

KENNETH COLEGROVE

721 Foster St.
Evanston, Illinois

Professor, Political Science
Northwestern University

Dear Fellow American:

I thought you would like to see an advance copy of a confidential survey just made to measure Eisenhower's real strength as a candidate for the Republican nomination for president.

It shows that just as soon as he takes a position on some of the major political issues of the day, he loses a large portion of his supporters. You will note that even if Eisenhower takes the most favorable position on the several issues, he would still lose half the people who say they now support him. As a political candidate he must make his views known and when he does his strength will be far less than now indicated. Thus, if Eisenhower came out for the Taft-Hartley Law only 59.1 per cent of his present supporters would still vote for him. Or, if he came out against the Taft-Hartley Law only 54.7 per cent of his present supporters would still vote for him. Therefore he will by election time get less than two-thirds of his present vote, regardless of which side he takes on this issue alone.

The other leading candidate, Senator Taft, has taken a position on all these issues long ago and therefore his popularity already takes into account the reactions to his stand on the issues.

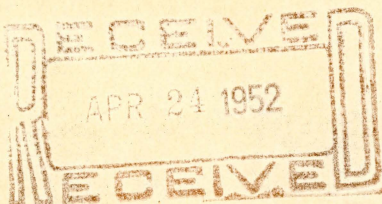
Taking a couple of other examples: only 35.7 per cent would still vote for him if General Eisenhower came out for a continuance of the present level of public spending and only 36.3 per cent would still vote for him if he came out against the compulsory FEPC.

Thus, Eisenhower's real strength as a political candidate will be far less than is now indicated. He is strongest when people know little or nothing of his views. Each time he takes a position for or against any one of the issues, he loses a considerable part of his support. It has long been an American political tradition that voters must be informed of the political and economic views of candidates for public office. The attached indicates that he would make a weak candidate and couldn't win.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth Colegrove

Kenneth Colegrove



C O N F I D E N T I A L

A Measurement of the Strength
of Feeling for Eisenhower Among Those
Who Currently Favor Him for President

Conducted by:

The LLOYD H. HALL CO.
Research Organization
New York, N. Y.

March 17, 1952

Purpose of the Survey

The sole purpose of this survey was to determine whether those members of the general public who currently indicate they would vote for Eisenhower for President would still vote for him if he took certain stands on current political issues. The survey was not designed to be a poll of the relative standing of the various candidates.

At the time of the survey (March 6 - 10, 1952) Eisenhower had not declared his position on these issues. Would his present supporters still vote for him if he took the following stands?

1. Came out for (against) the Taft-Hartley Law.
2. Came out for an increase (reduction) in Social Security Benefits.
3. Favored a continuance (reduction) of the present level of Government spending.
4. Came out for (against) compulsory FEPC.
5. Favored present foreign policy with large spending for Armed Forces and grants to foreign nations, or substantial cuts in spending for this program.
6. Came out for a maintenance (reduction) of the present level of taxation.

How the Survey was Conducted

The Survey was conducted by members of our field interviewing staff who personally questioned the respondent. Interviewers were instructed to ask the questions exactly as stated on the questionnaire.

A total of 3693 persons of voting age were covered in the survey. These respondents are located in 63 cities in 25 states and 7 geographical sections of the United States. (See last page of report)

Since the survey was concerned with measuring the strength of feeling for Eisenhower of his supporters, the first step was to locate these persons. This was done by means of the first question designed to screen out the Eisenhower supporters from among the members of the general population of voting age. Respondents were handed a card on which was listed the names of several possible presidential candidates, and were asked to indicate which one they would vote for if they were to vote TODAY.

The response to this screening question qualified 1342 persons as Eisenhower supporters. Each of these then was questioned relative to his feeling toward Eisenhower if he were to take the definite stands indicated on each of the issues covered.

