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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION	
001. memo	Michael Waldman and Bruce Reed to the President; RE: Lobby Reform Initiative (6 pages)	04/04/1995	P5	4000
002. memo	Bruce Reed, et al. to the President; RE: Political and Governmental Reform (6 pages)	11/25/1994	P5	4001
003. memo	Jeff Connaughton, Michael Waldman to Neil Kinkopf; RE: Request for OLC Analysis of Lobbying Reform Proposals (2 pages)	06/02/1995	P5	
004. memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: Foreign Lobbyists (2 pages)	05/26/1995	P5	4002
005. memo	Michael Waldman to Leon Panetta; RE: Need for Preliminary Action on Lobby Reform (1 page)	05/31/1995	P5	
006. memo	Michael Waldman to Leon Panetta and Harold Ickes; RE: Campaign Finance Reform - Other Options (2 pages)	03/29/1995	P5	

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 13641

FOLDER TITLE:
Political Reform Memos

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
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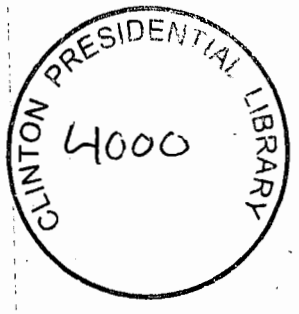
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 4, 1995



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THE CHIEF-OF-STAFF

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN MW
BRUCE REED BR

SUBJECT: LOBBY REFORM INITIATIVE

At your request, we have prepared a set of initiatives that would put you out front on the lobby reform and political reform issue.

We believe that this issue cuts to the core of why people have lost faith in government and are angry at politics. The middle class truly believes that powerful interests hold sway, and that their voice is too often ignored. At a time when Congress' unpopularity is rising, even as the GOP's overall popularity is holding steady, this issue allows you to position yourself against the part of Washington the public hates most.

However, this very cynicism makes it hard to persuade people that we are serious, and risks bruising us if we are perceived not to be. Therefore, we believe that this issue is worth pressing only if it is done in a sharp and sustained way -- if it can become and remain a central theme over the next 18 months -- or it may not be worth doing at all. Therefore, we need a clear direction from you on how to proceed.

I. BACKGROUND

Political reform continues to be a core issue for the Perot voters and independents. (Public opinion research is under separate cover.) It also has the potential to be a wedge issue between you and potential Republican opponents -- who tend to favor wealthy special interests at the expense of the middle class. In fact, this is one of the few major areas where the Republicans have completely ceded the field to us, if we choose to enter it. At the same time, if we approach 1996 with few political reform achievements, we will be vulnerable to attack from Perot or some other independent candidate from outside Washington.

If a decision is made to engage on political reform, now is the time to do so, for several reasons.

- Congress' First 100 Days is ending, with a sense that it has not reformed itself. In particular, the defeat of term limits will mean that Congress passed no major reform of

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itself. In addition, the press is finally beginning to paint the GOP Congress as a tool of wealthy special interests -- as *Time* has put it, the GOP has granted "unprecedented access" to lobbyists. (For example, the *Washington Post* reported that lobbyists wrote the regulatory moratorium bill, and were even given a room off the House floor from which to operate; the *New York Times* reported that GOP members were refusing to talk to lobbyists who had contributed to Democrats; and it was widely reported that the GOP used lobbyists to conduct the official briefing on their regulatory reform bill.)

- The GOP presidential race is being heavily defined by the so-called $20 million fundraising entrance fee.

- Your announcement of your own organizational plans will force the issue of what restrictions you are willing to put on your own fundraising. Next year, the need to raise tens of millions of dollars will bring into higher relief the question of campaign financing.

- Democrats in Congress are starting to become active on the matter once again, albeit in a guerilla fashion. Rep. Bryant (with the support of the Democratic leadership) is filing a discharge petition to bring up the ban on lobbyist gifts; Sen. Wellstone plans to seek to attach the gift ban to legislation sometime before the Easter recess.

- A bipartisan group of moderate lawmakers is becoming visibly active. A group led by Rep. Chris Shays has put forward a package of lobbying and other political reforms, and will be pressuring the leadership to act.

- You led the State of the Union with a call to act, but your Administration has not yet fleshed out those proposals in public.

II. OPTIONS

Here is a set of initiatives that could be announced immediately. They could be announced in one major speech, or could be broken out (unilateral steps, legislative proposals, a speech on democracy and citizenship) for maximum effect.

Lobby reform

1. Renew the call for a ban on lobbyist gifts, meals and travel to Members of Congress. This is being pushed by Democrats in both chambers. During the State-of-the-Union, you called for Members of Congress to voluntarily give up lobbyist gifts. Because of its stark simplicity -- lawmakers being treated to tropical vacations by lobbyists, etc. -- this has the greatest resonance of any political reform proposal.

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2. Renew the call for reform of the lobby disclosure laws. The current lobby disclosure laws, passed in 1946 and basically untouched since, are more loophole than law. Lobby reform legislation would require all lobbyists, for the first time, to fully disclose for whom they work, what they are paid, and what legislation they are trying to pass or kill. This measure is more complex than the gift ban, and conservative grass-roots groups (such as the Christian Coalition) may succeed in bogging it down; nonetheless, it is good policy and resonates somewhat with the public.

Campaign reform

3. Spell out your free TV time proposal. Apart from your brief mention of it during the State of the Union speech, we have never fleshed out your proposal to provide free TV time for candidates. Senator Dole and House Commerce Committee chairman Bliley have proposed strong free TV bills, and the concept is supported by Ross Perot, the DLC and Common Cause. This proposal could be laid out in a speech on democracy that could be high-toned and would not necessitate a subsequent crusade.

4. Alternately, propose a bipartisan commission to "cut the Gordian knot" on campaign reform -- and pledge to introduce its recommendations. Former FEC Chair Trevor Potter has proposed that the campaign finance reform conundrum be solved by legislation creating a base closing commission-style panel that would make recommendations for reform. The President would be required to propose the reforms unchanged, or reject them, and Congress would agree to vote on them without amendment. Senator Dole has endorsed this proposal. This commission itself would require legislation to be launched. (Alternately, you could appoint your own bipartisan commission to make recommendations, but it would not have the teeth of a base closing-type panel.)

> Pro: This would actually bring us the closest to enacting some form of reform. It would also be a way to have the issue taken "off the table" for a time, and to enable us to refrain from making proposals that we do not live under.
>
> Con: It eliminates this issue as an effective club to use against Dole, unless he is unwilling to embrace the panel's proposals. In addition, we won't know in advance what the proposal would look like -- it could be weak, or it could include proposals that are hard for Democrats to swallow.

Unilateral steps on campaign reform

5. Lead by example. To reengage in this debate, you will need to show that you are willing to act by restricting your own campaign committee. When you announce the beginning of campaign activities on your behalf, you have the following options:

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a. *Direct the reelection campaign not to take PAC money* (you did not take PAC money during the 1992 primaries either), but impose no further restrictions on your own fundraising. (Dole, Gramm, etc. are all taking PAC funds.)

b. *Direct the reelection campaign not to take contributions from registered lobbyists.* (This is now the standard followed by the Presidential Legal Expense Trust.) This would go beyond what you did in 1992.

> Pro: You have already legislatively proposed that lobbyist campaign contributions be banned. In addition, the decision to refuse such gifts by the Presidential Legal Expense Trust has established a difficult-to-ignore precedent. (Indeed, even if we say nothing, reporters will hone in on this inconsistency); Given the small number of lobbyists who actually register (about 7000), it may not directly cost the campaign that much money.
>
> Con: It would raise a standard that the DNC will not be able to meet (i.e., "You won't take $1000 from a lobbyist, but the DNC will take $50,000 from the lobbyist's client."). Moreover, it might anger some Democratic supporters and fundraisers based in D.C. We can discuss potential fundraising consequences with you further if you desire.
>
> Note: If the decision is made to refuse lobbyist contributions for the reelection campaign, we recommend that the Presidential Legal Expense Trust return the approximately $12,000 that was received from registered lobbyists.

c. *Direct the reelection campaign not to take contributions donated by registered lobbyists, or raised by registered lobbyists.*

> Pro: This option would make sense if you wanted to refuse campaign contributions from lobbyists, but believed that the press would regard that step alone as phony or hypocritical.
>
> Con: This would cost more money, and would raise the next question: what about lobbyists raising soft money? There may be no end to the "what next" questions.

d. *In addition to, or instead of, b. and c., publicly ask the DNC not to raise soft money for the general election campaign, if the RNC will agree to refrain from doing so as well.* In effect, this would challenge the RNC to a "mutually verifiable freeze" without "unilateral disarmament." The GOP is highly unlikely to rise to the bait. This is similar to the pledge you signed in New Hampshire in 1992.

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Foreign lobbyists

6. Take new action against foreign lobbyists by barring your officials from meeting with lobbyists for foreign governments or corporations. Your executive order imposing post-employment restrictions has already barred senior officials from ever lobbying for foreign governments, barred senior trade officials from lobbying for foreign firms, and barred all officials from lobbying their own agency on behalf of any client for five years. A further restriction would be to actually bar your officials from meeting with foreign lobbyists.

Pro: This is sharp, clear, and understandable; the foreign lobbying issue plays to concerns over economic nationalism as well as political reform.

Con: The argument against it is that it would be unduly harsh, is unnecessary from a reform perspective and possibly counterproductive from a policy perspective, and would focus attention on those issues where we have worked with foreign lobbyists (e.g., NAFTA) and on former foreign lobbyists in your administration (e.g., Sandy Berger, Ron Brown, Charlene Barshevsky).

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Renew the push for a ban on lobbyist gifts

___ Agree ___ Agree as amended ___ Reject ___ No action

2. Renew the push for lobby disclosure legislation

___ Agree ___ Agree as amended ___ Reject ___ No action

3. Spell out the details of your free TV campaign finance proposal

___ Agree ___ Agree as amended ___ Reject ___ No action

4. In terms of unilateral steps:

a. Refuse to accept PAC contributions, as you did in 1992.

___ Agree ___ Agree as amended ___ Reject ___ No action

b. Challenge the RNC to join with the DNC in not accepting soft money, as you did in 1992.

___ Agree ___ Agree as amended ___ Reject ___ No action

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c. Refuse to accept contributions from registered lobbyists for your reelection campaign (the standard used by the Presidential Legal Expense Trust).

___ Agree ___ Agree as amended ___ Reject ___ No action

d. Refusing to allow registered lobbyists to fundraise for your reelection campaign.

___ Agree ___ Agree as amended ___ Reject ___ No action

5. Barring your officials from meeting with foreign lobbyists

___ Agree ___ Agree as amended ___ Reject ___ No action

The staff unanimously recommends that you:

- renew call for ban on lobbyist gifts
- push for lobby disclosure
- discuss free TV time proposal
- unilaterally refuse to accept PAC contributions for your reelection campaign

The staff unanimously recommends against:

- barring your officials from meeting with foreign lobbyists

The staff does not have a consensus recommendation on:

- unilaterally rejecting lobbyist contributions
- unilaterally rejecting lobbyist contributions and fundraising
- challenging the DNC and RNC to agree not to raise soft money
- proposing a bipartisan commission on campaign reform

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 25, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE REED
MICHAEL WALDMAN
BILL GALSTON
PAUL WEINSTEIN
ELAINE KAMARCK

THROUGH: JACK QUINN
CAROL RASCO
ROBERT RUBIN

SUBJECT: **Political and Governmental Reform**

Attached for your review is a memorandum outlining options for a political and governmental reform program.

Our goal is to have a bold, coherent and plausible reform agenda, as an integral component of your overall strategy. This agenda could be included as part of a major address in December, if you decide to give one, or in your State of the Union address. As you can see, some of the proposals are conceptually "ready to go," and primarily need a political decision whether to go forward. Others require further work, as part of the budget process or in other appropriate fora.

It is clear that, to break through public cynicism and allow you to retake the mantle of reformer, this program must be both responsible and dramatic. Finding the right mix is the most significant task we now face.

We have a one-hour meeting scheduled for next Tuesday to discuss this with you.

Attachment

cc: George Stephanopoulos

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POLITICAL, CONGRESSIONAL, AND GOVERNMENT REFORM

The collapse of public trust in the institutions of government is the fundamental political fact of our time. After two decades of growing disillusionment, this break between the people in office and the people who put them there dominates every aspect of American politics, from the noisy bombast of talk shows to the silence of empty voting booths.

Voters believed that Bill Clinton understood this situation, and would act to rectify it. But for all of our efforts over the past two years, the public is still disillusioned, more embittered than it was in November 1992.

Our reform agenda should do battle on two fronts:

- Shifting power back to the American people and cleaning up Washington, through: campaign reform that requires broadcasters to provide free time to candidates; a "citizen frank" that lets citizens contact Congress for free; a sweeping effort to produce a leaner, cleaner Congress (lobby reform, a gift ban, applying private sector laws to Congress, a 25% staff cut, reducing unnecessary reports, and a pay freeze until the budget is balanced); and perhaps insisting that any term limits not grandfather current members; and

- Launching a renewed government reform program, through: reducing special interest subsidies; the elimination of one or more departments; faster downsizing of the federal workforce; and initiatives on civil service reform, privatization, devolution, state flexibility, and regulatory reform.

We need to address the role of government and, to use your words, to "repair the damaged bond between the people and their government." Then, toward achieving those objectives, you could propose specific measures from sections I and II from this memo.

I. Giving Government Back to the People

1. Free TV Time for Candidates. A campaign reform bill with public funding will not pass the new Congress. Instead, we should press for the changes the President called for in his campaign -- free TV time for candidates who abide by spending limits, a $1,000 limit on PAC donations or outright PAC ban, a ban on campaign contributions from lobbyists to the lawmakers they contact, and our soft money reforms from last year. Free TV time has strong public support. Over the years, it has also been endorsed by Bob Dole and Ross Perot. The idea would prompt a major battle with the broadcasting industry and its champions in Congress. And a campaign reform push would put the congressional GOP on the spot.

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2. Eliminate the Congressional Frank, and Give It to the American People. The frank is one of the most entrenched and abused symbols of incumbency. We could propose to drastically limit it for Congress and give it to the American people instead. Any individual who wants to send a letter to their Congressman or Senator would be able to do so for free. Members of Congress could use the frank to answer letters, but not for unsolicited mailings. Postcards, letters from organizations, and letters from another district or state would not be eligible. The citizens' frank could also be applied to letters to the White House.

3. A Leaner, Cleaner Congress. We should propose a comprehensive congressional reform package that presses for major changes in the way Congress does business:

a. Lobby Reform and Gift Ban. We should demand that Congress pass a gift ban and a back-to-basics lobby reform bill as soon as they return. The Republicans raised several bogus objections to the lobby reform bill in the waning days; we should call their bluff, accept those changes if necessary, and pass the bill on a bipartisan basis.

b. Apply Laws to Congress. Legislation applying a host of laws to Congress passed the House but not the Senate this past Congress. We should press Congress to pass it immediately.

c. Insist on Line-Item Veto. The Republican Contract includes a strong version of the line-item veto. We should support it, and insist that it become effectively immediately, not in some future Presidency. (Their version does not specify an effective date.)

d. Endorse Congressional Staff Cuts. In the campaign, the President promised not only to cut the White House staff by 25%, but to challenge Congress to do the same. We could praise Republicans for doing this, but we need to consider the effect of doing this on our Democrats.

e. Reduce Congressionally Mandated Reports. Since 1970, the number of reports mandated by Congress has grown from 700 to 5,300. Many of these reports consume the agencies' time and the taxpayers' dollars for the members' gain; most just gather dust. We could introduce legislation to reduce or eliminate such reports. In Arkansas, the President ordered a complete review of every report produced by the Department of Education, and got rid of those no one read.

f. Freeze Congressional and Presidential Pay Until the Budget Is Balanced. The NEC is preparing another memo on our strategy for the Balanced Budget Amendment. One position we can take in any event is to insist that if we're going to make significant spending cuts to reduce the deficit, public officials should lead by example. The American people don't get a guaranteed cost-of-living increase. Why should their leaders? A performance-based freeze on Congressional and

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Presidential pay is a responsible, common-sense alternative to plans to "cut their pay and send them home."

4. **Term Limits.** Republicans pledge to bring to a vote a constitutional amendment limiting congressional terms to 12 years, but they would grandfather-in existing Members of Congress. Beyond principled opposition, we can respond in two ways:

a. Call Their Bluff. We could demand that the 12-year limit on service apply immediately (or by a date certain, such as 1996), and thereby affect sitting members of Congress; and/or

b. Let the States Decide. We could support a constitutional amendment to allow states to vote to apply term limits to their own federal representatives. This would be consistent with our legal position that state-mandated term limits are unconstitutional.

II. Renewed Government Reform Program

Unlike the Republicans, our goal is not cutting government for its own sake, but using government for things it can do well and getting it out of the business of things it does badly. As the President has said, we want to cut spending on yesterday's programs and deliver a government that can deal with tomorrow's problems. We should eliminate governmental functions that have outlived the purpose for which they were created. When a state or local government can do a better job, we should give them more authority and control, not new mandates. And when a government function could be done as well or better by the private sector, we should find a way to make it possible.

Such decisions are difficult and far-reaching, and should generally be made in the budget process, where the tradeoffs are fully clear. But it is essential that as we go through that process, we look for bold, compelling ways to dramatize what we're doing. In the first two years, we have made great strides in reinventing government, reducing the deficit, and downsizing the federal workforce. But public cynicism about government is so high that it may well take more visible, dramatic steps to break through. The following ideas are meant to illustrate such an approach.

1. Cutting Special Interest Tax Expenditures or Subsidies. This cut-and-invest strategy, proposed by Rob Shapiro, would give us the high ground of insisting that a middle-class tax cut be fully paid for, and enable us to do so with cuts that would otherwise be off the table for deficit reduction or new investment. Alternatively, this money could be dedicated toward an education trust fund, deficit reduction, or some other worthy purpose.

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Like all other means of creating resources within the budget, Rob's strategy involves difficult decisions that are likely to be hotly contested. An example of a few ideas, or partial ideas that could be considered are:

* Reduce deductibility of advertising expenses	$17.5 billion
* Cut Energy Supply, R&D grants	$ 6.9 billion
* Reduce government subsidies to private utilities (REA, BPA, nuclear)	$ 3.6 billion
* Make industries pay for services government provides (market rates for water sales, inland waterways, nuclear waste disposal, CFTC, FDIC, poultry)	$10.2 billion
TOTAL	$38.20 billion

2. Eliminating One or More Departments. We could seize back the initiative in the debate over downsizing government by proposing to abolish one or more departments. The drama of eliminating a whole department far exceeds the impact of cutting numerous smaller programs. This is no easy task, and only makes sense if it could produce real budgetary and FTE savings. But we believe it is worth a careful look.

3. Faster Downsizing. NPR and OMB are preparing legislation to repeal FTE floors in existing appropriations bills, and ban the use of FTE floors in future bills. This could be coupled with a Presidential vow to veto future appropriations bills that limit our ability to downsize. We should also consider directing agencies to accelerate the mandated downsizing of the workforce to accomplish its objectives by 1996 instead of 1999. The current track will bring the workforce under 2 million by late 1996. To illustrate that downsizing the bureaucracy is one of this Administration's signature achievements, we should start a Bureaucracy Clock (in a prominent place like Times Square) that would track our progress. It may also be possible to accelerate downsizing by allowing early retirement without buyouts; we are looking at the cost of legislation once proposed by Roth that would give 500,000 federal employees the ability to retire early.

4. Privatization. A New Democratic approach to privatization would be based on a set of principles which focused on privatization not as a means to run the government but as a means to get the government out of

a) obsolete businesses such as: United States Enrichment Corporation, Sallie Mae, the Helium reserve, Alaska Power, some Department of Energy labs, etc;

b) programs that are viable private sector activities, such as: the Air Traffic Control System (an NPR recommendation that DOT is anxious to pursue), Amtrak, the Export-Import Bank, and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. (In the same vein: a number of DOD non-core missions could be privatized, but current law prevents this step.)

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5. Devolution. NPR and OMB are looking at a number of federal categorical programs that could be devolved down to the state and local level, such as: public housing programs, trade and export promotion, economic development, and perhaps job training. We are also preparing initiatives on unfunded mandates, waivers, and state flexibility. A package of initiatives could be announced at the NGA meeting in late January.

6. Civil Service Reform. NPR is preparing a sweeping civil service reform bill that will reduce the number of job classifications and give federal managers the right to hire and fire federal workers. Negotiations with unions and management are under way; the bill will be ready to introduce in January.

7. Regulatory Overhaul. There is considerable concern in the public and in the business community that the current regulatory process is too intrusive and too costly. As chair of the Regulatory Advisory Group, the Vice President is setting up a process whereby each member would convene a seminar to explore innovative approaches to regulatory reform. This process would then yield a set of less bureaucratic proposals to reform our regulatory apparatus.

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May 26, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: FOREIGN LOBBYISTS

At your request, we have prepared three options on the issue of foreign lobbyists.

Actions to date

Your executive order imposing post-employment restrictions has already barred senior officials from ever lobbying for foreign governments, barred senior trade officials from lobbying for foreign firms, and barred all officials from lobbying their own agency on behalf of any client for five years. In addition, the 1993 budget eliminated the tax deductibility for lobbying expenses.

Option one: Ban administration officials from meeting with foreign lobbyists

The most dramatic proposal would be to bar your top officials from meeting with registered foreign agents representing foreign governments (or, if so desired, businesses). The proposal would properly apply only to those individuals who must register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Pro: This is sharp, clear, and understandable. The foreign lobbying issue plays to concerns over economic nationalism as well as political reform.

Con: The Counsel's office believes this raises very serious constitutional problems, and the courts likely would strike it down. In addition, while the revolving door between USTR and foreign clients is a genuine problem (one we have largely resolved), it is harder to argue that foreign lobbying per se is so odious that it justifies an outright ban. Finally, such a move would focus attention on those issues where we have worked with foreign lobbyists (e.g., the Mexican government and businesses spent $30 million lobbying for NAFTA) and on former foreign lobbyists in your administration (e.g., Sandy Berger, Ron Brown, Charlene Barshevsky).

Option two: Require disclosure of meetings with foreign lobbyists

A less draconian measure would be to order the agencies and White House to publicly disclose meetings with, and contacts by, foreign lobbyists. Currently, foreign agents must

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themselves disclose the contacts; putting this obligation on the government would lead to quicker and more effective disclosure. U.S. Trade Representative Kantor has proposed this step for USTR, and is awaiting a White House go-ahead.

Pro: This would shine the spotlight of public scrutiny on foreign lobbying, which is hard to argue against.

Con: Arguably, it is redundant, since foreign agents must now disclose these contacts anyway (the Foreign Agents Registration Act is more strict than domestic lobbying laws). In addition, the short-term benefit of announcing the reform move might be outweighed by the long-term fertile opportunity for investigative reporters and opponents to misuse the resulting disclosure.

Option three: Require all lobbyists themselves to fully disclose -- i.e., unilaterally implementing the lobby reform bill

Instead of focusing only on foreign lobbyists, this proposal would apply to all lobbyists. You would order your agencies not to meet with any lobbyist who does not fully and publicly disclose his interest, his expenditures, and the amount of money he has received. Then, your agencies would disclose these contacts in a timely fashion.

This would, in effect, require lobbyists who contact the executive branch to abide by the more stringent new rules that Congress has thus far refused to pass. The Justice Department could be directed to supervise the disclosure process, as was anticipated under last year's lobby disclosure bill. The Counsel's office has concluded that this would be permissible under theories of delegation of power, and would not require statutory enactment.

Pro: This would enable you to say that you have unilaterally acted where Congress has failed to act. Moreover, it would put the onus on Congress -- to pass legislation applying the same rules to lobbyists that contact the legislature.

Con: As for the disclosure by the government of contacts, this would risk making it appear as if your administration were a magnet for influence seekers. As for the more stringent disclosure by lobbyists, there are potential practical problems, stemming from an effort to force disclosure without the availability of statutory penalties. Also, by setting up a different registration system for lobbyists contacting the executive branch and the Congress, this risks confusing or putting an unfair burden on lobbyists.

Recommendation

Of the three options, I recommend the third -- requiring lobbyists who contact the executive branch to fully disclose -- because it would have the broadest and most significant impact, is fully consistent with your prior legislative proposals, and puts the onus on the lobbyists and Congress (rather than on your administration).

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COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14423

FOLDER TITLE:
[State of the Union 1999] Environment: Unsolicited Materials

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The Secretary of Energy
Washington, DC 20585

October 5, 1998

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BILL RICHARDSON

SUBJECT: WINNING DEVELOPING COUNTRY COOPERATION ON CLIMATE CHANGE

Our collective efforts to persuade key developing countries to adopt binding emissions targets have not yet been fruitful. Only with Argentina are we beginning to see real progress. These developing countries have managed to characterize this disagreement as a North-South issue and have maintained remarkable group discipline. With a concerted effort I believe we can divide and conquer this group, persuade at least a few key countries to adopt voluntary or binding targets for the 2008-2012 time period, followed by binding targets beginning in 2013. It will require an interagency effort, a willingness to link some forms of cooperation to progress on climate change and some cabinet level pressure on our friends and partners. I am willing to lead this effort with your support, the support of the Vice President and cooperation from Treasury, State, EPA and USAID.

The key argument we must make is that it is in the economic interest of developing countries to adopt binding emissions targets. While we can make our case on environmental and political grounds, these arguments are not compelling to countries struggling for development and fearful of the current economic turmoil. We must shift our diplomatic focus away from the Foreign Ministries, which make their trade in G-77 cooperation, and towards the Trade and Finance ministries, which are looking for any lifeline they can get. We must also make a concerted effort to wage a public diplomacy campaign in the media of the countries we are targeting. We must make the case that cooperation on climate change is the key to technological cooperation and the generation of cash from the international emissions trading regime.

You made this argument in your meetings with President Jiang Zemin and President Kim Dae Jung. The high level working groups you offered to create have met and are beginning to make some progress. I would like to expand on your idea and target additional countries that are in more dire economic straits or with whom we have the greatest leverage. We will have to work with them to develop their own analyses indicating the economic benefits of entering the emissions trading

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system. We must provide them with the analysis that shows them the international capital flows that could accompany the adoption of an emissions target. My Department has the analytical firepower and resources to develop this analysis and present it with credibility abroad.

While access to capital is the carrot, ultimately each country's decision to cooperate with us will be a political decision. We need a more political strategy to win their cooperation. We need to begin by targeting the countries that we have the best chance of splitting away from the G-77. These can be Allies like Israel and friends like Singapore, who are well off and have low emissions levels now. We should work on Mexico and continue to push South Korea -- countries in need of a capital boost and likely to see the benefits from emissions trading. We can also target those countries over which we have, for a variety of reasons, great leverage.

With your support I will use my travel abroad to press our case and gain agreement to create a series of these multi-agency working groups. I can begin this month when I visit Mexico and Venezuela and continue with the Caspian nations, South Korea and the Gulf States later this Fall.

What I need is your support to let me lead these bilateral efforts. My counterparts in other countries need to know that we will meet at ministerial level when their Presidents come to town or when we host major binational events. I will work hand in glove with the Vice President, Todd Stern and my colleagues at State, Treasury, EPA and USAID. But if we want to break the current logjam and persuade the Congress that we are making a serious effort to win "meaningful developing country participation" we need to start fresh, work as a team and start now.

You have set a new course for our efforts with China and South Korea, one which has shown some promise. I think we need to turn this into a concerted campaign. I'm ready to hit the trail.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Michael Waldman to the First Lady; RE: Campaign finance reform (4 pages)	03/07/1993	P5
002. memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: Campaign finance reform options (15 pages)	03/06/1993	P5
003. memo	Michael Waldman to David Wilhelm, Kent Marcus; RE: The DNC's proposal on soft money [2 copies] (7 pages)	03/01/1993	P5

1060

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 13643

FOLDER TITLE:
Campaign Finance Reform - 1993 [2]

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
db2203

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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MARCH 6, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Michael Waldman
Special Assistant to the President
for Policy Coordination

SUBJECT: Campaign finance reform options

This memorandum precedes the meeting to discuss the options for campaign finance reform.

As you may know, the Senate has heeded your call for early action, and began holding hearings this week. (Initial committee action is scheduled for March 18.) The House, meanwhile, has asked for direct negotiations involving the White House, the Senate, and the DNC.

David Wilhelm, Howard Paster, George Stephanopoulos, Rahm Emmanuel and I agree that the next step is to begin quiet but intensive negotiations with the Congress. If you agree, the goal would for David Wilhelm to reach out to the legislative leaders, and for the negotiations to be to concluded as rapidly as possible.

To undertake this step -- or if you decide to move forward with your own plan -- the first step is to analyze the attached campaign finance reform options.

These are based on the legislation that passed the House and Senate last year, and which has been introduced by the leadership this year; it is also based on your campaign commitments.

It is grounded in two core principles: reducing special interest influence on politics, and enhancing democratic participation by the public. Several other premises:

1. During the campaign, you said you would sign S.3, and that you wanted to strengthen the legislation. Accordingly, the proposal can be different from last year's bill, but must, in its totality, be regarded as at least as strong as last year's proposal.

2. Although you generally talked about limiting soft money, you also specifically said you would support S.3's soft money restrictions (to Common Cause in New Hampshire). At the same time, we obviously do not want to do anything that will destroy the ability of the party to function; we should

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use reform to move the party toward the direction you have outlined -- broad based, funded by millions of donors.

3. As one might imagine, many of these proposals cause great concern on Capitol Hill, even among those who voted for them previously. (To some degree, these will be lessened by postponing the effective date until after the 1994 election.) Early negotiations are needed, among other things, to keep congressional leaders from losing their nerve.

4. As we have repeatedly been told (by Stan Greenberg and others), any reform must be regarded as real reform by the "validators" -- the press and citizen groups such as Common Cause.

5. Public opinion data indicates that despite varying levels of public support for specific reform provisions, if the proposals are packaged as real reform and sold as such by the President, the public will support them. (Some believe that the current budget makes proposals such as public financing impossible.)

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INITIALS: DB DATE: 1/8/11
2006-0469-F

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CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM ISSUES

1. SPENDING LIMITS (linked to public benefits)

Current law: None

S. 3: Included voluntary spending limits for both House and Senate candidates.

- House: $600,000 per candidate, plus an extra $150,000 if there has been a closely contested primary. This would be indexed for inflation.

- Senate: limits varied by state population, ranging from California ($8.25 million) to Wyoming ($1.6 million). (The limit for Arkansas would be $1.76 million.)

Campaign position: you supported capping the spending in congressional campaigns, but gave no specifics about the level of spending.

Recommended option: **Our proposal should adopt the spending limits in S.3.**

Pro: The spending limits were the most widely praised and generally accepted part of last year's proposal. Spending limits have generally been advocated by Democrats, and opposed by Republicans. The average spending in House and Senate races in 1992 was below the limits (in the House, average spending in 1992 was $388,000; spending by winners was $551,000).

Con: Although spending limits have been the heart of Democratic proposals for years, some House Democrats are now getting butterflies. The reason: The spending limits in last year's bill is lower than the amount spent by several members in close races -- including nearly every member of the House leadership. (Among the top ten House spenders, all of whom spent at least twice the spending limit, were Gephardt, Fazio, Hoyer and Frost. In addition, 28 of 70 Senate general election candidates spent more than the limit in 1992.)

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2. PUBLIC BENEFITS (linked to spending limits for complying candidates)

Current law: none

S.3: Candidates who complied with spending limits received a mix of public benefits.

- House candidates received matching funds of up to $200,000, matching contributions of $250 or less.
- Senate candidates received "communications vouchers," to be used for purchase of TV, radio or postage, worth 20% of the spending limit.
- Senate candidates also received deeply discounted TV advertising time (50% of the lowest unit rate, nonpreemptible).
- Both House and Senate candidates received one discounted mailing per voter (at the lowest nonprofit rate).

According to CBO, S.3 in its current form would cost between $100 million and $150 million every two years (approximately $50-75 million per year).

Campaign position:

- In Putting People First, you proposed "opening up the airwaves."
- You also said you hoped that future congressional campaigns would be like the recent presidential campaign, where candidates took to the airwaves to debate.

Options:

1. **Adopt the most dramatic reform by introducing a) a Presidential-style system for Senate races (voluntary full public funding for general elections, matching funds for primaries, and a ban on PAC contributions) (this is the Kerry-Bradley-Biden proposal), and b) matching funds for House races for small contributions.**

Pro: This would be the simplest and most dramatic reform: we would literally be eliminating most of the special interest private money from the system. It would guarantee that all credible candidates have a chance to communicate with the voters.

Con: Because of the level of the public funding, this would be difficult to sell to Congress (both because of fear of possible public backlash at a time of tight budgets, and of

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concern over giving up the incumbent fundraising advantage). Sen. Mitchell has stated that believes he could not get the votes for this approach.

2. **Alternately, you could propose to strengthen the provisions in last year's bill that would open up the airwaves and enhance candidates' ability to communicate with the public.**

- Senate races:

  - propose that broadcast vouchers be transformed into communications vouchers (i.e., used for TV, radio, print and/or postage), and that they be worth 50% of the general election spending limit. (The Senate leadership is now talking about 40% of the general election limits, or 25% of the total.)

  - retain a deep discount for broadcast time (50% in last year's bill).

- House races:

  - propose that last year's matching funds be replaced by communications vouchers, usable for TV, radio, print and/or postage. (In other words, these matching funds would go not into the hands of candidates, but into public communication activities).

  - House candidates could also receive access to deeply discounted broadcast rates. (Note: Chairman Dingell sides with the broadcasters and opposes this step.)

- Presidential races:

  The 50% discount could also be extended to presidential candidates. (This would have the effect of freeing up substantial hard money sums for field, thus lessening the need for soft money.)

- The communications vouchers could be conditioned on proposals to improve the level of campaigns:

  - Candidates could be required to appear in their own ads.

  - Candidates could be required to debate their opponents.

Pro: This would be regarded as a major strengthening of S.3, and would also meet the goal of empowering small contributors and candidates. It would mark the single greatest enhancement of democracy in this entire package. Polls by Celinda Lake show that

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the public supports these measures if they drive special interest money out of the system, and especially if they are paid for by lobbyists and other earmarked sources.

Con: Public financing is considered controversial, and Southern Democrats in the House resist such provisions. (They have been willing to go along with vouchers, though, especially if the funds come from an earmarked source.) Strengthening these provisions would buy us some running room on other areas, such as soft money.

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3. PAYING FOR THE PUBLIC BENEFITS

S.3: None.

However, congressional Democrats (and reform groups) strongly believe that funding for the public benefits should come from eliminating the deductibility of lobbying expenses, and/or other earmarked funds.

Campaign position: You proposed eliminating the tax deductibility of lobbying expenses, which would bring in about $200 million per year ($400 million per cycle, more than enough to pay for even the most ambitious public resources).

This proposal was recently included in the economic package. The supporting document stated: "The Administration is committed to enactment of campaign finance reform legislation. If such legislation calls for public resources, funds raised by the repeal of the provision are a possible source of funding for this purpose."

Proposed option: **Using some form of "earmarked" revenue to pay for "opening up the airwaves" and voter communication.**

- Eliminating the deductibility of lobbying: $200 million per year (this has been proposed widely by Hill Democrats)

Other options:

- A tax on all contributions above a certain level (say, a 30% tax on all contributions above $500).
- Lobby registration fee
- Tax on the operation of PACs

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4. PAC LIMITS

Current law: PACs can give candidates $5000 for primary and general election campaigns ($10,000 total).

S.3: The House and Senate took different approaches.

- Senate cut the size of PAC gifts in half (to $2500) and capped total receipts at 20% of spending limit.

- House did not change PAC contribution size, but capped total at $200,000.

Campaign commitment: You proposed to limit PAC contributions to $1000 per race. (This is extremely controversial with House Democrats, since wealthy givers generally favor Republicans while PACs favor Democrats; one option would be to reduce PACs to $2500 and individual contributions to $500, thus cutting both in half. Senate Democrats are probably willing to incorporate the $1,000 limit.)

Proposed options:

1. Changing the nature of what a PAC is -- lowering the amount that can be given to the PAC from $5000 to $250, plus other changes favoring broad-based PACs over small "high roller" PACs -- while lowering the amount a PAC can give from $5000 per race to $2500.

Pro: While this retreats from the $1000 limit, it does so while dramatically reducing the amount of money available to PACs as well as from PACs. It favors labor and ideological PACs over business PACs.

Con: This is subject to two criticisms: first, that it retreats from the $1000 PAC limit; second, that it would hinder House Democrats, who continue to rely heavily on PAC funds.

2. The initial proposal should retain the $1000 PAC limit, possibly coupling it with a limit on individual contributions. It should be silent on aggregate limits for PACs.

Pro: This is the most memorable, and frequently repeated, campaign pledge on this issue. It would be hard to back away from it at the outset -- even while recognizing that it may make sense to change it during negotiations.

Con: The proposal tilts private campaign financing away from labor and other pro-Democratic donors, who can give only with PACs, and toward wealthy individuals (especially Republican-leaning businesspeople and professionals).

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3. **Raise the amount giveable by a PAC under our proposal from $1000 to $2500.**

Pro: This would cut in half the amount a PAC can give, and could be enough to justify the retreat from the $1000 proposal. It is also close to high enough to enable labor-oriented Democrats to get their allocation of PAC money from labor PACs, without having to turn to corporate PACs. (Some on the hill have calculated that the figure to allow that would be $3500; however, that amount sounds too jerry-rigged; $2500 is more defensible.)

Con: This would mark a retreat from the oft-repeated campaign position.

4. **Raise the amount a PAC can give to $2500, or even $3500, but limit the aggregate amount of PAC money a House member can receive to 25% of the spending limit.**

Pro: This would balance the pullback on the amount of the individual limitation with the stronger restriction on the aggregate limit. Hence, we would have the ability to say that the proposal is as strong as the $1000 pledge, albeit different.

Con: It would still represent a retreat from the $1000 limit. In addition, the 25% limit is significantly less than the amount of PAC money that most House Democrats receive.

5. **Limit "high roller" PACs to $1000, but create "small donor committees" made up of a large number of relatively small donors, and allow them to give a larger amount (say, $5000).**

Pro: This proposal is advocated by the DNC, by labor, and by many House Democrats. It would preserve labor's PACs, as well as ideological PACs of left and right.

Con: This may be unconstitutional, since it is difficult to argue that a $5000 contribution from a PAC with few contributors is more corrupting than a contribution from a PAC with many members. This proposal has been tried before and failed, because it seems too clever by half -- as if we think we can define away what a PAC is. Also, it will appear to be highly partisan (pro-Democrat, pro-labor). When Rep. Swift proposed this in 1990, it was quickly shot down as "phony reform."

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5. INDIVIDUAL LIMITS

Current law: Individuals can give up to $1000 in a primary and $1000 in a general election.

S.3: No provision.

Campaign position: None.

Options:

1. **Eliminate the spending limit for contributions of $250 or less.**

Pro: This would encourage candidates to build up small-dollar fundraising, including grass-roots fundraisers (e.g., barbecues, etc.) and direct mail.

Con: It might benefit Republicans, and if bundling is not effectively restricted, could lead to circumvention of the spending limits.

2. **Cut the amount of money that can be given to candidates by one half (to $500 per election), which may be the same rate that PAC money is cut.**

Pro: This would prevent wealthy individuals -- who give indivually rather than through PACs -- from further dominating the system if PAC restrictions are enacted. (Many House Democrats believe that PAC restrictions without individual contribution restrictions will disproportionately benefit Republicans.) In addition, it would further democratize the system -- forcing candidates to engage in grass-roots fundraising.

Con: Depending on the level of public funding, if any, this could force candidates to spend even more time raising money than they do now. It also could result in non-incumbents being unable to raise enough money to mount an effective challenge.

3. **Increase the amount individuals can give to $2500, possibly in conjunction with cutting the size of PAC contributions to that amount.**

Pro: Inflation has eroded the value of the individual contribution limit (enacted in 1974). This would also limit the amount of time candidates had to spend fundraising.

Con: This would give wealthy individuals even greater sway over the process. Because it "increases" rather than "cuts" contribution size, it would be a difficult public sell.

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5. SOFT MONEY

Current law: The 1979 FEC amendments and the 1990 and 1992 FEC rules have allowed substantial sums to be raised and spent for presidential campaigns in sums that are larger than allowed under federal election law (FECA). (Our campaign raised at least $40 million in soft money.) These exemptions include funds used for voter registration and get-out-the vote drives, "volunteer" activities, slate mailers and sample ballots, etc. These sums are generally not disclosed and are not limited. Reformers argue that this effectively negates the entire edifice of federal campaign law.

S.3:

As you know, Sen. Mitchell is insistent on retaining the soft money provisions in last year's bill, or some semblance thereof.

- During a period between April and November of an election year, any money raised or spent for state party GOTV, voter registration or other specified activities that affect a federal race would be brought under federal spending and contribution limits. (This repeals the "party building" exemptions in the 1979 law and the allocation formulae that are used to implement them.)

- S.3 would increase to $10,000 per year the amount that any individual or PAC can give to state party committees and their subordinate or local committees.

- It would limit spending on behalf of the national ticket by state or local party committees (for example, about $800,000 in California).

- National party committees, federal officeholders and federal candidates would be barred from soliciting contributions on behalf of state parties unless they are exclusively used for state parties.

- National political parties would be required to itemize and disclose to the FEC all receipts and disbursements above $200.

Campaign commitment: In February, in New Hampshire, you promised to support the soft money language of S.3. Common Cause: "Will you make a public commitment now to support the legislative provisions passed by the U.S. Senate last year to end the use of huge Watergate-style 'soft money' contributions to support presidential campaigns?" Answer: "Yes, provided that upon enactment the Republican Party is held to the same rules.

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On other occasions, you used more modest language. Putting People First said, "End the unlimited 'soft money' contributions that are funneled through national, state, and local parties to presidential candidates."

Proposed option:

1. The DNC proposal

The DNC proposal would ban soft money from federal campaigns, while ensuring that adequate funds flow to party activities and grass-roots politics.

[SUMMARY of DNC PROPOSAL, ATTACHED]
[FOR NOW, UNLESS I HAVE SERIOUS QUALMS, I THINK WE DON'T NEED OTHER OPTIONS. . .]

___ Accept ___ Accept as amended ___ Reject ___ More info.

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6. INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

Current law: Individuals, corporations or PACs that make independent expenditures must disclose them to the FEC, and must have a disclaimer stating their sponsorship.

S.3: The legislation seeks to blunt the impact of independent expenditures rather than prohibiting them (which is constitutionally barred).

- Requires faster and fuller disclosure, and tightens the definition of independent expenditures (i.e., the expenditure is no longer "independent" if the spender has communicated with the candidate about the campaign).

- If a participating House candidate faces an independent expenditure, that candidate may waive the spending limits and receive extra matching funds to compensate for independent ads.

- Last year's bill did not cap the amount of compensatory matching funds. For constitutional reasons, it will likely be necessary to cap the amount of compensatory funds available.

Campaign commitment: None.

Proposed option: **Accept the independent expenditures provisions contemplated by congressional drafters.**

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7. NONCOMPLYING OPPONENT

Current law: None.

S.3:

- House: candidate may exceed spending limit once opponent raises 50% of spending limit, and may receive additional matching funds once opponent raises 80% of limit.

- Senate: Receives additional public benefits to match non-complying opponent's spending beyond limit (up to double the spending limit); at that point, additional spending allowed if non-complying opponent more than doubles the limit.

- As with independent expenditures, it will likely be necessary to cap this compensatory spending for constitutional reasons.

Campaign commitment: None.

Proposed option: Accept the congressional proposal.

___ **Accept** ___ **Accept as amended** ___ **Reject** ___ **More info.**

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8. BUNDLING

Current law: None.

S.3:

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION	
001 memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: Revised State of the Union Draft (1 page)	01/18/1999	P5	4061

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14418

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU [State of the Union] 1999 Speech Drafts 1/17/99 - 1/18/99 [Binder] [6]

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
db2249

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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1/18/99
1AM

January 18, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: REVISED STATE OF THE UNION DRAFT

Attached is a draft of the State of the Union, reflecting your edits from earlier this evening.

Please note several things:

- Gene and I reworked the international economics section, reordering the paragraphs, giving greater prominence to the new trade talks, and trimming and strengthening the language. We both believe that the Africa and Latin American trade initiatives work better in this section -- they are vital to garnering Democratic support for Fast Track.

- Several people strongly believe that the NATO summit paragraph on page should go -- it's not new policy, it's a scheduling announcement. (I have not talked to Sandy Berger about this; presumably he would like it to stay in.)

- We included a reference to Sammy Sosa sitting with the First Lady. To recap, in this draft you are noting the presence of Sammy Sosa, the Desert Fox pilot, and the mother of the Jonesboro victim. (As well as the widows of Officers Chestnut and Gibson in Mrs. Hastert's box.)

- Bruce and Elena have revised the language somewhat in the tobacco section. This is the language that has been negotiated with the Department of Justice.

- I put the language from Ann Lewis on family planning and clinic violence in the health care section.

It's now about 6500 words (about 1 hour and five minutes). It includes the tributes to all the people in the First Lady's box, so this should be regarded as a 'complete' draft. We are certainly within range of the right length! (For what it's worth, Mark Penn and Bob Shrum, among others, counsel you not to worry about the length -- they think it's fine.)

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Robert Rubin to the President; RE: Update on Your International Financial Initiatives (2 pages)	12/12/1999	P5 ~~4066~~ 4062
001b. report	RE: Report from G7 Finance Ministers to G7 Heads (5 pages)	12/21/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14422

FOLDER TITLE:
[State of the Union1999] Economy: International [1]

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
db2251

RESTRICTION CODES

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1-3-99

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

January 12, 1999

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Robert E. Rubin R.E.R.

SUBJECT: Update on Your International Financial Initiatives

As we move into the new year, I thought it would be useful to give you a brief update on the status of the international financial initiatives that you set out in September and October.

In general, these initiatives and the policy actions that followed have brought a bit of calm back to global financial markets. At the same time, we still face considerable uncertainty and risk, and it will take some time before we work through the problems that remain in the system.

I would assess recent developments as follows:

- The combined effect of your statement in the Council on Foreign Relations speech that the balance of risks in the global economy had shifted, the statement by G-7 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors and the monetary policy actions in the U.S. and G-7 more broadly have had a significant effect in improving market confidence.

- Approval by Congress of an expansion of the IMF's resources, along with the proposed new IMF mechanism for contingency financing, reassured markets that the international community would be able and willing to provide adequate financial assistance to support countries pursuing sound policies. Many of the details for the contingent mechanism have been agreed upon within the G-7, and we are now working in the IMF to put the mechanism in place. In the interim, a similar approach is already in use to support Brazil's economic reform program.

- The substantial program of policy reform and financial support that has been put in place for Brazil was initially well received. But confidence has begun to erode again, and reserve losses have accelerated. We continue to watch this situation very closely.

- In certain respects, policy in Japan has now moved in the direction we have been promoting. But the outlook for growth is still very poor and, in some cases, forecasts are being revised downward. Substantial concerns remain about the Japanese strategy for addressing weakness in their financial system.

- Building on the Asian Growth and Recovery Initiative that you and Prime Minister Obuchi announced in November, we are engaged in a multilateral effort to revitalize private sector growth in Asia, with particular focus on accelerating the pace of corporate and bank

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restructuring. A Treasury team met in early December with representatives from Japan, the World Bank and Asian Development Bank to hammer out more details of the initiative. A broader meeting with potential beneficiaries and donors is tentatively planned for late January.

- The World Bank and Asian Development Bank have responded positively to your challenge to increase the assistance they provide to protect the most vulnerable in society from bearing the most severe pain of adjustment. The World Bank has promised to triple and the Asian Bank to double their **social sector lending**.

- In addition, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank have established new **emergency lending** instruments for countries with exceptional emergency financing needs. The loans are expected to focus on social and financial sector structural reforms.

- As you pledged, the Export-Import Bank stepped in to help ease the crunch caused by a drying up of **trade credits** in Asia -- in particular by expanding its medium-term trade finance program for Korea to $3 billion, and announcing medium-term programs for Indonesia and Thailand of $1 billion each. This is in addition to previous Ex-Im Bank actions.

Collectively, this set of initiatives has had a significant impact. Nonetheless, a complex set of reinforcing concerns underline the need for continued caution.

- Despite recent progress in addressing the immediate crisis, forecasters have again pared back their projections for global economic growth in 1999. Although the crisis-stricken economies in Asia may show some positive growth in 1999, economic conditions are likely to get worse before getting better in a number of emerging market economies, including Russia, Brazil and China. Japan is still a major risk and growth is slowing in Europe. In addition, with a mature recovery and a growing current account deficit, some observers question how long the United States will continue to be a strong source of growth for the world economy. Furthermore, a broad set of other emerging market economies still face daunting challenges.

Meanwhile, minimizing the severity and costs of similar crises in the future will depend on further steps to strengthen the **international financial architecture**. We sent you a paper in early December that outlined our current thinking on this subject. We are now moving to flesh out an approach internally and to build consensus both within the G-7 and a broader group. We will keep you informed as our thinking evolves. In the meantime, the attached report from G-7 Finance Ministers to Heads (which the UK organized in its last act as chair this year) provides further detail on specific measures now being implemented, as well as future areas for consideration. This report is not being made public.

