use the expression 'wishy-washy' but he is on the anemic side and he just doesn't have the ability to handle most situations."

A 37 year old wife of an electrical engineer will be voting a Republican ticket this November. Having moved to Castro Valley from Massachusetts three years ago, she explains why:

"Brown is leading us into a welfare state. He thinks we can spend ourselves into prosperity, but you can't balance a budget with present taxes and pie-in-the-sky spending. He has doubled the state bond indebtedness; he had around thirty-five press agents on the public payroll, which is entirely unnecessary; and the way he tried to hide the budget deficit by disguising it under a building program for schools was disgraceful. I feel that he's done a very poor job for California and think that if he doesn't lead the state to complete ruin, he will eventually lead us straight to Socialism."

When all of the comments volunteered by voters such as these are added up, here is the Brown image in California today:

THE PROFILE OF GOVERNOR BROWN

	<u>August 1962</u>	<u>December 1961</u>	<u>March 1961</u>
	\$	\$	\$
Positive	92	85	57
For the people (aged, Negroes)	13	15	9
Honest, sincere	10	11	11
Good on water	7	12	6
Hard-working, conscientious	7	3	-
For California	6	2	3
Been a good Governor	6	8	4
Courageous, outspoken	5	4	-
Good family man	4	2	2
Against capital punishment	4	2	3
Helped schools	3	3	-
Built Freeways	3	2	-
Balanced budget	3	2	-
Experienced	3	-	-
Extended unemployment compensation	2	-	-
Helped get jobs	2	-	-
Intelligent	2	-	-
Right on the issues	2	2	3
Good on Chessman case	1	4	3
Negative	70	80	107
Indecisive, weak	17	16	24
Handled Chessman case badly	12	15	23
Wild spender	8	3	3
Hasn't enforced narcotics law	8	8	17
Poor speaker	7	-	-
Raised cigarette, sales tax	5	4	9
Too ambitious	5	-	4
Too pompous	5	3	4
Bad on water	4	5	9
Didn't keep promises	3	6	6
Bad appointments	3	2	1
Dictator	3	-	-
Neglected education	2	2	1
Not for people (farmers)	2	3	1
Mudslinger	2	2	-
Neglected unemployment	1	2	2
Favors Catholics	1	-	-
Too pro-labor	1	-	-
Against prayer in schools	1	-	-
Not impartial	-	3	-
Too outspoken	-	2	-
Bad on McCarthy	-	2	-
Bad at convention	-	-	2
Not Familiar Enough with his	8	8	8

Here the change to the positive side since early 1961 has been dramatic and nothing short of spectacular. The balance against the Governor was 35-65 percent in April of 1961. It had shifted to the positive side by a 52-48 percent count last December. But in August of 1962, this balance had moved well to a 58-42 percent positive count.

Observation: It is evident that in the personal contest between Pat Brown and Dick Nixon, Brown has been steadily forging ahead to a position of dominance. This means that Brown should obtain as much possible personal exposure as can be arranged. He should employ human and warm television spots on the issues repeatedly. But he must also be seen by as many people as he can humanly see in person. For the burden now is on Brown to press this personal dimension. He can win the election on it. It is a powerful part of his mix for victory.

Pat Brown comes through as being for the people, especially minority groups and the aged, as being sincere and honest, as having done a good job on water, of being hard-working and conscientious (on the rise sharply), working for California (also on the rise dramatically). The criticisms about him center around the old-time charge that he is indecisive and weak and that he handled the Chessman case badly. The only charges to rise precipitously are that Brown is a wild spender and that he is not a good speaker.

Observation: We shall explore the spender charge more fully when we get to the issues. However, the claim that Brown is not a good speaker leads us to emphasize that he appear on television in well prepared TV spots which represent him as a clear and effective communicator. This can be done best in taped spots off teleprompters. It also means that Brown must get around a great deal in person, for when he does a sense of friendliness comes through that is not necessarily there on television.

On the positive side, the Governor must repeatedly come back to his strength that he does care about California and the people's problems here, that he is not afraid to speak out and take decisive action, such as he has, for example, on water.

Now let us turn to the issues of concern.

The Issues of Concern in California

A major center of the issues in this election surround what Pat Brown has done or not done in the past four years as the state's chief executive. We asked people to tell us in their own words what they liked and didn't like so well about the Governor's performance. Here is what we found:

WHAT GOVERNOR BROWN HAS DONE

	<u>August 1962</u>	<u>December 1961</u>	<u>March 1961</u>
	\$	\$	\$
Positive	86	77	43
Good job on water	21	23	12
Improved roads and freeways	12	8	6
For the working man	11	16	2
Improved education	8	5	2
Good on unemployment	6	2	4
Good job on narcotics	5	4	-
Handled Chessman case well	5	4	10
Hard-working, industrious	5	2	4
Feather River project	4	5	-
Balanced budget	3	4	-
Minimum wage	2	1	1
Clamped down on vice	1	2	1
Old age pension	1	1	1
Negative	58	32	76
Poor on Chessman, capital punishment	17	16	27
Spenshtrift	8	3	-
Didn't fight for tough narcotics law	8	9	20
Raised taxes	7	6	-
Handled water badly	5	5	13
No new industry, jobs	3	-	-
Indecisive, weak Governor	3	8	12
Poor appointments	1	1	-
Reapportionment bad	1	1	-
Too pro-labor	1	1	1
Hasn't helped farmers	1	-	1
No shelter program	1	-	-
Political opportunist	-	-	2
McCarthy handled badly	-	1	-

From these remarks, the action on water tends to dominate the positive side of the picture, followed by the Governor's efforts on roads and freeways, his general efforts in behalf of working people, and what he has done on education, and in the area of unemployment. The negatives cluster to the Chessman case and the charges of spending, as well as the claim that he has not done enough on getting law enforcement of narcotics peddling.