The sample of persons interviewed is a judgment sample. The selection of persons to be interviewed was entirely in the hands of the interviewers. They were instructed to interview only those persons of voting age, to get an approximately equal number of men and women, and to spread the interviews so that they got respondents in the various age and occupational groups. They were further instructed that interviews might be made in dwellings, on the street, in the lobbies of buildings, in stores and offices, outside factories, and other such locations.

The sample is not to be considered as representative of the whole population of voting age, nor of all Eisenhower supporters. It is simply a group of 1342 persons of various characteristics who support Eisenhower as of the time of the survey.

SECTION 1STRENGTH OF FEELING TOWARD EISENHOWER

In this section the results of the questioning concerning Eisenhower versus the Issues are shown. They are given in order for each of the following issues:-

Taft-Hartley Law
Social Security
Government Spending
Fair Employment Practices Commission
Foreign Policy
Taxation

TAFT-HARTLEY LAW

(Asked only of present Eisenhower Supporters)

Would you still vote for Eisenhower if he came out for the Taft-Hartley Law?

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	793	59.1
No	206	15.4
Don't Know	340	25.3
No Answer	<u>3</u>	<u>0.2</u>
Total	1342	100.0

Would you still vote for him if he came out against the Taft-Hartley Law?

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	734	54.7
No	174	13.0
Don't Know	402	29.9
No Answer	<u>32</u>	<u>2.4</u>
Total	1342	100.0

SOCIAL SECURITY

(Asked only of present Eisenhower supporters)

Would you still vote for Eisenhower if he came out for an increase in Social Security Benefits?

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	1073	80.0
No	124	9.2
Don't Know	141	10.5
No Answer	<u>4</u>	<u>0.3</u>
Total	1342	100.0

Would you still vote for him if he came out for a reduction in Social Security Benefits?

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	521	38.8
No	489	36.5
Don't Know	246	18.3
No Answer	<u>86</u>	<u>6.4</u>
Total	1342	100.0

GOVERNMENT SPENDING

(Asked only of present Eisenhower supporters)

Would you still vote for Eisenhower if he came out for a continuance of the present level of government spending?

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	479	35.7
No	677	50.4
Don't Know	181	13.5
No Answer	<u>5</u>	<u>0.4</u>
Total	1342	100.0

Would you still vote for him if he came out for a reduction in government spending?

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	1174	87.5
No	39	2.9
Don't Know	78	5.8
No Answer	<u>51</u>	<u>3.8</u>
Total	1342	100.0

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION

(Asked only of present Eisenhower supporters)

Would you still vote for Eisenhower if he came out for Compulsory FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Commission)?

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	914	68.1
No	98	7.3
Don't Know	324	24.2
No Answer	<u>6</u>	<u>0.4</u>
Total	1342	100.0

Would you still vote for him if he came out against Compulsory FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Commission)?

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	487	36.3
No	346	25.8
Don't Know	408	30.4
No Answer	<u>101</u>	<u>7.5</u>
Total	1342	100.0

* * *

An example of Eisenhower's real strength in the South

ALABAMA SENTIMENT ON EISENHOWER vs.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION

(Asked only of present Eisenhower supporters)

Would you still vote for Eisenhower if he came out for Compulsory FEPC
(Fair Employment Practices Commission)?

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	30	37.5
No	38	47.5
Don't Know	12	15.0
No Answer	-	-
Total	80	100.0

Would you still vote for him if he came out against Compulsory FEPC
(Fair Employment Practices Commission)?

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	55	68.8
No	8	10.0
Don't Know	15	18.7
No Answer	2	2.5
Total	80	100.0

FOREIGN POLICY

(Asked only of present Eisenhower supporters)

Would you still vote for Eisenhower if he favored present foreign policy with large spending for armed forces and grants to foreign nations?

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	668	49.8
No	446	33.2
Don't Know	215	16.0
No Answer	13	1.0
Total	1342	100.0

Would you still vote for him if he favored substantial cuts in spending for armed forces and grants to foreign nations?