Attachment

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: Foreign Lobbyists (2 pages)	05/25/1995	P5 4063
002. memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: Foreign Lobbyists (2 pages)	05/26/1995	P5 4064
003. memo	Michael Waldman to Leon Panetta; RE: Making the most of the Foreign Lobbying Announcement (3 pages)	06/05/1995	P5
004a. memo	Sally Katzen, et al. to the Chief of Staff; RE: Sen. Boren's revolving-door proposal (2 pages)	12/20/1993	P5
004b. memo	Michael Waldman to Sally Katsen; RE: Revolving door and ethics issues (1 page)	n.d.	P5
005. memo	Michael Waldman, Bruce Reed to the President; RE: Lobby Reform Initiative (5 pages)	03/20/1995	P5 4065
006. memo	Michael Waldman to Harold Ickes; RE: Foreign Lobbying (2 pages)	07/18/1995	P5
007. memo	Michael Kantor to Harold Ickes; RE: Foreign Lobbyists - Options (3 pages)	07/19/1995	P5
008. memo	Harold Ickes, Jennifer O'Connor to Leon Panetta, Erskine Bowles; RE: Agency positions on a proposed ban on contacts with agents of foreign governments (7 pages)	07/20/1995	P5
009. memo	Michael Waldman to Bruce Reed, et al.; RE: Foreign Lobbying (3 pages)	06/28/1995	P1/b(1), P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 13643

FOLDER TITLE:
[Lobbying]

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
db1433

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

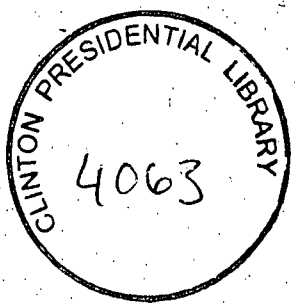
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 25, 1995



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN MW

SUBJECT: FOREIGN LOBBYISTS

At your request, we have prepared three options on the issue of foreign lobbyists.

Actions to date

Your executive order imposing post-employment restrictions has already barred senior officials from ever lobbying for foreign governments, barred senior trade officials from lobbying for foreign firms, and barred all officials from lobbying their own agency on behalf of any client for five years. In addition, the 1993 budget eliminated the tax deductibility for lobbying expenses.

Option one: Ban administration officials from meeting with foreign lobbyists

The most dramatic proposal would be to bar your top officials from meeting with registered foreign agents representing foreign governments (or, if so desired, businesses). The proposal would properly apply only to those individuals who must register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Pro: This is sharp, clear, and understandable. The foreign lobbying issue plays to concerns over economic nationalism as well as political reform.

Con: The Counsel's office believes the courts would likely find this proposal unconstitutional. In addition, while the revolving door between USTR and foreign clients is a genuine problem (one we have largely resolved), it is harder to argue that foreign lobbying per se is so odious that it justifies an outright ban. Finally, such a move would focus attention on those issues where we have worked with foreign lobbyists (e.g., the Mexican government and businesses spent $30 million lobbying for NAFTA) and on former foreign lobbyists in your administration (e.g., Sandy Berger, Ron Brown, Charlene Barshevsky).

Option two: Require disclosure of meetings with foreign lobbyists

A less draconian measure would be to order the agencies and White House to publicly disclose meetings with, and contacts by, foreign lobbyists. Currently, foreign agents must

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themselves disclose the contacts; putting this obligation on the government would lead to quicker and more effective disclosure. U.S. Trade Representative Kantor has proposed this step for USTR, and is awaiting a White House go-ahead.

Pro: This would shine the spotlight of public scrutiny on foreign lobbying, which is hard to argue against.

Con: Arguably, it is redundant, since foreign agents must now disclose these contacts anyway (the Foreign Agents Registration Act is more strict than domestic lobbying laws). In addition, the short-term benefit of announcing the reform move might be outweighed by the long-term fertile opportunity for investigative reporters and opponents to misuse the resulting disclosure.

Option three: Require all lobbyists themselves to fully disclose -- i.e., unilaterally implementing the lobby reform bill

Instead of focusing only on foreign lobbyists, this proposal would apply to all lobbyists. You would order your agencies not to meet with any lobbyist who does not fully and publicly disclose his interest, his expenditures, and the amount of money he has received. Then, your agencies would disclose these contacts in a timely fashion.

This would, in effect, require lobbyists who contact the executive branch to abide by the more stringent new rules that Congress has thus far refused to pass. The Justice Department could be directed to supervise the disclosure process, as was anticipated under last year's lobby disclosure bill. The Counsel's office has concluded that this would be permissible under theories of delegation of power, and would not require statutory enactment.

Pro: This would enable you to say that you have unilaterally acted where Congress has failed to act. Moreover, it would put the onus on Congress -- to pass legislation applying the same rules to lobbyists that contact the legislature.

Con: As for the disclosure by the government of contacts, this would risk making it appear as if your administration were a magnet for influence seekers. As for the more stringent disclosure by lobbyists, there are potential practical problems, stemming from an effort to force disclosure without the availability of statutory penalties. Also, by setting up a different registration system for lobbyists contacting the executive branch and the Congress, this risks confusing or putting an unfair burden on lobbyists.

Recommendation

Of the three options, I recommend the third -- requiring lobbyists who contact the executive branch to fully disclose -- because it would have the broadest and most significant impact, is fully consistent with your prior legislative proposals, and puts the onus on the lobbyists and Congress (rather than on your administration).

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May 26, 1995

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: FOREIGN LOBBYISTS

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Recommendation

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 20, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THE CHIEF-OF-STAFF

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN MW
BRUCE REED BR

SUBJECT: LOBBY REFORM INITIATIVE

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At your request, we have prepared a set of initiatives that would put you out front on the lobby reform and political reform issue.

We believe that this issue cuts to the core of why people have lost faith in government and are angry at politics. The middle class truly believes that powerful interests hold sway, and that their voice is too often ignored. However, this very cynicism makes it hard to persuade people that we are serious, and risks bruising us if we are perceived not to be. Therefore, we believe that this issue is worth pressing only if it is done in a sharp and sustained way -- if it can become and remain a central theme over the next 18 months -- or it may not be worth doing at all. Therefore, we need a clear direction from you on how to proceed.

I. BACKGROUND

Political reform continues to be a core issue for the Perot voters and independents. (Public opinion research is under separate cover.) It also has the potential to be a wedge issue between you and potential Republican opponents -- who tend to favor wealthy special interests at the expense of the middle class. In fact, this is one of the few major areas where the Republicans have completely ceded the field for us, if we choose to enter it. At the same time, if we approach 1996 with few political reform achievements, we will be vulnerable to attack from Perot or some other independent candidate from outside Washington.

If a decision is made to engage on political reform, now is the time to do so, for several reasons.

- Congress' First 100 Days is ending, with a sense that not much has changed; in particular, the probable defeat of term limits will mean that Congress passed no major reform of itself. In addition, the press is finally beginning to paint the GOP Congress as a tool of the special interests. (See, for example, the *Washington Post* story detailing how lobbyists wrote the regulatory moratorium bill, and were even given a

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room off the House floor from which to operate.)

- The GOP race is being heavily defined by the so-called $20 million fundraising entrance fee.

- Your announcement of your own organizational plans will force the issue of what restrictions you are willing to put on your own fundraising. Next year, the need to raise tens of millions of dollars will bring into higher relief the question of campaign financing.

- Democrats in Congress are starting to become active on the matter once again, albeit in a guerilla fashion. Rep. Bryant (with the support of the Democratic leadership) is filing a discharge petition to bring up the ban on lobbyist gifts; Sen. Wellstone plans to seek to attach the gift ban to legislation sometime before the Easter recess.

- A bipartisan group of moderate lawmakers is becoming visibly active. A group led by Rep. Chris Shays has put forward a package of lobbying and other political reforms, and will be pressuring the leadership to act.

- You led the State of the Union with a call to act, but your Administration has not yet fleshed out those proposals in public.

II. OPTIONS

Here is a set of initiatives that could be announced immediately. They could be announced in one major speech, or could be broken out (unilateral steps, legislative proposals, a speech on democracy and citizenship) for maximum effect.

1. Lead by example. To reengage in this debate, you will need to show that you are willing to act by restricting your own campaign committee. When you announce the beginning of campaign activities on your behalf, you can:

- *Direct the reelection campaign not to take PAC money* (you did not take PAC money during the 1992 primaries either). (We believe that Dole, Gramm, etc. are all taking PAC funds.)

- *Direct the reelection campaign not to take contributions from registered lobbyists*, or allowing them to fundraise from their clients. (This is now the standard followed by the Presidential Legal Expense Trust.) This would go beyond what you did in 1992.

  Pro: You have already legislatively proposed that lobbyist campaign contributions be banned. In addition, the decision to refuse such gifts by the Presidential Legal Expense Trust has established a difficult-to-ignore precedent. (Indeed, even if we say nothing, reporters will hone in on this inconsistency);

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Given the small number of lobbyists who actually register (about 7000), it may not directly cost the campaign that much money.

Con: It would raise a standard that the DNC will not be able to meet (i.e., "You won't take $1000 from a lobbyist, but the DNC will take $50,000 from the lobbyist's client."). Moreover, it might anger some Democratic supporters and fundraisers based in D.C. We can discuss potential fundraising consequences with you further if you desire.

Note: If the decision is made to refuse lobbyist contributions for the reelection campaign, we recommend that the Presidential Legal Expense Trust return the approximately $12,000 that was received from registered lobbyists.

- *Asking the DNC not to raise soft money for the general election campaign, if the RNC will agree to refrain from doing so as well.* In effect, this would challenge the RNC to a "mutually verifiable freeze" without "unilateral disarmament." The GOP is highly unlikely to rise to the bait. This is similar to the pledge you signed in New Hampshire in 1992.

2. Renew the call for a ban on lobbyist gifts, meals and travel to Members of Congress. This is being pushed by Democrats in both chambers. During the State-of-the-Union, you called for Members of Congress to voluntarily give up lobbyist gifts. Because of its stark simplicity -- lawmakers being treated to tropical vacations by lobbyists, etc. -- this has the greatest resonance of any political reform proposal.

3. Renew the call for reform of the lobby disclosure laws. The current lobby disclosure laws, passed in 1946 and basically untouched since, are more loophole than law. Lobby reform legislation would require all lobbyists, for the first time, to fully disclose for whom they work, what they are paid, and what legislation they are trying to pass or kill. This measure is more complex than the gift ban, and conservative grass-roots groups (such as the Christian Coalition) may succeed in bogging it down; nonetheless, it is good policy and resonates somewhat with the public.

4. Take new action against foreign lobbyists by barring your officials from meeting with lobbyists for foreign governments or corporations. Your executive order imposing post-employment restrictions has already barred senior officials from ever lobbying for foreign governments, barred senior trade officials from lobbying for foreign firms, and barred all officials from lobbying their own agency on behalf of any client for five years. A further restriction would be to actually bar your officials from meeting with foreign lobbyists.

Pro: This is sharp, clear, and understandable; the foreign lobbying issue plays to concerns over economic nationalism as well as political reform.

Con: The argument against it is that it would be unduly harsh, is unnecessary from a

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reform perspective and possibly counterproductive from a policy perspective, and would focus attention on those issues where we have worked with foreign lobbyists (e.g., NAFTA) and on former foreign lobbyists in your administration (e.g., Sandy Berger, Ron Brown, Charlene Barshevsky).

5. Spell out your free TV time proposal. Apart from your brief mention of it during the State of the Union speech, we have never fleshed out your proposal to provide free TV time for candidates. Senator Dole and House Commerce Committee chairman Bliley have proposed strong free TV bills, and the concept is supported by Ross Perot, the DLC and Common Cause. This proposal could be laid out in a speech on democracy that could be high-toned and would not necessitate a subsequent crusade.

Pro: Elite opinionmakers (such as editorial boards) will not take the other political reform measures seriously if there is not a campaign finance reform component.

Con: Since legislative success is highly unlikely, to raise this issue would potentially open us to charges of only pushing for reform when we know it won't happen -- without much payoff in return. Moreover, raising the issue will heighten scrutiny of our own fundraising.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that you:

- take the unilateral steps (refusing to take PAC money or lobbyist contributions for the reelection campaign, and ask the DNC and RNC to agree jointly not to raise soft money).

_____ Agree _____ Agree as amended _____ Reject _____ No action

- renew the push for a ban on lobbyist gifts

_____ Agree _____ Agree as amended _____ Reject _____ No action

- renew the push for lobby disclosure legislation

_____ Agree _____ Agree as amended _____ Reject _____ No action

- spell out the details of your free TV campaign finance proposal

_____ Agree _____ Agree as amended _____ Reject _____ No action

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We recommend against:

- barring your officials from meeting with foreign lobbyists

_____ Agree _____ Agree as amended _____ Reject _____ No action

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION	
001 memo	Sidney Blumenthal to the President; RE: The State of the Union 1999 (4 pages)	12/29/1998	P5	4066

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14423

FOLDER TITLE:
[State of the Union 1999] Policy Memos/Language [2]

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
db2256

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 29, 1998

MW/ Sw 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: John Podesta, Maria Echaveste, Michael Waldman, Paul Begala

From: Sidney Blumenthal SB

Subject: The State of the Union 1999

The ultimate power in politics is the ability to define yourself. The point now is to win the campaign of definition. This campaign requires a series of directed events to dramatize and highlight the President's higher political purposes. The State of the Union provides the first opportunity.

1. Under normal circumstances, the State of the Union of 1999 would be the most difficult of the presidency. It is the penultimate address of its kind, inherently awkward because it is fraught with the tension of not quite nearing the end, expressing the yearning to achieve far more. The speech launches an abbreviated year that must come to an abrupt turn with Labor Day and the commencement in earnest of the 2000 presidential campaign. More than ever before, politics and policy would have to be balanced and made complementary. Presenting the speech as a mere laundry list of legislative proposals, foreshortening the President's vision, would have to be avoided ordinarily, just when the dramatic moment presents the opportunity for firmly settling the greater goals of this presidency. Such would be the complex dilemma facing the presidency under healthy conditions.

But the problems are more than the usual and predictable. Blithely taking the usual approach will likely provoke even more extreme reactions. The State of the Union is surrounded by questions of political legitimacy.

2. For the State of the Union, the scandal is an unavoidable subject. Indeed, the entire

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address will be viewed in its shadow and should dealt with—by inference. Through the speech, the President can establish, without ever explicitly saying so, the larger political reasons his presidency has been under unprecedented attack. He can do so without ever saying a cross word. On the contrary, his tone can be completely positive.

The logic of the State of the Union should establish that the President's intentions concern the making of a new America, one nation, strengthened to meet the challenges of a new world. The theme of the new nation in a new world and why he has brought it into being should open the speech. For six years, the President's policies have framed a new nation, who we have become as a people entering the new millennium. He should spell out who precisely inhabits this America, compared to the America of mid-century and 1900. He should state unequivocally that this is the "real America." (Bob Barr's extraordinary exchange with the late Leon Higginbotham has provided a motif, which radically shifts the focus to the national character and invokes moral authority.) The President should assert the people's aspirations to meet the challenges of the 21st century. Then, he should spell out his achievements, which meet those wishes—the steep decline in crime rates, the welfare to work numbers, the first fall in the poverty rate in years, the number of the working poor assisted by the EITC tax cut, the increase in the black middle class, and, most importantly, pronounce the longest economic expansion in US history and the reversal of long-term declines in real wages and family income. But all that is not enough; it is only a beginning. Now the President's program this year is proposed to advance us further.

Then, the speech should be counter-intuitive by setting out the global challenges we face and, therefore, the necessity of striving to be one nation. If we are not one America, the global pressures will turn us into fragments. The President should draw upon the millennial theme by sketching where the country stood on the eve of the 20th century, entering into a role for the first time as a great nation in the new industrial economy and stirring as a global power. (Alfred T. Mahan, the naval historian who inspired Theodore Roosevelt's thinking, had called for an American "awakening.") At the turn of the 21st century, after winning three world wars against tyranny (including the Cold War), undergoing a Second Reconstruction and giving birth to a new technological revolution, we have become, exceeding the dreams of American statesmen of the early 20th century, the indispensable nation. The President should not hesitate to elaborate the indispensable nation theme—how we are the engine for economic growth and stability, seeking to construct a new global financial architecture to foster a global middle class; how we promote peace and democracy against the terrorists and dictators; and why as the preeminent multicultural nation, a new city on the hill, we must serve as an example to those threatened by ethnic and racial hatreds.

His only apparent reference to the scandal should be in a section on why we must be one

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nation and the costs of divisiveness. These divisions should be cast as destructive of the needs of the nation—implicitly the progress not partisanship theme, or, stated another way, real progress for the real America. He should avoid talking about "the politics of personal destruction," which, while he stands before Congress, may appear as special pleading and about the burdens of being in politics. He has, moreover, made that point. Rather, the President should put the question of social division in terms of risk to the nation. It is here that he can evoke history, explaining how the nation has been torn apart in the past and its costs. Without ever pointing at them, his opponents will be put on a continuum with those firebrands who have pushed the country toward civil war, racial terror and class warfare. The President can rise above the battlefield, standing for a vision of the nation, as a unifier. He should present his new policies as his latest effort to move forward the new nation that has emerged and to draw us together as one nation. "Liberty is power," said John Quincy Adams in his First Annual Message to the Congress. The President should state the responsibility of those invested with representative office to summon the natural talents of the people and resources of the nation to achieve progress. Without it, the American community, the "real America," cannot work. Having drawn the meaning of national purpose, he should subsume all those in the chamber in the beneficence of good faith: We are all dedicated to the national interest; we are all working for the public good.

By inference, it will be clear that those who oppose the President are really opposed to who we have become, what kind of nation we are. They are against the President because they reject the America that he has helped bring into existence. The more the President stresses that we have come a new nation and must be one nation, the more he will identify the underlying motive of his opponents, isolate them and make them seem small. In that regard, the President's proposed policies will not seem scattered, but part of the continuity of his efforts that have remade and strengthened the nation.

Policies must be deployed as illustrating larger principles; they must demonstrate more than what can be proven statistically. In the political equation, the parts do not, as in empirical science, equal the whole; at this political moment, explaining the whole fully animates the parts. The President can be as detailed in his policies as he must be in the State of the Union; but he lends them their greatest power and gives them the best possibility of being realized by locating them in his vision of a strong nation.

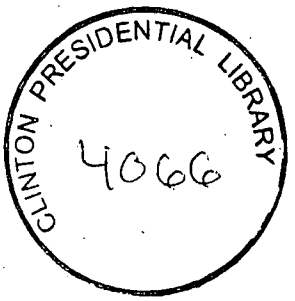
At each level the argument must be lifted up: The policies not only have changed and will change each particular group for the better (EITC, minimum wage, welfare reform, education, Social Security, etc.) But: As a result, government has regained its ability to act and consequently its authority to serve the national community; confronting a new economy, business has been given an environment in which to flourish; society as a whole has become safer, more civil and more confident; and anyone who aspires has been

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given greater opportunity. And: The cumulative effect is more than literal addition. It is about more than material prosperity. This process, by intention, has been transforming. We have brought ourselves into a new era by remaking ourselves as a nation. This is not a dream, but the "real America." Then: There can be no truer American responsibility, no truer American ideal. Renewing the nation is the quintessential American act of self-government. ("The earth," Jefferson wrote to Madison in 1789, "belongs always to the living generation.") Against all efforts to deny legitimacy to this presidency, we must pose this enduring definition of legitimacy. Having done so, the point itself will go without saying.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Don Baer, et al. to the President; RE: Commencement Addresses (4 pages)	04/29/1997	P5
002. memo	Richard Tarplin to the Secretary; RE: White House Event on Genetic Testing (10 pages)	04/24/1997	P5

4067

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14440

FOLDER TITLE:
[Science and Technology] [2]

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
db2264

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

'97 APR 29 PM 4:45

April 29, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: **ERSKINE BOWLES, SYLVIA MATHEWS AND JOHN PODESTA**

FROM: **DON BAER, ANN LEWIS, MICHAEL WALDMAN, ANTONY BLINKEN, STEPHANIE STREETT AND JENNIFER PALMIERI**

SUBJECT: **COMMENCEMENT ADDRESSES**

This memo provides a framework for a series of commencement addresses you could deliver between now and mid-June. One proposal we have been developing, included in Mark Penn's agenda at the most recent political meeting, is to use this year's commencement speeches to return the focus of the press and public to the central theme of your State of the Union address -- preparing America for the 21st Century.

We believe that we can further this goal by creating a package of three commencement addresses. Each would focus on a separate subject vital to the American people in the 21st Century, and could contain strong news to ensure enthusiastic coverage. But each would also return to your broader message -- the need to take advantage of the forces of change, so that they work for us, not against us.

Working closely with the Domestic Policy Council, the Press Office, Political Affairs, Public Liaison and the Race/Reconciliation working group, we have identified the following sites and subjects for your consideration:

Sunday, May 18	Morgan State University -- Science and Technology
Saturday, May 31	West Point -- Foreign Policy vision/NATO enlargement
Saturday, June 14	UC San Diego -- Race and Reconciliation

As you have indicated, the June 6 Sidwell Friends graduation will be closed to the press and therefore not a message event.

Morgan State -- Science and Technology. This is the site recommended by the Scheduling, Public Liaison and Political offices. It would be your first commencement address at a historically black college. (The school is headed by Dr. Earl Richardson, a member of your Board of Advisors on Historically Black Colleges.)

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-1-97

No subject better conveys your focus on the future than science and technology, yet it is a subject you have rarely addressed in a concentrated way. This speech is a big opportunity for you to reflect on the new wonders of science and the Information Age -- but also the ethical dilemmas they pose and the need to harness them so that they work for us, not against us (e.g. computers vs. freedom of speech, cloning vs. natural selection). This is an ideal site for such a speech; traditionally a leading producer of African-American teachers, Morgan State has increasingly focussed on the sciences and now enrolls 60% of all African-American engineering majors in Maryland. This topic would also be a follow-up to your May 16 meeting with survivors of the Tuskeegee Study. Terry Edmonds, who attended Morgan State, agrees with us that giving a speech on a topic of general interest at a historically black college -- rather than focussing on a race-related topic -- would be seen as a sign of respect by the African-American community.

The following policy announcements could be included if they are ready in time:

- A diabetes initiative (as discusssed at a recent political strategy session), since this disease is of special concern to African-Americans;
- Lead-in to the National Bioethics Committee's cloning report, due the following week, or announcement of its findings if we are able to speed up the report's release, which would draw major attention to this speech;
- New legislation on genetic screening, placing limits on use of genetic information by insurance companies for underwriting purposes.

Education and religion options. Another possible topic for Morgan State is **education**, your top priority, which is not currently reflected in this proposed package of commencement addresses. However, this period will not be without a major education event; we will soon propose to you an education town hall meeting for late May (including strong news announcements), which would give us an opportunity to push your standards agenda in a high-profile way during this period. We will also explore "turnaround" school options, including the school you mentioned in Corpus Christi, Texas -- either as a possible venue for a town hall meeting, or as a separate event sometime in late June. An additional commencement option which some have suggested is a major address on **religion**, although it is not clear what you would say that goes beyond your highly-acclaimed 1995 speech on religious liberty.

Recommendation: that you deliver a May 18th commencement address at Morgan State University on science and technology.

Agree_____ **Disagree**_____ **Discuss**_____

West Point -- Foreign Policy Vision/NATO Enlargement. This is an opportunity to deliver one of the major foreign policy addresses of your second term -- presenting your vision of the demands of American leadership in the 21st Century, making a strong case for NATO enlargement, and also framing your major foreign policy actions from May through July to make

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clear the larger purposes that unite them (with the NSC, we will put forward a themes memo showing how to pull this all together). This would be paired with a speech you would deliver two days earlier in the Hague to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Marshall Plan -- billed as "President Clinton's major address to the people of Europe on the future of American-European relations." The West Point speech would be your major address to the American people on the same subject. (The contents of both will obviously depend on negotiations regarding NATO and Russia).

Please note that there is a strong feeling among your foreign policy advisers that you need to press the case publicly for NATO enlargement. Given the timing of this speech, that argument would definitely be newsworthy.

Recommendation: that you deliver a May 31st commencement address at West Point on foreign policy vision and NATO enlargement.

Agree ✓ **Disagree**_____ **Discuss**_____

UC San Diego -- Race and Reconciliation. This could be the place where you announce actions relating to race and reconciliation, and deliver a strong One America speech -- focussed on harnessing the increasing diversity of our nation as our greatest strength. One recommendation is that you deliver such a speech in California -- the gateway to much of the world and the embodiment of American diversity. UC San Diego itself is very diverse (3% African-American, 29% Asian, 12% Latino), as is the surrounding San Diego metropolitan area (9% African American, 11% Asian, 19% Hispanic).

Giving a race-related speech at a University of California campus will undoubtedly raise two controversial issues -- the UC Regents' affirmative action policy and Proposition 209. However, this would enable you to address these issues directly, and we believe this should not prevent you from giving an address at UC San Diego. In fact, UC San Diego recently signed onto a letter printed in the New York Times in support of affirmative action.

It should be noted that a number of other western, racially diverse schools -- including the Universities of Washington, Oregon, Arizona and New Mexico -- were considered and rejected because of scheduling conflicts or policy issues the Administration has pending with particular universities.

Recommendation: that you deliver a June 14th commencement address at UC San Diego on race and reconciliation.

Agree ✓ **Disagree**_____ **Discuss**_____

Other principals' commencement schedules. For your information, the Vice President

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is currently scheduled to address the Naval Academy on May 23. The First Lady is scheduled to speak at the Banneker High School graduation in DC on June 13, and is delivering the commencement address at Ohio University on June 14 -- which, if you agree with the above, would be the same day as your UC San Diego speech.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Bruce Reed, et al. to the President; RE: Political and Government Reform (6 pages)	11/23/1994	P5 4068
002. memo	Bruce Reed, et al. to the Chief of Staff; RE: Strategy for Political and Government Reform (9 pages)	11/01/1994	P5
003. memo	Michael Waldman to Clinton Campaign, et al.; RE: Standing for change (6 pages)	03/25/1992	Personal Misfile
004. memo	Michael Waldman to Bruce Reed; RE: Campaign finance reform package (3 pages)	06/10/1992	Personal Misfile
005. memo	Michael Waldman to George Stephanopoulos; RE: Political reform (5 pages)	11/23/1992	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 13643

FOLDER TITLE:
[Political Reform]

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
db1435

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE REED
MICHAEL WALDMAN
BILL GALSTON
PAUL WEINSTEIN
ELAINE KAMARCK

THROUGH: JACK QUINN
CAROL RASCO
ROBERT RUBIN

SUBJECT: **Political and Governmental Reform**

Attached for your review is a memorandum outlining options for a political and governmental reform program.

Our goal is to have a bold, coherent and plausible reform agenda, as an integral component of your overall strategy. This agenda could be included as part of a major address in December, if you decide to give one, or in your State of the Union address. As you can see, some of the proposals are conceptually "ready to go," and primarily need a political decision whether to go forward. Others require further work, as part of the budget process or in other appropriate fora.

It is clear that, to break through public cynicism and allow you to retake the mantle of reformer, this program must be both responsible and dramatic. Finding the right mix is the most significant task we now face.

We have a one-hour meeting scheduled for next Tuesday to discuss this with you.

Attachment

cc: George Stephanopoulos

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POLITICAL, CONGRESSIONAL, AND GOVERNMENT REFORM

The collapse of public trust in the institutions of government is the fundamental political fact of our time. After two decades of growing disillusionment, this break between the people in office and the people who put them there dominates every aspect of American politics, from the noisy bombast of talk shows to the silence of empty voting booths.

Voters believed that Bill Clinton understood this situation, and would act to rectify it. But for all of our efforts over the past two years, the public is still disillusioned, more embittered than it was in November 1992.

Our reform agenda should do battle on two fronts:

- Shifting power back to the American people and cleaning up Washington, through: campaign reform that requires broadcasters to provide free time to candidates; a "citizen frank" that lets citizens contact Congress for free; a sweeping effort to produce a leaner, cleaner Congress (lobby reform, a gift ban, applying private sector laws to Congress, a 25% staff cut, reducing unnecessary reports, and a pay freeze until the budget is balanced); and perhaps insisting that any term limits not grandfather current members; and

- Launching a renewed government reform program, through: reducing special interest subsidies; the elimination of one or more departments; faster downsizing of the federal workforce; and initiatives on civil service reform, privatization, devolution, state flexibility, and regulatory reform.

We need to address the role of government and, to use your words, to "repair the damaged bond between the people and their government." Then, toward achieving those objectives, you could propose specific measures from sections I and II from this memo.

I. Giving Government Back to the People

1. Free TV Time for Candidates. A campaign reform bill with public funding will not pass the new Congress. Instead, we should press for the changes the President called for in his campaign -- free TV time for candidates who abide by spending limits, a $1,000 limit on PAC donations or outright PAC ban, a ban on campaign contributions from lobbyists to the lawmakers they contact, and our soft money reforms from last year. Free TV time has strong public support. Over the years, it has also been endorsed by Bob Dole and Ross Perot. The idea would prompt a major battle with the broadcasting industry and its champions in Congress. And a campaign reform push would put the congressional GOP on the spot.

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2. Eliminate the Congressional Frank, and Give It to the American People. The frank is one of the most entrenched and abused symbols of incumbency. We could propose to drastically limit it for Congress and give it to the American people instead. Any individual who wants to send a letter to their Congressman or Senator would be able to do so for free. Members of Congress could use the frank to answer letters, but not for unsolicited mailings. Postcards, letters from organizations, and letters from another district or state would not be eligible. The citizens' frank could also be applied to letters to the White House.

3. A Leaner, Cleaner Congress. We should propose a comprehensive congressional reform package that presses for major changes in the way Congress does business:

a. Lobby Reform and Gift Ban. We should demand that Congress pass a gift ban and a back-to-basics lobby reform bill as soon as they return. The Republicans raised several bogus objections to the lobby reform bill in the waning days; we should call their bluff, accept those changes if necessary, and pass the bill on a bipartisan basis.

b. Apply Laws to Congress. Legislation applying a host of laws to Congress passed the House but not the Senate this past Congress. We should press Congress to pass it immediately.

c. Insist on Line-Item Veto. The Republican Contract includes a strong version of the line-item veto. We should support it, and insist that it become effectively immediately, not in some future Presidency. (Their version does not specify an effective date.)

d. Endorse Congressional Staff Cuts. In the campaign, the President promised not only to cut the White House staff by 25%, but to challenge Congress to do the same. We could praise Republicans for doing this, but we need to consider the effect of doing this on our Democrats.

e. Reduce Congressionally Mandated Reports. Since 1970, the number of reports mandated by Congress has grown from 700 to 5,300. Many of these reports consume the agencies' time and the taxpayers' dollars for the members' gain; most just gather dust. We could introduce legislation to reduce or eliminate such reports. In Arkansas, the President ordered a complete review of every report produced by the Department of Education, and got rid of those no one read.

f. Freeze Congressional and Presidential Pay Until the Budget Is Balanced. The NEC is preparing another memo on our strategy for the Balanced Budget Amendment. One position we can take in any event is to insist that if we're going to make significant spending cuts to reduce the deficit, public officials should lead by example. The American people don't get a guaranteed cost-of-living increase. Why should their leaders? A performance-based freeze on Congressional and

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Presidential pay is a responsible, common-sense alternative to plans to "cut their pay and send them home."

4. **Term Limits.** Republicans pledge to bring to a vote a constitutional amendment limiting congressional terms to 12 years, but they would grandfather-in existing Members of Congress. Beyond principled opposition, we can respond in two ways:

a. Call Their Bluff. We could demand that the 12-year limit on service apply immediately (or by a date certain, such as 1996), and thereby affect sitting members of Congress; and/or

b. Let the States Decide. We could support a constitutional amendment to allow states to vote to apply term limits to their own federal representatives. This would be consistent with our legal position that state-mandated term limits are unconstitutional.

II. Renewed Government Reform Program

Unlike the Republicans, our goal is not cutting government for its own sake, but using government for things it can do well and getting it out of the business of things it does badly. As the President has said, we want to cut spending on yesterday's programs and deliver a government that can deal with tomorrow's problems. We should eliminate governmental functions that have outlived the purpose for which they were created. When a state or local government can do a better job, we should give them more authority and control, not new mandates. And when a government function could be done as well or better by the private sector, we should find a way to make it possible.

Such decisions are difficult and far-reaching, and should generally be made in the budget process, where the tradeoffs are fully clear. But it is essential that as we go through that process, we look for bold, compelling ways to dramatize what we're doing. In the first two years, we have made great strides in reinventing government, reducing the deficit, and downsizing the federal workforce. But public cynicism about government is so high that it may well take more visible, dramatic steps to break through. The following ideas are meant to illustrate such an approach.

1. Cutting Special Interest Tax Expenditures or Subsidies. This cut-and-invest strategy, proposed by Rob Shapiro, would give us the high ground of insisting that a middle-class tax cut be fully paid for, and enable us to do so with cuts that would otherwise be off the table for deficit reduction or new investment. Alternatively, this money could be dedicated toward an education trust fund, deficit reduction, or some other worthy purpose.

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Like all other means of creating resources within the budget, Rob's strategy involves difficult decisions that are likely to be hotly contested. An example of a few ideas, or partial ideas that could be considered are:

* Reduce deductibility of advertising expenses	$17.5 billion
* Cut Energy Supply, R&D grants	$ 6.9 billion
* Reduce government subsidies to private utilities (REA, BPA, nuclear)	$ 3.6 billion
* Make industries pay for services government provides (market rates for water sales, inland waterways, nuclear waste disposal, CFTC, FDIC, poultry)	$10.2 billion
TOTAL	$38.20 billion

2. Eliminating One or More Departments. We could seize back the initiative in the debate over downsizing government by proposing to abolish one or more departments. The drama of eliminating a whole department far exceeds the impact of cutting numerous smaller programs. This is no easy task, and only makes sense if it could produce real budgetary and FTE savings. But we believe it is worth a careful look.

3. Faster Downsizing. NPR and OMB are preparing legislation to repeal FTE floors in existing appropriations bills, and ban the use of FTE floors in future bills. This could be coupled with a Presidential vow to veto future appropriations bills that limit our ability to downsize. We should also consider directing agencies to accelerate the mandated downsizing of the workforce to accomplish its objectives by 1996 instead of 1999. The current track will bring the workforce under 2 million by late 1996. To illustrate that downsizing the bureaucracy is one of this Administration's signature achievements, we should start a Bureaucracy Clock (in a prominent place like Times Square) that would track our progress. It may also be possible to accelerate downsizing by allowing early retirement without buyouts; we are looking at the cost of legislation once proposed by Roth that would give 500,000 federal employees the ability to retire early.

4. Privatization. A New Democratic approach to privatization would be based on a set of principles which focused on privatization not as a means to run the government but as a means to get the government out of

a) obsolete businesses such as: United States Enrichment Corporation, Sallie Mae, the Helium reserve, Alaska Power, some Department of Energy labs, etc;

b) programs that are viable private sector activities, such as: the Air Traffic Control System (an NPR recommendation that DOT is anxious to pursue), Amtrak, the Export-Import Bank, and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. (In the same vein: a number of DOD non-core missions could be privatized, but current law prevents this step.)

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5. **Devolution.** NPR and OMB are looking at a number of federal categorical programs that could be devolved down to the state and local level, such as: public housing programs, trade and export promotion, economic development, and perhaps job training. We are also preparing initiatives on unfunded mandates, waivers, and state flexibility. A package of initiatives could be announced at the NGA meeting in late January.

6. **Civil Service Reform.** NPR is preparing a sweeping civil service reform bill that will reduce the number of job classifications and give federal managers the right to hire and fire federal workers. Negotiations with unions and management are under way; the bill will be ready to introduce in January.

7. **Regulatory Overhaul.** There is considerable concern in the public and in the business community that the current regulatory process is too intrusive and too costly. As chair of the Regulatory Advisory Group, the Vice President is setting up a process whereby each member would convene a seminar to explore innovative approaches to regulatory reform. This process would then yield a set of less bureaucratic proposals to reform our regulatory apparatus.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	Kent Markus to Michael Waldman; RE: Telephone number (partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
002. memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: Campaign Finance Reform Revision (3 pages)	06/10/1993	P5 4069
003. memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: Call from Sen. Wellstone on Campaign Reform (1 page)	05/25/1993	P5 4070
004. paper	RE: Recommended Telephone call (2 pages)	06/07/1993	P5
005. memo	Michael Waldman to Mack McLarty, et al.; RE: Senate Consideration of Campaign Reform Legislation (1 page)	05/24/1993	P5
006. memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: Campaign Finance Reform Decisions (7 pages)	03/12/1993	P5 4071

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 13643

FOLDER TITLE:
Campaign Finance Reform - 1993 [1]

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
db1434

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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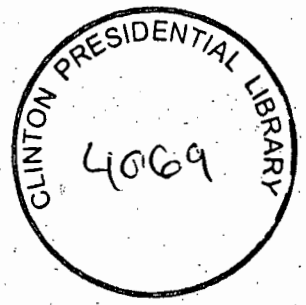
WASHINGTON

June 10, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN MW
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR POLICY COORDINATION

STEVEN J. RICCHETTI
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS



SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM REVISION -- APPROVAL NEEDED

I. ACTION-FORCING EVENT

Senator Mitchell has scheduled the first cloture vote on campaign finance reform for tomorrow (Friday, June 11). We have been discussing a modification of the campaign finance reform bill to break through a GOP filibuster, and we need your approval before proceeding further. In brief, we are considering converting the communications vouchers into a free broadcast time proposal -- primarily to take away any of the public financing arguments by the GOP. The leadership needs to know before the weekend whether the White House objects to this change.

II. BACKGROUND

We expect to lose tomorrow's cloture vote, although we may get some Republican votes for cloture. Boren and Mitchell had been negotiating with five Republicans who have said they do not want to filibuster (Jeffords, Durenberger, McCain, Chafee and Cohen), and in fact nearly all of their demands have now been included in the legislation. In recent days, however, they have argued that they will not support public financing (although that was not an original demand, and they have voted for it before).

In addition, as you know, Sen. Exon may introduce an amendment to strike out the communications vouchers and replace them with "backup" public funding.

In an attempt to move the bill out of the Senate -- and to deprive the Republicans of their only argument against it -- we are considering a change in the bill. Instead of paying for the communication vouchers through the lobbyist tax, the bill would be reconfigured as follows:

- Free TV. Communication vouchers would still be honored by broadcasters, but they would not receive payment (i.e., it would be converted into free TV time). We would use

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legislative language that has been introduced by Sens. Dole and Simpson.

- Backup public funding. There would still be public funding available if a candidate's opponent has broken the spending cap -- this is basically Sen. Exon's proposal.

- Retain the use of the lobbyists' tax for these purposes. This would be necessary for the backup public funding, and in case the proposal reverted to paid-for vouchers in the House or in conference.

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To take the political offensive, and to preempt lobbying against the change, the new proposal would be offered as a surprise on Monday before a Tuesday second cloture vote. Surprise is essential, to forestall broadcaster lobbying.

Arguments for this change are simple: It is necessary to move the bill forward while preserving your pledge to "open the airwaves" and level the playing field. In addition, it neatly robs the opponents of the legislation of their one salient argument (while at the same time being supported by reformers).

The strongest argument against doing this is that it would certainly antagonize broadcasters, whose goodwill we need on other matters. (Indeed, broadcaster opposition is the reason we have not opted for free TV time earlier in the process.) In addition, it can be argued that this is unfair to broadcasters.

The constitutional basis for free TV is the requirement that the airwaves are publicly owned, and that the broadcast spectrum is limited -- hence, a broadcast license is a public trust, subject to public obligations. This reasoning has been upheld in various cases, such as the case that upheld the Fairness Doctrine (Red Lion). Broadcasters argue that this public purpose requirement discriminates against them, as opposed to, say, newspapers, and that new technology has made the "airwaves as public property" argument obsolete. However, a free TV requirement would likely be constitutional under current cases.

If this gambit should fail, then our options are a) to keep the bill on the floor, using successive cloture votes to put pressure on Republican senators at home; b) to pull the bill and fight for it later; or c) to delete the public funding altogether, which would lead to a bill that is both attacked as a cave-in and that would tilt against Democrats.

III. RECOMMENDATION

We believe that this "switch" is worth doing as a way to uncloak Republican arguments against reform, to keep the promise of opening up the airwaves, and to seek to move forward. Ironically, if we are concerned about burden on the broadcasters,

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we may well see the broadcast lobby arguing for public funding -- i.e., to be paid.

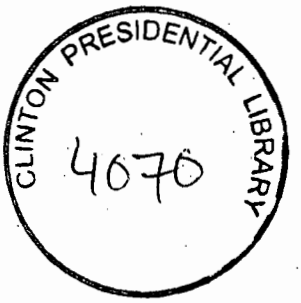
Broadcaster concerns can be met in a few ways: a) this is not just the WH, but Mitchell, Boren as well as Dole and Simpson; b) the cost won't be that great, since House candidates thus far aren't covered, and the current legislation requires a 50% discount for Senate candidates anyway.

IV. DECISION

___ Approve ___ Approve as amended ___ Reject ___ No action

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May 25, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR POLICY COORDINATION

SUBJECT: CALL FROM SEN. WELLSTONE ON CAMPAIGN REFORM

Sen. Paul Wellstone has telephoned you. While we do not know the topic of his call, it is likely that it relates to the campaign finance reform bill now on the Senate floor.

Sen. Wellstone has indicated that he will offer two sets of amendments:

1. Contribution limits -- Today he offered an amendment lowering the amount individuals can give to candidates to $100, but with a proviso that this applied only if the bill included substantial public funding.

However, he has stated that if the public funding is struck from the bill, he will offer an amendment to lower the amount that an individual can give to $500.

2. The lobbyist contribution ban -- He proposes to alter the ban on lobbyist contributions in two ways.

- He says that "lobbying" should include contacts with staff as well as with Members. That was our intent, and Sen. Mitchell is reportedly working out language.

- He wants the 12 month ban on contributions from lobbyists extended to a) their clients (which is probably encompassed within our original proposal, since the clients also have to disclose their lobbying activity) and b) to PACs affiliated with their clients. This would mean that a corporation or labor union whose lobbyist contacts a member of Congress would not be able to contribute to that member through its PAC. This would raise, among other things, constitutional questions.

If he is calling to seek your support or acquiescence on any of these changes, I recommend that you avoid making any commitment. We have avoided taking a position on amendments to this legislation, other than those that would gut key elements of the bill (i.e., spending limits, communications vouchers, etc.).

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MARCH 11, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN
Special Assistant to the President
for Policy Coordination

SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM DECISIONS:
SUMMARY OF THE ROOSEVELT ROOM MEETING

This memorandum memorializes the tentative decisions that you made at the meeting on Wednesday afternoon. Since negotiations may begin soon, we need to get your sign-off as soon as possible.

As you may know, David Wilhelm has spoken to Senator Mitchell and Rep. Gephardt, who are eager to begin negotiations on Monday. He also spoke to George Kundanis, Speaker Foley's AA, who is less eager. David believes that it may make sense for you to ask the Speaker directly, and will contact you if that is needed.

If you want to have a <u>small</u> meeting this afternoon or this weekend to discuss matters such as the level of public funding you wish to seek, we can provide you with additional facts and figures at that time.

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CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM ISSUES

1. **SPENDING LIMITS** (linked to public benefits)

Opening position: Follow the limits in last year's bill.

• The Senate limits may be unreasonably low, but we'll let the Senate bring that up.

___ **Accept** ___ **Accept as amended** ___ **Reject** ___ **More info.**

2. **PUBLIC BENEFITS** (for candidates who comply with the spending limits)

House: Retain last year's provision (which was matching funds for small contributions worth up to $200,000, or 1/3 of the spending limit).

Senate: You reserved your options for the Senate. They are:

1. Going along with Mitchell-Boren. Their bill had broadcast vouchers worth 12.5% of the general election limit. They are now likely to increase the public funding to 34% of the general election total (25% of the total).

___ **Accept** ___ **Accept as amended** ___ **Reject** ___ **More info.**

2. Go one step beyond Mitchell-Boren: propose that the partial public funding be increased to 50%. (As you may recall, that is the figure Mitchell used at the leadership meeting on this topic. This would push the envelope, and possibly make it easier for Mitchell to sell a somewhat smaller proposal.)

___ **Accept** ___ **Accept as amended** ___ **Reject** ___ **More info.**

3. Proposing something like what Kerry, Biden and Bradley advocated -- full public funding for Senate general elections, which would "ban all special interest contributions from Senate general election campaigns."

___ **Accept** ___ **Accept as amended** ___ **Reject** ___ **More info.**

Conditions for communications vouchers: Require recipients of broadcast vouchers to debate their opponents (following a model proposed by Sen. Graham).

___ Accept ___ Accept as amended ___ Reject ___ More info.

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Broadcast discounts: Seek to extend the 50% discount for broadcast time, now available only for Senate candidates, for House candidates as well.

___ Accept ___ Accept as amended ___ Reject ___ More info.

3. PAYING FOR THE PUBLIC BENEFITS

Opening position: Use the funds from the repeal of the tax deductibility of lobbying.

Note: This position will win wide acceptance among Democrats on the Hill.

___ **Accept** ___ **Accept as amended** ___ **Reject** ___ **More info.**

Backup position: Expansion of the checkoff (to $2.50, $3, or whatever).

___ **Accept** ___ **Accept as amended** ___ **Reject** ___ **More info.**

4. PAC LIMITS

Opening position: Cut PAC contributions to $1000.

Bottom line: We cannot move beyond the aggregate limit for the House of $200,000 in S.3. (As Stan Greenberg pointed out, an increase in this amount simply will not fly. This position will make the House very unhappy.)

Next proposal: Change the nature of PACs by a) cutting the size of PAC contributions to candidates in half, to $2500; and b) cutting the amount that can be given to a PAC from $5000 to either $250 or $500. (We are analyzing the variable partisan impact of either number.)

___ **Accept** ___ **Accept as amended** ___ **Reject** ___ **More info.**

5. INDIVIDUAL LIMITS

Proposal: Cut the amount of money that can be given by individuals to candidates by one half -- to $500 per election -- the same rate that PAC money is cut.

___ **Accept** ___ **Accept as amended** ___ **Reject** ___ **More info.**

6. SOFT MONEY

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Proposal: The DNC's proposal, which does the following:

- Soft money is banned from use in federal (presidential and congressional) campaigns. Only "hard money" -- legal under federal limits -- could be used for coordinated campaigns (get out the vote, voter registration, etc.).

- Individuals and PACs (but not direct contributions from corporations or unions) would be allowed to give up to $25,000 to national Democratic committees.

- Each state party will be authorized to establish a "Grassroots Fund" from which to fund all "grassroots activity." These will be the sole funds to pay for candidate specific and generic activity including: voter registration, town meetings and rallies, GOTV, volunteer-processed mail and volunteer-processed phone banks, literature and generic media.

- Contributions to the "Grassroots Fund" will be limited to $25,000 for individuals or PACs, with an aggregate national total of $100,000 for individuals and $250,000 for PACs.

- Full disclosure.

- National parties will be entitled to federal matching funds for contributions of $250 or less to be paid from the funds currently designated for the funding of the national conventions.

- Another method for funding these matching funds could come from either to expand the Presidential checkoff (which must be raised to approximately $3 to pay for future presidential funding) to $5, or by allowing taxpayers to donate up to $10 of any refund owed them to the political party of their choice.

NOTE: The DNC is drafting this proposal in detail, and the details of the draft will be available to you before the formal discussions, if you desire.

___ Accept ___ Accept as amended ___ Reject ___ More info.

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7. LOBBYISTS: Ban registered lobbyists (or those who should register under the law) or their employers from contributing to candidates.

Note: Employers are generally corporations, who cannot contribute now.

S.3's bundling provision already bars lobbyists from bundling.

___ Accept ___ Accept as amended ___ Reject ___ More info.

8. INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

Proposed option: Accept the independent expenditures provisions contemplated by congressional drafters:

- Faster and fuller disclosure of independent expenditures.
- Bans covert cooperation between "independent" spender and candidates.
- Provides capped matching funds for complying candidate to compensate for independent ads.

___ Accept ___ Accept as amended ___ Reject ___ More info.

9. NONCOMPLYING OPPONENT

Proposed option: Accept the provisions contemplated by congressional drafters:

- House: Complying candidate may exceed spending limit once opponent who has declared he or she will not comply raises 50% of spending limit, and may receive additional matching funds once opponent raises 80% of limit.
- Senate: Complying candidate receives additional public benefits to match non-complying opponent's spending beyond limit (up to double the spending limit); at that point, additional spending allowed if non-complying opponent more than doubles the limit.

___ Accept ___ Accept as amended ___ Reject ___ More info.

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10. **BUNDLING**

Proposed options:

- **Generally, accept the anti-bundling provisions in S.3.**

- **In re: EMILY's List, a) let it be fought out on the Hill, and b) support a compromise that lets EMILY's List continue to bundle, but narrows the exemption as much as possible.**

Note: This compromise is politically necessary, and EMILY's List has been instrumental in electing Democratic women. However, it is also the case that this exemption will ultimately allow big money to bundle -- e.g., insurance executives who oppose national health care could give $100,000 to congressional candidates through a PAC, but the UAW would be limited to $2500, or whatever the PAC limit is.

___ **Accept** ___ **Accept as amended** ___ **Reject** ___ **More info.**

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TWO ISSUES THAT WERE NOT DISCUSSED AT THE MEETING

1. THE PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM

The FEC argues that the Presidential checkoff fund -- which has not been indexed to inflation -- is about to run out of money. The agency, Sen. Mitchell and other congressional reformers propose that this bill include reforms to the presidential system as well:

- **Increase in the checkoff to $3 to cover additional costs**

  NOTE: This could include the matching funds for small contributions to parties sought by David Wilhelm for the DNC.

  NOTE: As an incumbent President, a collapse of the presidential fund might help deter primary opponents for you, but would also limit the number of Republican candidates who would likely carve each other up.

- **Repealing the state-by-state spending limits for primaries, which add complexity and gamesmanship to presidential primaries.**

___ **Accept** ___ **Accept as amended** ___ **Reject** ___ **More info.**

2. STRENGTHENING THE FEC

The FEC is currently relatively toothless, and would be required to assume new responsibilities under this system.