Before we comment on the above table, let us look at still another, where we posed 15 direct state issues to the voters, asked them which were most important to them, then had them rate the job the Governor had done on each. We include comparative results from the two 1961 surveys:

BROWN RATING ON SPECIFIC ISSUES IN CALIFORNIA

	Importance of Issue to Voters		August Brown Job Rating:			'61 Brown Positive Rating		Net Gain or Loss
	Aug. '62	Dec. '61	Posi- tive	Nega- tive	Not Sure	Dec. '61	Mar. '61	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Handling water problem	46	55	59	41	(22)	58	57	+ 1
Keeping crime and narcotics in check	45	43	42	58	(15)	42	33	-
Education	36	29	56	44	(21)	43	41	+13
Taxes and spending	29	19	33	67	(24)	30	25	+ 3
Building highways and highway safety	27	16	76	24	(16)	78	66	- 2
State Minimum wage (\$1.25)	21	19	71	29	(24)	67	61	+ 4
Extend unemployment compensation	20	13	63	37	(28)	63	61	-
Jobs and new industry	18	16	51	49	(26)	47	29	+ 4
Pensions for older people	14	21	60	40	(36)	55	50	+ 5
Civil rights for minorities	12	10	51	49	(41)	52	36	- 1
Chessman case	12	15	37	63	(24)	36	31	+ 1
Civil defense program	7	10	41	59	(45)	34	*	+ 7
Handling farm labor	6	7	34	66	(48)	33	22	+ 1
Combatting recession	3	7	42	58	(38)	43	28	- 1
Fall-out shelters	3	9	28	72	(48)	18	*	+10

* Less than one percent.

Here are the significant facts to emerge:

--- The water problem remains on top, and the Governor receives nearly 3-2 backing on the job he has done here.

Observation: Over and over again, especially in the south, Brown must hit what he has done on water. It is easily his greatest source of credit, and it is one where he can prove to the voters that he has a record of accomplishment.

--- On narcotics enforcement, voters see much importance, but the Governor has made no progress here. He stays at a 42-58 percent negative rating, despite an across-the-boards rise in nearly every other area.

Observation: Because the reverse side of the coin, the Chessman case, still remains a point of vulnerability, we would strongly urge that the Governor take strong and decisive and dramatic action to prove that he is determined to end the narcotics menace. He is simply not coming through here now, but surely he must in order to win re-election, or else be subject to a late campaign blitz by Nixon for being lax and weak on law enforcement.

--- On education, the Governor has made his most spectacular gains, and education is important, indeed.

What is more, when we asked people how they would vote on the referendum providing more funds for higher education, here is what we found:

REFERENDUM ON MORE FUNDS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

	<u>Total Voters</u>
For	60
Against	24
Not sure	16

Observation: It is evident that the bond issue can be passed. However, we would strongly advise the Governor not to talk about support for the bond issue, but rather in terms of the end results of what next can be done in higher education, and, in fact, in primary and secondary education as well. This is an area of high gain for Brown and if he presses home on it in the next month, it can come to rank alongside water as a major area of accomplishment for him.

--- On taxes and spending, the Governor comes off negatively, but, we might add, so does President Kennedy and nearly every Governor we have polled in over 30 states this year. We shall hold comment on this issue for a moment.

--- In other areas, the Governor has relatively maintained his good standing on roads and highway safety, on support for a \$1.25 minimum wage, for extending unemployment compensation, for getting pensions for older people. These are what might be called middle importance issues.

On the low interest side, the Governor does not do so well. These include fall-out shelters and civil defense, handling farm labor, and in measures combatting the recession.

On one point, however, the Governor has moved out of the red and into the black and that is in helping with new jobs and industry. We shall come back to this in a moment.

We asked about these state issues not only in the manners indicated above, but also by probing hard to obtain from people in their own words just what they feel should be done by the next Administration in Sacramento. Here are some typical comments:

The elderly owner of a small paint store in Monterey talked about the "unbalanced budget". A party-voting Republican he says:

"We have spent all our resources and we're going to have to pay for this, so it means our taxes are going to be increased. I don't think we're getting our Money's worth now and I hate to see us giving out more for nothing. I wish I knew how to get rid of some of the bureaucrats - get rid of duplications and sweep the sidewalks clean. Another thing that bothers me is the way they're throwing money around on welfare. A woman's got ten kids and has never been married, and what do they do - they give her more money for each kid she has. It's a pitiful thing to see, but they're sure not going to change things by giving hand-outs like that. It's my money they're using too and I trained my kids to grow up decent. They need to do more educating of people like that and stop all the pampering."

In San Bernadino a housewife who will be voting for the first time this November is quite aware of the problems she faces, and says with concern:

"We've got to clean up this growing problem of narcotics. Stiffer jail sentences for 1st offenders and longer term sentences for 2nd and 3rd offenders and peddlers should be made. Negotiations for control with Mexico and an exclusive group for narcotics control should be set up. There's been too much conflict and with everyone always fighting everyone else, nothing ever gets resolved.

"I'd like to see the school bond get passed this time too. With the influx of people and population growth, we just must have these schools. And, I'd rather be taxed for universities than I would for jails to put juvenile delinquents into.

"Another thing is our water problem. We obviously need it badly and something has to be done about it soon. We'd get more industry out here in Southern California if we could get it put in cheaper than so far is proposed. I think they should also keep working on the conversion of salt water to fresh. I'd like to see this settled soon. Times' awasting."