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	930	69.3
No	138	10.3
Don't Know	204	15.2
No Answer	70	5.2
Total	1342	100.0

TAXATION

(Asked only of present Eisenhower Supporters)

Would you still vote for Eisenhower if he came out for maintenance of the present level of taxation?

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	798	59.4
No	366	27.3
Don't Know	169	12.6
No Answer	<u>9</u>	<u>0.7</u>
Total	1342	100.0

Would you still vote for him if he came out for a reduction in taxation?

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	1189	88.6
No	36	2.7
Don't Know	78	5.8
No Answer	<u>39</u>	<u>2.9</u>
Total	1342	100.0

SUMMARY

1. If Eisenhower came out for the Taft-Hartley Law only 59.1% of his present supporters would still vote for him.
2. If Eisenhower came out against the Taft-Hartley Law only 54.7% of his present supporters would still vote for him.
3. If Eisenhower came out for an increase in Social Security benefits only 80.0% of his present supporters would still vote for him.
4. If Eisenhower came out for a reduction in Social Security benefits only 38.8% of his present supporters would still vote for him.
5. If Eisenhower favored a continuance of the present level of government spending only 35.7% of his present supporters would still vote for him.
6. If Eisenhower favored a reduction of the present level of government spending only 87.5% of his present supporters would still vote for him.
7. If Eisenhower came out for compulsory FEFC only 68.1% of his present supporters would still vote for him.
8. If Eisenhower came out against compulsory FEFC only 36.3% of his present supporters would still vote for him.
9. If Eisenhower favored present foreign policy with large spending for Armed Forces and grants to foreign nations only 49.8% of his present supporters would still vote for him.
10. If Eisenhower favored substantial cuts in spending for Armed Forces and grants to foreign nations only 69.3% of his present supporters would still vote for him.
11. If Eisenhower came out for a maintenance of the present level of taxation only 59.4% of his present supporters would still vote for him.
12. If Eisenhower came out for a reduction of the present level of taxation only 88.6% of his present supporters would still vote for him.

NOTE: Above refers only to those who now favor Eisenhower. Voters who are opposed to Eisenhower were not included in the above totals.

SECTION 2Geographical Distribution of Interviews

<u>Section</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
New England	526	14.2
Middle Atlantic	740	20.0
East North Central	842	22.8
West North Central	667	18.1
East South Central	182	4.9
Mountain	235	6.4
Pacific	501	13.6
Total	3693	100.0

List of Cities Covered (By State and Section)New England

Maine
 Portland
 New Hampshire
 Concord
 Manchester
 Vermont
 Rutland
 Massachusetts
 Boston
 Quincy
 Malden
 Springfield
 Connecticut
 Hartford
 Darien
 Stamford

Middle Atlantic

New York
 New York City
 Syracuse
 Utica
 Buffalo
 Rochester
 Canaan
 Pennsylvania
 Philadelphia
 Scranton
 Allentown
 Williamsport
 Harrisburg

East North Central

Michigan
 Lansing
 Detroit
 Kalamazoo
 Saginaw
 Illinois
 Springfield
 Peoria
 Chicago
 Ohio
 Columbus
 Canton
 Cleveland
 Cincinnati
 Indiana
 Indianapolis

West North Central

Iowa
 Des Moines
 Ames
 Waterloo
 Shenandoah
 Wisconsin
 Milwaukee
 LaCrosse
 Green Bay
 Eau Claire
 Missouri
 St. Louis
 Joplin
 Kansas City
 Kansas
 Topeka
 Wichita
 Minnesota
 Minneapolis
 St. Paul
 Nebraska
 Omaha

East South Central

Alabama
 Birmingham

Mountain

Montana
 Ramsey
 Colorado
 Denver
 Utah
 Salt Lake City
 Arizona
 Phoenix

Pacific

California
 Oakland
 Los Angeles
 Berkeley
 San Francisco
 Fresno
 Oregon
 Portland
 Washington
 Seattle
 Spokane
 Tacoma