The agency is very slow. In addition, its makeup of 3 Democrats and 3 Republicans guarantees gridlock.

In addition to being sound public policy to strengthen the FEC, it is probably good partisan politics -- since the Republicans generally are much more aggressive about ignoring the rules (e.g., the Coverdale election, where they pumped $500,000 into the runoff with dubious legal cover).

Proposal: We work with congressional staff and the FEC to strengthen the agency. Preferred options:

- Creating an administrative law judge corps at the FEC to make quick preliminary rulings on complaints.

- Requiring a majority vote of the commission to overrule the General Counsel (who in turn is chosen by a bipartisan majority).

___ **Accept** ___ **Accept as amended** ___ **Reject** ___ **More info.**

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Lake to the President; RE: Trip to Italy (2 pages)	07/04/1994	P1/b(1)
001b. memo	Lake to the President; RE: Trip to Italy (7 pages)	07/04/1994	P1/b(1), P5
001c. memo	Christopher to the President; RE: The G-7 Summit in Naples (3 pages)	06/27/1994	P1/b(1), P5
001d. memo	Lloyd Bentsen to the President; RE: Russian Economic Reform (4 pages)	06/14/1994	P5 4072
001e. report	RE: U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	05/13/1994	P1/b(1)
001f. talking points	RE: Meeting with Prime Minister Berlusconi of Italy (3 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
001g. report	RE: U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	06/20/1994	P1/b(1)
001h. talking points	RE: Meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama (4 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
001i. report	RE: U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	06/29/1994	P1/b(1)
001j. briefing paper	RE: Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama (2 pages)	06/29/1994	P1/b(1)
001k. talking points	RE: Meeting with Prime Minister Chretien of Canada (4 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
001l. report	RE: U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	06/20/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
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Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 13646

FOLDER TITLE:
President Clinton's Trip to Naples, Italy for the Economic Summit, July 1994 [Binder]
[1]

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
db1458

RESTRICTION CODES

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DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

June 14, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LLOYD BENTSEN Lloyd Bentsen

SUBJECT: Russian Economic Reform and the Naples Summit

Introduction

Since you saw President Yeltsin in Moscow, Russia has made further progress in building a market economy. After an initial hesitancy, Prime Minister Chernomyrdin has decided to press on with reform.

The policy of intensified engagement in support of Russian reform that you advanced has played a constructive role. In January, you reiterated to President Yeltsin the western offer of conditional financial support, measured with the pace of reform, and proposed that G-7 Finance Ministers raise the level of engagement on economic reform issues. Russia took up these offers, and devoted much effort to gaining renewed IMF support. Now, reform has restarted and western financial support is flowing.

But Russia's reforms are not yet secure. Like a bicycle rider, Russia must pedal fast enough to avoid falling. The macroeconomy is no longer in chaos, but is not yet under control. And, we must not forget that in each of the past two years, the Spring season saw a rebirth of Russian reform, only to be followed by a Summer of disappointment.

The Naples Summit offers you the opportunity to give Russia a clear message on reform and the support we can provide. Russia must build upon the reform momentum it has generated and lay the foundation later this year for an intensified drive toward stabilization, economic recovery, and social protection. We have prepared an initiative to provide substantially augmented financial support for the FSU states from the IMF and World Bank. In Naples, you have the opportunity to urge the Russians to make use of this enhanced support as part of an intensified drive for reform.

Russia's Reform Record

In January, Prime Minister Chernomyrdin declared that Russia's flirtation with "market romanticism" was over, and sacked several leading reformers. That raised concerns there would be a return to high inflation, a retreat from structural reform, and a deterioration in Russia's relationship with the international financial community.

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That pessimism has not been borne out by events. The Prime Minister

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has pushed ahead with economic reform. Though attuned to industrial needs, he decided first to combat the debilitating impact of high inflation and the unbearable cost of subsidizing industrial deadwood. He also set out to improve Russia's standing with the international financial community, so he would be a credible interlocutor and so Russia could tap financing opportunities. The results have been positive.

- Russia, which experienced inflation of over 20 percent monthly in 1993, has kept inflation below 10 percent monthly since February. The budget deficit, 18 percent of GDP in 1992 and 8 percent last year, is targeted at 6-1/2 percent this year. Russia's 1994 economic program earned the IMF's support with a $1.5 billion loan. Russia's program has stayed on track.

- Russia's sweeping privatization program continues, despite attacks from many quarters. Over 100,000 small firms, or about 80 percent of all such firms, are private. Some 10,000 large firms, which employed more than 11 million employees or 50 percent of the industrial labor force, are now private. Land privatization is starting.

- President Yeltsin and the Government recently issued a number of decrees to step up reform. These decrees will facilitate Russia's integration with the world economy by cutting quotas and taxes on oil and gas exports. The decrees also tackle some of the thorny problems created by inefficient state firms.

- The social consequences of reform, while difficult, must be kept in perspective. Wage growth has outpaced inflation by more than 10 percent over the last year. With the strengthening of the ruble, the average real wage has risen from $40 to $100. Unemployment has risen, but remains low by European standards.

Despite these positive results, there remains a potential for political instability within Russia and across the region. Industrial decline, rising unemployment, and a tide of economically-motivated crime contribute to that potential. The continuing economic chaos in many of the other FSU states weakens their sovereignty and invites problems with Russia. Stabilization and reform in the region might not guarantee desirable political outcomes, but would provide the best setting for market-based economies and democracies to take hold.

<u>The Summit Message</u>

Russia needs to build on its accomplishments and show the people the promise of reform. Ukraine and the other FSU states need economic reform to anchor their sovereignty and bolster the political stability of the region. You can help these countries see their challenges more clearly and offer crucial financial support. I see the summit message as having the following four parts.

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1. Russia should intensify its stabilization and reform effort.

Chernomyrdin continues to see a tradeoff between lowering inflation and sustaining production. Thus, he aims to keep inflation around 7 percent per month through the rest of the year. In reality, that tradeoff is illusory; and that strategy will have a very high cost. With continued inflation and steady exchange rate depreciation, the Government will not gain the confidence of its people. As a result, capital flight will drain the economy of resources needed for recovery (potentially more resources than are provided by western support). Moreover, interest rates will remain so high as to cripple even promising enterprises (and much of Russian industry has survival potential). Without stability, the productive economy will seem hopeless. With stability, a profitable core will emerge.

2. Social protection should be improved to bolster political support for reform. That is best done by creating new social programs and institutions consistent with a market economy.

Russia has only recently shown serious interest in improving and modernizing its social protection system. The Prime Minister's new strategy for enterprise restructuring has strong implications for social protection. He is pressing enterprises to cope with cutbacks in subsidies and signalling an end to the government policy of promoting universal employment. That will necessitate development of an adequate unemployment compensation scheme and a social safety net for the poor. Chernomyrdin is also developing a program calling for enterprises to privatize or turn over to local governments the social services that they provide. For those goals to be achieved, the Government must develop improved social protection programs, create room in its budget for costly burden of these programs, lower inflation so that pensions are not so badly eroded, and mobilize supplementary support from the World Bank.

3. The West will support an intensified stabilization and reform effort.

Russia has drawn on much of the support promised by the G-7 last year in Tokyo. What remains undrawn is for the most part IMF support slated to move as soon as Russia embarks intensifies its stabilization and reform effort. A key initiative that we are preparing for the Naples Summit aims at a G-7 decision to mobilize additional IMF and World Bank resources for Russia and the other FSU states. For Russia, the augmented IMF and World Bank loans could mean $10 billion next year to support the budget and balance of payments. That amount could help make stabilization achievable. This year, Russia stands a good chance of limiting money printing in support of the budget to about $20 billion. Next year, Russia will need to reduce that to about $6 billion to bring inflation to low levels. Augmented western finance could make a key contribution.

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4. The political stability of the region can be secured only if Ukraine and the other FSU countries push ahead with reform. The West is mobilizing enhanced financing to encourage and reinforce reform in those countries.

Ukraine's failure to begin meaningful reform threatens its sovereignty as well as regional stability. Pledging that substantial western support is available conditioned on real reform will strengthen our message and the case of Ukraine's reformers. Some other FSU countries have made progress in reforms, but still face huge energy bills and other financial problems. The G-7 initiative to augment IMF and World Bank loans will produce enhanced finance for Ukraine and the other FSU states. In the case of Ukraine, for example, the initiative could add about $1 billion to the finance already on tap to back a reform effort.

Annexes

Annex I

Last year at Tokyo, the G-7 endorsed a $43 billion package of multilateral support for Russian reform. As envisioned in Tokyo, disbursements from the package have kept pace with progress in Russia's economic reforms, as described in the attached annex.

Annex II

In January, you met President Yeltsin, you highlighted five key initiatives we could take to help accelerate the pace of Russian reform and Western support. We are making good progress on these five initiatives, as described in the attached annex.

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001. memo	Mark Gearan to 472 Group; RE: Saturday Meeting (1 page)	10/17/1994	Personal Misfile
002. memo	Mark Gearan to 472 Group; RE: Truman History (1 page)	10/12/1994	Personal Misfile
003. memo	Bill Galston to the President; RE: Longterm Strategy for your Presidency (5 pages)	10/11/1994	P5 4073
004. memo	Rahm Emanuel and Bruce Reed to Leon Panetta; RE: Long Term Planning (4 pages)	11/01/1994	P5
005. memo	John Podesta, David Dreyer to 472 Group; RE: Pollsters (2 pages)	11/04/1994	Personal Misfile

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Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 13659

FOLDER TITLE:
Elections: 472 Group/Long Term Strategy

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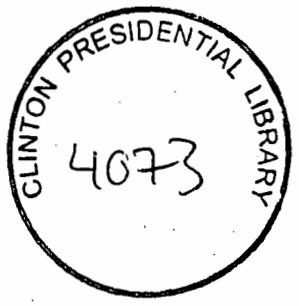
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DRAFT/October 11, 1994



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BILL GALSTON

VIA: LEON PANETTA
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

SUBJECT: LONGTERM STRATEGY FOR YOUR PRESIDENCY

Introduction

Over the next few months, it will be important for you to tell the story of your presidency in a compelling manner. That means rising above the details and "connecting the dots" thematically. It also means building a bridge between what you have accomplished thus far and what you hope to accomplish in the remainder of your first term.

There is, however, a significant obstacle to carrying out this task, an obstacle that is a source of tremendous frustration to many of us in your administration and, we suspect, to you as well. We all believe that your record has been one of great accomplishment that is increasing opportunities for many millions of Americans: workers, students, and children, among others. But the evidence suggests that most Americans don't share this view. About two-thirds don't think we've accomplished very much; roughly the same percentage believe that our country is on the wrong track.

It is vital to understand why so many citizens feel this way. For if the story of your administration is to be told effectively, it must somehow be connected to the deepest sentiments and needs of the people. The purpose of this memorandum is to outline my understanding of the basic reasons why Americans remain dissatisfied in spite of the economic recovery and to suggest some measures that may alleviate these discontents.

Sources of public dissatisfaction

There are, I believe, three basic sources of public dissatisfaction today: government, economics, and culture.

1. **The government.** The American people are not pleased by the way governmental institutions are functioning. They perceive a failure of government to act decisively and effectively, a federal government that is overextended at the expense of states and localities, an excess of wrangling between two seemingly outdated political parties, and a proliferation of special interests that drown out the voices of average citizens.

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2. **The economy.** In spite of the recovery, many Americans remain insecure and anxious about their economic prospects. They expect continuing restructuring and job loss that will affect the middle class and managers as well as manufacturing workers. They suffer from "fear of falling"--the expectation that if they lose their jobs, their next jobs will provide lower pay and reduced benefits. They do not see a change in the twenty year-old trend toward family income stagnation. They believe that just to keep their heads above water, both men and women will have to work longer hours, leaving less time for children and family. And they have not regained confidence in a better future. Indeed, they fear that their children will not enjoy that same opportunities that they themselves did.

3. **The culture.** As you know, many Americans are pessimistic about basic trends in our society and culture. They perceive disintegration in such basic social institutions as family, neighborhood, and community. They see a cultural fragmentation into competing separate subcommunities--ethnic, racial, religious, and many others--that makes it increasingly difficult for our country to pull together and articulate shared standards of conduct based on a common moral vision. They experience important elements of the culture (especially television) as working against parental efforts to raise children with sound character and values. In general, there is a pervasive sense of loss of control that leads many to a search for renewed sources of certainty and authority, including religion.

The road ahead

Much of what you have already accomplished (and articulated) bears directly and positively on these sources of public dissatisfaction. Nonetheless, I believe there are additional steps you can take that could demonstrate your understanding of public sentiment, help solve the underlying problems that give rise to this discontent, and enhance the credibility of the public account you may offer of your administration's record of achievement and program for the future.

1. **Reform of government and the political system.** The Perot insurgency was an early warning sign of public frustration with established government institutions and business as usual. The failure of Congress to make progress on political reform has only intensified this feeling. Indeed, there is something approaching a withdrawal of trust in the entire governance system--a crisis of legitimacy. In these circumstances, we must now consider more dramatic changes in the political system than seemed thinkable even two years ago. Some possibilities include the following:

o When the public became discontented with the integrity and responsiveness of state legislatures during the Progressive era, a number of states authorized referenda as alternate routes for making public policy decisions. Today, most other industrialized countries selectively use national referenda t

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increase public participation in key issues and to enhance the legitimacy of the result. More than seventy percent of the American people support such a system for this country. We could support a constitutional amendment to that effect.

o The administration has already weighed in against the constitutionality of state-originated congressional term limits. We could nonetheless announce our support for a constitutional amendment allowing states to impose such limits if they choose.

o Most people believe that two much power has flowed to the federal government at the expense of states and localities. We could support a package of initiatives to reconfigure the federal system, including

* devolution of some current national functions to the states (Alice Rivlin has written an important book on this subject);

* increased state authority in areas (such as health care and welfare) where a substantial degree of federal preemption now exists;

* renewed support for far-reaching legislation to expand waivers, collapse categorical programs into larger block grants to states, and rein in unfunded mandates.

o You should renew your strong public support for the line-item veto or the strongest possible version of enhanced recision authority.

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o You should hard for passage of both lobbying and campaign finance reform early in the 104th Congress.

o You should come out swinging for congressional reform (for a start, making sure laws that apply to the executive branch and average citizens apply to Congress as well).

2. **Promoting economic security for workers and families.** During your presidential campaign, you spoke about making change our friend. But while the administration has certainly embraced change, we have not yet persuaded many Americans that the future benefits of economic change outweigh its current costs. The previous generation's desire for economic security was satisfied to a significant extent by strong unions, relatively stable corporations, and reliable public and private retirement programs. Today, these structures of collective security have all been weakened, and our plan for individual security based on improved education and training is not seen as a fully adequate replacement.

It may well be that the degree of security American workers enjoyed in the 1950s and 1960s can never be regained. Still, it is worth thinking about a new economic security agenda that is

COPY

compatible with our commitment to market-driven economic change. The following steps would help you move toward such an agenda:

o You have not yet gotten credit for the top-to-bottom changes you have initiated in America's system of education and job training. Events and speeches highlighting your accomplishments in this area should be a focus of activity between now and next January.

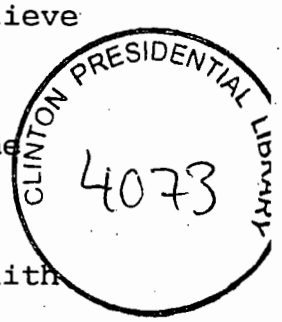
o Without suggesting government-mandated training expenditures for the private sector, you should emphasize your belief that a better-trained workforce is in the long run smarter for business than endless "downsizing" as a strategy for productivity, profitability, and international competitiveness.

o To create a tax code more friendly to middle-class families, you should seriously consider a revenue-neutral strategy for funding a family tax cut in the form of a children's tax credit financed by cuts in special-interest tax subsidies.

o To address declining confidence in private and public retirement systems, you should consider both pension reforms and steps to reassure younger workers that Social Security will be there for them when they retire.

o To address declining wages and the fear of falling, you should ask the Department of Labor to examine strategies that might provide a significant measure of wage insurance for displaced workers.

3. **Stemming cultural decline.** Your use of the bully pulpit to speak out on issues of cultural decline and renewal has produced some of the peak moments of your presidency. I believe that you should renew these efforts and pursue them systematically. This could include:



o setting forth your vision of "e pluribus unum"--the constitutional faith that binds us together as a national community across all the lines of our differences;

o reaching out regularly to religious leaders and faith communities;

o publicly identifying yourself with the growing movement for character education and character formation in schools and communities across the country;

o incorporating the principle of personal responsibility into every administration initiative to the maximum feasible extent;

o announcing a high-profile national mobilization of non-profit organizations--national and community-based, religious and secular--to fight family disintegration and teen pregnancy;

COPY

o systematically structuring your domestic policy initiatives to work through, and strengthen, the voluntary and locally-based organizations that constitute the heart of vibrant communities;

o building on the crime bill to mount a broad assault on all forms of violence in our society; and

o bringing national and community service back to stage center as a symbol of the new ethic of citizenship you are trying to foster.

Conclusion

I recognize that this is a daunting menu of possibilities. I offer it in the belief that by promoting an agenda that focuses on the principal sources of public discontent, you can both build a more solid foundation for future accomplishment that addresses critical national problems and favorably alter public assessments of what has been accomplished up to now.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Michael Waldman for circulation; RE: Draft Opening Statement for East Room Press Conference (1 page)	n.d.	P5
002. memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: Peter Jennings Interview on NAFTA (1 page)	11/15/1993	P5 4074
003. memo	Michael Waldman to David Gergen, et al.; RE: My Anti-Nafta Background (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
004. memo	Michael Waldman to David Gergen; RE: Possible Television Address (1 page)	11/16/1993	P5

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 13660

FOLDER TITLE:
[NAFTA]

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
db2230

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 15, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN MW

SUBJECT: PETER JENNINGS INTERVIEW ON NAFTA

The Jennings interview is taped today, for broadcast tomorrow on World News Tonight and also on Nightline.

At this stage in the debate, your best tone is one of elevation: spelling out the stakes for the country. The Presidential bully pulpit -- the fact that you are the only person charged solely with the national interest -- is the best argument we now have.

In addition, you need to do a bit of inoculation: As you know, a new methodology for calculating unemployment will be released tomorrow; this could give critics an opportunity to scream that "things are worse than we thought." Therefore, it is especially important to reassure working people about your intentions and the impact of NAFTA on their lives.

* * *

* **NAFTA is a fundamental decision for our country as we adjust to the new, post-Cold War world -- will we make a changing world work for us, or will we retreat into protectionism?** I believe Americans are winners. I know that American workers are the best in the world. We have nothing to fear from the world economy -- if only we are willing to lead. We must do what is in the national interest and not give in to narrow interests.

* **NAFTA creates jobs by expanding exports.** I would never knowingly do anything that would destroy jobs for middle class Americans. NAFTA does just the opposite. It will create hundreds of thousands of high paying export jobs.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Bruce Reed, et al. to the Chief of Staff; RE: Options for Political and Government Reform (4 pages)	10/31/1994	P5
002. memo	Bruce Reed, et al. to the Chief of Staff; RE: Options for Political and Government Reform (5 pages)	10/21/1994	P5
003. memo	Bruce Reed, et al. to the Chief of Staff; RE: Strategy for Political and Government Reform (7 pages)	11/01/1994	P5
004. memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: Political Reform - Action Needed (4 pages)	05/31/1994	P5 4075

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COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 13643

FOLDER TITLE:
Political and Gov't Reform

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
db2205

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 31, 1994

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: MACK MCLARTY
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
CAROL RASCO

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: POLITICAL REFORM -- ACTION NEEDED

I. ACTION FORCING EVENT

Political reform legislation -- lobby reform and campaign finance reform -- is coming to a head on Capitol Hill.

Lobby reform legislation is proceeding relatively smoothly. On campaign finance reform, however, the House and Senate leadership have been in a "pre-conference" for nearly five months, and are deadlocked on the issue of PAC contributions. Resolving this issue is the key to enacting the legislation. Prospects of passage will dim if the issue is not resolved soon.

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II. BACKGROUND

Lobby reform

Lobby reform legislation will go to conference after the Memorial Day recess. The legislation is now significantly stricter than anyone believed likely. During its passage through the Congress, however, the administration has conspicuously elected to remain silent, out of deference to congressional prerogatives.

The legislation includes three separate major elements:

Lobby registration and disclosure. This provision -- supported by the administration -- will toughen the requirement that lobbyists register and disclose their clients, issues, etc., bringing a larger number into compliance. (Today, only 7000 people register; it is estimated that as many as 40,000

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would under the new rules.) This legislation, introduced by Sen. Levin and Rep. Bryant, is relatively noncontroversial.

Disclosure of gifts from lobbyists. This provision -- similar to the proposal enacted in Arkansas -- would require lobbyists to disclose specifically what meals, entertainment, travel and gifts they provide to Members of Congress or their staffs. The administration did not take a position on this proposal before it was attached to the legislation in the Senate; you expressed your strong support thereafter. It was introduced by Sen. Wellstone and Rep. Bryant.

Banning gifts from lobbyists. This provision overwhelmingly passed the Senate last month after an acrimonious debate. A weaker version passed the House previously. (For example, in the House bill a lobbyist's client can take a lobbyist and a lawmaker out to dinner, and not even have to disclose it.) (Sponsors: Sens. Wellstone, Lautenberg and Levin, and Reps. Bryant and Fazio.)

Despite the overwhelming margins of approval for these measures, they have generated ill-will among lawmakers. Members feel the reforms are unnecessary, and are acting in response to public pressure and fear of further exposure by tabloid TV shows, which have focused on lobbyist-funded trips by Members. It is possible that the House will balk at the stronger Senate provisions. However, the same factors that impelled Members to vote against a provision they detested will likely lead to a conference product that falls on the strict side.

Campaign finance reform

Other than PACs, the significant campaign finance reform issues are close to being resolved -- spending limits, public funding, bundling, soft money. (See attached summary sheet.) Thus far, we have achieved significant progress without expending much effort. However, the entire legislative package could fail if the two houses do not compromise on PACs.

Last year, the two houses passed radically different PAC provisions. The Senate bill banned PAC contributions, and the Senate reiterated that position earlier this month (though they know it is unconstitutional); as a fallback, PAC funds were limited to 20% of the spending limit, and the size of an individual PAC contribution was reduced from $5000 to $2500 (i.e., $5000 per cycle). The House bill capped PAC funds at 1/3 of the spending limit (about $250,000), but kept the individual contributions at $5000 ($10,000 per cycle).

The Senate Republicans who backed the bill last year have indicated that they will filibuster the proposal if there is not some compromise on PACs.

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The House has thus far refused to compromise on PACs with the Senate.

Common Cause has suggested that PACs be limited to giving candidates $5000 per cycle (however, they could still give that much in either the primary or the general election). This proposal, combined with the aggregate limit, would have little actual effect on the fundraising of House members, and would benefit those Democrats who are most concerned about primary challenges.

In addition, the A to Z budget cut movement may have an impact on the willingness of members to vote for public funding while they vote for cuts elsewhere. This will potentially be mitigated by the sources of the funding -- a fee on PACs, a voluntary surcharge, and eliminating the deductibility of lobbyist meals and gifts for lawmakers. The Southern Democrats have signed off on this funding mix.

III. OPTIONS

A. Telephone Speaker Foley and Rep. Gephardt to discuss political reform. (See attached call sheet.) The purpose would be to privately but firmly push them to do what they know is necessary for legislation to pass.

Pro: If we do not bring the two sides together, it is likely that this initiative will languish or fail. The Senate leadership is unlikely to bring a bill to the floor that does not "fix" the PAC provision.

Con: A PAC compromise will anger the CBC and other key constituencies. The leadership argues that it will have a hard time passing legislation that includes further PAC reform. In addition, Rep. Gejdenson has assured his colleagues that there will be no cut in the individual PAC limit.

B. Broadly signal that you want action on political reform -- including lobby reform *and* campaign finance reform -- through a letter to the leadership. (See attached draft letter.)

Pro: This would position the administration as being pro-reform, without entangling it in messy details. It would begin to garner some credit if the legislation passes, or protect us from charges that we did nothing to speed its progress.

Con: This is a particularly public way to weigh in. It might be seen as an affront by members who are enacting these measures only under duress.

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IV. DECISION:

A. Calls to Foley and Gephardt

_____ Approve _____ Approve as amended _____ Reject ___ No action

B. Letter to leadership on need for compromise

_____ Approve _____ Approve as amended _____ Reject ___ No action

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Michael Waldman to Leon Panetta, Harold Ickes; RE: Campaign Finance Reform - Other Options (1 page)	03/29/1995	P5
002. memo	Michael Waldman to Leon Panetta, Joan Baggett; RE: Unions and Campaign Finance Reform (2 pages)	12/13/1994	P5
003. memo	Michael waldman, Steven Ricchetti to the President; RE: Campaign Finance Reform Conference - Decision Needed (3 pages)	03/31/1994	P5 4077
004. memo	Michael Waldman to Ricki Seidman, et al.; RE: Campaign Finance Reform Timing (1 page)	03/17/1994	P5
005. memo	Michael Waldman to Campaign Finance Reform Meeting; RE: Issues in Conference (4 pages)	03/03/1994	P5

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COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 13643

FOLDER TITLE:
Campaign Finance Reform 1994 & 1995

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
db2204

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

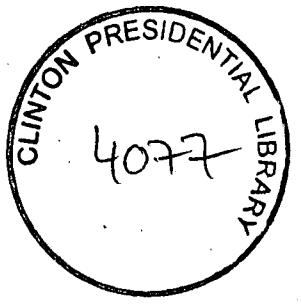
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March 31, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN
Special Assistant to the President
for Policy Coordination

STEVEN J. RICCHETTI
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Legislative Affairs



SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM CONFERENCE – DECISION NEEDED

I. ACTION-FORCING EVENT

As you know, the House and Senate leadership have been engaged in negotiations to craft a campaign finance reform conference report. If this passes, it will be regarded as a major accomplishment for the administration. Happily, most issues have been resolved; but there is one major issue impasse: not surprisingly, PACs. For the legislation to pass (over likely GOP resistance) before Memorial Day, we need to bring the conferees to a decision within the next two weeks or so.

II. BACKGROUND

The Senate and House passed differing provisions affecting PACs:

- The Senate bill banned PACs; in case that was found unconstitutional, contributions are limited to $2500 per election ($5000 per cycle) from each PAC, with an aggregate cap of 20% of the spending limit.

- The House bill kept PACs at $10,000 per cycle ($5000 per election), with an aggregate limit of 1/3 of the spending limit.

The House PAC provisions were widely lambasted by the press, by Rep. Synar, David Broder, etc. The Senate leadership and Common Cause believe that the House provisions must be "fixed" in some way to make the bill appear to be credible reform, enough to break an expected Senate GOP filibuster. In their view, if the House PAC provisions are not changed, even cosmetically, then it will

be very difficult to actually pass a bill. Or, we would not get adequate credit for a bill we do pass.

The House leadership have said that their caucus members, especially liberals and the CBC, will not tolerate any further restriction on PAC money. (They also argue that their bill contains real public financing, while the Senate flinched, so their bill is stronger than the Senate's.)

III. RECOMMENDATION

Our goal must be to produce legislation that is both "credible" and that can pass. The key to this is a PAC proposal that is respected as an improvement over the previously passed legislation. It is likely that this will only happen if the White House quietly but firmly weighs in for a compromise.

The compromise that has been proposed is to reduce PAC giving to $5000 per cycle, while letting PACs continue to give that entire amount in either the primary or the general election. This would enable labor PACs and others to give the maximum amount in either a primary (the chief concern of CBC members) or a general. Sen. Mitchell and Common Cause back this plan. Thus far, the House resists.

The issue turns on perception.

- Supporters argue that, in reality, this compromise would have little effect on overall PAC fundraising, and no effect at all on most members, for two reasons: 1) Few PACs give members more than $5000 per cycle; and 2) the aggregate limits are low enough that the big PAC recipients would still be able to receive their total under the $5000 limit. According to Common Cause, under the bill's aggregate PAC cap, House Democrats would have raised $63 million last cycle -- and cutting to $5000 per cycle would have cut only $2 million from that (3% of the PAC money). 218 of the 257 Democrats would have their PAC funds cut by less than $20,000. Even CBC members -- who got $6.1 million in PAC money -- would have lost only $450,000 total (7%).

- On the other hand, House Democrats view any limit on PACs as an erosion of their incumbency advantage. (PAC funds go 8:1 incumbents over challengers. Hence, they heavily favor Democrats.) House Democrats have grudgingly grown used to the idea of campaign reform, but this might set off a new round of hair-pulling. Given numerous other sensitive issues affecting the CBC (crime, welfare) and labor, some argue that this is not a further area for a fight.

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IV. DECISION

We recommend that the White House weigh in with the conferees and seek to persuade the House to move on the PAC issue and compromise with the Senate. The actual impact on candidate fundraising would be minimal, while it would be the key to producing legislation that is lauded as landmark reform.

____ Approve ____ Approve as amended ____ Reject ____ No action

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION	
001 memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: State of the Union Meeting (4 pages)	12/[illegible]7/1997	P5	4078
002 memo	Michael Waldman, et al. to the President; RE: State of the Union (2 pages)	n.d.	P5	4079

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14417

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU [State of the Union] 1999 Planning Book [Binder] [5]

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
db2245

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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COPY

December 7, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: ERSKINE BOWLES
SYLVIA MATHEWS

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION MEETING

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The 1998 State of the Union Address – your sixth – comes at a critical time in the Presidency. It will be your first major statement of purpose to the country since the completion of the balanced budget; it will be an opportunity to frame the issues that can dominate the 1998 elections; it can enable you to set large national goals and posit a new role for government in the new era.

The purpose of this memorandum is to prepare you for our first meeting with you on the State of the Union, to be held Monday morning. In this meeting, we propose to:

- discuss the overall strategic goal of the speech,
- focus, in particular, on how best to frame the role for government and the new bonds between government and people -- which you have called the "new social compact for a new economy," and
- present some overarching thematic approaches for your initial reaction.

This memorandum reflects discussions among Sylvia Mathews, John Podesta, Rahm Emanuel, Paul Begala, Sid Blumenthal, Ann Lewis, Gene Sperling, Bruce Reed, Sandy Berger, Frank Raines, Elena Kagan, Maria Echaveste, John Hilley, Ron Klain, Tony Blinken, Doug Sosnik and Mark Penn.

I. GOALS AND CONTEXT

Goals. First and foremost, it must set forth an ambitious agenda of programs and goals for the nation and world over the next three years, and even beyond. More than most such speeches, this can aim for far horizons.

Second, it should express the philosophy underlying that agenda, and link your many proposals as part of a new vision of government in the new economy. This speech should

COPY

express a clear "storyline" about the history of the country, the values you are working to uphold, and the purpose of your Presidency.

Third, it should highlight the different approaches of Democrats and Republicans. The overall purpose of the speech cannot be merely to unite the Democrats, but rather, to lead them and the country by expressing your public philosophy and summoning them to action on compelling issues.

The context. This Address comes at a turning point in your Presidency -- the beginning of a new phase that may encompass your final three years in office. America has fundamentally succeeded in meeting the challenges placed before it when you were elected. You addressed the budget deficit (a legacy of the 1980s), and the crises of crime and the persistence of the underclass (legacies of the 1960s and 1970s). More broadly, the policies you have put in place have gone far to guide the transition to a prosperous new economy that is information-based and technology-powered . . . through the shoals of the post-Cold War world . . . and toward an increasingly integrated global marketplace and community. The public is plainly ready to regard these changes, which once seemed only omens of disruption, as heralding a new and hopeful time. You have put in place a platform of progress on which to build.

Ironically, this very record of success creates a vacuum, and hence an opportunity. We believe there is a willingness, even an eagerness, on the part of the public to be challenged to the next agenda. Many of your most memorable speech lines have been those of negation -- "end welfare as we know it," "the era of big government is over." This is an occasion for focusing on "construction" -- for a distinctly positive vision.

This argues strongly that the policies advanced should be bolder, painted in more vivid colors, than we are perhaps accustomed to doing. They should paint a vision of the changes we seek, even if the enactment of some of those changes are unlikely in the short term. Each of your previous States of the Union revolved around a single, looming issue – the economic plan (1993), health care (1994), the unfolding fight with the Republicans on how to balance the budget (1995-1997). The array of smaller policies were accompanying notes to the dominant theme. This time, thus far, no single policy proposal or debate rises to the level of the economic plan, the health care plan, or the balanced budget. (Some of the entitlement reform proposals recently prestented to you would possibly rise to this level.)

II. "THE NEW SOCIAL COMPACT FOR A NEW ECONOMY"

Regardless of whether it is an overarching structure for the speech, or merely an extended passage, it may well make sense to talk at length about your vision of the new social compact for a new economy. In recent weeks, you have discussed the new forms of "social security" we need to give people the confidence they need to seize the opportunities of the new economy, as well as the "new social compact" you discussed at the DLC speech. It speaks to your vision of government -- "neither a government that does everything, nor a government that does nothing.

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but a government that gives people the tools to make the most of their own lives."

This could be a way to frame those domestic policy initiatives that involve updating the welfare state:

> "America's mission has always been to keep our most fundamental values alive in each new time. Now, as we enter a new century, America must renew the ties that bind us to each other and our country. During the Industrial Age, we gave life to our values by forging a social compact that protected our people and shielded them from economic dislocation. Today, the unfolding new economy offers wide new opportunities -- but rapid change has made the old social contract less effective. As we enter a new century with a new economy, we need a new social compact/contract as well. One based on individual empowerment, not big institutions. That means more and better education, a lifetime of learning to stay current in the ever-changing economic market, policies that encourage portability of health care and pensions as people change jobs, and an update of important programs like Social Security and Medicare so they can work better in the 21st Century."

Regardless of the precise wording, there is a more fundamental question that would benefit from your input.

- What, precisely, do we mean? Does this mean, in effect, a modernized welfare state in which people are given the tools to help themselves (e.g., portable health care, IRAs, training) rather than given blanket assurances of "security", or does it speak more broadly to a change in the relationship between individuals and government? How do we discuss the new habits of the heart needed in this new social compact?

- How does the important theme of "helping people meet their responsibilities at home and at work" fit in?

- Are there specific policy areas -- e.g., a more aggressive approach to unemployment insurance and training -- that need to be developed to bolster the theme?

- Are there approaches or phrases to use or avoid? (Can we talk about the social contract without the words "social" or "contract"?)

III. OVERARCHING THEMES AND STRUCTURES

We are currently discussing several thematic approaches to the speech, and would like to get your initial reaction and guidance before we proceed further. Mark Penn will be testing these various formulations, among others. Two, in particular, seem promising:

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Preparing America for the 21st Century. There is a new economy taking shape around us, the product of the progress put in place by your administration. We must act to give our people the tools to seize this new moment. That means a new social compact for the new economy, so all our people can seize the opportunity of this time (*or*, "new opportunity" for the new economy). It means acting to spur the development of miraculous new medical and scientific breakthroughs. It means working to create new security in the new world, as America faces new threats of terrorism, chemical and biological weapons, and ethnic warfare. It means building a new American community -- uniting the races through an ethic of service, and building a new sense of social cohesion.

Note: This theme, a more rigorous update of the 1997 State of the Union, has the advantage of being relentlessly future oriented and visionary.

The New American Dream (alternately, "Renewed American Dream," "21st Century American Dream," or "an American Dream for the 21st Century"): The American Dream has always been at the heart of the American experience. A good job, owning a home in a safe and clean community. Giving your children a good education, seeing a doctor when you're sick, retiring in dignity. Now our mission must be to strengthen those enduring values in a new time. But as we enter a new century we need less bureaucratic and more effective means of enabling people to achieve the American Dream of earning a good living and living a good life. That means an economic policy that invests in people's skills and pays down the debt and deficit of the past. It means tax cuts that are targeted where they're needed most -- retirement, child care, education -- rather than the old days of unfair tax cuts that exploded the deficit and hurt the economy. It means an education policy that reforms and improves public education -- reducing class size, restoring discipline, testing new teachers to make sure they're competent. It means a health care policy that protects the rights of patients, an environmental policy that punishes polluters and ensures clean air and water. And a retirement system that's flexible enough to protect senior citizens in changing times.

Note: This theme has the advantage of being concretely tied to the aspirations of people in their everyday lives.

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN
MARIA ECHAVESTE
PAUL BEGALA

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SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION

The 1999 State of the Union comes at a signal time for you and your administration. Your support in the country is strong. The Democrats' election success not only represents the first such gain by a President's party since 1822; it also narrows the party divide in the House. The public has endorsed your 'third way,' 'vital center' policies -- an endorsement seen not only in the Democrats' election success (on a platform of saving Social Security, fiscal responsibility, HMO reform, and education), but also in the success of moderate Republican Governors and in the success of reformed center-left parties in the UK, Italy, Germany, Brazil, etc. And elites are now willing to give you credit for focusing on this philosophy. In raw political terms, you enter your seventh year in office stronger than any comparable President this century -- stronger than stronger than Roosevelt, stronger than Eisenhower, stronger than Reagan.

At the same time this address marks the last time you will be able to use the national bully pulpit to command the undivided attention of the country. (The Year 2000 State of the Union will be held two weeks before the New Hampshire primaries.

This speech should be viewed as having three principal goals.

First, it should demonstrate that you continue to have a vigorous agenda, one that can define the political playing field. You did this very successfully in last year's speech, and in the blizzard of policy announcements that led up to it. We believe you should announce an array of small- to medium-sized policies in January, as part of the roll-up to the State of the Union.

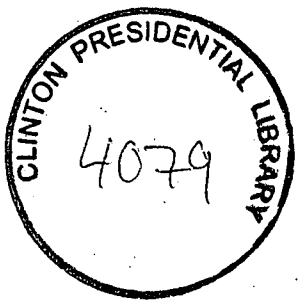
Second, it should focus more than any recent State of the Union on the economy -- on what we must do to advance our prosperity. It is as part of a comprehensive economic plan that we should address fiscal discipline, Social Security, and other isues. The key elements here would include Social Security (should we put forward a plan? Convene negotiations) and the surplus. It should also include significant discussion of how to steer the economy through international economic turbulence; this would be an opportunity to spell out your vision for an international economy with a human face that you have talked about at the WTO and Council on Foreign Relations.

Third, it should reach out to centrist Republicans to build a governing majority (on terms that you define). Thus, you should press for action on those items (such as patients' bill of rights, campaign finance reform, and other matters) that have notably bipartisan support.

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Finally, the speech is an opportunity to address specific constituencies and shore up areas of political weakness. There should be a renewed focus on crime; specific attention to rural issues and the elderly; a full discussion of military readiness.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Robert Rubin to the President; RE: Update on Your International Financial Initiatives (2 pages)	01/12/1997	P5 4080
001b. report	RE: Report From G7 Finance Ministers to G7 Heads (5 pages)	12/21/1998	P5

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SOTU [State of the Union] 1999 Speech Drafts 1/14/99 - 1/15/99 [Binder] [3]

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
db2248

RESTRICTION CODES

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DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

January 12, 1999

Copied Sperling Podesta Waldma

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Robert E. Rubin R.E.R.

SUBJECT: Update on Your International Financial Initiatives

As we move into the new year, I thought it would be useful to give you a brief update on the status of the international financial initiatives that you set out in September and October.

In general, these initiatives and the policy actions that followed have brought a bit of calm back to global financial markets. At the same time, we still face considerable uncertainty and risk, and it will take some time before we work through the problems that remain in the system.

I would assess recent developments as follows:

- The combined effect of your statement in the Council on Foreign Relations speech that the balance of risks in the global economy had shifted, the statement by G-7 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors and the monetary policy actions in the U.S. and G-7 more broadly have had a significant effect in improving market confidence.

- Approval by Congress of an expansion of the IMF's resources, along with the proposed new IMF mechanism for contingency financing, reassured markets that the international community would be able and willing to provide adequate financial assistance to support countries pursuing sound policies. Many of the details for the contingent mechanism have been agreed upon within the G-7, and we are now working in the IMF to put the mechanism in place. In the interim, a similar approach is already in use to support Brazil's economic reform program.

- The substantial program of policy reform and financial support that has been put in place for Brazil was initially well received. But confidence has begun to erode again, and reserve losses have accelerated. We continue to watch this situation very closely.

- In certain respects, policy in Japan has now moved in the direction we have been promoting. But the outlook for growth is still very poor and, in some cases, forecasts are being revised downward. Substantial concerns remain about the Japanese strategy for addressing weakness in their financial system.

- Building on the Asian Growth and Recovery Initiative that you and Prime Minister Obuchi announced in November, we are engaged in a multilateral effort to revitalize private sector growth in Asia, with particular focus on accelerating the pace of corporate and bank

restructuring. A Treasury team met in early December with representatives from Japan, the World Bank and Asian Development Bank to hammer out more details of the initiative. A broader meeting with potential beneficiaries and donors is tentatively planned for late January.

- The World Bank and Asian Development Bank have responded positively to your challenge to increase the assistance they provide to protect the most vulnerable in society from bearing the most severe pain of adjustment. The World Bank has promised to triple and the Asian Bank to double their **social sector lending**.

- In addition, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank have established new **emergency lending** instruments for countries with exceptional emergency financing needs. The loans are expected to focus on social and financial sector structural reforms.

- As you pledged, the Export-Import Bank stepped in to help ease the crunch caused by a drying up of **trade credits** in Asia -- in particular by expanding its medium-term trade finance program for Korea to $3 billion, and announcing medium-term programs for Indonesia and Thailand of $1 billion each. This is in addition to previous Ex-Im Bank actions.

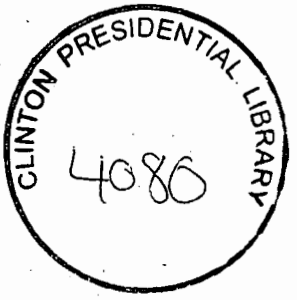
Collectively, this set of initiatives has had a significant impact. Nonetheless, a complex set of reinforcing concerns underline the need for continued caution.

- Despite recent progress in addressing the immediate crisis, forecasters have again pared back their projections for global economic growth in 1999. Although the crisis-stricken economies in Asia may show some positive growth in 1999, economic conditions are likely to get worse before getting better in a number of emerging market economies, including Russia, Brazil and China. Japan is still a major risk and growth is slowing in Europe. In addition, with a mature recovery and a growing current account deficit, some observers question how long the United States will continue to be a strong source of growth for the world economy. Furthermore, a broad set of other emerging market economies still face daunting challenges.

Meanwhile, minimizing the severity and costs of similar crises in the future will depend on further steps to strengthen the **international financial architecture**. We sent you a paper in early December that outlined our current thinking on this subject. We are now moving to flesh out an approach internally and to build consensus both within the G-7 and a broader group. We will keep you informed as our thinking evolves. In the meantime, the attached report from G-7 Finance Ministers to Heads (which the UK organized in its last act as chair this year) provides further detail on specific measures now being implemented, as well as future areas for consideration. This report is not being made public.

Attachment

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001. memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: Highlights of Domestic and Economic Policy Memos (4 pages)	12/03/1998	P5	4081

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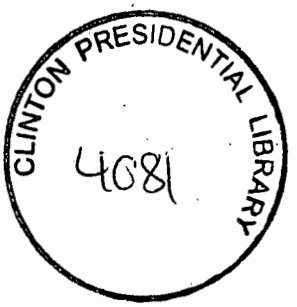
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December 3, 1998



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: JOHN PODESTA

THROUGH: MARIA ECHAVESTE

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN
STATE OF THE UNION PLANNING GROUP

SUBJECT: HIGHLIGHTS OF DOMESTIC AND ECONOMIC POLICY MEMOS

You have been sent several memos from the policy councils, suggesting an array of new possible policies – some big, some small. The purpose of this memorandum is to identify what we believe are the most significant of these new policy proposals, so you can begin to see the shape of a possible State of the Union and budget.

This is not an exclusive list. In addition, it does not include many of the smaller proposals -- many of which were included in the memoranda to you from the policy councils -- which will undoubtedly be a part of the final speech. It reflects discussion among Bruce Reed, Elena Kagan, Gene Sperling, Sally Katzen, Maria Echaveste, Paul Begala, Jack Lew, Mark Penn, Lael Brainard and Doug Sosnik, among others.

Social Security. At this moment we don't have anything further to add to the ongoing discussions about what to say on Social Security -- except to reaffirm that, given the central place of Social Security in the speech last year, there will be enormous pressure to show some specificity in this address.

Long-Term Care Initiative. As you know, this is politically very powerful, and speaks to a real source of deep anxiety for typical families. The most important new proposal would be for a tax credit of up to $1,000 for disabled elderly or their caregivers (at a cost of about $6 billion over 5 years). In addition, the package could include a nursing home quality initiative; respite services, training and counseling for families who care for severely impaired elderly relatives; and new long-term care options for federal employees.

In addition to Social Security and long-term care, the policy councils are developing a full agenda of issues of particular concern to elderly Americans – including measures to fight

fraud and other crime that preys on seniors, to provide housing and transportation for the elderly, and to strengthening pension protections and enhance pension portability.

Education -- teacher quality. The DPC believes that the most important and memorable new element to your education agenda should be a focus on teachers -- teacher training, teacher quality, teacher recruitment. This would build on the success this year of beginning to hire 100,000 new teachers (a proposal, it is worth noting, that gained more political traction than any previous education reform efforts).

The proposal being crafted will have several elements. Most noteworthy would be a new requirement, tied to federal aid, that new secondary teachers pass competency tests in a subject before they can teach it. In addition, we will mount a nationwide crackdown on teacher education schools, and move to reform teacher certification. These steps will be coupled with increased teacher recruitment scholarships, funds to help teachers go back to college when they teach outside their field. We can use the opportunity of the reauthorization of the ESEA to provide both "carrots" and "sticks" for a teacher quality initiative.

In addition, we will advance an expanded initiative on social promotion – giving communitie that end social promotion more money for after school and summer school, tutoring, and other means to help children live up to high standards. Finally, there would be an array of other education initiatives, including a focus on failing schools and a renewed call for school modernization.

Breaking the cycle of violent crime – a Crime Bill II. The 1994 Crime Act will expire at the end of FY 2000. We recommend that you challenge Congress to pass a new crime bill that builds on the core elements of the successful 1994 Act -- more police, smarter punishment, and more prevention. We believe that a new Crime Act should include the following elements: First, it should hire more community police and community prosecutors, with an emphasis on technology and training. It should expand the use of probation supervision and drug testing and treatment for prisoners and parolees. It should press your longstanding firearms priorities (juvenile Brady, Brady II, federal CAP legislation and child safety locks), and crack down on gun crimes and gun traffickers. Finally, in addition to other crime bill prevention programs, we could invest in promoting values-based crime and violence prevention efforts.

International economics. Last year, you discussed the international financial crisis when it was in its relatively early stages. Given the continued financial turmoil, and its impact on our own economy, we believe that the speech should have a significant discussion of world economy and the need to strengthen the international financial architecture. The NEC will be working to flesh out what should be said in this area, as well as an ambitious trade agenda building on the goals you anticipated at the WTO speech in Geneva. This will be the first time a broad television audience has heard your new synthesis on trade.

Tobacco/prescription drugs for Medicare beneficiaries. Our best leverage over the tobacco industry is the prospect of a federal suit to recoup Medicare costs associated with

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smoking. We could call on Congress to enact Senator Graham's legislation to authorize such a lawsuit (which would make the Justice Department more likely to bring it). At the same time, we could ask for funds for DOJ and HCFA to prepare a lawsuit against the tobacco industry. We could pledge that any proceeds from such a lawsuit would be used to provide a new prescription drug benefit to Medicare beneficiaries.

At the same time, you would once again push for the Patients' Bill of Rights, and could propose an array of expansions of coverage (including, possibly, a smaller version of the Medicare buy-in).

Workforce skills initiative -- closing the skills gap. With the long struggle for the GI Bill for Workers now successfully completed, you can more overtly address this remaining piece of your lifetime learning agenda. Under a proposal being developed by the NEC, every dislocated worker would get training within five years, every unemployed person would get some kind of reemployment services, and every worker would have access to one-stops. You could also advance an adult literacy initiative. You could also challenge American companies to train American workers first, before seeking to import foreign high-tech workers.

* * *

There are, of course, other significant policies being developed.

* Child care and after-school care will need to be revisited.

* Environment – EPA and CEQ are working on a quality-of-life based agenda that would help communities attain 'green spaces' such as parks and wilderness, and address uncontrolled development (the subject of 200 environmental ballot initiative victories this November), and initiatives to protect coastal and river areas. In addition, you can discuss next steps on climate change.

* Consumer protection – From a financial consumers bill of rights now being developed by the NEC, to an array of other consumer protections, you can propose a consumer protection agenda (this would be the first such explicit agenda in one of your State of the Union Addresses).

* Strengthening democracy for the Year 2000 – In addition to campaign finance reform, we are developing new proposals to increase voting and enhance democratic paticipation, such as making Election Day a holiday.

* An appeal for One America, including an overt appeal against anti-immigrant sentiment (as you did powerfully at Portland State)

* Medical research and medical ethics issues

* Y2K

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* The Millennium Project

Finally, we are working with the National Security Council on its proposals and outline.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: State of the Union - Context & Purposes (2 pages)	11/23/1998	P5 4082
002. memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: Highlights of Domestic and Economic Policy Memos (4 pages)	12/03/1998	P5 Dupdb 2244

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2006-0469-F
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Please circulate to speechwriters — CLOSE HOLD — MW

November 23, 1998

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: JOHN PODESTA
DOUG SOSNIK

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION -- CONTEXT & PURPOSES

This memorandum reflects initial discussions among Paul Begala, Maria Echaveste, Mark Penn, and myself.