A Negro construction laborer who's unsteady work brings in around \$3,000 a year for his family, feels that this problem of unemployment is not his alone. A Democrat who will support Brown and Richards because of their progressiveness, he says:

"Unemployment has hit all over the state, and the working people are having a hard time. I feel if they solve the problem of machinery, we would have more jobs than we do. The foreign countries should be traded with more - it would help us to have the extra business. The government should, if industry doesn't get rid of some of the stuff we've over-produced by selling to other countries. Our workers need to get back to work. Just because they're not getting paid doesn't mean they can stop eating and not get sick. And prices are going up all the time. It's all you can do to keep going while you're working, but when you're not, that's when things really get tough."

A sixty-four year old woman in Alameda County said she was concerned about the treatment of the elderly. As a Democrat, she plans to vote for Nixon and Richards, who she feels will be interested in the "little people".

On the issue of importance to her, she says:

"Stop making the old people give up their property when they apply for their pension. It would help so many people I know if the government would realize how hard it is for older people to get along on just their pensions. I don't worry too much about myself, because I have enough to keep going with my pet boarding kennel here. But there's a lot that could do with help from the government. And then there's some who could do without help, if they had jobs. Older people who can do skilled work should have jobs provided for them and teachers over-aged, if able, should be re-employed."

In El Centro, we talked with a 42 year old Republican who owns a building supply company. Roads and freeways was the issue of most pressing importance to him:

"We have a situation in Imperial County of high deaths and high accident rates. In the old days, it figured to spend money on improvements to correct this. Now their only concern is registration, but the only way to stop these accidents is to improve the roads. They built some nice freeways in the southland but here too they've got trouble. About 95% of freeway accidents are caused by people who don't know where the turn-offs are. If they were made standard-off ramps and on-ramps, the rate of accidents would go down. I only get into Los Angeles a few times a month, but I know what traffic's like there. Sometimes I think it'd be better off if they just stopped building so many new highways and returned to electric railways. It'd mean less money going for freeways and safer transportation for the people, but, from what I hear, it's the bus trust that's fighting other types of transportation."

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When these comments are added up, here is how they look in statistical terms:

STATE ISSUES OF CONCERN

	August, 1962				Dec. 1961	Mar. 1961
	Total Voters	Voting for:				
		Brown	Hixon	Not Sure		
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	
<u>Taxes and spending too high</u>	32	25	32	42	21	11
<u>Curb Excessive Feeding</u>	24	20	28	22	18	26
<u>Education. More schools</u>	21	23	20	13	25	26
<u>Food and Budget Problems</u>	21	25	15	25	12	24
Unemployment	9	11	6	10	5	11
High cost of living	6	6	6	8	3	6
Feed new industry	3	3	2	7	2	4
Food control	3	4	1	-	1	-
Small business problems	4	1	-	-	1	-
<u>Need Adequate Water Supply</u>	20	12	18	24	26	14
<u>Welfare Problems</u>	13	11	13	7	9	6
Welfare going to undeserving	11	9	12	7	9	5
Need relief to more needy	2	2	1	-	-	1
<u>Transportation</u>	10	10	11	8	18	10
Better roads and freeways	5	4	6	6	6	3
Better local transit	3	4	2	2	6	4
Reduce traffic violations	2	2	3	-	6	3
<u>Help Elder People</u>	7	10	9	3	11	11
<u>Civil Rights</u>	4	6	2	-	4	2
<u>Air Pollution</u>	4	3	3	6	2	6
<u>Fight Communist Infiltration</u>	3	3	2	-	1	-
<u>Recreation</u>	2	3	2	3	3	-
<u>Parks and Recreation</u>	1	2	1	-	3	2
<u>More Labor</u>	1	-	2	-	2	7

These are the percentages.

Here the top five issues clearly are taxes and spending, curbing narcotics peddlers, education, unemployment and the high cost of living, and the water problem.

Observation: The water problem slips from first place here only because people feel something adequate is being done about it. However, it works overwhelmingly in Brown's behalf and should receive primary emphasis.

The education issue works slightly in Brown's favor, but we have firm evidence that this issue has only recently really begun to move people over to the Governor.

Observation: We believe this issue can be emphasized with high priority as well.

The bread and butter issues also work decisively for Pat Brown. Even though people feel that the Governor has not moved decisively enough in the economic area, he has a powerful faith that the Democratic Party really cares and will really help the economy going for himself here. He also has the specifics of work on minimum wage and unemployment compensation going for himself.

Observation: We would urge that the Governor hit these economic issues well and state positively that people know the Democrats will care and will find solutions, while the Republicans turn a cold shoulder to the needs of those out of work and looking for work.

Before turning to the race for U.S. Senate and the national issues of concern, let us see how these issues cut in the key areas of the state:

STATE ISSUES OF CONCERN IN CALIFORNIA BY AREA

	Total Voters	Los Angeles	San Fran- cisco	Pen- in- sula	East Bay	Upper Valley	Lower Valley	San Diego
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Taxes and spending too high</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>29</u>
<u>Curb Narcotics Peddlers</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>33</u>	-	<u>5</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>17</u>
<u>Education, More Schools</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Bread and Butter Problems</u>								
Unemployment	9	3	4	3	11	11	6	8
High cost of living	6	3	9	8	8	6	2	5
Need new industry	3	1	-	3	4	1	11	4
Rent control	3	1	13	-	5	6	-	3
Small business problems	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Need Adequate Water Supply</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>19</u>
<u>Welfare Problems</u>								
Welfare going to undeserving	11	7	13	3	12	24	6	9
Extend relief to more needy	2	2	-	-	2	3	-	-
<u>Transportation</u>								
Better roads and freeways	5	3	-	13	9	3	8	4
Better local transit	3	5	-	3	1	1	4	-
Enforce traffic violations	2	2	-	-	3	1	4	3
<u>Help Older People</u>								
Medical care for the aged		4	-	3	3	5	2	1
Increase Social Security		2	-	3	4	2	2	-
Jobs, housing for the aged		2	4	-	2	2	-	-
Help handicapped		2	-	-	2	3	-	-
<u>Civil Rights</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	-	<u>4</u>	-	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Air Pollution</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	-	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Fight Communist Infiltration</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	-	-	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>Reapportionment</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	-	-	<u>1</u>	-	<u>1</u>	-
<u>Parks and Recreation</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Farm Labor</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	-	<u>3</u>	-	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>

* Less than one percent.