The 1999 State of the Union comes at a signal time for you and your administration. In raw political terms, you enter your seventh year in office stronger than any comparable President this century -- stronger than Roosevelt, stronger than Eisenhower, stronger than Reagan. Your support in the country is strong. The Democrats' election success not only represents the first such gain by a President's party since 1822; it also narrows the party divide in the House. The public has endorsed your 'third way,' New Democrat policies -- an endorsement seen not only in the Democrats' election success (on a platform of saving Social Security, fiscal responsibility, HMO reform, and education), but also in the success of moderate Republican Governors and in the success of reformed center-left parties in the UK, Italy, Germany, and Brazil. And the press and pundits are now willing to admit that you were the pioneer of this approach.

At the same time, this address marks the last opportunity before Election Year 2000 to command the public's attention as only a strong State of the Union can. (The Year 2000 State of the Union will be held two weeks before the New Hampshire primaries.) And with less than a year to go before the new millennium, there is added urgency to your call to strengthen the nation for the 21st Century.

This speech should be viewed as having four principal goals.

First, it should demonstrate that you continue to have a vigorous agenda, one that can define the political playing field. You did this very successfully in last year's speech, and in the blizzard of policy announcements that led up to it. We believe you should announce an array of small- to medium-sized policies in January, as part of the roll-up to the State of the Union.

Second, more than recent State of the Union addresses, it should explicitly focus on the

economy -- spelling out what we must do to advance our prosperity. A key element will be Social Security (Should we put forward a plan? Convene negotiations) and the surplus. The address should also include significant discussion of how to steer the economy through international economic turbulence; this would be an opportunity to spell out your vision for an international economy with a human face that you have talked about at the WTO and Council on Foreign Relations. And it should press forward on education and health care as part of an economic strategy.

Third, it should reach out to centrist Republicans to build a governing majority (on terms that you define). Thus, you should press for action on those items (such as the Patients' Bill of Rights, campaign finance reform, and other matters) that have notably bipartisan support.

Finally, the speech is an opportunity to address specific constituencies and shore up areas of political weakness. There should be a renewed focus on crime; specific attention to rural issues and the elderly; a full discussion of military readiness. In addition, we would appreciate your guidance on what you want to say about race.

* * *

We will forward to you some possible thematic approaches for discussion tomorrow.

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001. memo	Al From to the President; RE: The State of the Union and Your Last Two Years (7 pages)	01/08/1999	P5 4083
002. memo	Al From to the President; RE: The State of the Union and Your Last Two Years (7 pages)	01/08/1999	P5 Dup

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Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14418

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU [State of the Union] 1999 Speech Drafts 11/19/98 - 1/9/99 [Binder] [7]

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
db2247

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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cc:
Maria
Michael
Staff Sec.

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January 8, 1999
Memorandum to the President
From: Al From
Subject: The State of the Union and Your Last Two Years

In this memorandum, I will outline the approach I think you ought to take in your State of the Union address, an approach that I hope will allow you to frame the debate for the next two years and solidify your legacy as a Third Way reformer.

I know this is an awful time for you, but I'm confident that, in the end, even this shall pass.

Despite all of the discomfort of the past year, I believe you have the opportunity to leave office on January 20, 2001, with an unbelievable record of achievement and a lasting positive legacy in place.

The Republicans can never take your accomplishments away from you, no matter how many investigations they pursue or partisan articles of impeachment they pass.

Your accomplishments in redefining the Democratic Party, changing the shape of American politics by defining a new center, and leading a new Third Way politics throughout the Western democracies are, if secured, a lasting legacy that will only grow as time passes.

I swell with pride every time I think about how far that effort we started together eight years ago has come – and largely because of what you've accomplished in office. It is more than a footnote; it is truly historic.

Our challenge now – and your challenge in the last two years of your Presidency – is to assert firm ownership of the politics that we created. We need to assure that the Third Way is clearly known as New Democrat and that smart Republicans, like George W. Bush, don't co-opt it or even worse steal it away from us. Meeting that challenge is not only essential to securing your legacy, but it is also critical to the political success of the Vice President and the Democratic Party in 2000 and beyond.

Continuing to own our politics will be much more difficult without you, for we will never see a political leader in our lifetime with your political skill. For that reason, I believe it is imperative that you do everything you can to secure ownership of the Third Way for the Democratic Party. My strategy for doing that starts with the State of the Union.

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The State of the Union

The tone of this State of the Union is unusually important. You need to be bold, visionary, and strong. When you finish, you want the political press to say, impeachment or not, you are in charge, setting the agenda with bold and innovative ideas, while your political opponents wallow in impeachment. You want to remind ordinary voters why you're such a good President and why they give you a 73 percent approval rating.

The way to do that is by offering a big and visionary theme and by backing it up with a few ideas that are bold enough and unexpected enough to turn heads.

The key is being big and bold. If you want a legacy grand enough to counter impeachment, it has to be as a Third Way reformer. You need to make it clear that you're not going to pull back or become timid because of impeachment. If anything, you're emboldened and more determined than ever to secure a place in history by completing the political revolution you started in Cleveland in 1991.

1) The Big Theme

In this speech you should declare an "era of new progress". In your 1996 State of the Union, you declared that the era of big government had ended. In the 1999 State of the Union, on the eve of a new century, you should declare the "era of new progress" has begun. Replacing the era of big government with the era of new progress should be the framework for your speech.

That framework offers a context for reminding people of your record – the progress we've already achieved. You can offer your litany of achievements – on the economy, the budget, welfare, crime, streamlining government, etc. In detailing your achievements, you can make the case that they were made possible, in large part, because you ended the era of big government in a progressive way. You replaced a big government with a smaller, more effective, empowering Third Way government that gives people and communities the tools they need to solve their own problems. A $75 billion dollar surplus underscores your point – in terms of our reaping the benefits of a strong economy, fiscal restraint, and a streamlined more cost effective government.

That framework provides a perfect segue for moving to your new ideas – the next steps in the era of new progress.

2) The Ideas

Over the past several days, you've put forth a number of good ideas that will be part of your speech. But I think, in the end, whether this speech has any lasting or defining impact will depend on what you say on Social Security, Medicare, education reform, and a handful of other issues.

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To really have impact, you need to raise the stakes on those issues with what is easily perceived as big, bold and innovative. Here are some suggestions, :

On Social Security: you could propose the grand bargain Will Marshall outlines in his piece in the next issue of the *New Democrat* (article attached). The essence of that bargain is as follows:

You reaffirm your commitment to preserving the system's social insurance for the disabled and survivors, for which there remains no plausible private alternative, and back reforms aimed at strengthening Social Security's basic guarantee against poverty, both by raising the minimum benefit all retirees get and changing the outdated formula the produces high poverty rates among elderly women, especially widows.

You could then support diverting a small percentage of payroll taxes into personal retirement accounts. By lifting the "floor" for everyone – and thereby guaranteeing that no low-wage worker would be made worse off by market-based reform – you would be able to the challenge the premise of opponents of personal accounts that only by investing the money itself could government shield individuals from undue market risk. Government could provide further safeguards by emulating the Federal Thrift Savings Plan, which limits federal workers' choices to rule out investments that are overly conservative or too risky. That plan also offers a model for keeping overhead down: have Social Security continue to collect all payroll tax revenue and transfer some portion to individual accounts designated by workers.

Finally, you could challenge those on all sides of the Social Security reform issue to ensure the system's solvency while also financing the transition to a partially funded system. It makes sense to dedicate a healthy chunk of future surpluses to that purpose. In addition, Congress should embrace a gradual increase in the retirement age to 70 by 2030, in keeping with the advances in the average life span of older Americans. The best way for boomers to help solve the problems their retirement will create is to work longer, keeping the work force from shrinking as rapidly and boosting payroll tax revenues. Less dramatic but still important ways to close the funding gap include bringing state and local employees into the system and adjusting the Consumer Price Index downward.

The plan that comes closest to that "grand bargain" is the 21st Century Retirement Security Plan issued last summer by the National Commission on Retirement Policy, which was co-chaired by Senators Breaux and Gregg and Congressmen Stenholm and Kolbe. That plan has bi-partisan support and you could offer it as the starting point for considering Social Security reform this year. Breaux had a piece in the last *New Democrat* on the plan which I've already sent you, but is attached.

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On Medicare: I think you should think hard about pledging to work with the proposal that comes out of the Breaux-Thomas Medicare Commission. I realize that is likely to be controversial, but the Medicare crisis is more immediate than Social Security and identifying with Breaux's proposal would be a bold and, I think, the right thing to do.

On education: The key here is to go back to your 1997 message of standards, testing, accountability, and choice and de-emphasize the 1998 message of more spending first. I have no quarrel with most of the new spending, but every bit of it ought to be tied tightly to performance and accountability.

Both accountability and spending are parts of education reform, but if you emphasize accountability you gain credibility as a reformer. If you emphasize spending without hammering on accountability, you make the Democratic interest groups happy but you lose a lot of the reform edge because you send the message that you are willing to feed a broken system.

I think you took a major step this week with your emphasis on ending social promotion. That sends the message that you're unwilling to stand for business as usual.

My ideas on education are very simple, and probably controversial with the educational establishment, but it would leave no doubt that you're really serious about improving public schools. And, if you pursued it, I think it would give you freedom to propose more money for schools.

Simply, to establish some requirements that states have to meet to get federal aid for education.

For example, you could say that no state would receive aid which didn't impose standards and testing by a certain year. You could have a formula for descending amounts of aid for non-compliant states so they would not be cut off entirely.

You could deny aid to states that didn't, in effect, make every school a charter school by developing a performance contract with specific goals.

Or you could limit aid to states in which schools spent more than a particular percent of their education funding on administration and not in the classroom.

You get the point. The idea is to leverage the federal aid to force accountability in the education system. I think that's the clearest, most direct signal you can send that you want to see the quality of education improve.

On National Service: I think this is the time to call for an expansion of Americorps. No program expresses the New Democrat ethic of mutual responsibility better than Americorps. I've spoken to John Podesta and Bruce Reed about using an expanded service corps to provide home care

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for elderly people who might be able to live at home instead of in a care facility if they had someone who could visit them every day, make sure they can get medicine, groceries, and to doctor's appointments, etc.

On trade: I think you need to be very clear that despite the growing protectionism at both ends of the political spectrum, you remain firmly committed to expanded trade and to opening markets for American goods.

I believe you should offer a new bargain on trade.

One part of that bargain is making it clear that the United States stands for expanding, not restricting trade, by coming back with a fast track proposal and any other trade initiatives that are necessary to keep the economy growing.

The other side of that bargain should be a new commitment to an investment package to expand the winners' circle, so that every American will have the chance to share in the benefits of the new economy and expanded trade.

In the most recent edition of the DLC's new journal, *Blueprint*, Bob Litan has a piece (attached) on expanding the winners' circle in which he discusses a number of ideas. But two that I think are especially noteworthy are:

* an idea Rob Shapiro has promoted to make on-the-job training more accessible to all workers, not just the top echelon workers in companies. It is to add a "non-discrimination" clause to the tax deduction firms now get for training expenses for employees – so that they would only get that deduction if training is offered to a broad spectrum of workers, not just the top employees. A similar "non-discrimination" clause for deductions for health care and pensions.

* a new idea for funding training and continuing education that we call LEAP (Lifelong Education Advancement Pursuit) loans, modeled on the college loan program. Through LEAP loans, people with household incomes below a certain threshold (such as the $100,000 for education tax credits) would be eligible for a certain amount of financing (such as $40,000) over their lifetime. The loans would be provided at subsidized interest rates, carry long maturities, and defer repayment for a fixed period (say four years). Such a program need not be that expensive. If, say, two million workers borrowed an average of $5,000 a year with an annual interest subsidy (counting the delayed payment benefit) of 10 percent, the government's cost would be 10 percent, or one-sixth of the annual cost of the recently enacted education tax credits. An added twist would be to base repayments on the borrower's income so workers would not find themselves overburdened with loan payments if their incomes do not rise initially.

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On welfare and poverty: Come back with your day care proposals to ease the transition from welfare to work. And, I'm in favor of whatever ideas Andrew Cuomo has for increasing home ownership among poor people. I would make that idea - achieving the American dream of owning a home possible among disadvantaged Americans - a spotlighted part of the speech.

On corporate welfare: Far and away the best way to pay for any initiatives – as you've already indicated – is to cut corporate welfare.

The rationale for that course is absolutely consistent with the first principle of the New Democrat movement and the animating principle of the Democratic Party since the days of Andrew Jackson: equal opportunity for all, special privilege for none.

You ought to make it clear that federal dollars should be spent on investments that help the whole economy grow and create opportunities for all Americans, not on subsidies that give advantage to powerful industries or interests.

The best way to get at corporate welfare without getting your head chopped off is still the original Rob Shapiro idea of creating a Base-Closing like commission that recommends, for an up or down vote, each year which subsidies should be eliminated or trimmed. You should propose creation of that commission with a target of eliminating $50 billion in corporate subsidies a year, each year for the next five years. Sen. John Kerry has sponsored a bill to implement the Shapiro plan. And, it is an idea that should get support from all parts of the Democratic Party and that puts the Republicans, eager to cut spending for social programs, on the spot.

Those are my ideas for the State of the Union.

Follow Up

Since this memorandum is longer than I expected already, I won't add a detailed plan for following up the State of the Union with a plan to make sure we continue to own the politics we created after you leave office.

But it is important that we think about that. In Stephen Skowronik's 1996 piece on Third Way Presidents, which I've shared with you before, he makes the point that no Third Way President in this century has seen his politics continue after he leaves office. You will be the first – and we are committed to making it happen.

That's why we're making a major effort to train several hundred up and coming state and local leaders around the country on how to practice your politics in their day to day activities. I'm actually writing this memo at a hotel room in Phoenix where we're training legislative and local leaders today.

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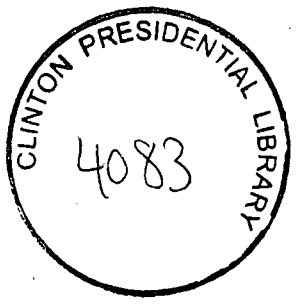
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We need to launch a real education effort over the next 18 months both to educate the American people on the Third Way and to create a real identity for the New Democrat brand. As Tony Blair said at the meeting we had at Chequers, we need to brand our politics so we can occupy the territory.

I think branding our politics, building the New Democrat brand so voters understand what it means, should be your last campaign. You should use that campaign, after the impeachment trial ends, to help ensure that your legacy is what it should be. I'm ready to do whatever's necessary to make sure that happens. And, I've got some thoughts about how we do it that we can discuss whenever you're ready.

Good luck.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Harold Ickes to Abner Mikva; RE: William S. Lerach (2 pages)	02/21/1995	P5
002. memo	Jeff Connaughton to Judge Mikva; RE: Legal Reform: Briefing Materials (1 page)	03/03/1995	P5, P6/b(6)
003. memo	Joel Klein, et al. to the President; RE: Legal Reform Issues (5 pages)	02/24/1995	P5 4087

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Legal Reform Binder

Debbie Bush
2006-0469-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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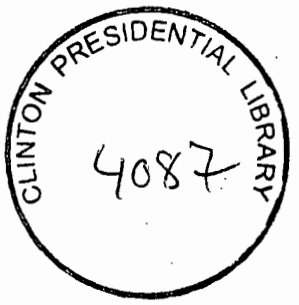
b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 24, 1995

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: LEON PANETTA, ABNER MIKVA & BO CUTTER

FROM: JOEL KLEIN, BRUCE LINDSEY & PETER YU

SUBJECT: LEGAL REFORM ISSUES

This memorandum outlines for your approval a proposed strategy for addressing legal reform issues currently before Congress.

I. BACKGROUND. Congress is considering (i) civil justice reforms (such as the "loser pays" or English rule for actions brought under federal diversity jurisdiction), (ii) securities litigation reforms (such as limits on shareholder class-action suits), and (iii) product liability reforms (such as changes in the law of damages). Proponents of reform claim that the current system is unfair, wasteful, stifles innovation, and undermines US competitiveness. Opponents of reform contend that the proposals are unnecessary and serve only to shield defendants from liability and, in the case of product liability, to federalize an area traditionally controlled by state law.

Both you and the Vice President have been critical, or at least skeptical, of reforms of the legal system through preemptive federal legislation. Attachment A offers selected press accounts of your statements on these issues.

The empirical evidence regarding the need for reform is far from definitive. While each side marshals data that appear to support its claims, independent studies have reached mixed conclusions. These studies suggest that in the 1980s litigation increased significantly (largely due to asbestos-related claims), but also that the filings in more recent years evidence no clear trends. With regard to product liability cases, the studies also fail to support charges that damage awards have been increasing dramatically. In response, proponents of reform emphasize that the mere threat of large awards has a deleterious impact on American innovation and competitiveness.

The legal reform legislation included in the Contract with America is, by most accounts, quite extreme (see Attachment B). However, the House Commerce Committee recently moderated the securities provisions somewhat. Senator Dodd has introduced a securities litigation reform bill that is less extreme than the modified Contract provision; Congressman Markey has introduced an even more shareholder-friendly bill. With regard to product liability, Senator Rockefeller has for several years championed a more moderate approach than the Contract bill; last session, a cloture vote on his bill failed by only 3 votes. Most observers believe that the House will pass legal reform legislation relatively quickly (perhaps within a few weeks) but that the Senate will not begin work on a bill until late spring. Senator Rockefeller has not

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reintroduced his bill and it is not clear whether his bill or a more extreme version championed by someone else will be the primary vehicle in the Senate. It is possible that a Rockefeller-type bill on products reform and a Dodd-type bill on securities reform will emerge as "compromise" approaches.

A White House team led by the Counsel's office and the NEC has consulted with Justice, Treasury, Commerce, and the SEC to develop the following strategy for addressing these issues. The Vice President was involved with this issue in the Senate, and would like to discuss it with you prior to your decision.

II. CONSENSUS RECOMMENDATION. The group supports a three-part approach.

- With regard to **civil justice reform**, the group recommends that the Administration firmly oppose the "English rule" proposal in the Contract bill (which applies to *all* diversity actions in federal court), arguing that it is grossly unfair to innocent plaintiffs and may increase total litigation costs.

- With regard to **securities litigation reform**, the group recommends that the Administration work with the SEC to encourage reforms that fall somewhere between the Dodd and Markey bills. Such a package might include measures to reduce the "race to the courthouse" and the risk of meritless claims, but would not include reforms that would significantly weaken private enforcement of the securities laws, encourage fraud, or be inconsistent with the Administration's position on product liability reform. The Administration's initial public position would be to favor "reasonable" reforms and to list those provisions in the House bill that are problematic.

- With regard to **product liability reform**, the group recommends that the Administration emphasize **a strong presumption against preemptive legislation, the need to ensure full compensation for victims and responsibility for unsafe products, and a package of federal-court reforms.** This position would stress that product liability reform is generally a matter of state law (a position bolstered by a proactive position on federal securities litigation reform). The Administration would consider preemptive legislation only if the federal interest in preemption was clearly demonstrated. For example:

  - If we were convinced an important national interest had been clearly demonstrated, we would not oppose reasonable preemptive *standards* (such as "clear and convincing evidence") for punitives. (Business groups argue such standards provide businesses with needed predictability.)

  - At the same time, there has been little justification for federal preemptive provisions in other proposed areas -- particularly where the need to ensure full compensation for victims and responsibility for unsafe products are paramount concerns:

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* *arbitrary caps on or unreasonable standards for the awarding of compensatory or punitive damages and the discriminatory treatment of noneconomic damages* -- such standards are not only unfair to consumers, they also underdeter the manufacture of unsafe products; and

* *regulatory defenses that immunize manufacturers* -- as demonstrated by DES, Copper-7 IUDs, and high-estrogen birth control, simply because a product survives government review does not ensure its safety and should not provide immunity to a manufacturer.

The Administration would also *advocate pro-consumer positions* such as limits on secrecy agreements in settlements in federal court and *reforms in federal court* designed to encourage alternatives to litigation and decrease frivolous suits without underdeterring negligence.

III. ANALYSIS

This approach balances several purposes. First, it is consistent with your expressed concerns regarding both the fairness of reforms and the federalization of tort law. Second, it plays upon the extreme nature of the English rule as well as the Republicans' inconsistent positions (in supporting federalization of the legal system but devolution in every other sphere of government). Third, it indicates a willingness to entertain *justified* preemptive legislation and thus will not wholly alienate business interests. Fourth, it raises consumer concerns and challenges the premises of Republican reforms by highlighting portions of the Contract bill you find to be unjustified, especially given federalism's strong presumption against preemptive legislation and the lack of empirical data to support proponents' claims.

As always, there is some risk that such a modulated approach--while sound policy--will be viewed in the current environment as equivocal. However, the group believes that this approach places the Administration in the best position to influence the development of this legislation and to threaten a veto if consumer interests remain unaddressed.

IV. DECISION

____ Proceed with consensus recommendation.

____ Let's discuss.

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ATTACHMENT A: PRESS ACCOUNTS OF PAST STATEMENTS

President Clinton

- "The proposals advanced by George Bush and Dan Quayle [presumably including S.640, the Rockefeller bill] are dramatically tilted toward big polluters, manufacturers and insurance companies, and against consumers and victims." *The Candidates on Legal Issues*, ABA J., Oct. 1992, at 57.

- "Bush and Quayle want to cap the ability of juries to award victims punitive damages, even when that is the only way to bring a powerful offender to justice, or to keep a dangerous product off the market." *Id.*

- "[Bush and Quayle] want to make victims pay the legal fees of big manufacturers, if, for some reason, they sue and lose. It is nothing more than trickle-down justice." *Id.*

- "As a general matter, I believe that legal reform should be enacted in the laboratories of the States, rather than at the federal level." *Id.*

- "In my view, the best reforms are those that make it less likely for people to go to court. We should encourage greater use of alternative dispute resolution to give consumers redress without having to litigate, such as mediation, mini-trials, and the multi-door courthouse. We should also encourage the use of special masters to help sort through complex cases. And we should restrict the use of secrecy agreements, which too frequently force litigants to refight the same battles, over and over, while endangering public health." *Id.*

- "But I will oppose any proposals that pretend to 'reform' lawsuits while actually encouraging dangerous products or marketplace fraud." *Id.*

Vice President Gore

- Voted against S.640, the Rockefeller Bill, in the Commerce Committee in 1992.

- Co-authored Minority Views in the Commerce Committee report on product liability legislation in 1990.

- Widely quoted in press as having deemed the Rockefeller bill "anti-consumer."

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ATTACHMENT B: LEGAL REFORM BILLS

The more controversial provisions of the Contract bill (as revised in committee) include:

- Civil justice reforms for federal courts:
  - a "loser pays" or "English rule" attorney-fee regime for diversity actions brought in federal court; and
  - tighter rules regarding expert scientific testimony.
- Product liability reforms that govern both federal and state court claims:
  - limits on the liability of product retailers;
  - "clear-and-convincing" and "actual malice" standards for punitive damages;
  - a cap on punitive-damages awards; and
  - a bar on joint-and-several liability for noneconomic damages.
- Securities litigation reforms (as modified by the House Commerce Committee):
  - a fee-shifting provision if the court finds that a losing party's position was not substantially justified;
  - a recklessness standard and pleading requirements significantly greater than the law of several circuits; and
  - a proportionate liability provision in certain fraud actions.

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The civil justice reform provisions could significantly reduce suits by smaller parties (such as consumers) against larger parties. The product liability provisions preempt an area long the province of state courts and legislatures. The securities litigation provisions would eviscerate private enforcement actions.

The primary features of **S. 687**, introduced last session by Senator Rockefeller, include:

- establishment of a federal fault standard for punitive damages (including a safe harbor for FDA- and FAA-approved products), but no cap on punitive damages;
- elimination of joint and several liability for noneconomic damages;
- incentives for out-of-court settlements and for the use of alternative dispute resolution;
- uniform statutes of limitation and repose for product liability claims.

Consumer and attorney groups were particularly critical of the distinction between economic and noneconomic damages, limitations on joint and several liability, and the FDA/FAA safe harbor.

The **Dodd bill** on securities-litigation reform includes:

- guardians ad litem and steering committees for class actions;
- a more stringent scienter requirement;
- limits on attorneys fees to a "reasonable percentage of the amount recovered";
- restrictions on the use of civil RICO in securities law claims; and
- proportionate liability in certain fraud actions.

Consumer and attorney groups were particularly critical of the proportionate liability provisions and the limits on attorneys fees.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. entire folder	Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates; RE: Strategy Session (85 pages)	1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14444

FOLDER TITLE:
Polls [2]

2006-0469-F
db3363

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Strategy Session
September 23, 1998
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

There is total polarization of the electorate occurring. Democrats favor the president by 87/17 and Republicans are against the President by 20/70.

Mood of the Country

	7/15	7/21	8/5	8/18	9/7	9/22
Country: right/wrong track	48/41	47/40	49/37	59/30	49/39	52/40
Economy: right/wrong track	70/23	71/22	72/22	78/12	70/24	72/21
Favorability						
Clinton	63/36	63/35	63/36	59/39	56/42	56/44
Gore	59/35	59/36	61/34	60/31	57/35	59/36
Clinton Job Approval	**65/33**	**68/30**	**69/30**	**70/28**	**68/33**	**69/30**
Strongly Approve	**26**	**28**	**33**	**36**	**32**	**40**
Gore Job Approval	**62/31**	**61/32**	**62/32**		**64/29**	**65/27**
Strongly Approve	**26**	**28**	**23**		**18**	**22**

Clinton Favorability	D	R	I	M	F
9/22	**81/17**	**20/79**	**59/42**	**44/55**	**66/33**
9/7	83/15	22/78	56/34	50/50	61/37
8/18	80/15	30/70	58/40	54/43	63/36
8/17	86/13	37/63	52/47	53/47	68/32
8/13	87/13	30/70	56/43	57/42	61/37
8/5	91/9	34/66	56/42	61/37	63/35
7/29	87/12	28/62	59/38	57/42	65/34

Most Important Issue

- **Economy/Jobs is the most important issue with 16%**
- **Morality/Family Values—9%**
- **Education is third at 8%**
- **Fighting Crime—6%**

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Foreign Policy Approval	Approve	Disapprove
9/22	65	32
9/7	62	36
6/9	60	33
2/17	64	34

Congress

Approval—on a 2 point scale

	7/7	7/15	7/21	8/5	9/7	9/22
Congress	53/38	54/40	51/42	55/37	60/34	60/37
Congressional Republicans	44/48	44/48	44/47	46/46	51/42	49/44
Congressional Democrats	52/38	50/41	49/40	54/38	57/37	55/38

Generic Horserace

42% would vote for a Democrat in Congress, **38%** would vote for a Republican. Among Prime (abs certain), **41%** would vote for a Democrat in Congress, **40%** would vote for a Republican.

Among all likely voters: 42/39 in favor of the Democrats.

	7/21	8/5	8/18	9/7	9/10	9/22
Democrat	42	39	39	41	39	42
Republican	37	34	34	34	34	38

Right now, 54% of Democrats are absolutely certain to vote, 61% of Republicans and 53% of Independents. This is unchanged from all of the polls we have done over a long period of time – if anything the gap is closing (from 10 points) to 7 points.

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Newspaper Headlines

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
9/22	Tuesday	New York Times	Weighing Shame and Sympathy, A Weary People Watch Clinton
9/22	Tuesday	New York Times	Tape shows Nation a Clinton Irate and Sad Staring Straight Into Camera, President Reveals Many Sides. House Releases Testimony by Lewinsky Photo: POTUS
9/22	Tuesday	Washington Post	Clinton Urges Global Unity Against Terrorism UN Assembly Gives Him Warm Ovation.
9/22	Tuesday	Washington Post	Clinton Decries Attempt to 'Set Me Up': Videotape of Aug. 17 Testimony Shown to Millions 3,183 Pages of Evidence Released. Photo: POTUS
9/22	Tuesday	USA Today	Tape Reveals Many Sides, all of them the president.
9/22	Tuesday	USA Today	Clinton Testimony Aired Initial Reaction muted Two-thirds Oppose Impeachment. Photo: POTUS
9/21	Monday	USA Today	Clinton Tape Due Out Today Top Dem Tells Him To Testify Now Photo: POTUS & FLOTUS
9/21	Monday	USA Today	At U.N., Clinton to urge unity against terror
9/21	Monday	New York Times	In the White House, a Deep Sense of Gloom
9/20	Sunday	New York Times	Clinton and Starr, a Mutual Admonition Society Photo: POTUS & Starr
9/20	Sunday	New York Times	Lawyers Say Tape of Clinton Shows Regret and Anger A Concern for Lewinsky Image at Odds With Portrait of President Offered by Starr in Report to Congress
9/20	Sunday	Washington Post	First Lady Forges On Under Scrutiny, She's Business As Usual Photo: FLOTUS
9/20	Sunday	Washington Post	Daschle Feels Clinton-Inflicted Pain
9/19	Saturday	New York Times	Japanese Parties Hammer Out Deal On Aiding Economy Many Questions Linger Prime Minister Has Something to Show Clinton in their meeting on Tuesday
9/19	Saturday	New York Times	Blacks Stand by a President Who 'Has Been There For Us'
9/19	Saturday	New York Times	Panel Schedules a Monday Release of Clinton Video Vote Along Party Lines After two days of wrangling, Committee is to make 120 deletions in documents
9/18	Friday	Washington Post	Release of Clinton Tape Delayed Partisan Bickering Forces House Panel to Continue Debate Today
9/18	Friday	New York Times	Change in Control of Satellite Sales Gains in Congress Slap At Clinton Policy To Protect U.S. Technology, State Dept. Would Resume Authority on Exports Photo: POTUS
9/18	Friday	Washington Post	Hyde Story Stirs Hostilities GOP-White House Trade Charges of Leaks, Smear Attacks

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9/18	Friday	Washington Post	Scandal Leaves Teens Unfazed Few Area Students Are Surprised by Clinton Affair
9/18	Friday	New York Times	Partisan Quarrel in Panel Debating Clinton Videotape Release Likely Saturday Democrats Push For A Delay—Starr is Accused of Trying to Embarrass President
9/17	Thursday	USA Today	Clinton: I'll Never Stop Leading Says he still has moral authority
9/17	Thursday	Washington Post	Clinton Stresses Duties as House Plans Disclosure Photo: POTUS
9/17	Thursday	Washington Post	Clinton's Strongest Constituency To African Americans, President's Record Outweighs Personal Problems
9/16	Wednesday	The New York Times	Clinton Aides Sent to Soothe Leaders Among Democrats
9/16	Wednesday	The New York Times	Most in Poll Say President Should Remain in Office
9/16	Wednesday	Washington Post	House May Release Clinton Video Testimony Voters Angry, but Lawmakers Divided Aides Fear More Damage to President
9/16	Wednesday	USA Today	Panel Moves to Release Clinton Video
9/15	Tuesday	Washington Post	Legally, Politically, President is Boxed In Dilemma Poses Risks in Court, Congress
9/15	Tuesday	Washington Post	President Cites Peril to Global Economy Industrial Nations to Take Steps to Restore Growth
9/15	Tuesday	Washington Post	Daschle, Gephardt Decry Clinton Legal Tactics Party Leadership Urges Quick Action; President's Testimony May Be Released
9/15	Tuesday	New York Times	White House Warned
9/15	Tuesday	New York Times	Clinton Selects Clerics to Give Him Guidance
9/15	Tuesday	New York Times	Clinton Presents Strategy to Quell Economic Threat
9/15	Tuesday	USA Today	World's Top Economies Unite: G-7 nations Respond to Clinton's Calls
9/15	Tuesday	USA Today	Clinton May Be Called at Hearing, Hyde Says
9/14	Monday	USA Today	Clinton Still Strong in Polls
9/14	Monday	USA Today	Clinton's team draws close in the struggle to survive
9/14	Monday	Washington Post	Clinton Defense is Pressed; Lawmakers From Both Sides Warn Against Legal Hairsplitting
9/14	Monday	New York Times	Painful Debate Over Clinton's Future Begins Nation Showing It's Dismay and Reluctance Censure Gets Closer Look
9/14	Monday	New York Times	10 Days in the White House: Public Acts and Secret Trysts.
9/13	Sunday	New York Times	White House, In Rebuttal To Starr, Assails Report as 'Smear Campaign' Playing Safe, Republicans Offer Silence Photo: POTUS
9/13	Sunday	New York Times	Vigorous Defense 'Pornographic' Details Criticized by Lawyers for the President
9/13	Sunday	Washington Post	Lurking Scandal Had White House on Edge Staff Was Often at War With Clinton's Impulses

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9/13	Sunday	Washington Post	Clinton Lawyers Hit Back at Starr Some Democrats Urge Acceptance of Hill Rebuke Photo: POTUS
9/13	Sunday	Washington Post	Scandal Puts Parents on the Spot Starr Report Has Children Asking Frank Questions About Sex, Clinton
9/12	Saturday	New York Times	Starr Finds A Case For Impeachment In Perjury, Obstruction, Tampering Clinton Staff Derides 'Lurid' Account of Lewinsky Case Photo: POTUS
9/12	Saturday	New York Times	Tearful Clinton Tells Group of Clerics, 'I Have Sinned'
9/12	Saturday	Washington Post	Starr Alleges 'Abundant' Lies; President Denies Impeachability
9/12	Saturday	Washington Post	For Clinton, a Day to Atone but Not Retreat At Prayer Breakfast, President Apologizes—and Pledges Legal Defense Photo: POTUS
9/11	Friday	Washington Post	Shalala's Remarks Irk President Clinton 'Let her have it' at Cabinet Session, Sources Say Clinton, Shalala Clash at Cabinet Session
9/11	Friday	Washington Post	Impeachment Report Contends Clinton Lied, Obstructed Justice Vote Begins A Process in House Photo: POTUS & FLOTUS Alleged Deceit is Outlined Starr Report Lists 11 Grounds for Impeachment
9/11	Friday	New York Times	Starr Report Is Said to Claim Perjury and Abuse of Power by President in Lewinsky Case Other Areas of 4-Year Inquiry Said to Find No Acts to Impeach Photo: POTUS & FLOTUS Starr is Said To Cite Perjury And Obstruction by Clinton
9/11	Friday	New York Times	First Lady Backs President As He Appeals for Absolution First Lady Shows Support for Clinton As He Apologizes to Senators and Aides
9/11	Friday	New York Times	First Lady Draws a Large Audience as the President Draws Religious Advice
9/11	Friday	USA Today	House Set to Release Report President apologizes to Cabinet, Supporters Photo: POTUS & FLOTUS
9/11	Friday	USA Today	Clinton's 'final campaign': Survival through contrition Clinton Loyalist cautiously quiet
9/10	Thursday	New York Times	Report by Starr Sent to House; Impeachment Process Weighed; Clinton Seeks Party's Support President Appeals to Democrats With Pleas for their Forgiveness Photo: POTUS
9/10	Thursday	Washington Post	At White House, Apologies And A Search for a Strategy
9/10	Thursday	Washington Post	Suddenly, President's Fate Is Put In Congress's hands Photo: POTUS
9/10	Thursday	USA Today	Starr Report Lands Impeachment Review Next; Clinton Deepens Apology
9/10	Thursday	USA Today	President's Destiny in New Hands
9/9	Wednesday	Washington Post	Reno Sets 90-Day Clinton Probe Process Could Lead to Independent Counsel on Campaign

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Television Headlines

Date	Station	Order	Headline
9/17	ABC	3	Clinton Tries To Move On; Many Outraged By Hyde Affair Leak
9/17	ABC	4	White House Decision To Tape Clinton Testimony May Haunt Them
9/17	CBS	1	Tape Release Debated, As GOP Asks FBI To Probe White House Smears
9/17	CBS	2	Clinton Paula Jones Jury Tape Could Be Released Too
9/17	CBS	3	Clinton Case Runs Counter To Long Tradition Of Grand Jury Secrecy
9/17	CBS	13	Starr Report Sheds Light On Lewinsky's Demands Against Clinton
9/17	NBC	2	With Staff Hunkered Down, Clinton Trying To Keep Up Appearances
9/16	ABC	2	Clinton Jury Video Will Be Released
9/16	ABC	3	Clinton Answers Lewinsky Questions At Press Conference With Havel
9/16	CBS	1	Clinton Seeks To Reassert His Leadership In Press Conference
9/16	CBS	2	GOP Plans To Issue Clinton Videotape Testimony; Dems Cry Unfair
9/16	CBS	6	Dow Rises Despite Clinton Uncertainty, Gloomy Intn'l Forecasts
9/16	NBC	1	Clinton Says He's Not Resigning
9/16	NBC	2	Clinton Sidesteps Questions About Whether Or Not He Lied
9/16	NBC	3	A Look At Clinton's Legal Troubles With Starr
9/16	NBC	10	Ninety-Two Newspapers Say Clinton Should Resign
9/15	ABC	1	Grand Jury Testimony Video Shows An Angry Clinton
9/15	ABC	2	Debate Over Video Release Touchy; Dems, Clinton Aides Meet
9/15	ABC	3	White House Doesn't Want House To Release Clinton Video
9/15	ABC	4	Clinton Picks Two Ministers To Help Hold Him Accountable
9/15	ABC	5	Two Dozen Democratic Congressional Women Meet With First Lady
9/15	ABC	13	Clinton Polls Confusing Opinion Makers, Congress
9/15	ABC	14	A Look At Polls, Nixon, Watergate Compared To The Clinton Scandal
9/15	CBS	1	Clinton Problems Deepen On Capitol Hill; Dem Support Eroding
9/15	CBS	3	Clinton Tries To Re-Focus Public Attention On Policy Matters
9/15	CBS	6	White House Says Clinton Will Get Weekly Spiritual Counseling
9/15	CBS	7	A Look At Minister Clinton Has Turned To For Moral Support
9/15	CBS	8	Some In Armed Forces See In Clinton A Double-Standard On Behavior
9/15	CBS	16	Judiciary Panel Likely To Release Clinton Grand Jury Testimony
9/15	NBC	1	White House Says Clinton Will Not Concede He Perjured
9/15	NBC	7	Clinton Seeking Spiritual Help; A Real Search Or Just Politics?
9/14	ABC	1	Democrats Urge Clinton To Admit He Lied About Lewinsky
9/14	ABC	2	Clinton Goes About With Normal Life As Aides Continue Defense
9/14	ABC	3	A Look At Why Clinton Won't Admit He Lied
9/14	ABC	4	Sen. Hatch Discusses What Clinton Needs To Do To Satisfy Congress
9/14	ABC	6	NC Teens Critical Of Clinton, Tired Of Hearing About Scandal
9/14	CBS	1	Congress Tells Clinton To Admit Lying; Clinton Job Approval High
9/14	CBS	2	Clinton & Lawyers Say He Didn't Commit Perjury, Plan Strategy
9/14	CBS	3	A Censure Of Clinton Would Be A Public Reprimand Only
9/14	CBS	4	Poll: Clinton Job Approval High, Women's Opinion Of Him Lower
9/14	CBS	5	A Look At Strength Of Starr's Case Against Clinton
9/14	NBC	1	Clinton Outlines Global Econ Plan; Criticism Of His Lawyers Rises
9/14	NBC	3	Congress Has Seized On Issue Of Whether Clinton Lied Under Oath
9/14	NBC	5	Poll Finds Unchanged 67 Percent Approve Of Clinton's Performance
9/14	NBC	6	What Punishments Does Clinton Face? Censure Possible
9/14	NBC	7	Old Clinton Friend Robert Reich Discusses Clinton Legacy
9/14	NBC	10	Clinton Awards NY Man Who Gives To Families Of Military Victims
9/11	ABC	1	Clinton Says He Has Sinned; His Lawyers Respond To Starr Report
9/11	ABC	2	Starr Says Report Demonstrates How Clinton Obstructed Justice
9/11	ABC	3	Clinton Lawyers Mount Tough Campaign To Counter Starr Report

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9/11	ABC	5	A Look At Clinton's Speech, Apology Before Religious Leaders
9/11	ABC	9	Recap Of Starr Report And Clinton Lawyers' Response
9/11	CBS	1	Starr Report Details A Lurid Clinton-Lewinsky Affair
9/11	CBS	2	Starr Alleges Clinton Abused Power, Obstructed Justice, Lied
9/11	CBS	3	Clinton's Lawyers Issue Rebuttal, Fight Back Against Charges
9/11	CBS	4	Clinton Receives Enthusiastic Response At Irish-American Rally
9/11	CBS	5	Poll Finds Little Support For Clinton Departure
9/11	CBS	6	Video Of Clinton Apology For Affair At Prayer Breakfast
9/11	CBS	7	Political Analysts Discuss Clinton Apologies
9/11	CBS	10	Clinton Will Not Send Holbrooke UN Nomination To Senate Yet
9/11	NBC	2	Clinton Makes Most Complete Apology Yet At Prayer Breakfast
9/11	NBC	3	White House Says It's "Personal Not Impeachable," Attacks Starr
9/11	NBC	6	Report Essentially Accuses President Of Abuse Of Power
9/11	NBC	7	How Does First Lady, Betrayed And Humiliated, Handle It?
9/10	ABC	2	Congress Denies Clinton's Lawyers An Advance Look At Report
9/10	ABC	5	Clinton Meets With Dems, Cabinet To Apologize, Discuss Report
9/10	ABC	6	Clinton's Pastor Says His Behavior Is Forgivable
9/10	CBS	1	Starr Sees 11 Impeachment Grounds; Clinton Apologizes To Dems
9/10	CBS	3	Poll: 2 In 3 Want Clinton To Stay; Gender Gap Unchanged
9/10	CBS	5	Clinton Uncertainties Knock Dow Down Nearly 250 Points
9/10	CBS	6	Clinton Announces Tentative Settlement Of Northwest Pilot Strike
9/10	CBS	7	Democratic Senate Leader Daschle Discusses Meeting With Clinton
9/10	CBS	9	Will First Lady Speak Out In Support Of Her Husband?
9/10	NBC	2	Clinton Apologizes More, But Faces Bitter Fight With Few Allies
9/10	NBC	4	First Lady Makes First DC Speech Since Clinton Admission
9/10	NBC	5	Interview With Secy Rubin On Dow Decline, Clinton Problems
9/10	NBC	6	How Similar Is Clinton's Crisis To Watergate?
9/10	NBC	10	Clinton Announces Northwest Strike Settlement; Review Of Events
9/9	ABC	3	Clinton Reaches Out To Congressional Democrats, Public
9/9	ABC	5	Dems Take "Wait And See" Stance, Which Can't Be Good For Clinton
9/9	CBS	2	Clinton Struggles To Save Presidency; What's In Report
9/9	CBS	3	Mood In Washington Has Hardened Against Clinton
9/9	CBS	4	CBS News Analysts Discuss Possibilities For Clinton Future
9/9	NBC	1	Starr Report Delivered As Embattled Clinton Apologizes Again
9/8	ABC	3	Clinton Snubbed By MD Governor; Other Dems Distance Too
9/8	CBS	4	Congress Mulls Handling Of Starr Report; More Dems Slam Clinton
9/8	NBC	3	Starr Denies Clinton Lawyer's Request To Review Report
9/4	ABC	4	Clinton Talks Of Being Sorry, A Change Of Tone And Tactics
9/4	CBS	1	With Dem Support Eroding, Clinton Says Word "Sorry" For 1st Time
9/4	CBS	2	Democrats In Washington Increasingly Critical Of Clinton
9/4	NBC	5	Lieberman's Criticism Hurts Clinton, Leading Him To Say Sorry
9/4	NBC	12	Strange August: Clinton Scandal, Terrorism, Russia's Problems
9/3	ABC	8	Clinton Gets Hero's Welcome In Northern Ireland
9/3	ABC	9	Clinton Will Return To US With Problems On All Fronts
9/3	ABC	10	Clinton Is In A Lot Of Trouble With Powerful Democrats
9/3	CBS	4	Clinton Enjoys Warm Welcome In Northern Ireland
9/3	CBS	5	Justice Dept. Begins Yet Another Probe Of '96 Clinton Campaign
9/3	CBS	6	Democratic Senator Lieberman Slams Clinton On Senate Floor
9/3	NBC	10	Clinton Gets Warm Welcome In Northern Ireland

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In the News

The UN speech not only received a standing ovation from foreign leaders, but high awareness and favorable response from the American public.

Did you hear anything about...?	% aware	More/ Less Fav			
		All	D	R	I
President Clinton's speech where he asked the United Nations to step up efforts to fight international terrorism	68	**67/ 16**	**77/ 2**	**63/ 26**	**60/ 22**
President Clinton declaring Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands disaster areas because of Hurricane Georges	45	48/ 19	49/ 16	41/ 28	51/ 16
President Clinton's calling for new policies to help Asian businesses and the IMF in order to deal with the growing global economic crisis	40	41/ 29	49/ 21	31/ 36	42/ 28
President Clinton requesting 2.3 billion dollars in emergency assistance to help farmers affected by decreasing commodity prices	37	45/ 19	54/ 10	34/ 30	43/ 18
President Clinton's radio address where he asked Congress to send him a balanced budget with targeted tax relief while preserving all the surplus until we have saved Social Security	37	49/ 18	**70/ 4**	31/ 35	43/ 18
President Clinton's radio address which discussed the recent steps to combat the growing use of drugs among our young people	29	36/ 20	54/ 8	27/ 26	25/ 24

The public to the President: do the job. This is the most essential message from the public.

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The Congress

Congress is setting itself up for a fall in the fall – The continuation of partisan fights by the Republican leadership can background – the question of just what is Congress doing is becoming a much more pressing one.

25% think Congress is doing its work, **71%** think it is just focusing on the Lewinsky matter.

	All	D	R	I
9/22	*25/71*	*10/89*	*51/44*	*21/75*

The theme we have chosen fits with the public mood about what is happening – now we need to give it more salience by clearing attaching it to the Republicans.

Which of the following to you think best describes this Congress:	All	D	R	I
A congress more interested in partisanship than progress	65	76	59	63
A do-nothing congress	20	17	11	27

And their priorities are clear:

Which of the following is the best thing President Clinton could do right now?	All	D	R	I
Ensure none of surplus is used for tax cuts before Social Security protected	38	38	34	**41**
Challenge the Republicans on their budget if it cuts important education, training and health programs	19	33	9	15
Secure passage of HMO reform and a patient's bill of rights	17	18	19	16
Take measures to ease the economic crisis in Asia and Russia	11	5	11	15
Secure passage of campaign finance reform	4	2	11	2

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Trust to handle issues

Democrats trust Moderate Democrats, Republicans trust Conservative Republicans to handle the issues

In each of these areas, do you think you would have more confidence in a conservative Republican, a moderate Republican, a moderate Democrat, or a liberal Democrat to handle the issue?

Among All Voters	Greatest Concern*	Liberal Democrat	Moderate Dem	Moderate Rep	Conservative Rep
The weakening of traditional family values	20	11	30	19	26
Preserving Medicare and Social Security for the future	15	19	32	17	19
The need for better and safer schools	15	11	36	18	21
Crime and violence	14	11	31	18	26
Finding good jobs and economic opportunity	7	17	31	22	17
High Government spending	6	8	30	20	29
High taxes	5	12	28	17	28
The need for a cleaner environment	5	21	36	15	15
Emerging new issues around the role of science, technology and genetics	4	17	25	21	17
Addressing the problem of income inequality	3	18	32	20	15
America's competitiveness in the world economy	3	8	28	25	23

* I am going to read you a list of some concerns that some people have expressed about aspects of life in America. Please tell me which of these is of greatest concern to you?

	Among Dems			Among GOP		
	Liberal Dem	Moderate Dem	Moderate Advantage	Mode rate Rep	Conservative Rep	Conservative Advantage
The weakening of traditional family values	19	55	36	32	50	18
Preserving Medicare and Social Security for the future	27	56	29	33	40	7
The need for better and safer schools	13	65	52	27	47	20
Crime and violence	17	53	36	54	28	26
Finding good jobs and economic opportunity	24	51		43	36	
High Government spending	11	52	41	27	58	31
High taxes	19	47	28	25	56	31
The need for a cleaner environment	31	49	18	35	28	-7
Emerging new issues around the role of science, technology and genetics	23	47	24	38	33	-5
Addressing the problem of income inequality	29	51	22	32	33	1
America's competitiveness in the world economy	15	47	32	40	46	6

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Emergency Funding

There is support for the emergency funding requests, through it is considerably diminished by the fact that it would cut into the Social Security First pledge.

43% say President Clinton should not support this spending because it takes away from his pledge to save the entire surplus for Social Security as this funding will come from the surplus. **52%** say this is an emergency, and emergency spending does not fall under the usual budget rules so President Clinton should support this funding for farmers.

D	R	I
39/55	49/50	42/50

From July polling: 80/16% *would support/oppose the amendment setting up a 500 million dollar fund for farmers hit by repeat natural disasters needing help to weather the economic downturn.*

Minimum Wage defeat

The loss of the minimum wage increase in these good times is a real issue – we should use it – and certainly schedule events around it, and get Democrats to use it more in their ads.

This is an issue in which Democrats and Independents overwhelmingly support it while only Republicans oppose it – and there is much more information to get

75/22% support/oppose raising the minimum wage.
*Democrats: **94**/6, Republicans: 53/43, Independents: 75/19 (2/98)*

53% are aware of the Senate rejecting a proposal to raise the minimum wage by 1 dollar per hour.

Democrats in the Senate supported raising the minimum wage, while Republicans in the Senate voted against raising the minimum wage.
Given this,

62/30% are more likely to vote for a Democrat/Republican in November
62% Democrat (**44%** much more likely + **18%** somewhat)
30% Republican (**17%** much more likely + **13%** somewhat)

D	R	I	M	F
94/3	22/74	**60**/22	48/40	73/20

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Taxes - Rehash

The Social Security First pledge is holding as the most powerful political position in America – even the Republicans are having second thoughts about a tax cut at this point. It seems that we are so strong with this that we can use as a message that Republicans are really hiding their position for the election, when you look at the huge tax cuts and cutting into Social Security First pledge that Gingrich is already on the record supporting. We can now use the "blank check" argument against them – they are looking to get a blank check to break down the fiscal responsibility necessary to keep our economy going.

44% trust President Clinton to handle the budget in a way that will help the nation's economy, **41%** the Republicans in Congress.

D	R	I
79/15	*7/85*	***42/32***

Republicans in Congress have proposed to use some of the surplus to cut taxes. President Clinton has said he would veto any bill that used the surplus to cut taxes—the surplus must be used to save Social Security first.
Given this **68/27%** are more/less favorable towards President Clinton
68% more favorable (**39%** much + **29%** somewhat)
27% less favorable (**13%** much + **14%** somewhat)

D	R	I
88/10	*43/52*	***70***/24

23% think we should use the surplus for a tax cut now, **70%** think we should save the entire surplus for Social Security.

D	R	I
13/84	*46/45*	*17/75*

Which do you think is more important:	All	D	R	I
Cutting taxes	34	26	43	33
Paying down the national debt	60	69	52	60

Which do you think is better for the US economy:	All	D	R	I
Cutting taxes	39	34	52	36
Paying down the national debt	57	60	46	62

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Saving the surplus for Social Security has the added benefit of paying down the national debt – which helps keeps interest rates low and makes things like buying a home and business investment less expensive. Some people say this will benefit the national economy and will help individuals as well. Knowing this, **33%** think we should have a tax cut, **60%** think we should save the entire surplus for Social Security.

D	R	I
24/71	51/42	28/65

Long-term care

We should find room in the budget for this proposal with pay-fors now that the cost is a total of $5 billion over 5 years. No proposal out of hundreds tested as well as this one.

92/5% would support/oppose a tax credit to Americans who care for an elderly parent to help cover the costs of long term care.

92% support (**70%** strongly + **22%** somewhat)
5% oppose (**2%** strongly + **3%** somewhat)

D	R	I	M	F
95/4	93/6	89/8	91/7	93/4

This proposal would provide for a $500 to 1000 dollar tax credit to people with long-term care needs or their care givers, and would cost the government approximately 5 billion dollars over 5 years and help about 2.2 million people. Given this, **86/11%** support/oppose this proposal.

86% support (**53%** strongly + **33%** somewhat)
11% oppose (**6%** strongly + **5%** somewhat)

D	R	I	M	F
93/6	82/13	84/14	86/13	86/10

Which do you think is more important:	All	D	R	I	M	F
Providing a tax cut to help people provide long term care for the elderly	69	83	56	69	65	74
A tax cut to reduce the marriage penalty	21	12	31	21	25	17

If a Democrat supported a tax credit for long term care that cost 5 billion dollars that did not come from the surplus so the entire surplus would be saved for social security, and a Republican supported a tax cut package that cost 80 billion dollars from the surplus, **68/23%** would support the Democrats' /Republicans' plan.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

D	R	I	M	F
92/6	38/53	70/18	63/28	73/18

And the alternative of a White House Conference remains an important one: If the White House held a conference on long term care to discuss new medical breakthroughs and how to make it easier for Americans to care for the elderly, **86/10%** would support/oppose this.

86% support (**50%** strongly + **36%** somewhat)
10% oppose (**6%** strongly + **4%** somewhat)

D	R	I	M	F
96/2	71/19	88/9	82/12	89/9

Elder Crime

If President Clinton proposed ways to fight and reduce crimes and fraud against the elderly, **72/21%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton

72% more (**42%** much + **30%** somewhat)
21% less (**12%** much + **9%** somewhat)

D	R	I
92/4	47/41	73/22

Following are some things the President could announce in an effort to reduce crimes against the elderly, please tell me if you would strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose each one?	Strongly Support	Support/ Oppose	D	R	I
Creating new guidelines to ensure the safety and care of the elderly in nursing homes	71	90/ 9	100/ 0	75/ 25	93/ 6
Calling on Congress to reauthorize the Older American's Act, which includes services that helps seniors who are at risk of abuse	59	80/ 16	91/ 7	61/ 35	85/ 10
Creating a new national center on elder abuse so the nation has better resources and data to understand how the elderly are affected by crimes	53	76/ 22	94/ 5	57/ 38	75/ 23
Posting new information on telemarketing fraud on the Department of Justice web site	51	77/ 18	77/ 18	67/ 31	83/ 10
Releasing 3 million dollars in Justice Department grants to combat fraud against the elderly	48	79/ 19	92/ 8	58/ 39	82/ 16
Launching a new partnership between the Justice Department and the AARP to create Elder Fraud Prevention teams in four major cities	43	71/ 25	77/ 14	57/ 44	78/ 19

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Education

Through meetings with everyone, we have all arrived at the following plan:

1. Put together an education bill of rights, essentially a repackaging of the education agenda into an easier PR form.
2. Create an omnibus education bill encompassing the agenda
3. Demand Congress spend one day on one vote to take our education into the 21st Century. This is a call on Congress to focus on the most urgent business of the country and spend just one day on it and get it done.

This would serve as a Democratic Unity event with strong Democratic support and a focus on the key issue.

Other possibilities for educational events:

Education Summit
It is 10 years since the last educational summit, and we could announce it is time to hold a new one. An education summit on the status of education in the United States – Its been 10 years since the education summit in Charlottesville (1989), and it is now time review progress and to lay out an agenda for the future, including the President, Governors, Lou Gerstner (IBM)

announce it

White House Conference
80/17% would support/oppose a White House conference on improving education with business leaders, management specialist, education administrators and teachers to discuss the challenges the face public education today.

80% support (**58%** strongly + **22%** somewhat)
17% oppose (**9%** strongly + **8%** somewhat)

D	R	I	Kids at home	No Kids
89/11	72/25	80/17	84/15	75/21

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NEW IDEAS

Expanding USMAPS

Currently, under-qualified high school students, in particular minorities, who want to go to military academies such as west point can go to a special prep school that is more rigorous and strict than remedial schools. There is a proposal to create these types of schools for non-military schools so under-qualified students have an alternative to remedial education. **70/26%** would support/oppose this proposal.

70% support (**37%** strongly + **33%** somewhat)
26% oppose (**13%** strongly + **13%** somewhat)

D	R	I
82/14	69/27	65/30

Workplace Schools

Some companies have established satellite learning centers – or small schools for the children of their employees. 61/35% would support/oppose a federal initiative to encourage businesses to locate public schools at the workplace.

61% support (**33%** strongly + **28%** somewhat)
35% oppose (**22%** strongly + **13%** somewhat)

D	R	I
70/25	56/39	58/38

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Roundup of education polling

Following are some ways the federal government could improve education in the country. Please tell me if you would strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose each of these national commitments to improving education.	Strongly Support	Support/ Oppose
Increase the number of states and districts with programs which facilitate the removal of incompetent teachers from the classroom.	81	92/6
Ensure accountability of teachers by either testing new teachers or removing bad teachers from the classroom.	78	93/7
Fund new teacher training with an emphasis on reading skills.	74	93/7
Expanding implementation of the zero tolerance policy for guns in schools requiring a one-year mandatory expulsion for kids who bring guns to schools.	71	85/7
Create a University-school partnership that would link local universities with the middle and high schools in high-poverty communities with the goal of encouraging more children to go on to college.	71	94/5
Expand after school programs which give students a safe place to be after school for recreation, to do homework and to get extra help	71	90/8
Challenge every state to adopt higher standards for teachers and for schools.*	67	88/10
Expand technology grants to ensure that within the next four years all teachers are trained in using the new educational technology.	67	88/11
Create a parent's right-to-know law that would require states and communities to make information on school performance available, so that parent's could make informed choices.	66	94/4
Expanding and improving programs such as head start for young children ages 4 and 5.	64	90/7
Increasing the amount of school construction and repair in high poverty areas.	64	90/7
Reduce class sizes in our public schools so no child in kindergarten to 3rd grade has more than 18 students in their class.	63	81/15
Giving teachers and administrators greater authority to expel disruptive students.*	62	85/11
Start a new public information campaign that would stress the availability and affordability of higher education.	61	88/10
Call for an end to "social promotions" -- where kids are sent to higher grades even if they haven't mastered the appropriate skills -- and call on every state to institute graduation exams so that high school diplomas mean something.*	58	81/16
Create education opportunity zones that would reward poor inner city and rural districts for reforming their schools by ending social promotion, removing bad teachers, and adopting school choice or public school vouchers.	56	81/12
Require states and communities to allow public school choice.	54	81/15
Improving the quality of schools by providing performance bonuses to public school teachers who exceed standards.*	52	78/18
Hire 100,000 new teachers for our public school systems.	52	78/18
Increasing school to work programs for high school students.	51	86/7
Implement a Hispanic education dropout plan that would decrease the rate of drop-out among Hispanic Americans.	50	76/18
Challenge states and school districts to set rigorous standards for their students by adopting national tests in the core subjects of 4th grade reading and 8th grade math.*	49	81/17
Providing public funding for scholarships or vouchers to allow disadvantaged students to attend private or parochial schools.*	49	69/28
Put in place a national high school graduation standard and test and provide incentives to states to adopt them.*	47	75/20
Propose legislation that would require public school choice as a condition of receiving federal education funding.	44	77/16
Create a system of public school vouchers which would enable members of a community to get together to create a new public charter school for their children in their neighborhood.	43	69/27

- *More/Less Fav in Italics*

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Food Safety

These are all popular areas of public concern – the e coli bacteria could be termed the end of this deadly disease from beef, an important act.

Recently, scientists discovered a technique to eliminate e coli bacteria, which can be fatal, especially to children, can be eliminated from the beef supply in this country by feeding them hay cattle before they are slaughtered. Given this, **85/11%** would support/oppose new regulations that would mandate the use of hay to feed cattle in the final days before they are slaughtered.

85% support (**69%** strongly + **16%** somewhat)
11% oppose (**7%** strongly + **4%** somewhat)

D	R	I
91/6	*80/14*	*84/14*

Many food and beverage products contain caffeine which can cause sleeplessness and have adverse effects on pregnant women. Although many of these products indicate that caffeine is an ingredient, the amount of caffeine is not listed so consumers do not know how much caffeine they are getting. Given this **82/16%** would support/oppose new labeling regulations that will compel food manufacturers to provide easily understandable information about caffeine content in foods and beverages.

82% support (**63%** strongly + **19%** somewhat)
16% oppose (**9%** strongly + **7%** somewhat)

D	R	I
88/8	*73/27*	*83/16*

If President Clinton announced that salmonella food poisoning risks have declined by nearly 50 percent because of new food safety efforts and programs, **65/15%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton

65% more favorable (**31%** much + **34%** somewhat)
15% less favorable (**9%** much + **6%** somewhat)

D	R	I
89/3	*42/24*	*62/16*

"This is stuff the press picks is small town people think is a big-ass deal. Ppl who don't eat beef aren't.

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Presidential Message Schedule

Date	Event	Message
The Next Two Weeks…		
Wednesday September 23	Mandela Congressional Gold Medal Ceremony *Working visit with PM Goh Chok Tung of Singapore*	
Thursday September 24	*Poverty Numbers Event* *Working Lunch with Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia*	**Poverty**
Friday September 25	***Message Event, Chicago, IL*** Tape radio address	
Tuesday September 29	***Elder Crime and Fraud Event***	**Elder Crime**
Wednesday September 30	***Message Event***	
Thursday October 1	***Economic Event***	
Friday October 2	***Message Event, Cleveland, OH***	
Saturday October 3	Live Radio Address	
Monday October 5	***Message Event***	
Tuesday October 6	***Message Event***	

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Strategy Session
September 8, 1998
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

Mood of the Country

	7/7	7/15	7/21	8/5	8/18	9/7
Country: right/wrong track	50/38	48/41	47/40	49/37	59/30	49/39
Economy: right/wrong track	69/24	70/23	71/22	72/22	78/12	70/24
Favorability						
Clinton	65/34	63/36	63/35	63/36	59/39	56/42
Gore	60/34	59/35	59/36	61/34	60/31	57/35
Clinton Job Approval	**68/30**	**65/33**	**68/30**	**69/30**	**70/28**	**68/33**
Strongly Approve	**29**	**26**	**28**	**33**	**36**	**32**
Gore Job Approval	**65/30**	**62/31**	**61/32**	**62/32**		**64/29**
Strongly Approve	**29**	**26**	**28**	**23**		**18**

Clinton Favorability	D	R	I	M	F
9/7	83/15	22/78	56/34	50/50	61/37
8/18	80/15	30/70	58/40	54/43	63/36
8/17	86/13	37/63	52/47	53/47	68/32
8/13	87/13	30/70	56/43	57/42	61/37
8/5	91/9	34/66	56/42	61/37	63/35
7/29	87/12	28/62	59/38	57/42	65/34

Most Important Issue

- **Economy/Jobs is the most important issue with 17%**
- **Morality/Family Values—14%**
- **Education is third at 7%**
- **Fighting Crime—5%**

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On foreign policy, would you say that you strongly approve of the job Bill Clinton has been doing, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing?	Approve	Disapprove
9/7	62	36
8/5	64	34
6/9	60	33
2/17	64	34

Congress

Approval—on a 2 point scale

	7/7	7/15	7/21	8/5	9/7
Congress	53/38	54/40	51/42	55/37	60/34
Congressional Republicans	44/48	44/48	44/47	46/46	51/42
Congressional Democrats	52/38	50/41	49/40	54/38	57/37

Generic Horserace

41% would vote for a Democrat in Congress, **32%** would vote for a Republican.

	7/7	7/15	7/21	8/5	8/18	9/7
Democrat	43	44	42	39	39	41
Republican	34	33	37	34	34	32

Among prime voters, **37%** would vote for a Democrat in Congress, **39%** would vote for a Republican. *Right now, 54% of Democrats are absolutely certain to vote, 63% of Republicans and 45% of Independents.*

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Newspaper Headlines

Scandal: 25, Russia: 2, Ireland: 1, Campaign finance: 2; Bin Laden: 4, Misc:3

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
9/8	Tuesday	New York Times	Clinton's Lawyer Seeks Early Look At Starr Findings A Scramble for Defense After foreign trip, President Returns To Hostile Capital and Difficult Decisions
9/8	Tuesday	USA Today	Clinton Requests Early Look At Report
9/5	Saturday	New York Times	Clinton Affirms He is 'Very Sorry' Apology Comes After Criticism on Lewinsky by Senator Photo: POTUS and FLOTUS
9/5	Saturday	Washington Post	Clinton Says 'I'm Sorry' For Affair With Lewinsky Photo: POTUS
9/4	Friday	New York Times	Clinton Promotes Accord in Ulster Welcomes Gains but Warns of Tasks and Threats to come Photo: POTUS
9/4	Friday	New York Times	Democrat in Senate Denounces Clinton on Lewinsky Furor
9/4	Friday	Washington Post	Lieberman, a Senate Ally, Blasts Clinton's Behavior
9/4	Friday	Washington Post	As Outcry Grows, Aides Prepare Fight Presidential 'Plea Bargain' Rejected
9/4	Friday	Washington Post	FEC Audit Led to New Clinton Probe '96 Campaign Found to Benefit illegally From 'Issue Ad' Spending
9/3	Thursday	Washington Post	Clinton Faces New Campaign Probe
9/3	Thursday	Washington Post	President Stands Pat On Lewinsky Speech Photo: POTUS
9/3	Thursday	Washington Post	Clinton Helped in Job Search
9/2	Wednesday	Washington Post	Clinton Urges Russia to Extend Reforms Yeltsin Raises Prospect of 'Tactical Changes' Toward More State Control Photo: POTUS and Yeltsin
9/1	Tuesday	USA Today	Clinton Takes Case To Russia
8/27	Thursday	Washington Post	Clinton is Urged to Say More On Lewinsky Relationship Advisers Seek to Halt Erosion of Democratic Support (Photo: POTUS)
8/26	Wednesday	USA Today	Bin Laden Indicted For Bid To Kill Clinton
8/26	Wednesday	Washington Post	Gephardt Says Clinton Could Be Impeached House Leader Won't Rule Out Process
8/26	Wednesday	New York Times	Photo: POTUS and family on vacation
8/25	Tuesday	Washington Post	Judges Reject Census Sampling Court Backs GOP, Blocks Clinton Plan
8/24	Monday	USA Today	White House Voices War On Terrorism
8/24	Monday	Washington Post	A Defense for Clinton Begins To Take Shape

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8/23	Sunday	Washington Post	President Freezes Bin Laden Assets Clinton Targets Global Support
8/23	Sunday	Washington Post	Americans See 2 Distinct Clintons They Laud His Work, Not His Character
8/23	Sunday	Washington Post	Clinton May Court Democrats on Hill Neglected Lawmakers Key to Survival
8/22	Saturday	Washington Post	President Testified to Late Gifts to Lewinsky Presents Given At Dec. 28 Meeting
8/21	Friday	Washington Post	In the Midst of Scandal, Clinton Planned Strikes White House Contemplated Military Action for Two Weeks (Photo: POTUS)
8/21	Friday	Washington Post	Timing of Lewinsky Talks On Affair's Secrecy at Issue Clinton Said Discussion Preceded Jones Subpoena
8/20	Thursday	Washington Post	Lewinsky, Clinton Testimony in Conflict
8/20	Thursday	Washington Post	Clinton Camp is Splintered on Next Step
8/20	Thursday	Washington Post	President Approves Federal Pay Raise
8/20	Thursday	USA Today	Lewinsky felt Liaison Would Last Responds to Clinton's Version Today
8/19	Wednesday	USA Today	First Lady stands by Clinton
8/19	Wednesday	Washington Post	Starr Pushes Forward Despite Clinton Admission
8/19	Wednesday	Washington Post	Words were Clinton's Own, Too Much So, Aides Worry
8/18	Tuesday	Washington Post	Clinton Admits to Lewinsky Relationship, Challenges Starr to End Personal 'Prying'
8/18	Tuesday	Washington Post	The Legal Gamble: To Say Just Enough; Clinton Relies on a Narrow Definition
8/17	Monday	Washington Post	Clinton Prepares for Historic Test
8/17	Monday	Washington Post	Day's Events Could Narrow Credibility Gap: Clinton Aides and Scholars Urge Forthright Disclosure

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Television Headlines

Date	Station	Order	Headline
9/2	ABC	5	Clinton & Yeltsin Face Reporters At End Of Surreal Summit
9/2	ABC	6	Clinton Meets With Some Russian Opposition Leaders
9/2	CBS	1	Clinton Confronts Lewinsky Questions At Moscow Summit
9/2	CBS	10	First Lady Arrives In N. Ireland, Praises Women Working For Peace
9/2	NBC	4	Russia Summit Ends With Clinton Responding To Qs About Lewinsky
9/1	ABC	6	Ex-Clinton Aide Ickes May Be Facing An Independent Counsel
9/1	ABC	10	Clinton Admin Facing Tough Questions About Hit On Sudan Plant
9/1	CBS	4	Clinton Has Tough Message For His Hosts In Moscow
9/1	CBS	8	Paula Jones Judge Indicates She Could Hold Clinton In Contempt
9/1	CBS	17	First Lady, On Outing In Moscow, Says She's "Fine"
9/1	NBC	3	Clinton, Yeltsin Meet In Midst Of Troubles
8/31	ABC	5	Clinton Leaves For Russia, Where A Great Depression Prevails
8/31	ABC	6	Clinton Admin. Moving To Settle Northwest Pilots Strike
8/31	CBS	4	Clinton-Yeltsin Summit Seems Doomed; Leaders Weak Amid Chaos
8/31	CBS	6	Clinton Calls On Northwest & Pilots To Try Harder To Settle
8/31	NBC	7	A Look At How Clinton's Problems Will Affect Dems In Election
8/28	ABC	2	Clinton Says He Won't Back Down From Russia Summit Next Week
8/28	ABC	8	Clinton Talks About Forgiveness At MLK Event
8/28	CBS	3	Clinton Still Plans To Visit Moscow, Will Tell Them To Be Tough
8/28	CBS	6	Clinton Talks About Forgiveness At MLK Event
8/28	NBC	1	Subdued Clinton Discusses Forgiveness At Emotional Service
8/27	ABC	2	Will Russia's Turmoil Affect Clinton's Plans For Trip?
8/27	ABC	12	Clinton Gets Democrats' Support At Public Appearance In Mass.
8/27	CBS	3	Clinton Still Planning To Attend Moscow Summit Next Week
8/27	CBS	4	Clinton Makes First Political Appearance Since Lewinsky Speech
8/27	CBS	6	Clinton Friend And Lawyer Recalled To Starr Grand Jury
8/27	NBC	3	US To Tell Russians To Take Tough Medicine; Clinton Greeted In MA
8/26	NBC	7	Intelligence Indicates Bin Laden Plot To Kill Clinton
8/25	CBS	12	Clinton Boats With Walter Cronkite, Increases His Visibility
8/25	CBS	13	Clinton Discusses Upcoming Summit By Phone With Boris Yeltsin
8/25	NBC	7	Clinton's Vacation Finally Begins To Look Normal
8/24	ABC	7	Clinton Goes Out Shopping Today
8/24	ABC	8	Poll: Most Want Censure Not Impeachment For Clinton
8/24	CBS	8	Clinton & First Lady Appear In Public, Separately
8/21	NBC	6	Clinton Had Wanted To Apologize To Lewinsky, Her Family
8/21	NBC	7	How Is Clinton Dealing With Pressure From Both Crises?
8/20	ABC	11	Lewinsky Returns To Grand Jury, Reportedly Contradicts Clinton
8/20	ABC	12	Latest Poll Shows Clinton's Favorability Rating Down 15 Points
8/20	CBS	13	Sen. Hatch Says Clinton's Attack Correct Despite Skeptics
8/20	NBC	8	Press With Clinton Watched "Wag The Dog" When Attacks Occurred
8/20	NBC	9	Lewinsky Contradicted Parts Of Clinton's Grand Jury Testimony
8/19	ABC	1	President's Troubles Not Fading, And May Be Getting Worse
8/19	ABC	2	Some Democrats Reacting Harshly To Clinton Speech
8/19	CBS	1	Clinton Has Given DNA Sample To Starr; Other Developments
8/19	CBS	2	Clinton Spends Birthday With Family As Aides Plot Strategy
8/19	CBS	3	Ratings For Clinton Speech Were Higher Than Nixon's Speech
8/19	NBC	1	Clinton Turns 52, Tries To Repair His Family As Leaks Occur
8/19	NBC	2	Clinton May Have Worn Lewinsky Tie To Send Signal
8/19	NBC	5	What Awaits President Clinton When He Returns To Washington?
8/19	NBC	9	TIME Rushes To Release Mid-Week Issue To Update Clinton Scandal

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

8/18	ABC	1	Clintons Leave For Vacation; First Lady Expresses Support
8/18	ABC	3	Both Democrats And Republicans Angry At Clinton
8/18	ABC	4	Polls Show Clinton Still Has Strong Approval, Probe Should End
8/18	CBS	1	Dem & GOP Politicians React To Clinton Lewinsky Speech
8/18	CBS	2	What Clinton's Up Against Following His Defiant Testimony
8/18	CBS	3	First Family's Vacation Begins With Special Welcome
8/18	CBS	5	Historians Say Scandal Will Overshadow Substance Of Presidency
8/18	CBS	14	A Sample Of Citizen Views On Clinton From Around The Nation
8/18	NBC	1	Clintons Begin Vacation; First Lady Declares Support
8/18	NBC	2	Starr Team Considering Whether To Seek Further Clinton Testimony
8/18	NBC	4	How Americans Reacted To Clinton's Candor & Contrition
8/18	NBC	8	Look At What's On The First Family's Reading List
8/18	NBC	9	Clinton's Speech Watched In Estimated 40 Million Homes
8/17	ABC	1	Clinton Testifies For Starr Jury; Will Address Nation Tonight
8/17	ABC	4	Jesse Jackson Describes First Lady & Chelsea's Handling Of Scandal
8/17	ABC	5	President's Lawyer Making A Statement After Clinton Testimony
8/17	ABC	7	George Stephanopolous Discusses Clinton Testimony
8/17	CBS	1	Clinton Testifies For Starr; Statement By His Lawyer
8/17	CBS	2	Clinton Acknowledges Sex With Lewinsky; A Look At Expected Qs
8/17	CBS	3	Congress Watches But Doesn't React To Clinton Affair
8/17	CBS	4	Jesse Jackson Says First Lady, Chelsea Devoted To President
8/17	CBS	5	First Lady Has Taken An Active Role In Preparing Clinton
8/17	CBS	7	Expert Discusses What To Look For In Clinton's Speech
8/17	CBS	11	Tourists At Statue Of Liberty React To Clinton Testimony
8/17	CBS	12	What To Expect From Clinton's Speech
8/17	NBC	1	Clinton Testifies, Admits Affair, Plans Address To Nation
8/17	NBC	2	A Look At How Clinton Spent The Last 24 Hours
8/17	NBC	4	Video Of Starr Leaving The White House
8/17	NBC	5	A Look At How Hilary Clinton Is Dealing With The Scandal
8/17	NBC	6	Clinton Lawyer Discusses Clinton's Testimony
8/17	NBC	7	Clinton Still Faces Legal Troubles, Lawyers Say
8/17	NBC	11	A Look At How Presidents Have Dealt With Problems

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In the News

Both low awareness and low more AND less favorables (high don't know), in particular on the Ireland trip, show accomplishments continue to be drowned out in the media coverage.

Did you hear anything about...?	% aware	More/ Less Fav
President Clinton's trip to Russia where he is pushing for economic reforms.	85	59/23
President Clinton's visit to Ireland.	65	32/25
President Clinton freezing the assets of Bin Laden who is thought to be connected to the bombings of U.S. embassies in Africa.	60	63/14
President Clinton's speech where he announced plans to provide guides to schools that will help prevent school violence.	53	63/16
President Clinton commemorating Martin Luther King's speech and talking about forgiveness.	45	40/24
President Clinton's radio address in which he touted the strength of the US economy	34	51/38
President Clinton appointing a high-level council to over see food safety in the U.S.	31	40/17

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Budget Agreement

We have a 20 point advantage in the budget fight, (31% would blame Clinton, 51% Republicans for a shut down), and by 55% to 33%, Independents side with the President in the debate. Only a majority of Republicans buy the argument that a shut down would be intended to distract attention from the investigations.

The data suggests that we could again issue a strong pile of vetoes type statement about the appropriations bills as a way to highlight the differences in the budget between the Republicans and the Democrats.

GOP Appropriations

Within a few weeks, the Republicans in Congress must send President Clinton 13 different bills that will define the budget for the next fiscal year. Right now, the bills the Republicans are working on contain cuts in programs that are important to President Clinton, such as Head Start, after school and other educational programs, environmental funding, the National Service program, and many others. **45/51%** would support/oppose such a budget.

45% support (**23%** strongly + **22%** somewhat)
51% oppose (**33%** strongly + **18%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 36/62, Republicans: 63/32, Independents: 40/53

Sign or Veto?

If President Clinton thinks a bill in this budget cuts too many important programs, 20% think he should sign the bill, 72% think veto the bill.
Party: Democrats: 11/84, Republicans: 35/53, *Independents: 18/75*

Shutdown

If President Clinton vetoes the appropriations bills and Republicans do not send him bills he will sign by September 30, the government could shut down. Knowing this, **28%** think President Clinton should sign bills he is not satisfied with, **60%** think veto.
Party: Democrats: 17/77, Republicans: 47/41, Independents: 25/62

Blame Clinton vs GOP

If there is a government shutdown this year because of disagreement over the budget, **31%** would blame President Clinton, **51%** the Republicans in Congress.
Party: Democrats: 11/77, Republicans: 50/28, Independents: 37/45

Who do you side with?

55% side more on the budget debate with President Clinton, **34%** the Republicans in Congress.
Party: Democrats: 83/11, Republicans: 22/68, Independents: ***55/33***

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75/23% think a government shutdown would be harmful/not harmful to the United States.

75% harmful (**35%** very + **40%** somewhat)
23% not harmful (**7%** not at all + **16%** not very)
Party: Democrats: 81/15, Republicans: 75/24, Independents: 71/27

Arguments

Shutdown is just a distraction
33% say President Clinton would force a government shutdown to provide a distraction from the investigation of his relationship with Monica Lewinsky; **58%** say if there is a government shut down it is because Republicans haven't done their job of passing spending bills the president will accept.
Party: Democrats: 15/77, Republicans: 53/39, Independents: 35/54

63% think the President should stand by his principles of maintaining important investments in education and training, even if that will lead to a government shutdown, **31%** think he should give into the Republicans to avoid a government shutdown.
Party: Democrats: 78/17, Republicans: 43/55, Independents: ***64/28***

50% think the Republicans should stand by their principles of reducing spending on programs they see as unnecessary, **37%** think they should give into President Clinton and send him bills he will sign to avoid a government shutdown.
Party: Democrats: 34/53, Republicans: 76/16, Independents: ***48/40***

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

This chart ranks which programs are most important to voters in the budget negotiations. WIC funding, America Reads, Head Start, Child Care and tax cuts before Social Security are all at the top of the list.

Following are some criticisms of the Republican's budget. After I read each one, I'd like you to tell me if it makes you much more likely to support the Republican's budget, somewhat more likely to support, somewhat more likely to oppose or much more likely to oppose the Republican's budget?	All		Party		
	Much More Likely to Oppose	Support/ Oppose	D	R	I
The Republican budget cuts funding for the Women, Infants and Children's Supplemental Nutrition program, cutting off 100,000 needy participants.	48	28/70	24/ 76	54/ 39	**16/ 85**
The Republican budget cuts 260 million dollars for the America Reads Challenge, denying funding to schools and communities to improve reading programs and provide tutors.	48	28/69	14/ 81	57/ 41	22/ 76
The Republican budget denies child-care funding to improve and enforce health and safety standards.	45	30/67	**16/ 85**	52/ 43	27/ 71
The Republican budget enacts tax cuts before the future of Social Security is protected.	44	32/65	25/ 75	56/ 42	22/ 73
The Republican budget cuts Head Start by denying slots in the Head Start program to up to 25,000 low-income children.	43	28/69	22/ 78	49/ 46	19/ 76
The Republican budget eliminates the Summer Jobs programs which gives disadvantaged youths the opportunity to gain work experience over the summer months.	42	32/64	25/ 71	49/ 50	29/ 66
The Republican budget eliminates funding for mentoring and tutoring to at-risk middle-school students to raise education expectations and eliminate barriers to college.	40	33/63	20/ 74	49/ 44	28/ 68
The Republican budget eliminates National Service, denying 49,000 Americans the opportunity to serve in Americorps and denying over 1 million students a chance to participate in service learning activities.	40	38/57	17/ 80	51/ 40	44/ 50
The Republican budget denies funds for after-school programs which give students a safe place to be after school for recreation, to do homework and to get extra help.	39	37/59	27/ 72	54/ 43	36/ 60
The Republican budget denies funding to schools nationwide to provide students and teachers with access to computers and denies specialized instruction in computers to a large number of new teachers.	38	33/62	21/ 75	61/ 34	23/ **72**
The Republican budget denies 6,000 schools nationwide funds to help students reach high standards	37	34/63	24/ 76	53/ 43	30/ 64

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

and would halt development of voluntary national tests in fourth grade reading and eighth grade math.					
The Republican budget eliminates funding for middle-schools nationwide that would provide full-time Safe and Drug-Free Coordinators.	36	37/57	25/ 74	54/ 39	34/ 57
The Republican budget cuts almost 600 million dollars from Superfund, delaying environmental cleanups nationwide.	36	38/57	26/ 73	64/ 34	32/ 60
The Republican budget eliminates funding that would help low-income families pay for home-heating and home-air-conditioning costs.	35	34/60	19/ 76	60/ 34	28/ 64
The Republican budget cripples our ability to conduct a fair and accurate 2000 census by restricting funding for the Census bureau and prevents the use of statistical sampling.	25	40/49	32/ 61	67/ 24	31/ 55

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Immediate Issue Concerns

In this environment, continued strong administrative action is the key to this race – working to strengthen the economy, working to pass education, health and environmental measures. We must confront the Republicans aggressively on the appropriations bills, amplify Social Security First along with paid-for targeted tax cuts.

Which of the following is the best thing President Clinton could do right now?	All	M	F	D	R	I
Ensure none of surplus is used for tax cuts before Social Security is protected	35	31	39	31	32	42
Challenge the Republicans on their budget if it cuts important education and training programs	19	18	20	33	12	14
Secure passage of HMO reform and a patient's bill of rights	17	15	18	17	18	15
Take measures to ease the economic crisis in Asia and Russia	10	11	9	8	11	11
Secure passage of campaign finance reform	9	12	6	6	10	11

Which of the following concerns you most about Clinton and his Presidency right now:	All	M	F	D	R	I
How he will handle the economic crisis in Asia and Russia	30	37	24	29	31	29
The Ken Starr/Monica Lewinsky investigation	20	16	24	21	24	18
How he will manage the budget surplus	17	13	20	16	13	19
How he will handle the upcoming budget negotiations with Congress	16	15	18	23	9	17
Investigations about campaign finance	11	15	8	5	16	13

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Congressional elections

Democratic pollsters have the trends completely reversed.

First, midterm elections are older, richer and more Republican. They have been that way for the last 40 years and they will be that way this time as well.

All of the polling data before there was any Lewinsky matter, the poll of the likely voters showed that it would be skewed to the Republicans. Now that it is Labor Day the pollsters are changing their screens to likely voters and finding this trend.

And of course they are now trying to scapegoat the administration for this trend. The Battleground poll explicitly did not ask any investigation related questions and then concluded that the normal turnout trends were the result of the investigation. How they did this without a single question on it is somewhat of a mystery. The importance of values as an issue is not new as they suggest, it has been a trend for the last three years.

And the Battleground poll shows that the Democrats in Congress continue to have an image that lags behind the President on the major issues raised by the Republicans: taxes, fiscal responsibility, the economy, crime and drugs. Yet they still show the race within three points among likely voters.

Who do you think could do a better job dealing with this issue—President Clinton and the Democrats in Congress or the Republicans in Congress? The Democrats in Congress or the Republicans in Congress?	**Clinton and Dem Adv over GOP**	**Dem Adv over GOP**	**Dems alone adv over Clinton and Dems**
Protecting the environment	33	32	-1
Creating jobs	23	18	-5
Improving the healthcare system	16	21	5
Strengthening Social Security	15	16	1
Improving the economy	**14**	**7**	**-7**
Protecting the middle class	12	17	5
Improving education	10	12	2
Keeping America prosperous	**4**	**-8**	**-12**
Balancing the federal budget	**3**	**-7**	**-10**
Reforming welfare	0	0	0
Fighting crime and drugs	-3	-9	**-6**
Dealing with foreign affairs	-8	-13	-5
Holding the line on taxes	-12	-23	**-11**
Sharing your values	-13	-7	6
Cutting taxes	-16	-14	2

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

***Tarrance Group – Battleground '98**

And a specific question we asked shows that the investigation itself is not having an effect on turnout:

The investigation of President Clinton makes **19%** more likely to vote in the 1998 elections, **6%** less likely, **75%** do not think it affects their likelihood to vote at all.
Party: Democrats: 24/6/69, Republicans: 24/6/70, Independents: 12/5/84
Gender: Male: 20/5/75, Female: 18/6/75

Taxes

This polling reveals the following tax strategy in light of the Johnson and Johnson tax cut package:

1) The Republican's modest tax cut plan is broadly supported and now beats an alternative Democratic targeted tax cut plan.

2) The way to beat them on the issue is **Social Security First.** A majority of voters would prefer to use the entire surplus for Social Security as opposed to putting part towards Social Security and part for tax cuts.

3) We must build on Social Security First by providing a Democratic tax cut that would be fully paid for through means other than the surplus so that we can maintain the integrity of our fiscal position.

4) We can then argue that the Republicans are hypocritical for proposing tax cuts which they claim will help parents and children while at the same time they are threatening to cut essential education, child care and family programs through their appropriations bills.

5) We can also make the argument that they are fiscally irresponsible for proposing tax cuts that will jeopardize the balanced budget and jeopardize Social Security.

6) Democrats support programs to educate our kids and take care of Senior citizens, provide modest tax cuts and save Social Security **all within the balanced budget through a fully paid for targeted tax cut package.**

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

GOP Tax Cut Proposal

There is currently a proposal to use 78 billion dollars of the surplus for tax cuts to reduce the marriage penalty, make health insurance premiums tax deductible, raise the limit on how much seniors can earn before being taxed, extend business tax credits for research and development and expand childcare and education tax credits. The rest of the surplus would be used to save Social Security. **73/22%** support/oppose this tax cut proposal.

73% support (**33%** strongly + **40%** somewhat)

22% oppose (**13%** strongly + **9%** somewhat)

Party: Democrats: 74/22, Republicans: 73/23, Independents: 73/20

Which part of this tax cut package is most important to you, personally?	All	D	R	I
Expand education tax credits	26	32	22	26
Make health insurance premiums tax deductible	21	**24**	15	19
Raise the limit on how much Seniors can earn before being taxed	19	20	13	22
Reduce the marriage penalty	12	3	**24**	12
Expand childcare tax credits	9	6	13	10
Extend business tax credits for research and development	4	5	4	3

Which tax cut would you favor?	All	D	R	I
Reducing the marriage penalty, making health insurance premiums tax deductible, raising the limit on how much Seniors can earn before being taxed, extending business tax credits for research and development and expanding childcare and education tax credits	59	60	65	57
A targeted tax cut on childcare, reducing the marriage penalty and providing a tax cut for taking care of an aging parent	30	30	23	33

Small enough to not hurt Social Security?

29% say this tax cut proposal is small enough that it won't jeopardize Social Security; **59%** say we should save every dollar of the surplus for Social Security to ensure it is available for future generations.

Party: Democrats: 31/56, Republicans: 34/52, Independents: 24/68

From the Tarrance Group Battleground poll:

39% say we should put half of the surplus aside to preserve Social Security and send half back to the American tax payers by cutting taxes so they can have more money to spend as they see fit. **52%** say that we should use all the surplus to preserve the Social Security system because using the surplus to cut taxes is irresponsible and will harm Social Security for our seniors.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Dem vs GOP plan

If a Democrat said we should not use any of the surplus for a tax cut until we have guaranteed Social Security for the future, and a Republican said we should put a small portion of the surplus towards tax cuts now and save the rest for Social Security, **50%** would vote for the Democrat, **38%** the Republican.
*Party: Democrats: 68/21, Republicans: 27/59, Independents: **53**/37*

If a Democrat said we should save the surplus for Social Security but cut the budget in other ways to for a modest, targeted tax cut and a Republican said we should put a small portion of the surplus towards tax cuts now and save the rest for Social Security, **47%** would vote for the Democrat, **38%** the Republican.
*Party: Democrats: 75/16, Republicans: 19/68, Independents: **44**/36*

Stock Market

Last week's stock market fall has left voters has not diminished their confidence in the US economy – but it has once again reinforced the importance of our involvement in the global financial crisis.

There is a moderate degree of concern that there will be a recession in the next year – but a fall in the stock market is not seen as the greatest threat – unless it results in a loss of jobs.

91% are aware that the stock market fell 500 points on August 31st.

Ultimately the public confidence in the economy has been quickly restored, but there is fear of a recession next year, and this is a key issue that could be used in the election campaign. The economy is our strength – Democrats have to learn how to use it.

What do you think will happen now:	6/17	All	D	R	I
Stabilize at lower level	37	43	39	46	48
Rise again	46	41	48	40	34
Continue to fall	7	8	10	8	8

Which of the following would concern you most about the US economy?	All	D	R	I	No Degree	College Degree
Loss of jobs	**50**	**61**	**35**	**53**	**59**	**38**
Inflation	19	16	23	18	15	24
Continuous fall of the stock market	10	8	17	8	9	11
Reduced exports	9	9	12	8	7	13
Weakening corporate profits	6	4	7	7	6	8

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

US Economy Weakening?

28% say the falling stock market shows that the US economy is weakening; **66%** say the stock market drop is not a reflection of the strength of the economy, with low unemployment, low interest rates and low inflation the economy is strong even if the value of the stock market is lower.

Party: Democrats: 23/70, Republicans: 33/61, Independents: 28/65
Education: No degree: 30/63, College Degree: 24/70

Concern Over Recession

42% think there will be a global recession in the next year, **43%** not.

Party: Democrats: 39/45, Republicans: 47/44, Independents: 43/39
Education: No degree: 40/42, College Degree: 45/45

19% think the United States is in a recession now, **75%** not.

Party: Democrats: 16/77, Republicans: 18/78, Independents: 25/72
Education: No degree: 24/70, College Degree: 11/87

How much has the recent fall in the stock market directly affected your personal economic situation?	All	D	R	I	Educ. No Degree	Educ. College Degree
A lot	11	9	14	12	12	11
A little	38	42	39	32	31	49
Not at all	**49**	49	44	55	56	39

If the stock market falls further, how much do you think it will directly affect your personal economic situation?	All	D	R	I	Educ. No Degree	Educ. College Degree
A lot	22	20	23	22	20	23
A little	**51**	55	50	47	48	56
Not at all	25	21	26	28	29	19

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Global Economy

Should the United States be a leader in efforts to promote economic reform and international stability, a participant, but not a leader, in these efforts with other nations, or not be involved at all?	All	D	R	I	No Degree	College Degree
Leader	41	42	40	40	38	**47**
Participant but not leader	39	38	42	42	40	38
Not be involved	16	17	15	14	19	10

***45%** think that America is gaining from the global economy, **41%** think losing.*

Do you think that America is gaining or losing from the global economy?	Gaining	Losing
January 20	47	37
June 17	35	51
September 7	**45**	**41**

Party: Democrats: 43/44, Republicans: 37/48, Independents: 53/36

***73%** think that the U.S. should be a global economic leader, **18%** think it should withdraw as much as possible from the global economy.*

Do you think that the U.S. should be a global economic leader or should it withdraw as much as possible from the global economy?	Global Economic Leader	withdraw
January 20	72	18
June 17	62	27
September 7	**73**	**18**

Party: Democrats: 71/18, Republicans: 73/22, Independents: 75/16

Participation in reform

This is 6 point increase in support for participation in global economic reform

52% think we should participate in the reform of the Russian and Asian economies, **43%** not.
Party: Democrats: 56/36, Republicans: 52/43, Independents: 50/50
***July 20:** 44/49*

33% think our efforts to help financial crises should focus on individual countries, **55%** think the entire global economic system.
Party: Democrats: 26/63, Republicans: 42/43, Independents: 32/57
Education: No degree: 34/56, College Degree: 29/59

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Policy options

Which would be the best thing to do for the U.S. economy now? Second best?	All		1st				
	1st	1st + 2nd	D	R	I	No Degree	College Degree
To pass a tax cut	35	67	28	53	28	33	37
To be involved in ways to reform and stabilize the Russian and Asian economies	31	47	35	25	34	29	34
To lower interest rates	24	70	27	17	28	27	21

Following are some actions the United States could take to address the economic downturn facing many nations. Please tell me if you strongly support... each one. Ranked by Strongly support	Strongly Support	Support/ Oppose	D	R	I
Lower interest rates in the United States and encourage other developed nations to lower their interest rates to keep the global economy moving	48	83/13	80/ 15	83/ 15	90/ 9
Bring together world economic leaders to establish a new international financial institutions to ensure future stability and prosperity	38	67/28	73/ 24	48/ 51	77/ 15
Expand the efforts of the G7 – or group of industrialized nations in encouraging economic stability	35	76/15	83/ 11	65/ 28	80/ 9
Set mechanisms so private investors – not just the governments – share some of the burden of an economic downturn in emerging markets	34	65/25	68/ 23	58/ 33	69/ 23
Place capital controls on emerging economies so investors would need a license to move money in and out of countries which do not have a stable capitalist structure	30	57/31	70/ 23	41/ 48	63/ 23
Write down debts for countries whose debts are burdening the growth of their economies	21	47/43	58/ 39	36/ 50	46/ 43
Increase IMF investments in countries so they have capital to rebuild their infrastructures	17	56/37	65/ 28	44/ 51	60/ 32

53% think it is time to revisit our international financial institutions and update them for the global economy, **37%** think we should rely on our existing structures.
Party: Democrats: 53/36, Republicans: 47/43, Independents: 58/35
Education: No degree: 55/35, College Degree: 51/42

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Statements about the Global Economy

Following are some things President Clinton could say about the recent fall in the stock market and the global economy. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree... Would this make you much more favorable...towards President Clinton? *Ranked by Much more favorable*	Strongly Agree	Agree/ Disagree	Much more favorable	More/ Less Fav
Given the economic instability of the rest of the world, it is important that we keep our economy going by keeping our fundamentals strong, such as investments in education and job training and a stable tax structure	79	95/5	36	73/18
We must be concerned about the state of the US economy and watch it closely, and take serious efforts to insure our economy against an economic downturn	66	95/4	32	71/19
This must be an international effort, not just an American effort to encourage these emerging nations to reform their economies and promote stability	57	89/6	30	68/17
We must not just focus on Asia, Russia and the other countries in crisis, but we must encourage all economies have their fundamental structures in order	55	86/11	27	65/20
The United States must be prudent in its involvement in the financial crises of Asia, Russia and Latin America. We must insist that only nations that help themselves by undergoing tough economic reforms receive continued financial help	46	75/19	25	61/26
The fundamentals of the US economy – low unemployment, low inflation, low interest rates, strong corporate profits give us confidence that that our economy strong enough to withstand global instability	34	76/20	23	61/26
It is in the interest of the United States to ensure that other economies recover from financial crises as quickly as possible, so we must help them by encouraging economic reform and funding the International Monetary Fund	31	70/25	20	62/28
We must also focus on the needs of American workers if we do face reduced efforts as a result of the economic downturn in Russia and Asia	45	80/13	20	63/22
It is time to shift the debate from helping individual countries faced with economic crisis to a broader view of the global economic structure	35	71/19	20	59/25

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Which country or region do you think we should be most concerned with, or should we be concerned with them all equally?	All	D	R	I	No Degree	College Degree
All equally	38	40	31	42	39	38
Asia	21	18	31	16	18	25
Russia	20	19	20	21	19	19
Latin America	9	15	8	6	10	9

Russian Crisis

President Clinton said that the U.S. and the international community would be willing to offer more assistance to Russia provided that Russia continues to move toward economic reform. **47/46%** would approve/disapprove of the U.S. offering financial assistance to Russia provided that Russia continues to move towards reform.

Party: Democrats: 61/30, Republicans: 40/57, Independents: 39/50

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Parents/Education

The Education Bill of Rights – let's create one with the standards that the schools must meet and the programs necessary to make that a reality.

Parent's Bill of Rights – Education or Time with Kids

An education bill of rights receives broader popular support than one focusing on parenting. Yet those with children at home also strongly support provisions to make it easier to spend time with their children.

Education

Some people say that parents need an education bill of rights that focuses on the quality of education and outlines the standards parents should expect for public schools. **83/14%** would support/oppose an education bill of rights.

83% support (**39%** strongly + **44%** somewhat),
14% oppose (**9%** strongly + **5%** somewhat)
*Gender: Male: 73/22, Female: 92/5, Kids at Home: No: **86/12**, Yes: 77/16*
Party: Democrats: 91/6, Republicans: 72/26, Independents: 83/12

Which is more important: teacher quality or smaller class sizes?	All	M	F	D	R	I	No Kids	Kids
Teacher quality	79	80	79	65	96	78	71	90
Smaller class sizes	21	20	21	35	4	22	29	10

Stump Speech Discussion – Waldman, Begala

* Big decision for America this November

  * Times are good for America
  * But our prosperity faces risks
    - international economic turbulence
  * Must keep economic strategy going
    - fiscal responsibility / save Social Security First
    - lead world economy - IMF
    - invest in our people - education
  * Health care -- HMO Bill of Rights, Medicare expansion
  * Environment
  * Campaign finance reform

  * Choice: progress v. partisanship ... turning back or moving forward

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Presidential Message Schedule

Date	Event	Message
The Next Two Weeks...		
Wednesday September 9	***Education Event, Orlando, FL***	**Education**
Thursday September 10	***Auto Safety Event***	
Friday September 11	Embassy Bombing Memorial Service Irish American Community Event	
Saturday September 12	Live Radio Address	
Monday September 14	***Economic Event***	**Economy**
Tuesday September 15	Military Readiness Conference	
Wednesday September 16	*Czech State Visit*	
Thursday September 17	***Healthcare Event***	**Healthcare**
Friday September 18	*PIR Board Meeting/Event*	
Saturday September 19	Live Radio Address	
Monday September 21	Speech to the Opening Session of the UN General Assembly	
Future Events...		
Tuesday September 22	*Japanese Bilateral*	
Wednesday September 23	Mandela Congressional Gold Medal Ceremony *Working visit with PM Goh Chok Tung of Singapore*	
Thursday September 24	*Message Event* *Working Lunch with Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia*	
Friday September 25	***Message Event, Chicago, IL*** Tape radio address	
Tuesday September 29	***Message Event***	
Thursday October 1	***Message Event***	
Friday October 2	***Message Event, City TBD***	
Saturday	Live Radio Address	

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October 3		
Monday October 5	***Message event***	
Tuesday October 6	***Message Event***	
Wednesday October 7	***Message Event***	
Thursday October 8	***Message Event***	
Friday October 9	***Message Event***	

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Strategy Session
Thursday, October 1, 1998
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

The numbers remain firm with little changes since last week. We maintain a 5% lead in the generic vote, with likely voters showing a dead heat. This is consistent with the results of a just release Wirthlin poll which show a one point lead for the GOP.