News Releases

Speakers Manual

Fact Book

Card Mail list

Here it is evident that the tax issue is strongest in upper and lower valley, the peninsula.

The narcotics issue is dominant in Los Angeles, but also strong in the lower valley.

Water is strongest in LA, San Diego, and the Upper Valley.

Bread and Butter issues run strongest in the East Bay, upper valley, and San Diego areas.

Over-All Observation on the Brown-Nixon Race: Pat Brown is now moving well, and barring unforeseen events, has a real chance of defeating Richard Nixon this November. Above all else, Brown is moving well in a personal sense, and daily seems to add appeal to his personal support. It is always important that he personalize this campaign in every way possible. He must make his television spots human and warm with emphasis on human issues, such as education and bread and butter issues. He must also talk about accomplishment in office and the unfinished business he wants to complete in another term in the area of education. But he must point to what he has begun on water, its historic importance. Then he must pledge strongly that he will take action on narcotics and what is more, prove it by decisive acts now.

The underlying theme throughout is that the state of California faces urgent and important problems and that it deserves a Governor whose sole ambition is to do the best job possible. Brown can lay claim to this and proudly say that he has worked for the state and the people of California.

In contrast, Brown can charge that Nixon is not really interested in education, water, narcotics enforcement, solving and alleviating the problems of unemployment and the high cost of living. To the contrary, Nixon is hell-bent on using the Governor's office as a way of rebuilding his national political fortunes so that he can run against Kennedy again in 1964. No matter how much he disavows this, Brown can claim, the people can look at Nixon and tell otherwise. Then Brown can directly ask the people who they would choose anyhow: Kennedy or Nixon?

This double-edged attack, one of the positive, the other bringing Nixon down, are highly effective and are the pincers that can bust this election wide open.

POLL TAKEN BY BROWN ORGANIZATION

COUNTY	VOTERS	NIXON	BROWN	NO CHOICE
Santa Barbara	184	94 - 51.1%	79 - 42.9%	11 - 6.0%
Ventura	121	62 - 51.2%	56 - 46.3%	3 - 2.5%
Imperial (El Centro)	58	26 - 44.8%	30 - 51.7%	2 - 3.5%
San Diego	372	178 - 47.8%	188 - 50.5%	6 - 1.7%
Riverside	202	104 - 51.5%	91 - 45.0%	7 - 3.5%
San Bernardino	286	136 - 47.5%	138 - 48.3%	12 - 4.2%
Orange	341	189 - 55.4%	147 - 43.1%	5 - 1.5%
Los Angeles	924	402 - 43.5%	492 - 53.2%	30 - 3.3%

MEMO

TO: RM

FROM: DH

CC: Finch, Haldeman, Keyes, Chotiner

Re: Projection of election based on Facts survey Sept 23.

The survey was restricted to Los Angeles County. In 1960, Nixon's statewide percentage ran .6% ahead of his percentage in Los Angeles County. Theoretically, this fact should cause some weighting to be done in the following analysis. I have not made that adjustment because to do so would involve RM's new strengths and weaknesses by area. This summary merely projects Los Angeles findings as typical of the entire state.

The following assumptions are a part of this report:

1. Vote turnout in November will be 69% (Jordan estimate).

2. Republican turnout: 71%. Democratic turnout: 67.5%

(Based on the traditionally higher GOP turnout over Demos).

Total registration:

GOP	3,002,038 (39.86%)
Demo	4,289,997 (56.96%)
Others	<u>239,176 (3.18%)</u>
Total	7,531,211

Potential vote of two parties (dividing the "Decline to state" evenly between the GOP and Demos--but not including the Prohibitionists):

GOP	3,119,214
-----	-----------

Demo 4,407,173

Turnout

69% of total registration	5,184,000 votes will be cast
71% of GOP	2,715,800
67.5% of Demos	2,974,700

Facts poll Sept 23

RNI 94.3% of the GOP	2,088,933
18.0% of the Demo	535,446
Total	<u>2,624,379</u>
EGB: 82.0% of the Demo	2,439,254
5.7% of the GOP	126,266
	<u>2,565,520</u>
RN plurality	<u>58,859</u>

ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES

TIME & LIFE BUILDING · 111 WEST 50th STREET · NEW YORK 10, N. Y. · PLaza 7-8900

October 1, 1962

Mr. Robert Finch
Finch, Bell, Duitsman & Jekel
315 West 9th Street
Los Angeles 15, California

Dear Bob:

I have gone over the study which you sent me, and I am returning it under separate cover.

I found it a little hard to analyze because the questionnaire doesn't permit respondents to express freely what they think the most important factors in the campaign are. Also, it contains no "likely voter" screen, so it isn't possible to analyze by those who probably will vote as distinguished by those who probably won't.

The first thing that startled me was the overwhelming majority of Negroes and Catholics who plan to vote for Governor Brown. I haven't the vaguest notion what might be done to offset that or remedy that, but it certainly represents "group voting" to a very considerable extent.

Despite the difficulty of what I would regard as any real analysis, certain things do stand out. For example, Christopher and Kuchel are the strongest in the two areas where Mr. Nixon is the weakest--the central coast and the valley counties. I should think efforts by Kuchel and Christopher on behalf of Nixon in these areas would be helpful. Incidentally, sentiment for attracting new industry to California is particularly strong in those areas, and the voters are inclined to give Nixon the edge over Brown as best able to attract it, so maybe that's the clue as to what Kuchel and Christopher ought to be saying when they go there. Incidentally, opposition to any increase in social welfare programs is stronger in these areas than in the south, but I don't know what to do about that.

It seems to me Nixon has probably made all the hay he can make with his attacks on the Democrats as the party soft on Communists. The right wing vote seems to be pretty well sewed up, and what he needs is liberal Democrats who are unhappy with Brown but who don't like to see their party attacked.

I don't think Mr. Nixon can get much mileage by talking any further about Brown ducking a TV debate, and I also think he ought to avoid discussion

Mr. Robert Finch

-2-

October 1, 1962

of health insurance as much as possible because my guess is that Brown could make hay by fighting Nixon's opposition to it.

Obviously, bringing more water to California is a powerful issue, and I still have the feeling there must be more in that than meets the eye.

The Californians seem to have a particular yearning, according to this survey, for what might be called "capable administration" and particularly with the candidate's ability to cope with the rising costs of government.

I am sure you know of the strong desire in the southern counties for Senate reapportionment. That's the kind of an issue that I wouldn't want to comment on from a distance.

Actually, Mr. Nixon's record insofar as the Negro is concerned is extremely good, and I am sad to see the great preponderance of Negro votes against him. Isn't there something that can be done in this area?

In any future surveys you have done, I think you ought to insist that a pretty strict set of "intention to vote" questions is used. We have done remarkably well with such a set, and it is in this very area that the Field poll is weak, it seems to me. But in this one there's nothing at all.

I certainly wish I could be more helpful

Cordially yours,

Elmo Roper

ER:bf

"KNOWLEDGE" ABOUT

RICHARD M. NIXON

	<u>"HOW MUCH"</u>		<u>"HOW GOOD"</u>	
	<u>% Reporting This Knowledge About Nixon</u>		<u>% Who Would Vote for Nixon in This Group</u>	
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Total Interviews	600	100.0	245	40.8
Total Reporting Any "Knowledge"	591	98.5	245	41.5
Vice President	296	49.3	144	48.6
Running for Governor	238	39.7	117	49.2
Republican	96	16.0	47	49.0
<u>Activities in Office</u>	<u>286</u>	<u>47.7</u>	<u>169</u>	<u>59.1</u>
Trips he has made abroad	125	20.8	72	57.6
Trip to South America	40	6.7	22	55.0
Trip to Russia	30	5.0	19	63.3
Talked to, stood up to Khrushchev	19		10	
Trip to Russia	11		9	
Trip to Sweden, Denmark	27	4.5	14	51.9
Foreign trips-general	28	4.7	17	60.7
Kind of job he did as Vice President	71	11.8	56	78.9
Did a good job as Vice President	64		55	
Did a poor job as Vice President	7		1	
Kind of job he did on trips	58	9.7	23	39.7
Created good-will, good job on trips	46		20	
Had, caused trouble on trips	10		1	
For peace	2		2	
Association with Eisenhower	32	5.3	18	56.3
Reference to Eisenhower-general	18		6	
Assistant to Eisenhower	14		12	
<u>Political Activities and Leaning</u>	<u>492</u>	<u>82.0</u>	<u>227</u>	<u>46.3</u>
Ran for President and lost	108	18.0	41	38.0
Ran for President and lost	106		40	
Last election-general	1		1	
Falls apart under pressure of campaign	1		0	

(Continued)

	"HOW MUCH"		"HOW GOOD"	
	% Reporting This Knowledge About Nixon		% Who Would Vote for Nixon in This Group	
	#	%	#	%
Kind of politician he is	85	14.2	36	42.4
Politician, party man	39		18	
Good, clean, effective, honest politician	23		15	
Bad, dishonest, mudslinging politician	23		3	
TV appearances	83	13.8	42	50.6
TV appearances	38		18	
Campaign trips and appearances	34		19	
Kind of speaker he is	11		5	
Stand on John Birch Society, Anti-Communism	26	4.3	16	61.5
Anti-Communism	9		7	
Endorsement of Birch Society members	7		4	
Stand on John Birch Society-general	5		2	
Against John Birch Society	3		2	
For John Birch Society	2		1	
Debate with Brown	22	3.7	14	63.6
Stand on labor	22	3.7	3	13.6
Against labor	15		0	
Stand on labor-general	3		2	
For labor	2		0	
Stand on minimum wage	1		1	
Stand on employment	1		0	
Debates with Kennedy	21	3.5	4	19.0
Debates with Kennedy	11		1	
Showed up poorly on TV	6		2	
Did poorly in debates	4		1	
Miscellaneous activities	71	11.8	38	53.5
Reference to Shell	17		8	
Primary fight	14		5	
To appear at Republican Convention	10		9	
Supporters, advisors	7		5	
Party with notables	7		4	
Vigorous campaigning	5		1	
Called Kennedy "carpetbagger"	3		0	
New Year's Day parade	2		2	
Meetings with Eisenhower	2		1	
In court re Japanese	1		1	
Dinner at Hilton	1		1	
Quiet since becoming candidate	1		1	
Meeting with gas and oil representatives	1		0	

(Continued)