Mood of the Country

	8/5	8/18	9/7	9/22	9/24	9/30
Country: right/wrong track	49/37	59/30	49/39	52/40	55/38	53/37
Economy: right/wrong track	72/22	78/12	70/24	72/21	74/19	74/20
Favorability						
Clinton	63/36	59/39	56/42	56/44	56/43	57/43
Gore	61/34	60/31	57/35	59/36	60/34	57/37
Clinton Job Approval	**69/30**	**70/28**	**68/33**	**69/30**	**71/28**	**68/31**
Strongly Approve	**33**	**36**	**32**	**40**	**41**	**37**
Gore Job Approval	**62/32**		**64/29**	**65/27**		**61/31**
Strongly Approve	**23**		**18**	**22**		**21**

Most Important Issue

- **Economy/Jobs is the most important issue with 15%**
- **Morality/Family Values—12%**
- **Education is third at 7%**

Foreign Policy Approval	Approve	Disapprove
9/30	64	35
9/22	65	32
9/7	62	36
6/9	60	33
2/17	64	34

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Congress

Approval—on a 2 point scale

	8/5	9/7	9/17	9/21	9/22	9/30
Congress	55/37	60/34	63/29	58/36	60/37	59/35
Congressional Republicans	46/46	51/42	44/43	51/42	49/44	48/45
Congressional Democrats	54/38	57/37	55/37	54/37	55/38	52/37

Generic Horserace

40% would vote for a Democrat in Congress, **35%** would vote for a Republican. Among likely voters, **39%** would vote for a Democrat in Congress, **39%** would vote for a Republican. Among the most likely voters, the vote is similar – 39% to 39%

	8/18	9/7	9/10	9/22	9/24	9/30
Democrat	39	41	39	42	41	40
Republican	34	34	34	38	35	35

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Newspaper Headlines

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
9/30	Wednesday	Washington Post	House GOP Pushes Wide Clinton Probe Democrats Want Time and Subject Limits
9/30	Wednesday	New York Times	In a Typical Community, Typical Folks Back Clinton
9/29	Tuesday	New York Times	US, Israel and Arafat Inch Toward Pact; Israel Seeks Assurances on Terrorism. Photo: Netanyahu, POTUS, Arafat
9/26	Saturday	New York Times	Clinton Casts the Congress as Do-Nothing; Bolstered by Polls, He Opens Counterattack
9/26	Saturday	Washington Post	Clinton Shelves Scandal, Attacks GOP on Budget
9/25	Friday	Washington Post	Clinton Lawyers Seek Jones Settlement: Talks Concern Financial Deal That Would Preclude Appeals Court Arguments
9/24	Thursday	New York Times	First Lady Assails Votes by D'Amato Photo: FLOTUS/Schumer
9/24	Thursday	New York Times	GOP Resists Speedy Action On President
9/23	Wednesday	New York Times	Clinton and Obuchi Break the Ice But Solve No Economic Problems
9/23	Wednesday	New York Times	Republicans Vow to Press Inquiry on the President; His Aides Explore a Deal

Television Headlines

Date	Station	Order	Headline
9/28	ABC	4	Clinton Meets with Arafat, Netanyahu for Talks on Mideast
9/28	CBS	10	White House Pleased by Mideast Meetings Today
9/28	CBS	11	Arafat, Netanyahu Meet at White House; Progress Slight
9/28	NBC	4	White House Hosts Mideast Talks; Monica Issues Diverted
9/25	ABC	3	Clinton Lawyers Negotiating With Jones's About Settling Suit
9/25	CBS	8	Clinton Accuses GOP Of Focusing On Him Not The Government
9/25	CBS	9	Paula Jones's Lawyers Try For Monetary Settlement With Clinton
9/25	NBC	4	Clinton Leaves Washington On Fundraising Trip
9/25	NBC	5	Clinton & Jones' Lawyers Negotiating Cash Settlement
9/24	ABC	4	Congress Will Move Slowly On Clinton Punishment
9/24	ABC	5	Clinton Shows He's Still In Charge; First Lady Makes His Case
9/24	CBS	5	Poll Shows Clinton's Popularity Improving
9/24	CBS	6	GOP Stands Tough On Clinton Inquiry
9/24	CBS	7	Clinton Tries To Refocus Attention From Scandal To His Job
9/24	NBC	3	Clinton Takes Aim At His Congressional Opponents
9/23	ABC	5	Democrats Try To Move GOP Quicker On Clinton Scandal
9/23	ABC	6	Two Ministers Working With Clinton Discuss Their Role
9/23	ABC	7	Clinton Accompanies Mandela As He Is Awarded Congressional Medal
9/23	CBS	7	Gingrich Says No Deal With Clinton; Impeachment Inquiry Proceeds
9/23	CBS	8	Clinton Pleads With Congress To Punish Him Short Of Impeachment
9/23	CBS	9	GOP May Plan Wider, Longer Probe Of Clinton
9/23	CBS	15	Hometowns Of First Lady & Rep. Hyde React To Clinton Scandal
9/23	NBC	5	Clinton Ready To Accept Punishment; White House Targets Gingrich

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

News

The Arafat/Netanyahu meetings clearly *represent* a breakthrough while the attacks on the Republicans were a positive when politics is taken into account -- strongly approved by Democrats and Independents, particularly the more generally progress over partisanship assets.

Did you hear anything about?	% Aware	More/ Less fav
President Clinton meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Natanyahu and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat to negotiate a Middle East Peace Treaty	80	59/17
President Clinton criticizing Republicans in Congress for being too partisan and not focusing on the work of the country	71	45/38 D: 67/17, R: 17/76, I: 48/32
President Clinton meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Obuchi about the economic crisis in Japan	62	42/23
President Clinton criticizing Congress for failing to pass all of the appropriations bills needed to keep the government running by October 1 when the new fiscal year begins	48	40/34 D: 62/15, R: 18/60, I: 38/31

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Overall Strategy

It is clear from the data that the Social Security First message continues to be the most potent one for Democrats to use. The data show that the most important Democratic proposal is putting the surplus to social Security, with 38% taking this position, including 40% of Democrats:

Which is the most important Democratic Proposal to you?	All	D	R	I	M	F
Surplus to Social security	38	40	34	38	36	40
HMO bill of Rights	15	14	19	13	11	18
Raising the minimum wage	11	8	8	17	14	9

When we analyzed the individual responses to the Republican tax cut, again the strongest response with voters of all parties was saving the entire surplus for Social Security, without any tax cut rhetoric. Clearly then, an initiative highlighting Social Security First as an issue is likely to be particularly effective to help broaden support for Democrats beyond the party's core constituency.

- Republicans in Congress have proposed to use some of the surplus to cut taxes. President Clinton has said he would veto any bill that used the surplus to cut taxes—the surplus must be used to save Social Security first. Given this **68/27%** are more/less favorable towards President Clinton

D	R	I
88/10	*43/52*	***70****/24*

- **23%** think we should use the surplus for a tax cut now, **70%** think we should save the entire surplus for Social Security.

D	R	I
13/84	*46/45*	*17/75*

Second, it is important though that the election be about more than just Social Security first because the Republicans will undoubtedly try to blunt the issues as they did Medicare in the waning days of the 1996 election. Securing the surplus for Social Security is the top issue in the mind of voters, with ensuring the Republicans in Congress do not cut important programs during the budget negotiations next – and a close second among Democrats.

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Which of the following is the best thing President Clinton could do right now?	All	D	R	I
Ensure none of surplus is used for tax cuts before Social Security protected	38	38	34	41
Challenge the Republicans on their budget if it cuts important education, training and health programs	19	33	9	15
Secure passage of HMO reform and a patient's bill of rights	17	18	19	16
Take measures to ease the economic crisis in Asia and Russia	11	5	11	15
Secure passage of campaign finance reform	4	2	11	2

As the polling two weeks ago has shown, voters oppose the Republican appropriations bills and believe the President should veto them if passed. Voters side with the Democrats and would blame the Republicans for a shutdown that results from this veto.

- If President Clinton vetoes the appropriations bills and Republicans do not send him bills he will sign by September 30, the government could shut down. Knowing this, **28%** think President Clinton should sign bills he is not satisfied with, **60%** think veto.
  Party: Democrats: 17/77, Republicans: 47/41, Independents: 25/62

- ***If there is a government shutdown this year because of disagreement over the budget,*** *31%* ***would blame President Clinton,*** *51%* ***the Republicans in Congress.***
  Party: Democrats: 11/77, Republicans: 50/28, Independents: 37/45

The polling also show there is enormous benefit with Democrats, Independents and even some Republicans to provoking a fight over core priorities, as the following data shows:

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Following are some criticisms of the Republican's budget. After I read each one, I'd like you to tell me if it makes you much more likely to support the Republican's budget, somewhat more likely to support, somewhat more likely to oppose or much more likely to oppose the Republican's budget?	All		Party		
	Much More Likely to Oppose	Support/Oppose	D	R	I
The Republican budget cuts funding for the Women, Infants and Children's Supplemental Nutrition program, cutting off 100,000 needy participants.	48	28/70	24/ 76	54/ 39	**16/ 85**
The Republican budget cuts 260 million dollars for the America Reads Challenge, denying funding to schools and communities to improve reading programs and provide tutors.	48	28/69	14/ 81	57/ 41	22/ 76
The Republican budget denies child-care funding to improve and enforce health and safety standards.	45	30/67	**16/ 85**	52/ 43	27/ 71
The Republican budget enacts tax cuts before the future of Social Security is protected.	44	32/65	25/ 75	56/ 42	22/ 73
The Republican budget eliminates the Summer Jobs programs which gives disadvantaged youths the opportunity to gain work experience over the summer months.	42	32/64	25/ 71	49/ 50	29/ 66

The way to emphasize and enliven the Social Security fight is with a fight over the budget. Indeed if this means settling for nothing less than a 30 day continuing resolution, let it – to help put the issues of importance in sharp relief.

Further, getting into a fight over the budget will help animate and give life to the party's core messages. The most effective of which among Democrats and Republicans appears to be a partisan fiscally conservative one which targets Newt Gingrich and the Republicans in Congress for eviscerating the Democrat's agenda and putting partisanship over politics.

- "Stopping HMO's from abusing patients; Using the budget surplus to protect Social Security–first. Increasing the minimum wage. Investing in our schools. The President and Democrats in Congress–building on a balanced budget, making our economy stronger. But instead of doing the nation's business, Newt Gingrich and the Republicans do nothing–and play partisan politics–day after day. And next year, they want more of the same. They've gone too far.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Tell Newt Gingrich and the Republicans–tell them to stop putting partisanship ahead of progress."

Given this, will you vote Democrat or Republican? (D/R)				Does this make you More/less likely to vote for a Democrat			
All	D	R	I	All	D	R	I
53/ 30	91/ 7	12/ 77	49/ 20	57/ 28	91/ 8	22/ 69	55/ 19

The polling suggests as we've seen fore when we are able to run on our agenda versus their agenda, we are able to produce a 20 point lead:

- If a Democrat running for Congress said he would save any budget surplus in Social Security until it is fixed for the next generation; reform education by making class sizes smaller and investing in school construction; he would ensure quality health care by passing an HMO bill of Rights; support raising the minimum wage; campaign finance reform and programs to improve the environment.

- And if a Republican said he would use the surplus for a tax cut; reform education by giving parents vouchers for public or private schools and allowing tax free savings accounts to be used for elementary and secondary school; cut federal funding of the NEA, promote school prayer and advocate an all out ban on partial birth abortions.

Given these positions, 54% would vote for the Democrat, 33% for the Republican.

All	*D*	*R*	*I*	*M*	*F*
54/33	*86/12*	*15/72*	*53/25*	*55/35*	*52/31*

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Messages

The Best message is more the more partisan, fiscally conservative second message which targets Gingrich directly. This split produces the biggest advantage with independents and the strongest voting intention with Democrats.

	Vote D/R				More likely vote Dem			
	All	D	R	I	All	D	R	I
Republicans in Congress are stopping the HMO Bill of Rights, gutting education investments, threatening SS first, that's what this Congress is all about. They're not doing anything for the people and everything for politics. We need a Congress that's going to make progress on the issues.	53/ 30	85/ 6	13/ 74	53/ 22	55/ 31	89/ 4	17/ 71	56/ 28
Stopping HMO's from abusing patients; Using the budget surplus to protect Social Security–first. Increasing the minimum wage. Investing in our schools. The President and Democrats in Congress–building on a balanced budget, making our economy stronger. But instead of doing the nation's business, Newt Gingrich and the Republicans do nothing–and play partisan politics–day after day. And next year, they want more of the same. They've gone too far. Tell Newt Gingrich and the Republicans–tell them to stop putting partisanship ahead of progress.	53/ 30	91/ 7	12/ 77	49/ 20	57/ 28	91/ 8	22/ 69	55/ 19
Keeping our economy strong. It begins by investing in education–100,000 more teachers in our classrooms. Use the budget surplus to save Social Security–first; protect patients by stopping HMO abuses. What America needs from Congress. But instead Newt Gingrich and Trent Lott want congress to spend all next year on impeachment hearings and partisan attacks. Tell Congress to put partisan politics aside; that the national interest comes first.	54/ 32	94/ 3	12/ 74	50/ 30	53/ 37	87/ 4	27/ 66	46/ 42

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Candidate Positioning

The last time we asked this, in May, a slightly different agenda brought the horserace to 51/39

Our agenda is clearly the stronger one.

If a Democrat running for Congress said he would save any budget surplus in Social Security until it is fixed for the next generation; reform education by making class sizes smaller and investing in school construction; he would ensure quality health care by passing an HMO bill of Rights; support raising the minimum wage; campaign finance reform and programs to improve the environment.

And if a Republican said he would use the surplus for a tax cut; reform education by giving parents vouchers for public or private schools and allowing tax free savings accounts to be used for elementary and secondary school; cut federal funding of the NEA, promote school prayer and advocate an all out ban on partial birth abortions.

Given these positions, **54/33%** would vote for the Democrat/Republican.

All	*D*	*R*	*I*	*M*	*F*
54/33	*86/12*	*15/72*	*53/25*	*55/35*	*52/31*

The more information votes have, the more likely they are to choose a candidate. Polling shows this in the shift from 25% don't know in the generic ballot to 14% don't know when presented with an issues agenda. Among undecided voters, the agenda gives Democrats a 54 to 16 lead.

Which is the most important Democratic Proposal to you?	**All**	**D**	**R**	**I**	**M**	**F**
Surplus to Social security	38	40	34	38	36	40
HMO bill of Rights	15	14	19	13	11	18
Raising minimum wage	11	8	8	17	14	9
Making class size smaller	11	14	11	10	10	13
Campaign finance reform	8	6	11	9	12	4
Improve the environment	6	8	3	5	8	5
School construction	5	7	5	4	4	7

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Which is the most important Republican Proposal to you?	All	D	R	I	M	F
Ban partial birth abortion	23	23	34	18	16	29
Tax free Savings accounts	21	19	17	23	30	13
Surplus to tax cuts	19	15	27	17	15	23
Promote school prayer	12	19	10	8	12	13
Cut NEA funding	5	4	2	7	7	2
Vouchers	4	4	2	4	3	4

Budget Agreement

The data suggests that we could again issue a strong pile of vetoes type statement about the appropriations bills as a way to highlight the differences in the budget between the Republicans and the Democrats.

GOP Appropriations

Congress must send President Clinton 13 different bills that will define the budget for the next fiscal year. Right now, the bills the Republicans are working on contain cuts in programs that are important to President Clinton, such as Head Start, after school, America Reads and other educational programs, environmental funding, the National Service program, and many others. **45/51%** would support/oppose such a budget.

45% support (**23%** strongly + **22%** somewhat)
51% oppose (**33%** strongly + **18%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 36/62, Republicans: 63/32, Independents: 40/53

Sign or Veto?

If President Clinton thinks a bill in this budget cuts too many important programs, 20% think he should sign the bill, 72% think veto the bill.
Party: Democrats: 11/84, Republicans: 35/53, *Independents: 18/75*

Shutdown

If President Clinton vetoes the appropriations bills and Republicans do not send him bills he will sign by September 30, the government could shut down. Knowing this, **28%** think President Clinton should sign bills he is not satisfied with, **60%** think veto.
Party: Democrats: 17/77, Republicans: 47/41, Independents: 25/62

Blame Clinton vs GOP

If there is a government shutdown this year because of disagreement over the budget, 31% would blame President Clinton, 51% the Republicans in Congress.
Party: Democrats: 11/77, Republicans: 50/28, Independents: 37/45

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Who do you side with?
55% side more on the budget debate with President Clinton, **34%** the Republicans in Congress.
Party: Democrats: 83/11, Republicans: 22/68, Independents: ***55/33***

If the appropriations bill for education spending passed by Congress and sent to the President does not include funding for America Reads, after school programs, safe and drug free schools, and grants to local education programs to help low income students, **44%** think President Clinton should sign this bill, **42%** veto it.

D	*R*	*I*
33/54	*49/24*	*50/43*

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Taxes/Surplus

48% think we have a budget surplus, **39%** not.

All	D	R	I	July 23
48/39	57/31	59/37	36/49	43/45

President Clinton announced today that we have a surplus of 70 billion dollars - our first budget surplus in 29 years.
Given this,

59/30% are more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton
59% more favorable (**33%** much + **26%** somewhat)
30% less favorable (**17%** much + **13%** somewhat)

D	R	I
87/10	17/61	66/24

Overall, the President has a 10 point advantage on credit for the surplus, with nearly 2:1 advantage among Independents

44% think President Clinton deserves more credit for the budget surplus, **34%** think the Republicans in Congress.

D	R	I
66/16	12/67	49/26

What do you think should be done with the surplus:	All	D	R	I
It should be saved until Social Security is guaranteed for the future	72	81	53	77
It should be used for tax cuts now	21	14	36	18

Republican Tax cut package
Republicans in Congress passed an $80 billion tax cut package that would use the surplus to reduce the marriage penalty, give tax cuts to farmers, those with savings and saving for private colleges, and reduce taxes on estates that are inherited. **54/42%** support/oppose using the surplus for this tax cut package.

54% support (**22%** strongly + **32%** somewhat)
42% oppose (**23%** strongly + **19%** somewhat)

D	R	I
39/58	70/25	56/41

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

President Clinton has said he will veto any bill that uses the surplus for tax cuts because we must guarantee Social Security is available for future generations before spending the surplus.
Given this,

68/28% are more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton
68% more favorable (**40%** much + **28%** somewhat)
28% less favorable (**14%** much + **14%** somewhat)

D	*R*	*I*
91/8	*40/56*	*69/24*

57/38% approve/disapprove of President Clinton's decision to veto a tax cut that is paid for with the surplus.

D	*R*	*I*
76/20	*33/61*	*60/36*

More likely to vote for the Democrat/Republican	*All*	*D*	*R*	*I*
Suppose in your district, a Republican running for Congress voted for an $80 billion dollar tax cut that was paid for using the surplus. The Democrat opposes using the surplus for tax cuts now, but supports passing a bill that would **automatically trigger a tax cut** as soon as Congress has determined how to guarantee Social Security for the future.	63/29	**93**/4	24/68	64/22
Suppose in your district, a Republican running for Congress voted for an $80 billion dollar tax cut that was paid for using the surplus. The Democrat opposes using the surplus for tax cuts, **but supports a targeted $25 billion tax cut that would be paid for by closing loopholes and other off-sets in the budget,** and would save the entire surplus for Social Security.	60/32	84/5	20/75	66/28
Suppose in your district, a Republican running for Congress voted for an $80 billion dollar tax cut that was paid for using the surplus. The Democrat opposes using the surplus for tax cuts, and would save the entire surplus for Social Security.	68/26	89/5	**38**/57	71/24

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Environmental Riders

Republicans have attached anti-environmental amendments on to spending bills, to get them passed without going through the regular legislative process. Many of these amendments would be detrimental to the environment. **26/57%** think Democrats in Congress should vote for/against a spending bill that had an environmental rider attached.

D	R	I
27/66	28/41	23/62

If Democrats vote against these spending bills this could lead to a government shutdown. Given this, **31/51%** think Democrats in Congress should vote for/against a spending bill that had an environmental rider attached.

D	R	I
26/62	29/42	38/48

Moral Leadership

Being a moral leader is not just about personal conduct; it is about public values. Morality is not cutting Medicare benefits for the elderly; morality is not slashing spending on education programs for our children; morality is not voting against raising the minimum wage while giving the wealthy a tax break.
70/26% agree/disagree with this statement.

70% agree (**43%** strongly + **27%** somewhat)
26% disagree (**14%** strongly + **12%** somewhat)

D	R	I
86/10	44/49	75/21

IMF

56/39% support/oppose renewing America's commitment to the International Monetary Fund so that it may help nations in recession to stabilize their economies.

56% support (**21%** strongly + **35%** somewhat)
39% oppose (**24%** strongly + **15%** somewhat)

D	R	I
80/14	35/61	52/45

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Crime

While the Republican Juvenile Justice Bill is acceptable overall – when emphasis is placed on the ability to put children in adult prisons, voters realize this is not the solution:

68% think children as young as 15 who commit crimes should be tried as adults, **23%** not.

D	R	I
64/24	70/24	71/22

There is currently legislation up for a vote that would require states to try children as young as 15 as adults in order to be eligible for federal juvenile-justice funding. The bill would also roll back protections for child criminals that kept them out of adult prisons.
67/29% support/oppose this legislation.

67% support (**39%** strongly + **28%** somewhat)
29% oppose (**17%** strongly + **12%** somewhat)

D	R	I
65/29	67/30	66/30

If a Republican supported requiring states to try 15 year olds as adults in order to receive juvenile justice funding, and a Democrat opposed it saying this would not reduce crime or help young people, **33%** would be more likely to vote for the Republican, **26%** would be more likely to vote for the Democrat, **35%** think it would have no effect on their vote.

D	R	I
23/49/25	56/2/37	26/24/42

BUT:
Under current law, States are prohibited from putting juvenile delinquents in jail with adult criminals. Some Senators have proposed repealing this rule, and letting States put delinquents and adult criminals in the same jails.
19/80% support/oppose this change in the law.

19% support (**9%** strongly + **10%** somewhat)
80% oppose (**65%** strongly + **15%** somewhat)

15% say that States should be allowed to house juveniles and adults in the same jails because it is too burdensome for State officials to have to drive juveniles to facilities far away; **79%** say that putting juveniles in adult jails causes assault and abuse of juveniles that is unjust.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Good Samaritan Laws

Recently, a 19-year old boy observed another teenager sexually abuse and murder a 7-year old girl. He did nothing to stop it and did not report the actions to the police. **80%** think the witness should be penalized, **9%** not.

D	R	I
77/10	*78/8*	*84/10*

In some states, if you are the witness to a crime and you do not report it to authorities you can be charged. These are called good Samaritan laws. **85/12%** would support/oppose putting in place federal good Samaritan laws.

85% support (**51%** strongly + **34%** somewhat)
12% oppose (**4%** strongly + **8%** somewhat)

D	R	I
78/14	*87/13*	*88/9*

Would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this proposal?	**Strongly Support**	**Support/Oppose**	**D**	**R**	**I**
Speeding up the prosecution process so criminals are punished soon after they commit a crime.	76	93/5	98/1	92/7	88/8
Strengthening programs for youth offenders after they serve their jail or juvenile detention sentence to keep them on the right track and away from crime	74	95/4	98/1	90/5	93/6
Putting in place federal good Samaritan laws for crimes against children and the elderly so a witness is required to report criminal actions.	72	95/4	91/4	95/5	96/4
Putting in place federal good Samaritan laws for violent crimes so a witness is required to report violent crimes such as rape or assault	71	86/11	87/7	83/15	86/13
Increase programs for at-risk kids that inform them of the severity of serving prison time to deter their likelihood to commit crimes.	63	92/7	96/4	88/11	95/6

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Pesticides

To ensure compliance with new tougher pesticide standards, some pesticide manufacturers have resumed testing their products on volunteer human subjects, a practice that, although legal, they had abandoned in the early 1980s. **24/71%** support/oppose allowing pesticide companies to test their products on volunteer human subjects in the United States.

24% support (**13%** strongly + **11%** somewhat)
71% oppose (**56%** strongly + **15%** somewhat)

D	R	I
18/81	*37/55*	*22/74*

Please tell me if you would be much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable, or much less favorable toward President Clinton if he proposed the following:	Much More Fav	More/Less fav	D	R	I
Call upon the Environmental Protection Agency to investigate the ethics of allowing human pesticide tests to conduct and to recommend a course of action.	38	62/ 31	65/ 26	50/ 45	67/ 28
Prohibit any pesticide company that uses human volunteers in the United States from telling test subjects that the test involves drugs or medicine instead of pesticides	**33**	**53/ 43**	**64/ 33**	**41/ 53**	**52/ 43**
Prohibit the future sale in the United States of any pesticide that are tested using human subjects.	**31**	**48/ 46**	**58/ 40**	**36/ 56**	**45/ 38**
Cap the payment pesticide companies give their test subjects at a small amount, such as $100, to discourage pesticide studies from attracting participants who need the money.	**28**	**48/ 45**	**47/ 44**	**42/ 48**	**53/ 43**
Prohibit the EPA from considering the results of human tests when evaluating the safety of pesticides in order to discourage the use of human tests.	**27**	**48/ 45**	**61/ 35**	**33/ 60**	**49/ 42**

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Presidential Message Schedule

Date	Event	Message
The Next Two Weeks...		
Thursday October 1	***Education Event***	**Education**
Friday October 2	Tape Radio Address	
Monday October 5	***Elder Abuse and Fraud Event***	**Elder crime**
Tuesday October 6	*Address Opening Ceremony of World Bank/IMF Annual Meeting*	
Wednesday October 7	Bill Signing Ceremony *Meeting with Hungarian PM Orban*	
Thursday October 8	***Environmental Event***	**Environment**
Friday October 9	***Message Event*** Tape Radio Address *Working Meeting with Chancellor Elect Schroeder*	
Tuesday October 13	***Event, Palm Beach, FL***	
Wednesday October 14	***Message Event*** *Detroit Red Wings Event*	
Future Events...		
Thursday October 15	***White House Conference on School Safety***	**School Safety**
Friday October 16	***Event, Chicago, IL*** Tape Radio Address	
Tuesday October 20	***Message Event***	
Wednesday October 21	***Message, Los Angeles, CA***	
Friday October 23	Americorps Swearing-in Ceremony	
Saturday October 24	Live Radio Address	
Tuesday October 27	***Message Event***	
Wednesday October 28	*Colombian State Visit*	

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Strategy Session
June 18, 1998
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

Mood Of The Country

	5/4	5/19	5/31	6/2	6/9	6/17
Country: right/wrong track	53/39	51/39	47/43	50/38	44/46	44/41
Economy: right/wrong track	71/25	73/18	73/21	72/23	70/24	71/23
Favorability						
Clinton	64/36	61/38	60/39	59/39	59/39	61/39
Gore	64/33	60/35	62/34	63/32	62/32	60/33
Clinton Job Approval	**68/31**	**65/33**	**66/32**	**68/32**	**65/33**	**65/32**
Strongly Approve	**27**	**27**	**29**	**31**	**26**	**28**

Approve/Disapprove:
Democrats: 88/10, Republicans: 37/62, Independents 65/32

Gore Job Approval	67/26	64/30	65/30	67/27	65/29	63/30
Strongly Approve	22	23	21	22	23	17

Most Important Issue

- Economy / Jobs is the most important issue at **13%**
- Morality and family values-**12%**
- Education is the third important issue at **10%**
- Fighting crime follows at **7%**

Gore - clear the skinny bill
of the Job industry's bill.
Don't let them get away w/ it.

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Congress

Approval – on a 2 point scale

	5/4	5/20	5/31	6/2	6/9	6/17
Congress	54/38	54/36	52/41	56/35	55/37	53/39
Congressional Republicans	48/42	45/45	47/45	45/44	43/46	44/48
Congressional Democrats	50/39	48/40	52/40	49/37	52/38	52/40

Generic Horserace

41% would vote for a Democrat in Congress, **34%** would vote for a Republican. Among prime voters, 42% would vote for a Democrat, 38% Republican. This is a strengthening of the lead.

	5/4	5/20	5/31	6/2	6/9	6/17
Democrat	39	38	40	42	41	41
Republican	34	33	36	36	35	34

Gingrich Favorability

Favorable - **34%** (**9%** very favorable)
Unfavorable - **58%** (**35%** very unfavorable)

	5/4	5/20	5/31	6/9	6/17
Favorable/ Unfavorable	38/54	32/60	39/53	37/57	34/58

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Newspaper Headlines

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
6/18	Thursday	New York Times	Administration Rethinking $650 Million China Satellite Deal
6/18	Thursday	Washington Post	Clinton Picks Holbrooke as Envoy to U.N.
6/13	Saturday	New York Times	President Extends An Oil Drilling Ban Along Coastlines Lengthens it by 10 years Move, A Middle Course, Draws Criticism From the Industry and Environmentalists (Photo: POTUS and VPOTUS)
6/13	Saturday	New York Times	Reports Show Chinese Military Used American-Made Satellites White House Says It Can't Control Such Leases
6/12	Friday	Washington Post	Clinton Defends China Approach Engagement is 'Principled, Pragmatic' (Photo: POTUS)
6/12	Friday	Washington Post	Welcome to Tiananmen Chinese Cheer Clinton Plan to Visit Square

TV News Headlines

Date	Station	Order	
6/15	ABC	2	White House Hopes Yeltsin Will Help With Serbia
6/15	ABC	8	White House Celebrates Starr's Admission; Capitol Hill Puzzled
6/15	CBS	1	Court Hearing Held On Starr's Leaks; White House Demands Probe
6/12	NBC	7	Clinton Orders Initiatives To Protect CA Offshore Ecosystems
6/12	CBS	7	Group Fights To Defend Their Kosovo Homes, Trust Clinton Will Help
6/11	NBC	5	Clinton Defines His China Policy, Answering Criticisms
6/11	CBS	5	Clinton Defends His China Trip, Lays Out His Policy
6/11	ABC	2	Clinton Defends His Upcoming Trip To China & Tienanmen Square
6/10	NBC	8	Clinton Imposes New Sanctions On Serbia; Protests In Kosovo
6/10	NBC	2	Clinton Speaks Out Strongly In Case Of Texas Race Murder
6/10	ABC	10	Clinton Will Go On TV & Radio In China
6/9	CBS	8	Clinton Threatens Force If Serbs Don't Quit Kosovo Attacks
6/9	CBS	1	Clinton Signs $216 Billion Highway Bill; How Will It Affect US?
6/9	ABC	5	Clinton Talks Tough About Recent Killings In Kosovo
6/8	NBC	3	Clinton Proposes $2 Billion Anti-Drug Media Campaign
6/8	CBS	3	Clinton Calls For International Cooperation To Fight Drug Trade
6/8	ABC	2	Clinton Calls On World Leaders To Work Together To Fight Drugs
6/5	CBS	5	Lewinsky's New Lawyer Says Priority Is To Protect Her, Not Clinton

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Current News

Did you hear anything about. . .?	% aware	More/ Less Favorable
President Clinton encouraging senators to pass a comprehensive tobacco bill this week	60%	45/32%
President Clinton signing legislation authorizing to put 400 more police officers in schools	52	71/18
President Clinton's weekly radio address in which he spoke about the recent wave of crime in school and pressed Congress for passage of a juvenile crime bill	51	67/18

Other News

48% are aware of Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott calling homosexuality a sin, like alcoholism, kleptomania and sex addiction.
Given this, **42/49%** agree/disagree with his statement.

42% agree (25% strongly + 17% somewhat)
49% disagree (34% strongly + 15% somewhat)

Men: 55/39, Women: 30/59
Democrats: 35/58, Republicans: 60/33, Independents 37/53
City:38/56, Suburb: 45/48, Rural: 44/43
*NE: 34/61, MW: 38/52, **S: 53/38**, W: 46/45*

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Tobacco Kills -- Republicans

The killing of the tobacco bill is an electoral opportunity, not a defeat.

By killing the bill, the Republicans are creating a constituency on behalf of the bill that we were having trouble creating.

Unaided support for the bill had lagged, but now in last night's poll, support for the bill shot up considerably. Only 46% knew it had been killed.

Have you heard anything about tobacco legislation that is currently pending in the Senate? Do you support or oppose this comprehensive tobacco legislation?			
Date	% aware	Support/ Oppose	Strongly Support
4/20	66	53/33	28
4/26	66	52/35	29
5/31	74	45/33	29
6/2	66	47/34	28
6/10	71	45/38	25
6/15	70	46/41	23
6/17	77	**53/31**	39

This is the only fight that had any recognition with the electorate over the last few months, and the Republicans have acted in a clear and recognizable way. And that has changed opinion back more than the tobacco advertising campaign did. They may well realize in a few days that they have acted too nakedly here and will propose some alternative like the skinny bill.

After the killing of the bill, we should be aggressive in getting out the story – which is that Tobacco money over kids. This is a story we should be documenting and getting out to the press. We should turn the campaign finance issue on its head with some DNC information on their tobacco money – Romer could go out on this. This is a conflict of values – the value of protecting our kids.

At the same time, this plays perfectly into the theme of progress vs. partisanship by the Republicans. And this is an opportunity for us to give a strong message about how the Republicans have lost the desire for progress and turned to politics instead. And they have done this in a way that turns their backs on kids, child care, on education – on all of the values that this country is about. And we should give that message at the first available opportunity.

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We should approach this on 4 different levels:

✓ The Principals

They should be defining the issue broadly.

In the name of partisanship, the Republicans have killed Tobacco reform, educational reform, and child care reform, even a tax cut on the marriage penalty. They killed their own bill voted out of committee 19-1. They did it for politics and partisanship. That's wrong for America.

And we can invite them to a bi-partisan process while saying that we will veto any attempt to pass a bill that does not contain the safegurds that our children need.

The Family Conference speeches provide an opportunity for all three principals to talk about the health care issues and relate them to tobacco and the iimprotance of this bill.

✓ The Spin

The Republicans have made a major misstep – they have openly sided with tobacco, and they will pay a price for it. Polling will show that support for a bill will grow, not fade as a result of their actions.

✓ The DNC

Time to put our team to work on the full research into tobacco lobbying and the killing of this bill. This is a reversal onto the Republicans of the big money, special interest themes they have used against the Democrats.

We should be sounding this note. Roemer should spend some time laying all this out.

✓ The Air-Wars

The making of an ad and the purchase of time by the DNC or an independent group would be very effective. Public opinion on this is very mushy but the elements of the bill that went down are together so popular that we could do a very, very damaging ad that would not have to play nearly as much as the tobacco ads now that we have a clear vote. Remember, only 20% of the country really counts in November.

✓ The Bi-Partisan Process

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If they go for the process, then this is probably the Republicans best short-term move. But it may actually help us in the long run because the breakdown of that process provides stories near election day in our favor. They will believe us, not them on tobacco, healthcare, education, child care. And if we get a bill, it will have to be close to the one they sank anyway.

46% are aware of the Senate Republicans killing the tobacco legislation by ending the floor debate – indicating that there is room to grow here.

Thinking about this information, **33/50%** approve/disapprove of the job the Republicans in the Senate have been doing.

75% think Congress should pass legislation aimed at reducing teen smoking.

Given that Democrats supported a tobacco bill and the Republicans voted to defeat it, **48%** would vote for a Democrat, **30%** would vote for a Republican.

Democrat: 75/10%; Republican: 22/58%; Independent: 44/29%
Male: 45/32%; Female: 50/28%

it gives us a pluv on males. Not unlikely..

Suppose a Republican said he opposed a tobacco bill because it represents a big-government approach to reduce teen smoking and just tax and spend liberalism and a Democrat said he supported the tobacco bill because it is so important to take these steps to reduce teen smoking and that the Republican was just in the pocket of big tobacco, **52%** would vote for a Democrat, **26%** would vote for a Republican.

Democrat: 76/9%; Republican: 30/54%; Independent: 51/22%
Male: 51/29%; Female: 54/24%

Suppose a Republican said he opposed a tobacco bill because tobacco companies would have to pay almost $516 billion which is nothing more than a massive tax increase to fund expansion of the federal bureaucracy. And a Democrat said that this is just an attempt to distract attention from the tobacco industry's hand in misleading the nation about the dangers of tobacco and actively recruiting teens to smoke, **52%** would vote for a Democrat, **31%** would vote for a Republican.

Democrat: 77/15%; Republican: 29/54%; Independent: 50/30%
Male: 48/31%; Female: 57/32%

View of Republican opposition – we can really do damage with good information on their tobacco funding.

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Republicans such as Trent Lott and Newt Gingrich oppose the tobacco bill. **44**% say they oppose it because it has become a big tax and spend bill. **40**% say the real reason they oppose it is because they are on the side of tobacco companies.

Seen ads: 49/35, Not Seen Ads: 38/45

The next six weeks

The best use of the next month outside of tobacco (which is the essence of values) is to get well in the areas that Democrats are weakest – taxes and crime. We'lll use the fall to return to education and our basic themes – now is the time to address the huge deficits on crime 37 point deficit among men that Democrats

So now is the time to complete a package of tax cuts that must either be paid for or come after living up to Social Security First. This means Child care and elder care. We should finish and unveil a tax cut for taking care of an elderly parent now. We can now even adopt our version of the marriage penalty reduction, giving us a full package of family-promoting tax cuts that we can package and talk about.

reverse mortgage

Quitam?

And now is the time to get out there on crime – we could put together a bill/proposals to fight the new crimes against the elderly – the scams and ripoffs that are costing them their retirement savings. This could also include nursing care/medicare fraud as well as part of a package on this.

Senior proposals: Eldercare/Eldercrime

Concerning crimes against the elderly, there is overwhelming support for proposals that would increase penalties on perpetrators if the victim is a senior citizen, and paying extra attention to organizations that fraudulently target seniors.

Increasing penalties for crimes against seniors

There is a proposal to increase penalties for financially swindling if the victim is over age 65.

93/6% would support/oppose this proposal.
93% support (78% strongly + 15% somewhat)
6% oppose (3% strongly + 3% somewhat)
Party: D: 98/2, R: 94/4, I:87/10
Age: <35: 93/7, >35: 93/5, ***65+ 95/5***

There is a proposal to increase penalties for violent crimes is the victim is over age 65.
87/11% would support/oppose this proposal.
87% support (66% strongly + 21% somewhat)
11% oppose (5% strongly + 6% somewhat)

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Party: D: 85/13, R: 96/0, I:85/15
Age: <35: 85/15, >35: 87/11, ***65+ 90/3***

Solicitations

There is a proposal to crack down on phony solicitors who rip off seniors by expanding registration requirements for all fund-raising organizations and expanding the investigative powers and penalties available. 86/10% would support/oppose this proposal.

86% support (64% strongly + 22% somewhat)
10% oppose (7% strongly + 3% somewhat)
Party: D: 91/7, R: 85/8, I:82/15
Age: <35: 89/8, >35: 86/11, ***65+ 82/13***

Crime/Guns/Juvenile Crime

We need to be careful to make the story about kids and guns, not guns.

A proposal that extends the Brady Bill to Juvenile offenders is more about gun ownership than a bill of life in prison for anyone who sells a gun to a minor used in a deadly crime.

And while gun proposals play very well nationally, they play poorly in rural swing districts that are a heavy component of the mid-term elections.

Licensing hand guns would be enormously popular, but it would also be a turnout machine for the NRA in a low turnout year. It is an issue to hit hard in presidential years.

Attitudes Towards Guns and Crime

We can't underestimate the power of the NRA and gun owners in the Congressional election. Many of our swing districts are in rural areas, with traditionally Democratic voters holding conservative social views.

Furthermore, men are the most likely defectors as a result of overbearing gun legislation – the women who support it the most are already in our camp.

Some numbers to keep in mind:

Currently: 37% of those who will vote for a Democrat in the generic ballot test are favorable towards the NRA (56% unfav) and 32% own a gun (62% do not),

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71% of rural, white men are favorable towards the NRA. Rural white men are voting Republican.

Favorability of the NRA: **52/40**% are favorable/unfavorable towards the National Rifle Association (the NRA).

52% favorable (**24% very** + 28% somewhat)
40% unfavorable (22% very + 18% somewhat)
Horserace: Vote Dem: 37/56, Vote GOP: 65/28, Don't Know:
Gun Owners: 69/28, Non-Gun Owners: 39/51
City: 48/43, Suburb: 48/43, ***Rural: 60/34***

Which is closer to your view:	All	Vote Dem	Vote GOP	DK
New gun control laws are necessary to fight crime.	55	69	44	11
New gun control laws would infringe on American's right to bear arms.	38	26	52	

Juvenile Crimes
39% say the rise in juvenile violence is partially due to increase in access to guns, so we should restrict access to guns; 56% say the rise in juvenile violence has more to do with values and than access to guns so we should not restrict access to guns.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 52/44, Vote GOP: 30/66
Gun Owners: 26/70, Non-Gun Owners: 47/48
White Rural Men: 27/67

48% think stricter gun control will help reduce juvenile crime, **49%** not.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 61/36, Vote GOP: 37/60
Gun Owners: 34/64, Non-Gun Owners: 58/39
White Rural Men: 37/62

Responsibilities of manufacturers
20% think Gun manufacturers are responsible for the amount of gun related crimes in this country, **78%** do not

17% think the NRA targets children, **62%** do not.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 24/55, Vote GOP: 12/71
Gun Owners: 16/69, Non-Gun Owners: 18/59

21% think gun manufactures target children, **73%** do not.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 31/62, Vote GOP: 10/89

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Gun Owners: 17/81, Non-Gun Owners: 25/66

License to own a gun

76/21% agree/disagree that Americans should have a license to own a gun, just like they must have a license to drive a car.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 82/15,Vote GOP: 67/28 , Don't know: 77/21
Gun Owners: 57/41, Non-Gun Owners: 90/9
***Men: 66/30**, Women: 86/12*
City: 81/16, Suburb: 79/21, Rural: 67/27
Rural White Men: 61/33

78/17% agree/disagree that anyone under 18 must have a license to own a gun, just like they must have a license to drive a car.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 85/13,Vote GOP: 64/26
Gun Owners: 74/17, Non-Gun Owners: 80/16

Brady Bill

This year, the Brady Bill, which requires that all gun purchases be held for a five day waiting period while a background check is conducted will expire and will be replaced with a computerized instant check system. **78%** say we should wait to end the waiting period until we are confident that the instant check system works well enough; **20%** say the instant checks are widely enough available that maintaining the waiting period would be an unnecessary burden.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 82/17,Vote GOP: 74/25
*Gun Owners: **71/27**, Non-Gun Owners: 84/14*

What do you think is the best way to fight crime:	All	D	R	I	Gun Owner	Non-gun owner	M	F
Addressing the social conditions that lead to crime	43	47	35	47	41	47	41	46
Increase penalties for criminals	38	29	54	36	44	34	45	32
Restricting access to guns by criminals	12	16	9	10	11	13	9	15

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Following are some proposals to reduce gun violence. For each one, please tell me if you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose this proposal	Support/ Oppose	Strongly Support
Implementing education programs to instruct children about the dangers of guns	**90/8**	**80**
Requiring child safety locks on all new handguns	**88/11**	**78**
Stiffen laws and penalties for gun related crimes	**95/5**	**78**
Require a test of basic safety requirements and a gun license for all gun owners	**86/14**	**72**
Require registration of transfer of gun ownership	81/16	72
Require a gun license for all gun owners	82/18	70
Extend the Brady Bill so that someone who commits a violent crime as a juvenile is barred from buying a gun as an adult.	83/15	67
Ban semi-automatic weapons	75/25	64
Extending the waiting period to purchase handguns	75/21	61
Put regulations on how guns are stored	75/23	60
Developing 'smart guns' that can only be used by the registered owner	77/18	57
Allow local governments to apply their local gun laws to gun shows that come to their area	71/20	54
Limit gun purchases to one a month per person	60/34	48
Make parents responsible for gun crimes committed by their children	72/24	48

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Social Security

This week the issue of government investment of social security funds was raised by liberal interest groups. This section seeks to analyze voter response to the proposal and related issues.

1. In the abstract, voters are not persuaded that personal security accounts will put a burden on the Social Security system.

2. If there is going to be stock market investments of Social Security funds, voters prefer that the money be invested personally rather than by the government.

3. Voters are more comfortable investing a portion of the surplus in personal savings accounts rather than using existing payroll tax revenue, if the choice is framed in that fashion.

4. When voters are told payroll tax revenue, as opposed to the surplus, will be used to fund stock market investment, seniors become very nervous.

5. The most potent argument against personal security accounts is that the guaranteed benefit conceivably could be reduced if the stock market return on the investment did meet the current level of benefits. This particularly worries voters over 50.

6. Thus, the more voters, and particularly those over 50, face the reality of stock market investment the more skeptical they become

5. Voters reject the notion that personal security accounts should be set up is because they are not reaping the full benefits they are entitled to. They see Social Security more as an insurance program, rather than an investment scheme.

31% say we should not set up Personal Security Accounts with existing payroll taxes because this would put a tremendous burden on the Social Security now because payroll taxes that would otherwise go to current retirees would be go to these individual accounts; **57%** say individuals should have more control over their retirement income, so we should set up Personal Security Accounts that the individual can invest.

Party:D: 44/46, R: 28/56, I: 22/66

Age: <35: 24/68, >35: 33/53

18-24: 24/64, 25-34: 24/70, 35-49: 24/62, 50-64: 41/46 ***65+: 37/46***

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Which proposal to ensure Social Securities solvency do you prefer:	All	D	R	I	<35	>35
Setting up personal security accounts with a portion of the payroll tax that individuals can invest now	65	64	60	70	79	60
Allowing the government to invest some of the existing trust fund in the stock market	21	26	18	18	14	23

Which proposal to ensure Social Securities solvency do you prefer:	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Setting up personal security accounts with a portion of the payroll tax that individuals can invest now	52	87	65	55	56
Allowing the government to invest some of the existing trust fund in the stock market	27	9	22	28	19

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Following are some proposals that have been made to reform Social Security and ensure that it is solvent for the next generation. For each one, please tell me if you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose this proposal?	Support/ Oppose	Strongly Support
Putting the surplus to Personal Security Accounts that the individual could invest	64/27	35
Putting a portion of the Social Security Trust Fund in to the stock market and other investments that the government would invest	37/60	14
Putting a portion of existing Social Security payroll taxes to Personal Security Accounts that the individual could invest in the stock market.	54/42	25

Following are some proposals that have been made to reform Social Security and ensure that it is solvent for the next generation.	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Putting the surplus to Personal Security Accounts that the individual could invest	69/10	82/18	65/26	58/33	52/33
Putting a portion of the Social Security Trust Fund in to the stock market and other investments that the government would invest	31/64	27/73	44/52	45/55	25/64
Putting a portion of existing Social Security payroll taxes to Personal Security Accounts that the individual could invest in the stock market.	70/15	66/35	65/34	52/45	26/59

Since setting up Personal Security Accounts would divert some current payroll taxes to the individual accounts, other changes would also have to be made to the system, such cutting benefits. Knowing this, 42/50% support/oppose Personal Savings Ideas.

42% support (13% strongly + 29% somewhat)
50% oppose (31% strongly + 19% somewhat)
Party:D: 34/59, R: 37/55, I: 43/40
Age: <35: 57/35, >35: 39/55

18-24: 39/45, 25-34: 63/31, 35-49: 47/49, 50-64: 41/57, ***65+: 24/59***

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Goal of Social Security

36% say we must set up Personal Security accounts using a portion of existing payroll taxes because individuals are not reaping the full benefits of their contributions; **51%** say the goal of Social Security is to ensure that everyone has a minimum level of retirement benefits, and PSAs would jeopardize this, so if any stock market investment for Social Security should be done by the government so all recipients are affected equally.

Party: D: 26/58, R: 39/49, I: 44/47
Age: <35: 38/52, >35: 35/51

International Economy

One unfavorable issue after another internationally have made this a more problematic issue rather than one that is gaining greater acceptance. Tracking shows that the international developments are raising not lowering fears of the international economy.

Do you think that America is gaining or losing from the global economy?	Gaining	Losing
January 20	47	37
June 17	35	51

Democrat: 35/45%; Republican: 29/63%; Independent: 39/50%

Have you, personally, benefited from the global economy and expansion of trade, or have you been hurt by the global economy?	Benefited	Hurt
January 20	45	17
June 17	32	32

Democrat: 28/34%; Republican: 34/32%; Independent: 36/28%

Do you think that the U.S. should be a global economic leader or should it withdraw as much as possible from the global economy?	Global Economic Leader	withdraw
January 20	72	18
June 17	62	27

Democrat: 56/27%; Republican: 66/25%; Independent: 65/29%

Do you think that the new global economy primarily offers more promise to help America be a strong leader in the next Century or is it primarily fraught with dangers that could harm America?	offers more promise	fraught with dangers
January 20	50	30
June 17	43	39

*Democrat: 40/41%; Republican: 37/40%; **Independent: 51/38%***

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Stock Market and Asian Crisis

Awareness: **68%** are aware of the stock market falling 200 points.

What do you think will happen now:	All	M	F	D	R	I	< $35K	> $35K
It will rise again	46	46	47	52	45	44	43	47
It will stabilize at a lower level	37	43	32	30	44	40	36	43
The stock market will continue to fall	7	3	10	6	44	8	9	5

25% think this stock market fall is the sign of greater instability and a weakening economy; **60%** think it was just a correction in the market.

- **Japan**

61% are aware of Japan officially going into a recession.

78/11% believe it likely/not likely that the continuing monetary crisis in Asia will affect the US economy.

78% likely (35% very + 43% somewhat)
11% not likely (4% not at all + 7% not very)

Democrat: 70/14%; Republican: 82/6%; Independent: 84/13%

Since the fact that the Asian crisis has now hit Japan sending it into a recession, **77/15%** are more/less concerned that the crisis in Asia will affect the US economy.

77% more concerned (18% much + 59% somewhat)
15% less concerned (6% much + 9% somewhat)
Democrat: 74/12%; Republican: 76/19%; Independent: 80/15%

- **Intervention in the Currency Market**

Today the US intervened to strengthen the yen, by selling dollars for yen on the currency market thereby increasing the value of the yen.
44/35% agree/disagree with this decision.