	"HOW MUCH"		"HOW GOOD"	
	% Reporting This Knowledge About Nixon		% Who Would Vote for Nixon in This Group	
	#	%	#	%
Miscellaneous stands	54	9.0	33	61.1
Against Brown's policies	13		9	
Conservative	7		5	
For big business	6		0	
Middle of the road	4		3	
Liberal	3		3	
For less spending	3		2	
Stand on taxes	3		1	
Stand on welfare	3		0	
Stand on negroes	3		2	
For free enterprise	2		0	
Stand on capital punishment	2		0	
For more States' Rights	1		1	
Stand on narcotics	1		1	
Stand on graft, corruption, law enforcement	1		1	
Stand on water rights, conservation	1		1	
Stand on cross-filing votes	1		1	
Personal Information	216	36.0	105	48.6
Background and upbringing	35	5.8	24	68.6
Well educated	10		6	
Religious, Christian	9		8	
Came up the hard way, self-made man	6		5	
Quaker	5		2	
Good family background	3		3	
School attended	1		0	
Honorary degree	1		0	
Early career	34	5.7	17	50.0
Lawyer	12		8	
Senator	12		7	
Helen Gehagan Douglas	7		0	
War record	3		2	
Alger Hiss case	28	4.7	21	75.0
From California	27	4.5	12	44.4
Reference to wife and children	27	4.5	10	37.0

(Continued)

	"HOW MUCH"		"HOW GOOD"	
	% Reporting This Knowledge, About Nixon		% Who Would Vote for Nixon in This Group	
	#	%	#	%
Book-"Six Crises"	22	3.7	8	36.4
Book	21		8	
7th crisis, Bar exam	1		0	
Financial troubles	20	3.3	7	35.0
Money trouble, Checkers incident	8		3	
Unexplained taxes, finances	6		3	
Questioning current campaign finances	3		1	
In office for money	2		0	
Money from Hughes	1		0	
Miscellaneous personal information	23	3.8	6	26.1
New house	17		5	
Fire-old house	2		1	
Immature, young	3		0	
Golfing	1		0	
<u>Generalized Personal Impressions</u>	<u>426</u>	<u>71.0</u>	<u>278</u>	<u>65.3</u>
(Unduplicated Count)	350	58.3	221	63.1)
Nice, good man	187	31.2	103	55.1
Good, fine, gentleman, good reputation	83		54	
Nice, pleasant, all right	75		33	
Tolerant, fair, open-minded	11		4	
Average man, typical, modest, humble	7		3	
Clean living	6		6	
Kind, considerate, thoughtful	3		1	
Quiet man	2		2	
Honest, sincere	101	16.8	83	82.2
Honest, trustworthy, upright	62		51	
Sincere, forthright, straight-forward	39		32	
Wonderful	42	7.0	34	81.0
Wonderful, tops, terrific	16		14	
True American	11		7	
Impressive, prominent, above average	8		6	
Diplomat, statesman	5		5	
Great leader, great man	2		2	
Good family man	36	6.0	25	69.4

(Continued)

	"HOW MUCH"		"HOW GOOD"	
	% Reporting This Knowledge About Nixon	%	% Who Would Vote for Nixon in This Group	%
Intelligent	35	5.8	14	40.0
Intelligent, smart	20		11	
Brilliant, intellectual	8		2	
Clever, shrewd	7		1	
Nice personality	25	4.2	19	76.0
Nice personality	16		11	
Friendly, warm, popular, well-liked	8		7	
Tactful	1		1	
Specific Personal Impressions	556	92.7	252	45.3
(Unduplicated Count)	333	55.5	138	41.4)
Experienced, capable	54	9.0	43	79.6
Experienced, well qualified, well informed	17		14	
Capable	14		10	
Experience, knowledge of government, politics	13		11	
Good administrator	4		3	
Experience, knowledge of State affairs	3		3	
Experience, knowledge of foreign affairs	2		2	
Good organizer, good planner	1		0	
Double-talker, not sincere	53	8.8	5	9.4
Double-talker, hypocrite	23		0	
Not sincere, not trustworthy	22		1	
Fence straddler	8		4	
Good for California	45	7.5	40	88.9
Too ambitious	40	6.7	6	15.0
Hard-working, dependable	31	5.2	26	83.9
Hard-working, serious, stern	12		11	
Dependable, reliable	10		9	
Conscientious, tries to do his best	9		6	
Opportunist, ruthless	28	4.7	4	14.3
Opportunist	9		3	
Ruthless, cold, calculating	6		0	
Doesn't care who he hurts	5		0	
Domineering	4		1	
Unscrupulous, no principles	4		0	

(Continued)

	<u>"HOW MUCH"</u>		<u>"HOW GOOD"</u>	
	<u>% Reporting This Knowledge About Nixon</u>		<u>% Who Would Vote for Nixon in This Group</u>	
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Ambitious, aggressive	27	4.5	13	48.1
Ambitious	16		7	
Aggressive	8		4	
Determined to get ahead	3		2	
Courageous	26	4.3	20	76.9
Courage of his convictions	11		8	
Has courage, guts	8		5	
Not afraid to speak out	4		4	
A leader	2		2	
Takes the initiative	1		1	
Out for the good of the country, has done great service	25	4.2	22	88.0
Out for the good of the country	9		9	
Has done great service for the country	9		7	
For the people	7		6	
Unpleasant personality	23	3.8	5	21.7
Conceited, smug, egotist, too sure	11		0	
People don't like him, not popular	4		2	
Lacks tact	3		1	
Not warm, not friendly	2		2	
No personality	2		0	
Arrogant	1		0	
Will run for President, won't stay on the job	23	3.8	4	17.4
Dedicated, high ideals	21	3.5	20	95.2
Is a dedicated man	11		10	
High ideals, aims, vision	10		10	
Strong, fighter	21	3.5	16	76.2
Strong, powerful, forceful	7		5	
Good, strong fighter	4		4	
Won't be pushed around, firm	4		3	
Drive	4		2	
Fights to get what he wants	2		2	
Not capable	20	3.3	5	25.0
Not capable, weak, lacks power	14		3	
Lacks experience for State government	5		1	
Out of politics too long	1		1	

(Continued)

	<u>"HOW MUCH"</u>		<u>"HOW GOOD"</u>	
	<u>% Reporting This Knowledge About Nixon</u>		<u>% Who Would Vote for Nixon in This Group</u>	
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Miscellaneous positive impressions	20	3.3	16	80.0
Cool-headed	6		6	
Conducts himself with dignity	5		5	
Realistic, practical, down to earth	4		2	
Independent, thinks for himself	2		2	
Self-assured, confident	2		1	
Good self-control, poise	1		0	
Miscellaneous negative impressions	99	16.5	7	7.1
Bad for California	16		0	
Less popular now	8		3	
Cry baby, poor loser	6		0	
Hasty, impetuous	5		3	
Loses his temper	2		0	
Follower, yes-man, lacks initiative	2		0	
Gets into trouble	1		1	
Lacks self-confidence	1		0	
Just don't like him	16		0	
Emphatic negative	42		0	

Positive impressions	270	45.0	216	80.0
(Unduplicated Count	170	28.3	119	70.0)
Negative impressions	286	47.7	36	12.6
(Unduplicated Count	190	31.7	30	15.8)

"KNOWLEDGE" ABOUT

EDMUND G. BROWN

	<u>"HOW MUCH"</u>		<u>"HOW GOOD"</u>	
	<u>% Reporting This Knowledge About Brown</u>		<u>% Who Would Vote for Brown in This Group</u>	
	<u>θ</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>θ</u>	<u>%</u>
Total Interviews	600	100.0	237	39.5
Total Reporting Any "Knowledge"	584	97.3	236	40.4
Governor	421	70.2	193	45.8
Running for Re-election	120	20.0	62	51.7
Democrat	80	13.3	36	45.0
<u>Activities in Office</u>	<u>585</u>	<u>97.5</u>	<u>293</u>	<u>50.1</u>
Duncan execution	232	38.7	102	44.0
Refused clemency	120		58	
Did right to refuse clemency	32		14	
Against capital punishment	28		10	
Reference to Chessman	26		10	
Capital punishment-general	16		7	
Reference to other executions	4		1	
Stand on capital punishment	3		1	
Favors capital punishment	2		1	
Should not have refused clemency	1		0	
Kind of job he has done as Governor	129	21.5	67	51.9
Has done a good job as Governor	91		66	
Has done a bad job as Governor	38		1	
Kind of job he has done on the water problem	85	14.2	51	60.0
Did a good job on water problem	77		51	
Stand on water rights, conservation	6		0	
Did a poor job on water problem	2		0	
Kind of job he has done on the state economic problem	40	6.7	19	47.5
Did a good budgeting job-State is out of the red	14		12	
Raised taxes	8		2	
Taxed cigarettes	6		2	
Did a poor budgeting job-budget is unbalanced	6		0	
Bond issue	3		1	
Taxing Japanese claims	1		1	
Lowered taxes	1		1	
Franchise tax	1		0	

(Continued)

	"HOW MUCH"		"HOW GOOD"	
	% Reporting This Knowledge About Brown		% Who Would Vote for Brown in This Group	
	#	%	#	%
Kind of job he has done on the education problem	23	3.8	12	52.2
Job he did on education, schools	15		10	
Stand on education, schools	4		1	
Took Bible out of schools	4		1	
Kind of job he has done on the welfare problem	21	3.5	13	61.9
Job he did on help for the aged	7		6	
Job he did on the welfare program	5		2	
Job he did on medical care	4		4	
Reduced veterans' loans	3		0	
Responsible relatives law	1		1	
Stand on medical care	1		0	
Miscellaneous activities in office	35	9.2	29	52.7
Job he did on narcotics	16		6	
Job he did on highways, traffic	13		8	
Job he did on labor, employment	13		8	
Job he did on civil rights, segregation	3		2	
Job he did on graft, corruption, law enforcement	3		1	
Job he did on farm, farm labor	2		2	
Consumer Council	1		1	
Remodeled printing plant	1		1	
Took files from arsenal	1		0	
Political Activities and Leaning	288	48.0	93	32.3
Kind of politician he is	68	11.3	16	23.5
Politician, party man	40		6	
Good, clean, effective, honest politician	15		8	
Bad, dishonest, mudslinging politician	13		2	
TV appearances	37	6.2	11	29.7
TV appearances	31		10	
Kind of speaker he is	6		1	
Campaigning	35	5.8	10	28.6
Campaigning in California	33		10	
Vigorous campaign	2		0	

(Continued)

	<u>"HOW MUCH"</u>		<u>"HOW GOOD"</u>	
	% Reporting This Knowledge About Brown		% Who Would Vote for Brown in This Group	
	#	%	#	%
Moving to Los Angeles office	33	5.5	8	24.2
For labor, for the working man	20	3.3	14	70.0
For labor	14		9	
For the working man	5		5	
Against labor	1		0	
Miscellaneous stands	49	8.2	15	30.6
Liberal, progressive	8		5	
Stand on taxes	5		1	
For more spending	4		2	
Stand on negroes	4		2	
Stand on boxing	4		1	
Follows Kennedy's policies	4		0	
Stand on narcotics	3		0	
Against Nixon's policies	2		1	
Favors Northern California	2		0	
Stand on reapportionment	2		0	
Stand on cross-filing votes	2		0	
New frontier	2		0	
Conservative	1		1	
Stand on John Birch Society	1		1	
Stand on farm, farm labor	1		1	
Middle of the road	1		0	
Radical, socialist	1		0	
For big business	1		0	
Stand on economy-general	1		0	
Miscellaneous political activities	46	7.7	19	41.3
Debate with Nixon	12		8	
Reference to his advisors, supporters	9		5	
Primary	8		2	
Reference to Kennedy visit	4		1	
Reference to Democratic Council	4		1	
Riots in San Francisco, Sacramento	2		0	
Will dedicate dam with Kennedy	2		0	
Attended convention	1		1	
Drafted platform	1		1	
Attended fair	1		0	
Oakland bridge	1		0	
New Customs House in Los Angeles	1		0	