44% agree (14% strongly + 30% somewhat)
35% disagree (13% strongly + 22% somewhat)

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Democrat: 41/27%; Republican: 54/29%; Independent: 45/43%

44% say that the US was right to intervene to strengthen the yen because the failing Japanese economy is hurting US exports, could trigger further failures in Asia and could eventually hurt the US economy. **41%** say the US was wrong, that this devaluates the dollar and that the US should hold back because Japan has so far refused to take other measures – like closing its failing banks and cutting income taxes - to sure up its failing economy.

	All	M	F	D	R	I	< $35K	> $35K	< 35 age	> 35 age	Lib	Mod	Con
Right	44	49	39	40	42	48	47	47	55	41	52	46	41
Wrong	41	40	42	38	47	43	47	40	37	45	31	43	51

37% think the fall of the Japanese economy signals that the US should be more involved in stabilizing other failing economies, **49%** think that the US should pull back from the global economy.

	All	M	F	D	R	I	< $35K	> $35K	< 35 age	> 35 age	Lib	Mod	Con
Involved	37	42	33	38	40	35	39	40	39	37	42	36	35
Isolation	49	47	50	42	48	57	52	54	53	49	44	54	54

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Miscellaneous Issues

This is an excellent health issue:

Healthcare

There is a growing practice among managed health care companies known as "drug switching." Under this practice patients are required to stop taking drugs, which they may have been using for many years, and instead use a similar drug which costs less. **60/35%** would support/oppose the government intervening to stop the practice of drug switching.

60% support (41% strongly + 19% somewhat)
35% oppose (27% strongly + 8% somewhat)

59% say that drug switching interferes with a patient's care and can cause adverse reactions. **34%** say that drug costs are out of control and that drug switching is necessary to insure patients can continue to afford most of the drugs that are available.

Environmental Riders

27% are aware of Vice President Gore's calling on Congress to fund environmental priorities and drop anti-environmental riders that hold legislation back from getting passed.

Members of Congress will sometimes attach anti-environmental proposals to unrelated bills in order to pass them through quietly or to force the President to veto important legislation because of the rider.
Given this, **17/75**% support/oppose this practice.

17% support (3% strongly + 14% somewhat)
75% oppose (53% strongly + 22% somewhat)

13% think anti-environmental riders should be allowed to be attached, **82%** think Congress should have to vote on the measures separately.

Drug Testing

83/10% would support/oppose a proposal to reduce crime turnover by requiring drug tests of criminals on parole or probation with continued punishment, such as community service, fines, or jail time, for those who fail the tests.

83% support (68% strongly + 15% somewhat)
10% oppose (5% strongly + 5% somewhat)

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Veterans

Currently there are a quarter of a million homeless veterans on the street. 86/13% would support/oppose putting $60 million dollars towards an effort to guarantee these people mental health care, substance abuse treatment, and help with finding a job.

86% support (58% strongly + 28% somewhat)
13% oppose (5% strongly + 8% somewhat)

77% say that we have an obligation to offer a second chance to those who risked their lives for this country. **17%** say that we are already spending enough money on the homeless, we don't need to spend another $60 million.

Stalking

88% think more should be done to protect stalking victims, 5% not.

91/5% would support/oppose a proposal make restraining orders enforceable **across state lines** and strengthen current stalking laws so that women will be protected if they cross state lines.

91% support (80% strongly + 11% somewhat)
5% oppose (4% strongly + 1% somewhat)

34% say that new and stronger laws are necessary to protect women who are being stalked. **61%** say that we already have sufficient stalking laws, they just need to be enforced more effectively.

Campus Drinking

Alcohol abuse is a growing problem on many college campuses. **63/36**% would support/oppose the government getting involved to help schools reduce the amount of drinking, particularly by underage students, on college campuses.

63% support (49% strongly + 14% somewhat)
36% oppose (22% strongly + 14% somewhat)

Food Safety

Nightline did a report on food safety that there is currently no inspection of supermarkets, only plants:

There are currently laws that make it illegal to label mixed meat as pure ground beef. However, the Department of Agriculture only inspects packing plants, not local supermarkets which is where most meat is actually ground. **87/10%** would

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support/oppose having more enforcement of laws designed to prevent mixed meat from being labeled pure ground beef.

87% support (69% strongly + 18% somewhat)
10% oppose (6% strongly + 4% somewhat)

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Mark is arguing
that the principals
should not be the
ones to do the
"tobacco $ to GOP"
argument.

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002. report	Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates; RE: Strategy Session (22 pages)	07/23/1998	P5
003. report	Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates; RE: Strategy Session (15 pages)	08/06/1998	P5
004. report	Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates; RE: Strategy Session (25 pages)	07/07/1998	P5

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P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Second Term Strategy Session
July 16, 1998
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

Mood Of The Country

	6/9	6/17	6/23	7/7	7/15
Country: right/wrong track	44/46	44/41	46/38	50/38	48/41
Economy: right/wrong track	70/24	71/23	68/24	69/24	70/23
Favorability					
Clinton	59/39	61/39	63/36	65/34	63/36
Gore	62/32	60/33	60/34	60/34	59/35
Clinton Job Approval	**65/33**	**65/32**	**66/32**	**68/30**	**65/33**
Strongly Approve	**26**	**28**	**26**	**29**	**26**
Gore Job Approval	65/29	63/30	65/28	65/30	62/31
Strongly Approve	23	17	20	22	26

Approval by Party:
Party: Democrats: 87/9, Republicans: 36/63, Independents: 63/35

Most Important Issue

- Economy / Jobs is the most important issue at 12%
- Morality and family values receive **11%**
- Education is the second important issue at **10%**
- Fighting crime follows at **7%**
- Healthcare—**6%**

The shift towards creating a crime agenda in the last few weeks has helped – Democrats are doing better with those most concerned with crime (many of those will be elderly women).

What is the most important issue facing the country?	Vote Dem (44%)	Vote GOP (33%)	Don't Know (24%)
Economy / Jobs	53	22	25
Morality and family values	10	61	29
Education	48	26	25
Fighting crime	51	36	13
Healthcare	60	20	20

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Congress

Approval – on a 2 point scale

	6/2	6/9	6/17	7/7	7/15
Congress	56/35	55/37	53/39	53/38	54/50
Congressional Republicans	45/44	43/46	44/48	44/48	44/48
Congressional Democrats	49/37	52/38	52/40	52/38	50/41

Generic Horserace

44% would vote for a Democrat in Congress, **33%** would vote for a Republican.
Among prime voters: **42%** would vote for a Democrat, **37%** Republican.

	6/9	6/17	6/23	7/7	7/15
Democrat	41	41	38	43	44
Republican	35	34	33	34	33

Gingrich Favorability

Favorable - **36%** (**6%** very favorable)
Unfavorable - **58%** (**36%** very unfavorable)

	6/9	6/17	6/23	7/7	7/15
Favorable/ Unfavorable	37/57	34/58	40/53	38/53	36/58

Lott Favorability

Favorable - **32%** (**6%** very favorable)
Unfavorable - **19%** (**9%** very unfavorable)

	5/31	6/9	6/17	7/7	7/15
Favorable/ Unfavorable/ Unfamiliar	29/16/54	28/19/53	29/22/49	29/22/50	32/19/49

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Newspaper Headlines

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
7/14	Tuesday	Washington Post	Justice Department to Appeal Secret Service Decision
7/14	Tuesday	USA Today	Clinton Pushed To Sue Tobacco Firms
7/10	Friday	New York Times	Senate Vote 96-2 on Final Approval for Changing the IRS-Clinton Says He'll Sign
7/10	Friday	USA Today	White House Probe
7/10	Friday	USA Today	Clinton to Sign IRS Overhaul
7/9	Thursday	USA Today	White House Unveils Anti-drug Ad Blitz (Photo POTUS)
7/8	Wednesday	New York Times	Court Orders Secret Service to Testify in Lewinsky Case
7/8	Wednesday	Washington Post	Starr Wins Appeal in Privilege Dispute
7/7	Tuesday	New York Times	Clinton to Punish Health Insurers Who Deny Coverage to Sick

TV Headlines

Date	Station	Order	Headline
7/14	CBS	1	Starr Now Demanding Testimony From Clinton's Security Detail Head
7/14	NBC	3	Starr Subpoenas Head Of Clinton's Personal Secret Service Team
7/13	NBC	5	Clintons Release Soon-To-Be-Preserved Star-Spangled Banner
7/13	CBS	2	Clinton Renews Call For Japan To Reform Its Economy
7/10	ABC	9	Clinton Presents Medal Of Honor To Heroic Vietnam Medic
7/9	NBC	1	Clinton Unveils Hard-Hitting New Anti-Drug Ad Blitz
7/9	CBS	8	Clinton Unveils Huge Federal Anti-Drug Ad Blitz
7/9	CBS	4	Clinton Visits Florida, Thanks Firefighters
7/9	CBS	3	IRS Reform Headed For Clinton's Signature
7/9	ABC	1	Clinton Unveils Huge Government Anti-Drug Ads Campaign
7/8	CBS	2	Clinton Speaks Out Against Plague Of Violence By Kids With Guns
7/8	ABC	12	Clinton Administration Official On Sudan Situation
7/8	ABC	5	Clinton Backs Law Punishing Adults Who Let Kids Get Guns
7/6	NBC	9	Clinton And Yeltsin To Meet Again In Russia In September
7/6	CBS	7	White House Says Clinton Has Accepted Yeltsin Invitation
7/6	CBS	5	Clinton Orders Effort To Publicize Medicare Benefits For Poor

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The News

Did you hear anything about?	% Aware	More/Less Fav
President Clinton visiting sites of the recent fires in Florida	67	67/17
President Clinton kicking off a new national anti-drug media campaign	64	66/21
President Clinton announcing a program that would make adults liable for giving children access to guns	54	66/24
President Clinton proposing legislation to encourage businesses to share information to solve the Year 2000 computer problem	46	64/14
President Clinton's radio address supporting more drug courts and mandatory drug testing programs around the country	41	60/21
President Clinton pledging support for World Bank efforts to increase awareness of the "millennium" bug in developing countries	30	45/25

Treasures Campaign

49% are aware off Hillary Clinton's fund-raising effort to restore America's treasures, like our Star Spangled Banner and public sculptures.

65/19% are more favorable/less favorable towards Hillary Clinton
65% more favorable (**29%** much + **36%** somewhat)
19% less favorable (**8%** much + **11%** somewhat)

Party: Democrats: 81/7, Republicans: 53/28, Independents: 63/19

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The President's Image and Congress

The number one accomplishment of the presidency – in a complete switch from two years ago – is now seen as the strengthening of the economy. In 1995, people could name few accomplishments. In 1996, they cited welfare reform and the balanced budget as major accomplishments. Today, they believe the best that the president has done for the country is the restore the economy. This underscores the ability we have and the importance of owning and continuing to own that issue – and of getting the Democrats to own that issue going into the election. And the issue of the economy is fundamental in the concept that the Clinton Presidency prepared the nation for the 21st Century (the argument would never hold up without an economic expansion). Some people are saying that we should prepare the country for an economic downturn – this would be a mistake – it would create the perception of one instead and defeat us at the polls. We should lay down markers against the Republicans about their having plans that threaten the good economy but we should not deliberately undermine perceptions of the strength of this economy to continue. The Republicans again are clearly very sensitive to these attacks, which is why they are moving on IMF and trying to give the appearance of moving Fast Track.

In the Gingrich strategy of the week, he now says that the partisan attacks he has made have hurt the party and he is going to switch tactics to talk about taxes instead of impeachment. He is now admitting (for this week) that talking about impeachment has been counterproductive. I think this statement (which is subject to the usual week by week changes in strategy by the Republicans) is clearly in response to the progress not partisanship theme and the perception that it could damage him.

What do you think is the best thing President Clinton has done for the country?	
Economic Issues-Total	**25%**
Generally strong economy	*17%*
Strong economic policy	*3%*
Created jobs/reduced unemployment	*3%*
Balanced budget	*3%*
Reduced national debt, lowered inflation, lowered interest rates, foreign trade	*2%*
Social Issues-Total	**16%**
Education	*5%*
Healthcare	*4%*
Welfare reform	*4%*
Abortion, FMLA, gay rights, race issues, low-income families, women's rights	*3%*
Crime/drug courts/drug use	*1%*
Social security	*1%*

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Tobacco	*1%*
Foreign policy	**6%**
General strong leadership	**5%**
Miscellaneous initiatives/programs-including environment, NASA and line-item veto	**2%**
Other	**7%**

People reject these claims against the President:

Some people say President Clinton has been a do-nothing President.
32/66% agree/disagree with this statement.
32% agree (**14%** strongly + **18%** somewhat)
66% disagree (**42%** strongly + **24%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 13/87, Republicans: 52/48, Independents: 33/62

Some people have said President Clinton has been out of the country too much.
33/65% agree/disagree with this statement.
33% agree (**15%** strongly + **18%** somewhat)
65% disagree (**34%** strongly + **31%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 30/71, Republicans: 46/54, Independents: 23/69

And in characterizing Congress, by 22% to 71%, people are more likely to side with the notion that Congress is playing politics and blocking legislation rather than being just a "do-nothing" Congress. Putting partisanship over progress is meant to be worse than just doing nothing – it's putting politics over the interests of the people. For example, Janet Reno comes to give an important report on law enforcement in the nation, and the Republicans only questions are about getting another Ken Starr to look at the Democrats' campaigns. That's partisanship over progress.

Responsibility for Conflicts
If President Clinton and the Republicans in Congress disagree over funding for education, environmental programs, healthcare and other programs, **21%** would think President Clinton should be blamed for starting the conflict, **53%** the Republicans in Congress.
Party: Democrats: 6/73, Republicans: 50/29, Independents: 15/52

23% think President Clinton is more responsible for the lack of legislation in this Congress, **55%** the Republicans in Congress.
Party: Democrats: 9/79, Republicans: 53/31, Independents: 16/50

Lott's Criticism
23% are aware of Senator Trent Lott's radio address last weekend in which he criticized President Clinton.

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Senator Lott blamed Washington's inaction on President Clinton, calling him a bystander who is ignoring the nation's business.
38/51% find Senator Lott's statement to be believable/not believable.
38% believable (**13%** very + **25%** somewhat)
51% not believable (**30%** not at all + **21%** not very)
Party: Democrats: 18/74, Republicans: 65/31, Independents: 38/48

Given this,
28/53% are more favorable/less favorable towards Senator Lott
28% more favorable (**11%** much + **17%** somewhat)
53% less favorable (**26%** much + **27%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 12/81, Republicans: 51/33, Independents: 29/44

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Patients' Reform

The Patients' reform debate is successfully launched. There are two arguments against the Republican bill – 1) that it covers only a third of the population and 2) that it omits the right to sue.

Both arguments work, but the argument that 2 out of 3 would be left without protection is clearly the stronger theme. This is the ess4ence of a weak Patient's Bill of Rights – it only cover a minority and leaves the rest to fend for themselves on these issues.

Right to sue is a good argument, but most would opt for compromise if that was the only difference.

Patients Bill of Rights

33% belong to an HMO, **63%** not.

62% are aware of a patient's bill of rights which would set certain standards for HMOs being debated in Congress.

Unaided support, 76/10% support/oppose a patient's bill of rights.
76% support (**60%** strongly + **16%** somewhat)
10% oppose (**4%** strongly + **6%** somewhat)
Horserace: Vote Dem: 82/8, Vote GOP: 75/11, Don't Know: 68/11
Gender: Male: 79/9, Female: 76/9
Age: <35: 71/14, >35: 80/8

A patients bill of rights would provide new guidelines on the way HMOs operate to provide better healthcare services for its members, including guaranteed access to emergency care, giving women direct access to OB-Gyns, safeguarding personal information, allowing doctors to give their patients all medical options available and giving patients the right to appeal decisions made by HMOs.
Aided support, 89/9% support/oppose a patient's bill of rights.
89% support (**68%** strongly + **21%** somewhat)
9% oppose (**4%** strongly + **5%** somewhat)
Horserace: Vote Dem: 95/5, Vote GOP: 84/14, Don't Know: 82/6
Gender: Male: 88/9, Female: 90/7
Age: <35: 95/6, >35: 88/10

Initial Support for Passing Bill as is VS. Including Suing HMOs
30% think Congress should pass this bill as is, **56%** think it should also include giving the patient the right to sue the HMO for malpractice.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 36/55, Vote GOP: 28/60, Don't Know: 18/53

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Gender: Male: 25/58, Female: 35/55
Age: <35: 42/44, >35: 27/60

86% think individuals injured by wrongful actions by HMOs be compensated for their injuries, **8%** not.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 88/8, Vote GOP: 93/5, Don't Know: 85/6
Gender: Male: 87/9, Female: 85/7
Age: <35: 83/14, >35: 89/4

Support for Suing For Malpractice

72/20% support/oppose giving patients the right to sue their HMO for malpractice.

72% support (**55%** strongly + **17%** somewhat)
20% oppose (**9%** strongly + **11%** somewhat)

Horserace: Vote Dem: 82/13, Vote GOP: 66/30, Don't Know: 60/20
Gender: Male: 71/19, Female: 73/21
Age: <35: 69/22, >35: 72/21

Argumentation Against Suing HMOs

	Support/Oppose Right to Sue	Pass Bill as is /Include right to sue
Initial Unaided	72/20%	30/56%
Arguments		
Trial Lawyers	63/29	34/58
Raise Costs 8%	60/36	37/58
Raise Costs $3	70/25	29/59

Trial Lawyers

Some people say granting the right to sue the HMOs will just provide millions of dollars to trial lawyers and not improve the quality of health care.
Given this, **63/29%** support/oppose giving patients the right to sue their HMO for malpractice.

63% support (**40%** strongly + **23%** somewhat)
29% oppose (**17%** strongly + **12%** somewhat)

Horserace: Vote Dem: 75/21, Vote GOP: 54/40, Don't Know: 52/30
Gender: Male: 63/32, Female: 65/28
Age: <35: 63/30, >35: 62/32

Given this, **34%** think Congress should pass this bill as is, **58%** think it should also include giving the patient the right to sue the HMO for malpractice.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 35/62, Vote GOP: 39/52, Don't Know: 24/61
Gender: Male: 31/64, Female: 38/53
Age: <35: 54/41, >35: 28/65

Increase Cost of Healthcare 8 percent

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Some people say granting the right to sue the HMOs could increase the cost of healthcare coverage by up to 8 percent.
Given this, **60/36%** support/oppose giving patients the right to sue their HMO for malpractice.

60% support (**36%** strongly + **24%** somewhat)
36% oppose (**24%** strongly + **12%** somewhat)

Horserace: Vote Dem: 71/27, Vote GOP: 50/50, Don't Know: 45/32
Gender: Male: 57/43, Female: 61/28
Age: <35: 63/24, >35: 55/43

37% think Congress should pass this bill as is, **58%** think it should also include giving the patient the right to sue the HMO for malpractice.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 31/66, Vote GOP: 43/55, Don't Know: 41/43
Gender: Male: 42/58, Female: 32/58
Age: <35: 36/56, >35: 38/58

Increase Cost of Healthcare $3/month
Some people say granting the right to sue the HMOs could increase the cost of healthcare coverage by over 3 dollars per month.
Given this, **70/25%** support/oppose giving patients the right to sue their HMO for malpractice.

70% support (**50%** strongly + **20%** somewhat)
25% oppose (**17%** strongly + **8%** somewhat)

Horserace: Vote Dem: 76/22, Vote GOP: 60/36, Don't Know: 75/13
Gender: Male: 74/20, Female: 67/30
Age: <35: 47/47, >35: 77/19

29% think Congress should pass this bill as is, **59%** think it should also include giving the patient the right to sue the HMO for malpractice.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 28/62, Vote GOP: 32/53, Don't Know: 27/63
Gender: Male: 26/61, Female: 32/57
Age: <35: 44/42, >35: 25/66

Presidents Position vs. Republicans Position
61% agree with President Clinton and the Democrats that HMO reform is not tough enough unless you give the patient's the right to sue the HMO because if they are not held accountable, quality won't change; **27%** agree with Republicans that the Democrats are just in the pocket of trial lawyers and giving patients the right to sue will raise the cost of health care so we should not give patients the right to sue.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 74/16, Vote GOP: 47/45, Don't Know: 56/20
Gender: Male: 66/26, Female: 57/28
Age: <35: 53/39, >35: 63/24

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Compromise

BUT IF THE ONLY DIFFERENCE IS THE RIGHT TO SUE, THEN THE PUBLIC PREFERS PROGRESS…

Right now, Republicans support a Patient's Bill of Rights that includes all provisions that Democrats want in a bill, except the right to sue the HMO. **69%** think Democrats should support this bill, so HMO reform is passed, **26%** think they should not support it, even if it means there will be no HMO reform.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 62/30, Vote GOP: 86/12, Don't Know: 55/42
Gender: Male: 71/27, Female: 68/25
Age: <35: 75/25, >35: 68/25

Veto Bill
If a Patient's bill of rights as described was passed, but did not include the right to sue, **47%** think President Clinton should sign it, **43%** think he should veto it.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 45/45, Vote GOP: 56/36, Don't Know: 36/50
Gender: Male: 44/47, Female: 50/39
Age: <35: 51/46, >35: 49/40

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Tobacco-Medicare-Taxes

Tax cuts

Maintain the current position of Social Security First and say nothing about tax cuts other than that they would undermine the need to strengthen Social Security.

Advantages: current position, worked in the SOTU, provided Democrats with a fiscally responsible and fiscally conservative answer

Disadvantages: Gives Democrats who are running no tax cuts to talk about

Variation A – Save Social Security First, then enact targeted tax cuts.

Advantages: This is fiscally responsible and give Democrats some taxes cuts to talk about. And this is similar to the position during the balanced budget fight when we said we would balance the budget and also were able to cut taxes. This is what we are currently doing in ads for candidates (i.e. Michael Coles is for Social Security First and for the Marriage Penalty reduction (from the tobacco bill).

Disadvantages: It appears to reduce the importance of the Social Security First Pledge, even if it technically keeps it.

Variation B – Propose a 50 cent Tobacco tax increase and use the money for tax cuts. If that were the case, then the tax cut most preferred is the one for long-term care.

Spending the Tobacco Tax

If we increased the tax on tobacco by 50 cents a pack, which of the following do you think is the best way to spend the revenue:	All	Party			Gender	
		D	R	I	M	F
A tax cut to help provide long-term care for elderly	**46**	**50**	**51**	**40**	**45**	**47**
A National anti-smoking/anti-drug campaign to combat teen smoking and drug use	39	35	34	45	35	43
A Marriage penalty tax deduction	7	7	9	4	9	4

The most powerful combination of targeted tax cuts for now would be a) child care b) some marriage penalty c) a tax credit for taking care of an

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elderly parent. This package can be presented as promoting family values on three levels – helping protect and raise children, helping promote marriage and helping to keep families together as parents age.

Another Tobacco Option is Suing the Tobacco Companies

Even the City of Los Angeles announced today that it is suing the tobacco companies!

Support for the suit can be significantly increased by stating how the proceeds of the suit would be used – strengthening Medicare was the best option tested. However, most voters see the real use of the suit as a club to get the Tobacco companies to stop advertising to minors. So the public actually is sophisticated enough to understand that actually trying the suit would take too long, and that the suit becomes an important weapon, if necessary, in the war against the companies.

53/43% would support/oppose the federal government suing the tobacco companies to recover the taxpayer expenses paid out for Medicare and Medicaid for smoking-relating diseases during the time the tobacco industry concealed the harm.

Suppose President Clinton sued the tobacco companies for $1 trillion dollars for reimbursement of the taxpayer funds that Medicare and Medicaid paid for smoking-related diseases and said he would use the money from the suit to strengthen the Medicare program. **60/40%** would support/oppose this.

Given this,

62/32% are more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton

Suppose that President Clinton asked for legislative authority to sue the tobacco companies for the taxpayers' expenses incurred for people with smoking-related diseases. **57/37**% would support/oppose Congress giving the Justice Department the authority to go after the tobacco companies.

24% think that we should sue the tobacco companies more as a way to get reimbursements of the taxpayers money spent, **59%** think more as a way of forcing the tobacco companies to agree to stop advertising to minors.

Most states have sued the tobacco companies and won or settled to receive billions in reimbursement of their expenses on Medicare and Medicaid due to smoking related diseases. **47/42%** would favor/oppose President Clinton suing the tobacco companies on behalf of the states that had not sued the tobacco companies so the taxpayers in those states could receive reimbursement.

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If President Clinton sued the tobacco companies, do you think that the money from the suit should be put towards education, healthcare improvements, cancer research, a tax cut, or strengthening the Medicare program for the future?	All
Strengthening the Medicare program for the future	30
Education	24
Healthcare improvements	20
Cancer research	15
A tax cut	2

Farm Aid

People recognize the weather issues and the impact of the current heatwave. This provides and opportunity for both a tie into global warming (75% in last week's polling believe that heat and the Florida-type disasters are due in party to global warming) and also to move Farm concerns.

This supports the concept of holding a farm press conference with policy announcements.

88% are aware of the droughts and heatwave in the South that have killed nearly 50 people and could cost Texas almost 5 billion dollars.

37% are aware of President Clinton signing emergency legislation exempting agricultural products from sanctions imposed upon India and Pakistan due to their nuclear tests.
Given this,

49/25% are more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton
49% more favorable (**19%** much + **30%** somewhat)
25% less favorable (**8%** much + **17%** somewhat)

Horserace: Vote Dem: 62/14, Vote GOP: 40/37, Don't Know: 35/30
Habitat: City: 49/22, Suburb: 59/22, Rural: 41/32

Democrats have proposed an amendment setting up a 500 million dollar fund for farmers hit by repeat natural disasters needing help to weather the economic downturn.

80/16% would support/oppose this amendment

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80% support (**46%** strongly + **34%** somewhat)
16% oppose (**7%** strongly + **9%** somewhat)
Horserace: Vote Dem: 81/14, Vote GOP: 84/16, Don't Know: 76/18
Habitat: City: 73/20, Suburb: 83/16, Rural: 87/10

Handgun Waiting Period

There is strong support for maintaining the waiting period, even after insta-check is operational.

	Maintaining the Waiting Period vs. Instant Check
Initial Unaided	73/22%
Arguments	
Big Government	73/24
Unnecessary	72/27

Maintaining the Waiting Period vs. Instant Check
One part of the Brady Bill passed in 1994 required that all gun purchases be held for a five day waiting period while a background check on the buyer is conducted. For the past several years the federal government has been putting together a database of documents so that background checks can be done instantly, without the waiting period.

This year the 5-day waiting period is supposed to be replaced by the instant check system. **73%** think we should maintain the 5-day waiting period, **22%** think we should go to the instant check system.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 80/16, Vote GOP: 73/25, Don't Know: 62/31
Gender: Male: 73/25, Female: 74/19
Age: <35: 85/14, >35: 70/25

Big Government
Some people say the five day waiting period is intrusive, big government policy that has done nothing to stem violent crime. Given this, **73%** think we should maintain the 5-day waiting period, **24%** think we should go to the instant check system.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 82/15, Vote GOP: 72/28, Don't Know: 61/33
Gender: Male: 74/26, Female: 72/22
Age: <35: 81/16, >35: 69/28

Unnecessary
Some people say the instant check system national data base will provide sufficient information for background checks, so a waiting period is unnecessary.

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Given this, **72%** think we should maintain the 5-day waiting period, **27%** think we should go to the instant check system.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 80/20, Vote GOP: 67/32, Don't Know: 62/33
Gender: Male: 66/34, Female: 78/20
Age: <35: 82/18, >35: 68/30

Need 5 Days for "Crimes of Passion"
68% say that waiting periods provide time for emotionally distraught people to cool down before buying pistols that might be used in suicides or crimes of passion; **28%** say there is no evidence that waiting periods prevent crimes of passion.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 75/22, Vote GOP: 61/36, Don't Know: 63/31
Gender: Male: 63/34, Female: 72/23
Age: <35: 73/23, >35: 66/30

Database Will Be Insufficient
68% say that the waiting period should be continued since the new instant check database will not include many local documents, including state mental health records, restraining orders, and domestic violence misdemeanors and officials need to be given time to research these additional documents; **26%** say the database will provide enough information and that local officials are unlikely to sift through records not available on database.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 69/23, Vote GOP: 63/34, Don't Know: 70/21
Gender: Male: 64/30, Female: 71/22
Age: <35: 74/21, >35: 66/27

Effect on Vote

Continue 5 Day Wait
If a Democrat running for Congress supported continuing the current waiting period of 5 days before a person could buy a gun, and a Republican opposed extension of this law, saying it is an unnecessary burden, **67%** would vote for the Democrat, **16%** the Republican.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 87/3, Vote GOP: 44/37, Don't Know: 58/13
Gender: Male: 59/24, Female: 74/8
Age: <35: 80/14, >35: 63/16

Reduce Wait to Three Days
If a Democrat running for Congress supported continuing the waiting period, but reducing the time to 3 days, instead of 5 days, and a Republican opposed any extension of this law saying it is an unnecessary burden, **63%** would vote for the Democrat, **18%** the Republican.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 85/6, Vote GOP: 39/39, Don't Know: 49/15
Gender: Male: 55/25, Female: 69/12
Age: <35: 77/14, >35: 59/20

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

GM Strike

People do not see the GM Strike as serious enough for intervention, which would be controversial since most are siding with the workers. There is some concern, but no air of crisis. The polling says that if a Cooling off period were ordered, more groundwork would have to be done to increase support for the measure as necessary. The White House summit is popular, but such summits are usually a big mistake because they transfer responsibility for the strike to us without any power to do anything.

Awareness and Concerns About Strike

88% are aware of the strike at General Motors.

54/43% are concerned/not concerned that the strike will affect the US economy.
54% concerned (**18%** very + **36%** somewhat)
43% not concerned (**17%** not at all + **26%** not very)
Party: Democrats: 55/40, Republicans: 54/44, Independents: 53/45
Education: College Degree: 51/46, No College Degree: 53/40
Union: Yes: 44/50, No: 56/41

Thinking in general, **38%** side with the auto workers in the dispute with General Motors, **27%** with the company.
Party: Democrats: 51/11, Republicans: 22/47, Independents: 38/29
Education: College Degree: 33/31, No College Degree: 42/24
Union: Yes: 47/19, No: 36/29

Presidential Intervention

25% think President Clinton should intervene in the strike, **67%** not.
Party: Democrats: 31/62, Republicans: 26/67, Independents: 18/74
Education: College Degree: 25/67, No College Degree: 23/69
Union: Yes: 25/65, No: 23/70

25% say that the President should intervene because a prolonged strike at the largest automobile company will hurt the U.S. economy; **69%** say that the auto workers had negotiated in good faith and have a right to strike and that the President should not step into the middle of the labor dispute.
Party: Democrats: 31/58, Republicans: 29/70, Independents: 17/77
Education: College Degree: 26/69, No College Degree: 23/70
Union: Yes: 27/62, No: 23/72

Apply For Injunction

A president can seek an injunction in federal court if the strike imperils our nations health and safety. **19%** think that standard has been met, **69%** not.
Party: Democrats: 16/61, Republicans: 23/68, Independents: 17/77
Education: College Degree: 18/71, No College Degree: 19/68

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Union: Yes: 21/68, No: 18/70

Order Cooling Off Period
If President Clinton ordered a 60-day cooling off period—where the workers would return to work for 60 days before returning to negotiations—
47/35% would be more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton
47% more favorable (**11%** much + **36%** somewhat)
35% less favorable (**15%** much + **20%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 47/19, Republicans: 41/48, Independents: 51/38
Education: College Degree: 59/28, No College Degree: 38/39
Union: Yes: 48/35, No: 47/34

If President Clinton offered to hold a summit at the White House with union and GM leaders,
59/20% would be more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton
59% more favorable (**22%** much + **37%** somewhat)
20% less favorable (**14%** much + **6%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 67/3, Republicans: 56/26, Independents: 54/31
Education: College Degree: 52/19, No College Degree: 61/21
Union: Yes: 78/14, No: 52/23

Involvement in the strike – even if it does not solve the dispute – does not reflect on President Clinton's leadership ability
If General Motors and Union leaders refuse the President's efforts to help resolve the dispute, **12%** say this would be a sign of President Clinton's weakness as a leader; **75%** say a refusal for help would be for other reasons and **would not reflect on the President's leadership ability.**
Party: Democrats: 7/81, Republicans: 19/74, Independents: 12/73
Education: College Degree: 14/77, No College Degree: 11/74
Union: Yes: 19/73, No: 11/77

Ordering Union Back to Table
After union leaders walked out of negotiations this week, General Motors requested a federal court to order the union back into negotiations over the strikes that have already cost GM 1.2 billion dollars.
66/25% support/oppose ordering the union back into negotiations
66% support (**37%** strongly + **29%** somewhat)
25% oppose (**15%** strongly + **10%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 69/22, Republicans: 73/23, Independents: 61/29
Education: College Degree: 63/31, No College Degree: 69/20
Union: Yes: 68/23, No: 66/25

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

International

On foreign policy, would you say that you strongly approve of the job Bill Clinton has been doing, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing?	Approve	Disapprove
7/15	**62**	**31**
7/7	**62**	**35**
6/23	59	33
6/17	53	43
6/9	60	33
5/31	60	39
3/10	66	33
3/3	65	33
2/23	63	35
2/17	64	34
2/11	65	32

IMF

The positioning of international economic measures is everything – the difference between "reform" and "bailout" is a swing of 40 points.

56/33% support/oppose President Clinton pushing for economic **reform** in Russia and Asia.

56% support (**20%** strongly + **36%** somewhat)
33% oppose (**19%** strongly + **14%** somewhat)

Party: Democrats: 63/15, Republicans: 45/53, Independents: 58/34

34/55% support/oppose President Clinton committing US support for an economic **bailout** of Russia and several countries in Asia.

34% support (**9%** strongly + **25%** somewhat)
55% oppose (**33%** strongly + **22%** somewhat)

Party: Democrats: 43/42, Republicans: 29/63, Independents: 31/61

IMF Loan to Russia

The International Monetary Fund has reached an agreement with Russia to provide $22 billion dollars in emergency loans to stabilize the Russian economy.

44/48% support/oppose the loan deal with Russia.

44% support (**14%** strongly + **30%** somewhat)
48% oppose (**28%** strongly + **20%** somewhat)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Party: Democrats: 43/45, Republicans: 48/48, Independents: 44/49

Arguments for Russian Loan

Supporters of the loan agreement say that without the bailout Russia's financial crunch would trigger a larger economic crisis, or even the breakdown of the Russian government. Since Russia has the world's second largest nuclear arsenal the United States cannot afford to let the country slip into chaos. Given this, **57/35%** support/oppose the loan deal with Russia.

57% support (**25%** strongly + **32%** somewhat)
35% oppose (**21%** strongly + **14%** somewhat)

Party: Democrats: 60/31, Republicans: 52/42, Independents: 58/34

Increasing U.S. IMF Contribution

The Russian loan package will seriously deplete the IMF's resources. President Clinton is pushing legislation to increase the U.S. contribution to the IMF. **39/45%** support/oppose increasing the US contribution to the IMF.

39% support (**11%** strongly + **28%** somewhat)
45% oppose (**28%** strongly + **17%** somewhat)

Party: Democrats: 43/33, Republicans: 39/53, Independents: 33/50

President Clinton says that Congress should act to promote global economic stability by paying America's share to the IMF and that if we fail to act responsibly at a time when there is so much financial uncertainty in the world, we will be putting our farmers, our workers and our businesses at risk. Given this, **40/45%** support/oppose increasing the US contribution to the IMF.

40% support (**15%** strongly + **25%** somewhat)
45% oppose (**26%** strongly + **19%** somewhat)

Party: Democrats: 45/35, Republicans: 29/54, Independents: 41/49

There is a new agreement for the IMF to help Russia, **32%** say the IMF is running out of money and if they can't help, it could lead to worldwide economic recession, so the US should fund the IMF; **56%** say the IMF itself is the problem so we should not fund it.

Party: Democrats: 28/46, Republicans: 27/66, Independents: 39/56

US Sanctions Policy

22% think the U.S. government imposes economic sanctions on other countries too often, **32%** not often enough, **36%** just about the right amount of time.

Party: Democrats: 22/29/43, Republicans: 25/40/31, Independents: 20/30/35

Effectiveness of Sanctions	Effective/ Ineffective
On Human Rights Policy	61/35%
To Affect Military Actions	61/33

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

61/35% think economic sanctions are effective/not effective in changing human rights policies of other countries.

61% effective (**12%** very + **49%** somewhat)

35% not effective (**14%** not at all + **22%** not very)

Party: Democrats: 59/32, Republicans: 70/30, Independents: 57/42

61/33% think economic sanctions are effective/not effective in influencing military actions of other countries, such as their use of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons.

61% effective (**14%** very + **47%** somewhat)

33% not effective (**15%** not at all + **18%** not very)

Party: Democrats: 71/23, Republicans: 47/49, Independents: 64/32

Hurt Innocents

41% say that economic sanctions hurt innocent people while the real targets are left unharmed; **45%** say economic sanctions can help influence governments to make the changes we want.

Party: Democrats: 32/50, Republicans: 47/48, Independents: 43/41

Too Expensive

37% say that economic sanctions are too expensive to the American economy, costing billions in lost exports and lost jobs. **53%** say that economic sanctions hurt the other country more, and are necessary to influence their policies.

Party: Democrats: 39/53, Republicans: 33/54, Independents: 37/53

Habitat: City: 31/56, Suburb: 28/64, Rural: 50/39

Reform of US Sanction Policy

There is currently legislation in Congress that would reform US sanctions policy so that economic sanctions are reviewed more often and become more effective. **77/15%** would support/oppose this policy.

77% support (**43%** strongly + **34%** somewhat)

15% oppose (**5%** strongly + **10%** somewhat)

Party: Democrats: 78/12, Republicans:79/20, Independents: 78/14

Habitat: City: 76/14, Suburb: 74/17, Rural: 82/16

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

POTUS Proposals

(Small Sample size – gathering more sample to break down by party)

I am going to read you a list of proposals President Clinton could announce this summer. Please tell me if this proposal would make you much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable towards President Clinton?	Much More Fav	More/ Less Fav
Challenge the gun industry to get a child-proof gun on the market by the year 2000.	57	78/18
Give American families that care for chronically ill elderly relatives a tax credit for long term care	56	83/11
Announce policies to fight stalking	56	90/3
Approve more statewide Children's Health Insurance Programs, which provides health insurance for uninsured children.	55	88/9
Expand anti-gang measures; which include anti-truancy, school, violence and crime intervention measures; and after-school programs to keep kids off the streets	**55**	**97/1**
Require gun dealers to post signs warning gun purchasers about their responsibility to keep guns away from children.	53	73/18
Announce new grants to cities to hire more police, including funding targeted to fighting the use of highly addictive and dangerous drugs	53	90/10
Release a guide to give strategies to reduce school violence by responding to early warning signs of troubled youth to schools and parents	52	86/12
Participate in a School Construction and Smaller Class Size Day with parents and community leaders to help rebuild and renovate local public schools.	51	84/15
Call for the business community's to continue their efforts in the successful School-to-Work Program which provides apprenticeship programs for students to give them job skill	50	91/9
Develop and spread new technologies that enable people with disabilities to live and work more easily	47	83/10
Appropriate higher salaries and greater benefits for teachers in order to attract and retain good teachers	47	76/17
Directs the Department of Education to produce guidelines for schools on how to fire bad teachers	46	71/20
Encourage private long-term care insurance since millions of American families care for chronically ill elderly relatives which places a strain on families.	46	79/14
Enhance the Welfare-to-Work Program by allowing states to extend Medicaid to more low-income two-parent families who work more than 100 hours a month.	46	72/23

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Announce an initiative to get more police to work with schools to keep schools safe and grants to provide additional law enforcement assistance in schools;	46	85/5
Establish a program to match state funds with personal savings by individual development accounts by low-income families that could be used for education or housing.	46	81/10
Launch a Summer Reading Initiative and ask Congress to enact the America Reads program.	45	77/17
Release a Report Showing the success of the welfare-to-work program.	44	84/14
Educate consumers about the use of credit and bank services, improving the information consumers receive, and targeting predatory practices by banks.	44	77/11
Announce support for legislation that would hold adults liable if they give children easy access to guns.	41	76/16
Announce a report showing a decline in teenage drug use	40	80/10
Announce Policies to help people with disabilities return to work by providing personal care assistance services	37	82/15
Give grants to schools that have undertaken innovative reforms	36	68/21
Announce Policies to help people with disabilities reside in their communities rather than be forced to live in institutions.	34	71/16
Allow workers to count family and medical leave time toward pension vesting requirements	34	65/17
Announce new pension proposals which would increase benefits for some surviving spouses of pension plan participants,	32	77/18
Sponsor training for real estate professionals on how to better serve minority and immigrant home buyers.	27	55/40
Announce statistics showing that increasing the price of cigarettes reduces youth and teen smoking	22	52/42
Improve the Trade Adjustment Assistance program to better help workers and communities affected by the transition to a global economy.	21	61/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Presidential Message Schedule

Date	Event	Message
The Next Week		
Thursday July 16	***Faith Based Crime Prevention Event*** Working meeting with President Constantinescu of Romania	**Crime and Drugs**
Friday July 17	Girls Nation/Boys Nation Reunion Event	**Tobacco**
	Tobacco executive order on document release	
Saturday July 18	***Radio Address – Charter Schools***	**Education**
Monday July 20	Speech to American Federation of Teachers Conference, New Orleans ***Announcement of School Uniform and curfew and truancy study***	**Education**
Tuesday July 21	***Nursing Home Regulations Announcement***	**Seniors**
Wed July 22	*Japanese official visit*	
Thursday July 23	***IRS Bill Signing***	**IRS**
	Working visit with President Sanguinetti of Uruguay	
Friday July 24	Boys Nation Event ***Teen Drug Testing for Driver's licenses announcement***	**Crime and Drugs**
Future Schedule ...		
Saturday July 25	Radio Address USS Truman Dedication, Norfolk, VA	
Monday July 27	Social Security Conference, Albuquerque, NM	**Seniors**
Tuesday July 28	National Council of Senior Citizens Dinner	
Wednesday July 29	Address NEA/AFT Congress on Education, Int'l	
Thursday July 30	*Environmental Event*	**Environment**
Friday July 31	Tape Radio Address Statement	
Monday August 3	Economy Speech (T)	Economy
Wednesday August 5	*Meeting with German Chancellor Candidate Gerhard Schroeder*	

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	Unity Dinners	
Thursday August 6	Native American Economic Conference	
Friday August 7	*Meeting with Deputy President Mbeki of South Africa*	
Saturday August 8	Live radio address	
Monday August 10	Message Event, Kentucky	
Tuesday August 11	Message Event, CA (City TBD)	
Wednesday August 12	Message Event, Los Angeles	
Thursday August 13	WNBA Champions Houston Comets Event	
Friday August 14	*Message Event, City TBD*	
August 10-31	Vacation	

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Strategy Session
July 23, 1998
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

1. Mood of the Country
2. Media Coverage
3. Tax Cuts/Surplus
4. Patient's Bill of Rights
5. Health Identifier Code
6. Miscellaneous Issues
7. Summer Announcements
8. Review President's Schedule

Mood of the Country

IRS reform, nursing home regulations helped to bring the week to a good start.

	6/17	6/23	7/7	7/15	7/21
Country: right/wrong track	44/41	46/38	50/38	48/41	47/40
Economy: right/wrong track	71/23	68/24	69/24	70/23	71/22
Favorability					
Clinton	61/39	63/36	65/34	63/36	63/35
Gore	60/33	60/34	60/34	59/35	59/36
Clinton Job Approval	**65/32**	**66/32**	**68/30**	**65/33**	**68/30**
Strongly Approve	**28**	**26**	**29**	**26**	**28**
Approval by Party:					
Party: Democrats: 88/12, Republicans: 45/54, Independents: 69/30					
Gore Job Approval	63/30	65/28	65/30	62/31	61/32
Strongly Approve	17	20	22	26	21

Most Important Issue

- **Economy/Jobs is the most important issue at 12%**
- **Morality/Family Values is second with 11%**
- **Education—9%**
- **Fighting crime is at third with 8%**

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Congress

Approval—on a 2 point scale

	6/9	6/17	7/7	7/15	7/21
Congress	55/37	53/39	53/38	54/40	51/42
Congressional Republicans	43/46	44/48	44/48	44/48	44/47
Congressional Democrats	52/38	52/40	52/38	50/41	49/40

Generic Horserace

42% would vote for a Democrat in Congress, **37%** would vote for a Republican.

	6/17	6/23	7/7	7/15	7/21
Democrat	41	38	43	44	42
Republican	34	33	34	33	37

Gingrich Favorability

Favorable— **39%** (**12%** very favorable)
Unfavorable— **51%** (**29%** very unfavorable)

	6/17	6/23	7/7	7/15	7/20
Favorable/Unfavorable	34/58	40/53	38/53	36/58	39/51

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Newspaper Headlines

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
7/23	Thursday	Washington Post	Clinton Signs IRS Overhaul Into Law
7/22	Wednesday	New York Times	Clinton Urges Crack Down on Nursing Home Abuse
7/20	Monday	New York Times	Health Identifier For All Americans Runs Into Hurdles Privacy Debate Heats Up Clinton Plans To Assign codes, as Law Requires, to Create Giant Medical Database
7/20	Monday	Washington Post	One Death Altered Path of Presidency Five Years Later, Clinton White House Still Facing Aftermath of Foster Suicide
7/19	Sunday	New York Times	Clintons Seek to Repair Rifts For Democrats Effort to Unite the Party for '98 and '00 votes
7/18	Saturday	New York Times	Clinton Guards Begin Testimony In Starr Inquiry A President's Protectors Are Put in a Position to Damage Him

Television Headlines

Date	Station	Order	Headline
7/22	CBS	6	Clinton Signs IRS Reform Bill
7/22	CBS	7	Clinton Nomination As Air Force Secretary Dies On Hill
7/22	NBC	11	Clinton Signs IRS Reform Bill Into Law
7/21	CBS	3	Clinton Weighing Controversial Central Govt Health Records
7/17	CBS	3	Clinton Admin Asking Chief Justice To Block Secret Service Testimony
7/17	NBC	1	White House Appeals To High Court On Secret Service Testimony Issue
7/17	NBC	2	Clinton's Chief Bodyguard Won't Be With Him While Under Subpoena

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Issues In the News

Did you hear anything about	% Aware	More/ Less Fav
President Clinton urging teachers to be stricter with students, and calling for character education, school uniforms and enforcement of truancy laws.	62	**63/24**
President Clinton announcing plans to increase enforcement of nursing home regulations and asking Congress to pass legislation to cut down abuse at nursing homes.	54	**75/16**
President Clinton planning to visit Ireland in an effort to reinforce the Irish peace accords	43	54/27
President Clinton offering the services of federal mediators for both sides in the strike at General Motors.	41	59/25
President Clinton imposing trade sanctions on Russian companies that have been helping Iran with its missile program.	39	59/25
President Clinton's radio address where he announced a government plan to buy up American wheat in order to help US farmers and to donate that wheat for hungry people in countries like Ethiopia, Sudan, Indonesia, and North Korea.*	36	54/31
President Clinton threatening to veto a bill that would allow more high-tech immigrants if the bill did not include protections for American workers.	23	49/28

***Among rural voters, 33% are aware, 63/30% more/less favorable towards President Clinton.**

44% are aware of Hillary Clinton calling for women to continue the march for quality started by women over a hundred years ago.
Given this,

55/27% are more favorable/less favorable towards Hillary Clinton
55% more favorable (**35%** much + **20%** somewhat)
27% less favorable (**13%** much + **14%** somewhat)

Party: Democrats: 69/11, Republicans: 43/43, Independents: 50/35

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Tax Cuts

The major debate for the fall is over tax cuts – the Republicans appear to be re-running the Dole campaign – new strategies every week, partisan charges, bows to the right wing on social issues and the endgame is likely to be – tax cuts, again.

The surplus has surged, which is boosting the credibility of the GOP calls for tax cuts.

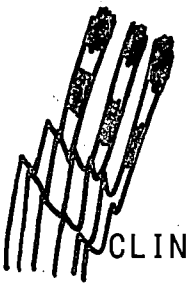
We can put together a great package of targeted tax cuts – credits for child care, reduction in the marriage penalty and a tax credit for taking care of an elderly parent at home. These are three tax cuts that are not just targeted, but they all promote making families stronger. They address some of society's most pressing problems – taking care of children in a world in which most couples have two wage earners and also helping people to keep their parents with them longer.

The latest Republican trial balloon by Gingrich of $1 trillion in taxes is an easy target – a risky scheme that leaves Social Security without the fix it needs and that is so large that it may create a deficit again and damage our economic recovery.

The Republicans are positioning themselves as: blocking the international reforms we need to strengthen exports and protect our farmers, blocking the educational investments we need to offer a world-class education for the next century and now are coming up with risky tax schemes that risk the safety of Social Security and the stability of our economy.

This polling says that we should maintain the Social Security First position, but add a provision for tax cuts after Social Security is secured. We could propose a bill with an automatic trigger of tax cuts when the CBO declares that Social Security is secure.

This would allow Democrats to maintain the sanctity of the Social Security First Position while talking about their package of pro-family tax cuts. They do not have to raise any taxes. And they can draft a bill that is completely consistent with maintaining fiscal responsibility. And they can keep attacking the Republicans for jeopardizing Social Security.



CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Budget Surplus

The public is closer to believing that there is a surplus, but the argument that the surplus comes only from taking the funds out of the Social Security Trust Fund is powerful – voters say that we should stop robbing the Social Security Trust Fund first. This is an important fact in the surplus debate that makes a large difference in public opinion.