(Continued)

	"HOW MUCH"		"HOW GOOD"	
	% Reporting This Knowledge About Brown		% Who Would Vote for Brown in This Group	
	#	%	#	%
<u>Personal Information</u>	120	20.0	42	33.0
Vacations	37	6.2	12	32.4
In Sierras	20		8	
Swimming	8		1	
Fishing	7		3	
Golfing	2		0	
Catholic	27	4.5	10	37.0
Catholic	20		7	
Religious Christian	6		3	
Remarks about other churches	1		0	
Early career	22	3.7	10	45.5
Attorney General	12		4	
District Attorney	9		5	
Senator	1		1	
Miscellaneous personal information	34	5.7	10	29.4
Reference to wife and children	18		5	
Well educated	4		2	
New governor's mansion	4		0	
Wears glasses	3		1	
Fat	2		1	
Self-made man	2		1	
Immature	1		0	
<u>Generalized Personal Impressions</u>	367	61.2	214	58.3
(Unduplicated Count)	312	52.0	171	54.8
Nice, good man	242	40.3	132	54.5
Nice, pleasant, all right	101		47	
Good, fine, gentleman, good reputation	78		48	
Good family man	18		9	
Tolerant, fair, open-minded	17		11	
Kind, considerate, thoughtful	10		9	
Intelligent, smart	9		3	
Average man, typical, modest, humble	6		4	
Quiet man	2		1	
Clever, shrewd	1		0	

(Continued)

	"HOW MUCH"		"HOW GOOD"	
	% Reporting This Knowledge About Brown		% Who Would Vote for Brown in This Group	
	#	%	#	%
Honest, sincere	64	10.7	45	70.3
Honest, trustworthy, upright	38		27	
Sincere, forthright, straight-forward	26		18	
Nice personality	40	6.7	22	35.0
Friendly, warm, popular, well-liked	27		17	
Nice personality	13		5	
Wonderful	21	3.5	15	71.4
Wonderful, tops, terrific	9		7	
Impressive, prominent, above average	7		4	
Great leader, great man	3		3	
Brilliant, intellectual	1		1	
True American	1		0	
Specific Personal Impressions	401	66.8	175	43.6
(Unduplicated Count	263	43.8	108	41.1)
Not capable, weak	66	11.0	16	24.2
Not capable, weak, lacks power	30		7	
Follower, yes-man, lacks initiative	20		6	
Not intelligent enough, confused	9		2	
Lacks experience for State Government	4		0	
Been in politics too long	2		1	
Figurehead	1		0	
Good for California	43	7.2	33	76.7
Conscientious	43	7.2	22	31.2
Conscientious, tries to do his best	34		17	
Hard-working, serious, stern	6		3	
Dependable, reliable	2		1	
Realistic, practical, down-to-earth	1		1	
For the people	35	5.8	31	88.6
For the people	11		9	
Knows what the people want, need	9		9	
Out for the good of the State	8		7	
Has done great service for the State	7		6	
Double talker, not sincere	30	5.0	3	10.0
Double talker, hypocrite, evasive	10		1	
Fence straddler	9		1	
Not sincere, not trustworthy	9		0	
Opportunist	2		1	

(Continued)

	<u>"HOW MUCH"</u>		<u>"HOW GOOD"</u>	
	<u>% Reporting</u>		<u>% Who Would</u>	
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Bad for California	25	4.2	3	12.0
Courage of his convictions	22	3.7	16	72.7
Courage of his convictions	10		6	
Independent, thinks for himself	4		4	
Not afraid to speak out	2		2	
A leader	2		2	
Won't be pushed around, firm	1		1	
Takes the initiative	1		1	
Has courage, guts	1		0	
Can take it	1		0	
Too ambitious	22	3.7	6	27.3
Out for himself, too ambitious	14		3	
Aggressive	4		2	
Wants power	2		0	
Determined to get ahead	1		1	
Ambitious	1		0	
Capable, experienced	20	3.3	15	75.0
Capable	10		8	
Good administrator, good businessman	4		2	
Experienced, qualified, well informed	3		3	
Experience, knowledge of gov't politics	2		1	
Experience, knowledge of State affairs	1		1	
Miscellaneous positive impressions	20	3.3	17	85.0
Strong, powerful, forceful	5		4	
Good, strong fighter	2		1	
Active, vigorous	1		1	
Cool-headed	5		5	
Good self-control, poise	1		1	
Fights to get what he wants	2		2	
Drive	1		1	
Dedicated man	2		1	
High ideals, aims, vision	1		1	

(Continued)

	<u>"HOW MUCH"</u>		<u>"HOW GOOD"</u>	
	<u>% Reporting This Knowledge About Brown</u>		<u>% Who Would Vote for Brown in This Group</u>	
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Miscellaneous negative impressions	75	12.5	13	17.3
No personality	8		3	
People don't like him, not popular	6		1	
Less popular now	1		0	
Gets into trouble	5		2	
Hasty, impetuous	2		1	
Loses his temper	1		1	
Loud, argumentative	4		1	
Arrogant	2		0	
Domineering	2		0	
Conceited, smug, egotist, too sure	7		1	
Ruthless, cold, calculating	1		0	
Unscrupulous, no principles	1		0	
Stubborn	1		0	
Lacks self-confidence	1		0	
Just don't like him	16		2	
Emphatic negative	17		1	

Positive impressions	183	30.5	134	73.2
(Unduplicated Count)	163	27.2	117	71.0
Negative impressions	218	36.3	41	18.8
(Unduplicated Count)	141	23.5	30	21.3