43% think we have a surplus, **45%** not.

Party: Democrats: 47/36, Republicans: 30/62, Independents: 49/41
Age: <35: 41/43, >35: 44/46

58% think the entire budget surplus should be saved until Social Security is guaranteed for the future, **32%** think some of the surplus could now be used for tax cuts without jeopardizing Social Security.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 67/23, Vote GOP: 45/50, Don't Know: 64/19
Gender: Male: 56/35, Female: 59/30, Age: <35: 56/37, >35: 58/32

Bigger Surplus

The surplus is now projected to be 1.6 trillion dollars, one trillion dollars higher than it was when President Clinton said we should save the surplus for Social Security. Given this information, **50%** think the entire budget surplus should be saved until Social Security is guaranteed for the future, **41%** think some of the surplus could now be used for tax cuts without jeopardizing Social Security.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 59/33, Vote GOP: 40/52, Don't Know: 49/36
Gender: Male: 46/44, Female: 54/38, Age: <35: 47/45, >35: 50/40

Surplus From Social Security

One of the reasons why we have such a large budget surplus is because the government is taking in more money in Social Security taxes than it is paying out, so the Social Security program is running a surplus, and when the surplus is calculated it includes the Social Security Surplus. Given this information, **53%** think the entire budget surplus should be saved until Social Security is guaranteed for the future, **37%** think some of the surplus could now be used for tax cuts without jeopardizing Social Security.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 60/32, Vote GOP: 45/45, Don't Know: 55/32
Gender: Male: 50/42, Female: 57/32, Age: <35: 51/39, >35: 54/36

58/24% agree/disagree that we really don't have a surplus because the government is borrowing from the Social Security trust fund.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 51/26, Vote GOP: 61/26, Don't Know: 64/20
Age: <35: 61/24, >35: 57/24

71% think the portion of the budget surplus that comes from the Social Security Trust fund should be saved until Social Security is guaranteed for the future, 24% think some of it should be used for tax cuts now.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

*Horserace: Vote Dem: 75/22, Vote GOP: 68/**31**, Don't Know: 69/15*
Age: <35: 61/34, >35: 75/20

71% say that since the surplus comes from Social Security we should first fix Social Security and then give the rest to tax cuts, **22%** say we should use the surplus for tax cuts now.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 81/17, Vote GOP: 64/29, Don't Know: 67/20
Gender: Male: 68/24, Female: 74/20, Age: <35: 74/21, >35: 70/22

The public does believe that with a huge surplus we will be able to have some tax cuts; they believe, however, that we have to give the priority to Saving Social Security and then have tax cuts.

Save Social Security First, Tax Cut Later

23% say that with a 1.6 trillion dollar surplus, we can afford to put 600 billion toward saving Social Security and one trillion to give Americans a tax cut; **65%** say saving Social Security is a long term challenge, and we should wait until we figure out how to save Social Security, and then determine whether or not we can have a tax cut too.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 17/72, Vote GOP: 28/59, Don't Know: 25/65
Gender: Male: 31/60, Female: 16/69, Age: <35: 14/71, >35: 27/62

All To Social Security

43% say that with a 1.6 trillion dollar surplus, we can afford to put 600 billion toward saving Social Security and one trillion to give Americans a tax cut; **49%** say that the surplus comes from Social Security payroll taxes so it should all be use on Social Security.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 44/50, Vote GOP: 51/41, Don't Know: 30/58
Gender: Male: 45/44, Female: 42/53, Age: <35: 54/46, >35:39/50

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

GOP Plan

By itself the GOP is putting together a very appealing plan.

Republicans have proposed one trillion dollars in tax cuts over the next 10 years that would include eliminating the marriage penalty, reductions in the capital gains and estate taxes cutting taxes for the elderly who currently receive Social Security, and accelerating health insurance write-offs for the self employed. **65/26%** support/oppose this tax cut proposal.

65% support (**26%** strongly + **39%** somewhat)
26% oppose (**11%** strongly + **15%** somewhat)
Horserace: Vote Dem: 59/32, Vote GOP: 71/21, Don't Know: 66/25
Age: <35: 65/27, >35: 66/26

But this is a risky tax scheme ...GOP Tax Cut Too Large

56% say that a tax cut of a trillion dollars over 10 years is too large and would be reckless and jeopardize the balanced budget and Social Security; **32%** say because of record growing surpluses we can have a tax cut that large and still protect Social Security.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 64/22, Vote GOP: 47/44, Don't Know: 56/31
Gender: Male: 58/36, Female: 54/29, Age: <35: 54/37, >35: 57/31

Democratic Alternatives:

Anti-smoking Proposal
Strong support among Democrats. It is a feasible idea that brings back the tobacco issue (and the industry ad campaign)

President Clinton and the Democrats have proposed to raise taxes on cigarettes by 50 cents for anti-teen smoking programs, and to fund a tax cut for child care, reduction of the marriage penalty and a tax credit for helping to take care of an aging parent. **59/36%** support/oppose this proposal.

59% support (**33%** strongly + **26%** somewhat)
36% oppose (**19%** strongly + **17%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats 66/27, Republicans: 55/41, Independents: 55/43
Horserace: Vote Dem: 67/25, Vote GOP: 55/43, Don't Know: 50/47
Gender: Male: 54/43, Female: 63/30, Age: <35: 51/46, >35: 63/32

37% agree more with the Republicans- to cut taxes by one trillion dollars over 10 years using the projected surplus, **52%** agree with the Democrats to cut taxes by raising the price of cigarettes and using the surplus to guarantee Social Security.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 15/76, Vote GOP: 59/32, Don't Know: 39/42
Gender: Male: 43/46, Female: 31/58, Age: <35: 44/49, >35: 33/55

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Congressional Positioning

Adding the mention of future tax cuts once Social Security is saved increases the Democrat advantage over the Republican from 4 points to 21 points.

- **The first choice of the voters is Social Security First, Tax cuts second. The pro-family tax cuts as we have outlined are a strong package.**

- **The second choice is to have a 50 cent cigarette tax increase to fund anti-smoking and to fund tax cuts.**

- **The third best alternative, given the image of Democrats in Congress and of the increasing perception of a surplus, is to leave our position without a tax cut answer.**

The polling suggests that we should explore the alternative of a triggered tax cut – a tax cut that goes into effect when the CBO (or other source) certifies that Social Security is now preserved for 75 years. This would be the opposite of the Republican bill that creates risk without security – this would allow us to stick to our position and still have a targeted, pro-family tax cut bill.

All Surplus to Social Security vs. The Full GOP Tax Cut Package
If a Democrat running for Congress would put the entire surplus toward Social Security to save Social Security for the next generation and a Republican said he would now put $600 billion dollars to fixing Social Security and use one trillion dollars of the surplus to eliminate the marriage penalty, reduce capital gains and estate taxes, cut taxes for the elderly who currently receive Social Security, and give health insurance tax breaks for the self employed,
43% would vote for the Democrat and **39%** would vote for the Republican
Horserace: Vote Dem: 54/26, Vote GOP: 32/61, Don't Know: 45/22
Gender: Male: 45/43, Female: 41/35, Age: <35: 27/55, >35: 50/33

Tax Cuts From Other Funding
If a Democrat running for Congress said we should not use any of the surplus for tax cuts because the current budget surplus comes from the Social Security trust fund and this money should remain in the Social Security System, and would raise cigarette prices 50 cents to fund anti teen-smoking programs, and cut taxes by reducing the marriage penalty, a tax cut for child care, a credit to help care for the elderly; and a Republican said he would now put $600 billion dollars to fixing Social Security and the rest for to eliminate the marriage penalty, reduce in the capital gains and estate taxes and cut taxes for the elderly who currently receive Social Security, and give health insurance tax breaks for the self employed,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

54% would vote for the Democrat and **38%** would vote for the Republican.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 82/16, Vote GOP: 28/65, Don't Know: 45/33
Gender: Male: 49/44, Female: 58/33, Age: <35: 47/44, >35: 58/35

Social Security First, Then Tax Cuts vs. GOP Tax cuts

If a Democrat running for Congress would first use the surplus to save Social Security, then once Social Security is guaranteed for the future put the surplus towards targeted tax cuts for child care, reducing the marriage penalty and taking care of an elderly parent, and a Republican said he would now put $600 billion dollars to fixing Social Security and use one trillion dollars to eliminate the marriage penalty, reduce capital gains and estate taxes, cut taxes for the elderly who currently receive Social Security, and give health insurance tax breaks for the self employed,

57% would vote for the Democrat and **36%** would vote for the Republican.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 89/9, Vote GOP: 15/73, Don't Know: 65/27
Gender: Male: 50/44, Female: 64/27, Age: <35: 43/40, >35: 64/32

77/18% would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton if he said we must save Social Security first. We will not have a tax cut now, but once Social Security reforms have been put in place so we are guaranteed Social Security is available in the future, we can then discuss whether there is enough money for a tax cut

Horserace: Vote Dem: 87/5, Vote GOP: 73/27, Don't Know: 71/23
Age: <35: 80/16, >35: 76/20

74/18% would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton if he said we must save Social Security first, and any tax cuts should be paid for from means other than the surplus. The huge surplus projections are a result of the surplus being run in the Social Security trust fund, so this money should not be used for tax cuts. Tax cuts should be paid for by cutting unnecessary subsidies and corporate welfare, and a cigarette tax and not come from Social Security

Horserace: Vote Dem: 89/9, Vote GOP: 63/29, Don't Know: 62/20

Automatically triggered tax cut

An idea that can be understood and sold:

69/14% would support/oppose saving the surplus for Social Security now with a provision for a tax cut that wouldn't go into effect immediately but would be automatically triggered when the congressional budget office certified that Social Security would be solvent till 2073.

69% support (**48%** strongly + **21%** somewhat)
14% oppose (**7%** strongly + **7%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 60/18, Republicans: 72/13, Independents: 74/9
Age: <35: 64/15, >35: 74/15

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

25% say the surplus is so big we can afford to put money towards saving Social Security AND give Americans a tax cut now; **59%** say we should wait until the Congressional Budget Office has certified that Social Security will be available for the next 75 years and then automatically implement a tax cut.

Gender: Male: 31/54, Female: 20/64
Party: Democrats: 18/66, Republicans: 26/58, Independents: 34/54
Age: <35: 35/52, >35: 23/66, Income: <$35K: 19/69, >$35K: 32/54

Misc Tax and Spend

We have done a poor job of pushing back on the tobacco company's Christmas tree argument:

President Clinton wants Congress to approve spending for education, job training and child care. Republicans in Congress said this is just more big government social spending programs. **63%** agree with President Clinton, **33%** agree with the Republicans.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 89/10, Vote GOP: 44/54, Don't Know: 49/39
Gender: Male: 54/40, Female: 72/26
Age: <35: 70/26, >35: 62/35

If we were to seek a new source of pay fors, the public still believes that "corporate loopholes" would provide the opportunity for the funds:

If we have tax cuts, how do you think they should be paid for:	ALL	Vote Dem	Vote GOP	Don't Know
By eliminating corporate loopholes and unnecessary subsidies	50	48	49	57
A 50 cent increase in the price of cigarettes	22	26	21	14
From the surplus	10	12	8	10
By cutting social programs	9	5	14	8

Patient's Bill of Rights – update

69% have heard about a patient's bill of rights which would set certain standards for HMOs being debated in Congress.

Party: Democrats: 77/23, Republicans: 68/28, Independents: 67/31
Gender: Male: 69/29, Female: 69/29

73/10% support/oppose a patient's bill of rights.

73% support (**46%** strongly + **27%** somewhat)
10% oppose (**4%** strongly + **6%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 88/1, Republicans: 69/20, Independents: 68/9
Gender: Male: 73/14, Female: 75/5

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

A patients bill of rights would provide new guidelines on the way HMOs operate to provide better healthcare services for its members, including guaranteed access to emergency care, giving women direct access to OB-gyns, safeguarding personal information, allowing doctors to give their patients all medical options available and giving patients the right to appeal decisions made by HMOs. Given this, **87/10%** support/oppose a patient's bill of rights.

87% support (**63%** strongly + **24%** somewhat)
10% oppose (**5%** strongly + **5%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 98/1, Republicans: 77/21, Independents: 84/11
Gender: Male: 81/15, Female: 91/6

But veto of a good bill without the right to sue remains a close question:

Democrats want to give patients the right to sue their HMO for malpractice. **38%** think Democrats should accept the bill of rights as is so a bill is passed, and **43%** think they should only support a bill that give patients the right to sue, even if it means no bill is passed.

Party: Democrats: 34/51, Republicans: 39/45, Independents: 40/38
Gender: Male: 31/50, Female: 44/37

56/21% are more/less favorable towards Clinton because of the patient's bill of rights.

56% more favorable (**26%** much + **30%** somewhat)
21% less favorable (**11%** much + **10%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 74/9, Republicans: 43/39, Independents: 53/18
Gender: Male: 56/22, Female: 57/20

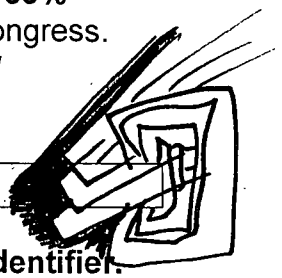
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

No Bill
If a Democrat running for Congress supported a stronger patient's bill of rights that gives patients the right to sue and a Republicans opposed this bill, and no patient's Bill of Rights is passed, **49%** would vote for a Democrat and **30%** would vote for a Republican for Congress.

Party: Democrats: 79/14, Republicans: 19/45, Independents: 46/38
Gender: Male: 37/38, Female: 60/23

Bill is passed
If a Democrat running for Congress supported a stronger patient's bill of rights that gives patients the right to sue and a Republicans supported a patient's bill of rights that did not allow patients to sue and the Republican bill passed, **55%** would vote for a Democrat and **28%** would vote for a Republican for Congress.

Party: Democrats: 98/0, Republicans: 3/68, Independents: 55/21
Gender: Male: 54/28, Female: 56/27



Health Identifier Code

Here's something that we should call for a repeal of – the Health Identifier. Just too much "big brother" for Americans.

A 1996 law mandated a comprehensive national identification system that would give every American a computer code that could be used to create a national database that would track every citizen's medical history throughout their life. Given this, **30/63%** support/oppose the health identifier code.

30% support (**11%** strongly + **19%** somewhat)
63% oppose (**47% strongly** + **16%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 40/53, Republicans: 23/70, Independents: 29/66
Gender: Male: 24/72, Female: 37/55
Age: <35: 41/58, >35: 26/67

26% say that doctors and hospitals would be able to monitor the health of patients as they switch from one insurance plan to another. **62%** say that sensitive health information might be linked to financial data or criminal records and that privacy would be even more threatened as existing managed care databases are linked.

Party: Democrats: 34/57, Republicans: 27/55, Independents: 18/72
Gender: Male: 28/61, Female: 24/63
Age: <35: 36/58, >35: 23/64

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Some people are uncertain as to what kind of identifier should be used. Which of the following would you prefer:	All	M	F	<35	>35
Social Security number	34	45	24	37	31
A biomedical marker, like a thumbprint	16	9	23	18	17
A biomedical marker, like a retina scan	16	9	21	20	15
A number consisting of the patient's birthdate, the latitude and longitude of the patient's hometown and some additional digits	8	9	7	3	11

Medical Records/Privacy Security remains a strong issue:

There is currently a bill being debated in Congress which would allow individuals to have access to their own medical information, would ensure privacy with respect to personal medical records and would make it illegal to use unauthorized personal health information. **76/17%** support/oppose this bill.

76% support (**46%** strongly + **30%** somewhat)
17% oppose (**7%** strongly + **10%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 77/17, Republicans: 76/14, Independents: 75/19
Gender: Male: 79/16, Female: 75/18
Age: <35: 79/17, >35: 77/18

As does Genetic Privacy:

There is currently a bill being debated in Congress that would limit disclosure and use of genetic information in connection with health insurance coverage and prohibits employment discrimination based on genetic information. **78/25%** support/oppose this bill.

78% support (**43%** strongly + **25%** somewhat)
25% oppose (**15%** strongly + **10%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 80/17, Republicans: 53/37, Independents: 66/26
Gender: Male: 69/25, Female: 67/26
Age: <35: 83/17, >35: 63/29

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Food Labeling

84% think that genetically modified foods should bear a label, **8%** not.
Gender: Male: 79/10, Female: 89/6
Horserace: Vote Dem: 86/6, Vote GOP: 79/12, Don't Know: 88/5

If President Clinton announced an executive order requiring labeling of genetically modified foods, **73/19%** would be more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton.

73% more favorable (**31%** much + **42%** somewhat)
19% less favorable (**9%** much + **10%** somewhat)
Gender: Male: 68/22, Female: 76/14
Horserace: Vote Dem: 84/8, Vote GOP: 60/32, Don't Know: 74/12

"Summer Jobs"

65% are aware of the "summer jobs" program that provides federal funding to give disadvantaged young people jobs during the summer months so they can gain skills and valuable work experience.

91/4% favor/oppose this program.

Because of the summer jobs program, more than three out of four young people enrolled would have been jobless without it. Given this, **95/5%** favor/oppose the summer jobs program.

Republicans in Congress have voted to eliminate the summer jobs program. Given this,

20/63% are more/less likely to vote for a Republican for Congress
20% more likely (**12%** much + **8%** somewhat)
63% less likely (**39%** much + **24%** somewhat)

14% say the Summer Jobs program is just another unnecessary government program, and federal money should not be spent this way; **81%** say while we are trying to move people from welfare to work, we should put kids on the right track when they are young, so we should continue this program.

Age: <35: 21/73, >35: 11/84
Party: Democrats: 7/93, Republicans: 17/70, Independents: 19/78

13% say the Summer Jobs program is just another unnecessary government program, and federal money should not be spent this way; **83%** say this program gives disadvantage kids the opportunity to learn important skills and keeps them away from crime, so we should continue this program.

Age: <35: 18/79, >35: 11/86
Party: Democrats: 2/98, Republicans: 22/70, Independents: 18/78

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program

78% are aware of the federal program that provides energy assistance to low income families to help pay for heating and air conditioning.
Habitat: City: 82, Suburb: 84, Rural: 68

80/10% favor/oppose this program.
Age: <35: 87/6, >35: 77/11
Party: Democrats: 94/4, Republicans: 63/16, Independents: 78/11
Habitat: City: 86/7, Suburb: 80/15, Rural: 73/8

Republicans in Congress voted to eliminate funding for Low Income Home Energy Assistance leaving low-income families and many elderly Americans without help to pay for the cost of home heating and air conditioning.
Given this,
20/67% are more/less likely to vote for a Republican for Congress
20% more likely (**11%** much + **9%** somewhat)
67% less likely (**43%** much + **24%** somewhat)
Horserace: Vote Dem: 15/82, Vote GOP: 34/46, Don't Know: 10/70
Gender: Male: 25/61, Female: 15/72

If a budget that eliminates low income home energy assistance passes in Congress, **43%** think President Clinton should sign it, **46%** veto it.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 43/54, Vote GOP: 52/29, ***Don't Know: 32/57***
Habitat: City: 53/38, Suburb: 25/67, Rural: 47/36
Age: <35: 40/53, >35: 43/47

13% say low income energy assistance is just an example of the government safety net and unnecessary federal spending; **76%** say the government should ensure that the poorest and low income elderly have access to proper heating and air conditioning.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 6/91, Vote GOP: 24/59, Don't Know: 9/77

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Education

One way to jumpstart the education agenda:

Create a **Parent's** Bill of Rights – put our educational agenda in the form of a set of standards that we should be working to see our public schools meet – and make aid and assistance to meeting this the legislative agenda of the Democrats. This is mostly a new marketing devise that could be unveiled and put in legislative form.

If President Clinton proposed a parent's bill of rights, outlining the standards parents should expect for public schools, **65/22%** would be more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton.

65% more favorable (**31%** much + **34%** somewhat)
23% less favorable (8**%** much + **14%** somewhat)
*Children at Home: No: 58/28, Yes: **76/15***
Horserace: Vote Dem: 83/11, Vote GOP: 49/35, Don't Know: 64/18

But people oppose penalties to schools for failing to make progress – as in the past they favor bonuses for success not penalties for failure.

37% think federal funding for public schools should be tied to the performance of the school, so only schools that show progress will be given federal money, **58%** not.

Children at Home: No: 34/61, Yes: 45/52
Horserace: Vote Dem: 35/60, Vote GOP: 42/56, Don't Know: 34/59

33/56% support/oppose denying schools funding if they don't show progress among their students.

Children at Home: No: 36/57, Yes: 29/56
Horserace: Vote Dem: 31/62, Vote GOP: 42/55, Don't Know: 26/51

More controversial possibilities:

95% think all teachers should be required to take a test of basic skills before they are allowed to teach in a public school, **4%** not.

Children at Home: No: 93/5, Yes: 97/2
Horserace: Vote Dem: 94/6, Vote GOP: 93/4, Don't Know: 98/2

58% think these tests should be national, **36%** think each state have their own test.

*Children at Home: No: 55/40, **Yes: 67/31***
Horserace: Vote Dem: 65/29, Vote GOP: 53/43, Don't Know: 54/38
Habitat: City: 64/30, Suburb: 63/33, Rural: 47/47
Region: NE: 71/26, MW: 46/39, S: 52/43, Farm: 43/57, W: 69/29

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Ending emergency certification drew mixed reviews:

Right now, if a state or school district has too few teachers, it can give new teachers "emergency certification" so they can begin teaching in public schools before they receive regular teacher certification.
50/45% would you support/oppose ending emergency certification.

50% support (**27%** strongly + **23%** somewhat)
45% oppose (**21%** strongly + **24%** somewhat)
Children at Home: No: 52/45, Yes: 45/45
Horserace: Vote Dem: 63/36, Vote GOP: 42/53, Don't Know: 40/48
Habitat: City: 43/52, Suburb: 53/44, Rural: 53/38
Region: NE: 38/56, MW: 41/51, S: 56/42, Farm: 47/47, W: 60/31

Farm Issues

79/11% approve/disapprove of how President Clinton has been handling disaster relief.

79% approve (**40%** strongly + **39%** somewhat)
12% disapprove (**3%** strongly + **8%** somewhat)
Income: <$35K: 73/12, >$35K: 80/10
Horserace: Vote Dem: 88/2, Vote GOP: 69/19, Don't Know: 79/11
Habitat: City: 79/15, Suburb: 78/9, Rural: 78/7

60% think President Clinton has been doing enough for areas affected by natural disasters, **3%** too much, **21%** not enough.

Income: <$35K: 62/5/22, >$35K: 60/3/21
Horserace: Vote Dem: 65/6/22, Vote GOP: 62/1/24, Don't Know: 53/4/16
Habitat: City: 57/5/24, Suburb: 66/3/18, Rural: 59/2/21

Child Custody Act

41/46% would support/oppose a law that would make it a crime for an adult to bring a minor across state lines for an abortion to avoid parental notification laws.

Gender: Male: 41/43, Female: 41/48
Children at Home: No: 40/48, Yes: 46/47
Horserace: Vote Dem: 41/45, Vote GOP: 50/43, Don't Know: 31/51

This law would make even close family members, such as siblings, aunts, uncles and grandparents criminals if they brought a young relative across state lines for an abortion. Given this, **40/49%** support/oppose this law.

Gender: Male: 39/47, Female: 41/52
Children at Home: No: 38/52, Yes: 44/50
Horserace: Vote Dem: 36/55, Vote GOP: 54/37, Don't Know: 28/57

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

POTUS Proposals

I am going to read you a list of proposals President Clinton could announce this summer. Please tell me if this proposal would make you much more favorable... towards President Clinton?	All		Party		
	Much More Fav	More/ Less Fav	D	R	I
Give American families that care for chronically ill elderly relatives a tax credit for long term care	58	88/8	94/ 1	81/ 16	83/ 8
Call for the business community's to continue their efforts in the successful School-to-Work Program which provides apprenticeship programs for students to give them job skill	58	92/6	98/ 1	86/ 10	91/ 8
Expand anti-gang measures; which include anti-truancy, school, violence and crime intervention measures; and after-school programs to keep kids off the streets	56	86/12	**95**/ 0	68/ 28	**89**/ 10
Release a guide to give strategies to reduce school violence by responding to early warning signs of troubled youth to schools and parents	55	84/9	94/ 1	70/ 18	86/ 8
Develop and spread new technologies that enable people with disabilities to live and work more easily	54	87/10	95/ 1	76/ 21	87/ 11
Approve more statewide Children's Health Insurance Programs, which provides health insurance for uninsured children.	53	85/ 12	93/ 4	77/ 19	83/ 15
Require all public junior high and high school teachers to be certified in the subject they teach	53	86/8	89/ 0	77/ 16	89/ 9
Announce new grants to cities to hire more police, including funding targeted to fighting the use of highly addictive and dangerous drugs	52	81/14	**93**/ 3	66/ 24	**82**/ 15
Require all new teachers to pass a national test before teaching in public schools	52	80/17	**90**/ 6	66/ 29	**79**/ 18
Challenge the gun industry to get a child-proof gun on the market by the year 2000.	51	75/21	**90**/ 6	69/ 27	68/ 28
Require gun dealers to post signs warning gun purchasers about their responsibility to keep guns away from children.	51	77/16	**97**/ 2	65/ 24	71/ 22

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I am going to read you a list of proposals President Clinton could announce this summer. Please tell me if this proposal would make you much more favorable... towards President Clinton?	All		Party		
	Much More Fav	More/ Less Fav	D	R	I
Participate in a School Construction and Smaller Class Size Day with parents and community leaders to help rebuild and renovate local public schools.	51	85/12	94/ 5	81/ 17	85/ 13
Announce policies to fight stalking	49	79/13	85/ 5	75/ 16	79/ 14
Encourage private long-term care insurance since millions of American families care for chronically ill elderly relatives which places a strain on families.	49	83/11	92/ 3	77/ 18	81/ 14
Announce an initiative to get more police to work with schools to keep schools safe and grants to provide additional law enforcement assistance in schools;	48	77/17	**88**/ 7	63/ 28	**78**/ 17
Announce support for legislation that would hold adults liable if they give children easy access to guns.	48	75/20	82/ 16	73/ 19	73/ 23
Launch a Summer Reading Initiative and ask Congress to enact the America Reads program.	47	75/19	93/ 3	63/ 31	69/ 23
Announce policies to help people with disabilities reside in their communities rather than be forced to live in institutions.	46	80/13	90/ 4	73/ 18	74/ 19
Directs the Department of Education to produce guidelines for schools on how to fire bad teachers	45	72/23	86/ 8	66/ 31	64/ 29
Enhance the Welfare-to-Work Program by allowing states to extend Medicaid to more low-income two-parent families who work more than 100 hours a month.	43	74/19	90/ 7	66/ 23	69/ 23
Educate consumers about the use of credit and bank services, improving the information consumers receive, and targeting predatory practices by banks.	43	77/14	86/ 4	60/ 30	79/ 12
Announce the findings of a study showing that **60%** of TV shows that receive children's ratings still have high levels of violence and sex, and talk to broadcasters about strengthening their ratings	43	72/21	79/ 16	58/ 26	77/ 19

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I am going to read you a list of proposals President Clinton could announce this summer. Please tell me if this proposal would make you much more favorable... towards President Clinton?	All		Party		
	Much More Fav	More/ Less Fav	D	R	I
Appropriate higher salaries and greater benefits for teachers in order to attract and retain good teachers	42	70/17	69/ 8	57/ 30	80/ 15
Announce policies to help people with disabilities return to work by providing personal care assistance services	41	80/15	90/ 5	69/ 23	78/ 20
Establish a program to match state funds with personal savings by individual development accounts by low-income families that could be used for education or housing.	39	76/15	86/ 3	58/ 33	78/ 13
Announce a report showing a decline in teenage drug use	39	75/15	84/ 4	64/ 27	74/ 15
Release a report showing the success of the welfare-to-work program.	37	79/13	83/ 5	63/ 27	84/ 12
Give grants to schools that have undertaken innovative reforms	37	71/19	87/ 4	58/ 34	67/ 23
Allow workers to count family and medical leave time toward pension vesting requirements	35	66/25	78/ 14	45/ 40	67/ 25
Announce new pension proposals which would increase benefits for some surviving spouses of pension plan participants,	35	77/16	88/ 6	62/ 31	78/ 14
Improve the Trade Adjustment Assistance program to better help workers and communities affected by the transition to a global economy.	30	65/22	70/ 11	54/ 37	67/ 23
End emergency certifications for teachers so only teachers with full certification can teach in public schools	29	60/21	56/ 10	53/ 34	73/ 19
Sue the tobacco companies for losses to the Medicare program caused by tobacco-related disease.	28	51/43	58/ 35	43/ 53	51/ 44
Sponsor training for real estate professionals on how to better serve minority and immigrant home buyers.	24	59/31	72/ 18	42/ 49	61/ 30
Announce statistics showing that increasing the price of cigarettes reduces youth and teen smoking	24	53/39	54/ 32	51/ 42	52/ 43

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Presidential Message Schedule

Date	Event	Message
The Next Two Weeks…		
Friday July 24	Boys Nation Event ***Teen Drug Testing for Driver's licenses announcement***	**Crime and Drugs**
Saturday July 25	Radio Address – *Climate Change* USS Truman Dedication, Norfolk, VA	
Monday July 27	Social Security Conference, Albuquerque, NM	**Seniors**
Tuesday July 28	National Council of Senior Citizens Dinner	
Wednesday July 29	Address NEA/AFT Congress on Education, Int'l	
Thursday July 30	**American Heritage Rivers Event, Todd, NC**	**Environment**
Friday July 31	***Privacy Event*** Tape Radio Address	
Monday August 3	***Economic Speech (T)***	**Economy**
Wednesday August 5	*Meeting with German Chancellor Candidate Gerhard Schroeder* *Meeting with Deputy President Mbeki of South Africa*	
	Unity Dinner	
Thursday August 6	***Economic Event*** Native American Economic Conference	
Future Events…		
Saturday August 8	Live radio address	
Monday August 10	**School Safety Event, Louisville, KY**	**School Safety**
Tuesday August 11	Message Event, CA (City TBD)	
Wednesday August 12	Message Event, Los Angeles	
Thursday August 13	WNBA Champions Houston Comets Event	
Friday August 14	**Message Event, City TBD** Tape Radio Address	
August 10-31	Vacation	
Monday August 31	**Education Event & Interviews**	**Education**

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Strategy Session
August 6, 1998
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

1. Mood of the Country
2. Media Coverage
3. Overall Strategy
4. Stock Market/Economy
5. Patient's Bill of Rights
6. Surplus
7. Miscellaneous Issues
8. Review President's Schedule

Mood of the Country

The ratings are holding absolutely steady on all fronts.

	6/23	7/7	7/15	7/21	8/5
Country: right/wrong track	46/38	50/38	48/41	47/40	49/37
Economy: right/wrong track	68/24	69/24	70/23	71/22	72/22
Favorability					
Clinton	63/36	65/34	63/36	63/35	63/36
Gore	60/34	60/34	59/35	59/36	61/34
Clinton Job Approval	**66/32**	**68/30**	**65/33**	**68/30**	**69/30**
Strongly Approve	**26**	**29**	**26**	**28**	**33**
Gore Job Approval	**65/28**	**65/30**	**62/31**	**61/32**	**62/32**
Strongly Approve	**26**	**29**	**26**	**28**	**23**

Clinton Favorability	D	R	I
8/5	91/9	34/66	56/42
7/21	89/10	35/63	61/37
7/16	88/10	27/73	56/43
7/7	93/7	33/66	63/37

Most Important Issue

- **Economy/Jobs is the most important issue with 17%**
- **Morality/Family Values—9%**
- **Education is third at 8%**
- **Fighting Crime—7%**

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

On foreign policy, would you say that you strongly approve of the job Bill Clinton has been doing, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing?	Approve	Disapprove
8/5	64	34
6/17	53	43
6/9	60	33
5/31	60	39
2/23	63	35
2/17	64	34

Congress

Approval—on a 2 point scale

	6/17	7/7	7/15	7/21	8/5
Congress	53/39	53/38	54/40	51/42	55/37
Congressional Republicans	44/48	44/48	44/48	44/47	46/46
Congressional Democrats	52/40	52/38	50/41	49/40	54/38

Generic Horserace

39% would vote for a Democrat in Congress, **34%** would vote for a Republican.

	6/23	7/7	7/15	7/21	8/5
Democrat	38	43	44	42	39
Republican	33	34	33	37	34

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Newspaper Headlines

We continue to maintain our ratings despite the avalanche of publicity, and the difficulty of breaking through on other matters.

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
8/5	Wednesday	New York Times	Rehnquist Allows Starr to Query One of Clinton's Closest Advisers
8/5	Wednesday	Washington Post	Clinton Lawyer Cites Privilege
8/4	Tuesday	Washington Post	New Starr Subpoena Fought: Court asked to Block Testimony Today by White House Lawyer
8/4	Tuesday	New York Times	Calls for Clinton to Confess Affair are Turned Aside
7/29	Wednesday	USA Today	Deal Tightens the Vise on Clinton
7/29	Wednesday	Washington Post	Deal's Effect on President, Politics is Debated
7/29	Wednesday	New York Times	Lewinsky, Given Immunity, Reportedly Agrees to Tell of Pact with Clinton to Lie
7/28	Tuesday	New York Times	Pressure on President Intensifies as Inquiry Seems Near End
7/28	Tuesday	Washington Post	Court Rejects Privilege Claim
7/28	Tuesday	USA Today	Clinton Open to Social Security Investments
7/27	Monday	New York Times	Aides Say Clinton May Lose Support in Subpoena Fight
7/27	Monday	Washington Post	GOP Urges Clinton to Testify
7/27	Monday	USA Today	Showdown over Clinton Summons set
7/26	Sunday	Washington Post	President Has Been Served Subpoena
7/26	Sunday	New York Times	Clinton Receives Order to Testify in Lewinsky Case
7/25	Saturday	New York Times	Clinton Balks at Appearance at Grand Jury
7/24	Friday	Washington Post	McCurry Exit; A White House Wit's End

Television Headlines

Date	Station	Order	Headline
8/4	ABC	4	Starr Wins Right To Subpoena Clinton Lawyer
8/4	CBS	4	Chief Justice Clears Way For Testimony By Clinton Aide
8/4	CBS	5	Lewinsky Has Given Prosecutors A Photo Inscribed By Clinton
8/4	CBS	6	Clinton To Meet With Nervous Congressional Dems Tomorrow
8/4	CBS	7	Reno Under Fire From Congress; FBI Chief Criticizes Clinton
8/3	ABC	2	Chorus Calls On Clinton To Confess To Lewinsky Relationship
8/3	ABC	3	White House Asks Supreme Court To Block Lindsey Testimony
8/3	CBS	5	Clinton Asks High Court To Block Starr Access To Top Aide Lindsey
8/3	CBS	6	White House Aides Hold Breath Waiting For Lewinsky Dress Results
8/3	NBC	5	Clinton Lawyers Continue To Fight Lindsey Testimony
8/3	NBC	6	Pressure On Clinton Building; A Look At His Options

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

8/3	NBC	7	Most Repulsed, Fascinated By Clinton Scandal; Is US Cruder Now?
7/31	ABC	1	Clinton Speaks Publicly About Lewinsky Probe
7/31	CBS	1	Clinton To Testify Live On TV To Starr Grand Jury
7/31	CBS	4	Polls Show Clinton Approval Still Strong
7/31	NBC	1	Clinton To Be 1st Sitting President To Testify Before Grand Jury
7/31	NBC	2	Clinton Agreement To Testify Surprises Many Aides
7/30	ABC	1	Lewinsky Said She Did Have Sex With Clinton; Who's Lying?
7/30	ABC	2	Poll: Most Believe Clinton Had Affair But Shouldn't Be Impeached
7/30	ABC	3	A Look At What Clinton Will Say In Testimony To Starr Jury
7/30	CBS	2	Clinton Gets Warm Welcome In NC Despite His Troubles
7/30	CBS	3	CBS Poll Finds Clinton Poll Ratings Holding
7/30	CBS	4	Most Americans Think Clinton Did Have Affair-And Don't Care
7/30	NBC	1	Evidence Against Clinton, Including Dress, Reportedly Growing
7/30	NBC	2	Lewinsky Case Trails Clinton On NC Visit; His Strategic Options
7/29	ABC	1	Clinton Agrees To Video Testimony For Starr
7/29	CBS	1	Clinton Agrees To Testify In Lewinsky Case
7/29	CBS	3	Clinton Has Advantages In Agreement But Starr Is Pleased
7/29	NBC	1	Clinton To Testify Under Oath About Lewinsky Relationship
7/29	NBC	3	A Look At Thinking Inside White House; Clinton's Polls Slip
7/28	ABC	1	Lewinsky Agrees To Tell Jury She Had Sex With Clinton
7/28	ABC	2	White House Claims To Be Happy Over Lewinsky Deal
7/28	ABC	6	Head Of Clinton's Secret Service Detail To Return To His Job
7/28	CBS	4	Clinton, Congress & Crowds Pay Tribute To Capitol Officers
7/28	CBS	10	Clinton's Lewinsky Problem, Asian Crisis Have Hurt Stock Mark
7/28	NBC	3	White House Reaction Is Cool Despite Concern In Private
7/28	NBC	4	White House Will Wait To See Political Reaction To Lewinsky
7/27	ABC	2	White House Wants To Delay Clinton Testimony To Starr
7/27	CBS	2	Court Rules Against White House, Says Lindsey Must Testify
7/27	NBC	1	Lewinsky Meets With Starr Team; Subpoena Hikes Pressure On Clinton
7/27	NBC	2	Latest Starr Developments: A Look At White House's Strategy
7/24	ABC	2	Clinton's Lawyer Negotiating With Starr For Clinton's Testimony
7/24	ABC	3	Clinton's Agreeing To Testify Is Due To Starr's Pressure
7/24	ABC	4	Clinton Will Be Subpoenaed If He Doesn't Voluntarily Testify
7/24	CBS	2	Clinton Disturbed By Shooting, Praises Officer's Valor
7/24	CBS	8	Clinton Is Ready To Testify; Subpoena Is Imminent
7/24	CBS	13	Clinton Says GOP Managed-Care Plan Is "Unacceptable"
7/24	NBC	5	Clinton Lawyers Discussing His Testimony To Starr Jury
7/23	ABC	3	Clinton Using Govt Money To Help People Cool Off
7/23	ABC	6	Clinton Press Secretary Mike McCurry Announces Departure
7/23	ABC	10	House Overrides Clinton's Veto Of Partial Birth Abortions
7/23	CBS	7	Clinton Announces That Spokesman McCurry Will Step Down
7/23	**CBS**	**9**	**Clinton Releases Funds To Help Poor And Farmers Hit By Heat**
7/23	**NBC**	**2**	**Clinton Declares Texas A Disaster Area As Heat Ruins Farmers**
7/23	NBC	4	White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry Resigning
7/23	NBC	8	Clinton "Concerned" About Iran's Missile Test Launch

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In the News

Did you hear anything about...?	% Aware	More/ Less Fav
President Clinton declaring the state of Texas a disaster area and releasing funds to help low-income people in southern states pay air-conditioning bills	62	68/16
President Clinton criticizing Congress for killing the Summer Jobs program, cutting $2 billion from the President's education priorities, and stopping progress on national testing	46	50/26
President Clinton calling on Congress to acknowledge global warming and ordering energy-saving measures for all federal buildings	46	61/21
President Clinton holding a town hall meeting on Social Security Reform	44	60/15
President Clinton's radio address urging Congress to pass bipartisan legislation creating a patient's bill of rights	37	46/24
President Clinton and Vice President Gore traveling to the New River in North Carolina to designate 14 American Heritage Rivers	23	43/21

Overall Strategy Questions

Breaking through the clutter is difficult, but just the ability for people to see that the job of President is being done throughout this muck is an important element of the ratings of the President remaining exactly the same.

For the next 15 days, we are hitting the core Democratic issues of health, protecting the elderly from crime, education and guns. In addition, we should finish the work on the very popular tax credit for taking care of an elderly parent and just launch that sometime after the 17th. As the later discussion shows, ideally we should have a complete tax package. In the absence of one, we should just launch our eldercare credit by itself with some kind of pay for.

Here are the things that would grab attention:

- Patient's Bill of Rights Passage
- Suit against the tobacco companies
- Democratic Tax Package
- Creating a Parent's Bill of Rights as a new way of recasting the educational and family agenda of the Democrats

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The Clinton Character Answer -- Updated

Again, the major difference between today and three years ago is that we now receive the credit for balancing the budget, and righting the economy. In the past we had the FMLA, gun fights and the tobacco fights, but we did not have the economy in our cap. Today, people regard the fight we waged in balancing the budget as the strongest test to date of the president's character. Given the stock market, we need to emphasize the strong economic leadership of the President.

What do you think says the most about the character and integrity of President Clinton?	All	D	R	I	M	F
The way he fought for fiscal discipline to build a strong economy	27	32	21	28	24	30
The way he takes on special interests like the gun lobby and the tobacco companies	20	28	17	16	21	19
The way he is fighting to improve the standards of ours schools	16	21	11	16	11	20
The way he represents our values by taking on issues like school uniforms	10	6	12	11	9	10

What do you think says the most about the character and integrity of President Clinton?	All
The way he fought for fiscal discipline to build a strong economy	52
The way he takes on special interests like the gun lobby and the tobacco companies	21

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Stock Market/Economy

And we now have an opening to talk about the need to deal with the Asian financial markets. As people see the storm of the collapse coming closer to our shores they are changing their tune about whether we should implement reform packages.

This means that we can now make stronger comments on some of the international economic issues, the partisan holding up of that package, and its immediate need that otherwise would threaten the recovery. This is a message that was premature before – it is appropriate now. If we are still looking for a Los Angeles message we could do that there and try to find any executive actions that would advance the pressure on foreign nations to reform their economies.

86% are aware that the stock market has fallen nearly 10% over the past few weeks. **50/47%** are concerned/not concerned about this.

Party: Democrats: 50/48, Republicans: 63/38, Independents: 42/55

Which of the following do you think is MOST responsible for the stock market fall:	All	D	R	I
Financial instability in Asia	36	29	48	34
The Stock Market is overvalued	32	34	21	39
Reduced corporate profits	10	13	12	6
The investigation of President Clinton	8	7	10	8

This is the highest support we've seen for IMF funding to Asia

The rate of economic growth in the United States has dropped do to a reduced number of exports to Asian countries as a result of recession there. Given this, **62/33%** support/oppose renewing America's commitment to the International Monetary Fund so that it may help these Asian nations to stabilize their economies.

Party: Democrats: 72/22, Republicans: 56/42, Independents: 59/37

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Patient's Bill of Rights

While the Republicans hold out on a bill that is acceptable to Democrats and the President, they are losing ground with the voters. USA Today has run headlines and editorials on the right to sue, privacy and other flaws in the Republican bill. 45% say they are aware of the debate; they agree with the Democrat's position 2:1.

Awareness of Debate

45% are aware of the debate between the Democrats and Republicans in Congress over how to handle HMO reform, and what provisions to include in a patient's bill of rights.

From what they know, **39/18%** agree more with the Democrats/Republicans in Congress on this issue.

Party: Democrats: 68/4, Republicans: 31/19, Independents: 22/30

Among those who are aware: ***54/27%*** agree more with the Democrats/ Republicans in Congress on this issue.

Perceptions of efforts

50% think President Clinton is more in favor of HMO reform, **28%** the Republicans in Congress.
Party: Democrats: 68/24, Republicans: 49/44, Independents: 38/16

46% think the Democrats in Congress are more in favor of HMO reform, **18%** the Republicans in Congress.
Party: Democrats: 65/12, Republicans: 38/14, Independents: 35/26

Even telling respondent that the Democratic bill could raise healthcare costs gives it 70% support. Laying out the weaknesses that have been covered in the news of the Republican bills, as well as their reasoning for not including the right to sue only wins that bill 34% support.

The Democrats favor a Patient's Bill of Rights that would cover every American who has health insurance. It would give new consumer protections such as the right to emergency room care, and the right to sue health plans when they do not provide necessary treatment so they are held accountable for malpractice. The bill could raise premiums and other health care costs by at least $4 per month. **70/22%** support/oppose this proposal.

70% support (**39%** strongly + **31%** somewhat)
22% oppose (**10%** strongly + **12%** somewhat)

Party: Democrats: 70/20, Republicans: 77/19, Independents: 66/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Republicans favor a Patient's Bill of Rights that covers some, but not all Americans with health insurance. It would only cover Americans in self- insured plans, mostly employees of large corporations whose health plans come under federal oversight. It would give some new consumer protections, but not all the provisions supported by Democrats. It does not include the right to sue health plans because Republicans say that would raise heath care premiums and lead to unnecessary lawsuits. **34/56%** support/oppose this proposal.

34% support (**7%** strongly + **27%** somewhat)
56% oppose (**33%** strongly + **23%** somewhat)

Party: Democrats: 20/68, Republicans: 43/50, Independents: 42/48

We have already been using two of the strongest criticisms of their bill: that it doesn't cover everyone, and that omits the right to sue.

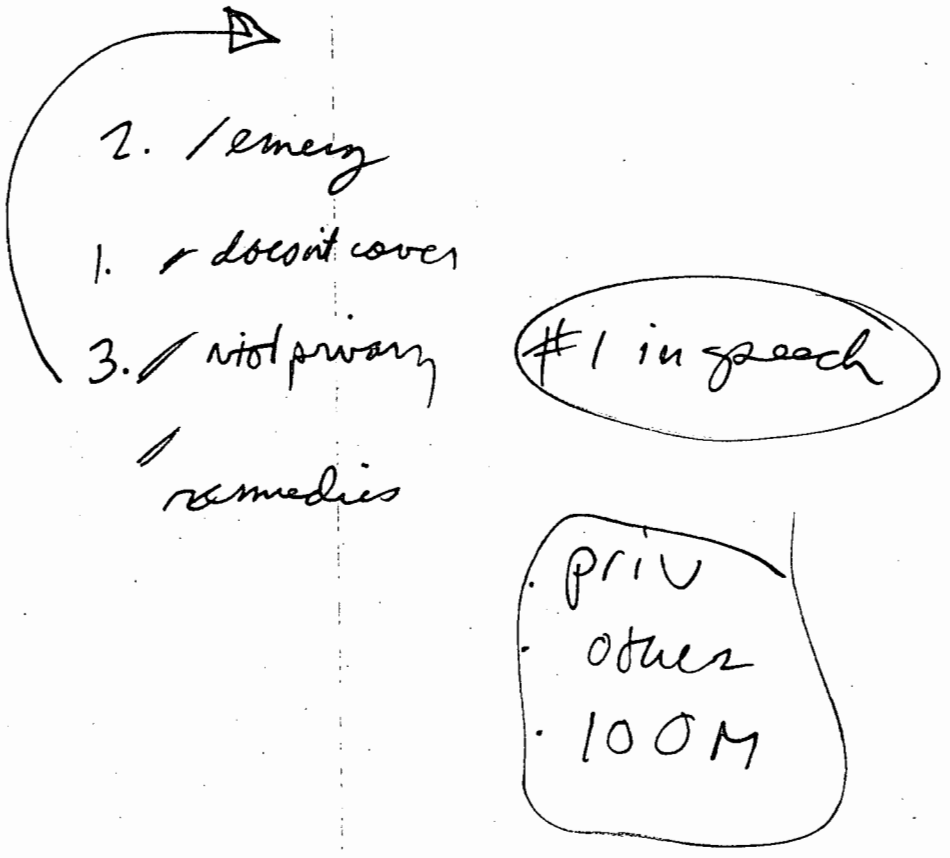
The next issues to add: <u>protecting patient's privacy, and guarantee of emergency care when and where you need it</u>.

Following are some criticism of the Republican's plan. Does this make you much more likely to support the Republican's plan, somewhat more likely to support the Republican's plan, somewhat more likely to oppose the Republican's plan or much more likely to oppose the Republican's plan?	**Much more likely to oppose**	**Support/ Oppose**
The **privacy** of your medical records is not secure under the Republican plan. It gives people other than yourself and your doctor the ability to look into your health records and pass them on without your consent or knowledge	64	10/80
The Republican plan does not have a sufficient appeals process. It **lets health plans define what is medically necessary, not the doctor**, and do not allow appeals for some procedures	61	12/84
The Republican bill does not assure that patients can see the **specialists** they need	57	9/81
The Republican bill **does not guarantee continuous care** if your employer changes health plans	57	14/81
The Republican plan **will not cover millions of Americans**, it only covers people on certain types of health plans	57	16/78
The Republican bill only allows you to go inside your network area for **emergency care**, so patients would have to pay more for emergency care outside or their plan	57	15/77
Emergency care procedures must be pre - approved by the HMO in order to guarantee that your insurance will cover it under the Republican plan.	56	16/80
The Republican bill **does not give patients the right to** sue for injury or death as a result of a wrongful health action or decision by the HMO.	55	16/81
The Republican plan doesn't include sufficient provisions to prevent patients being put at risk through **financial incentives for doctor's to limit patient care**	48	15/74

chart

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Which is the best reason to oppose the Republican plan? Which is the second best reason to oppose the Republican plan?	1st	1st + 2nd	D (1st + 2nd)	R (1st + 2nd)	I (1st + 2nd)
Will not cover about 100 million Americans	18	29	**30** (38)	9 (22)	14 (24)
Does not give patient's the right to sue the HMO	15	20	17 (23)	21 (23)	10 (17)
Emergency care procedures must be pre – approved in order to guarantee that your insurance will cover them	11	27	5 (21)	**17** (30)	14 (33)
The privacy of your medical records is not secure	9	24	8 (23)	4 (20)	**14** (29)
Does not guarantee continuous care if your employer changes health plans	9	17	10 (13)	4 (9)	10 (26)
Gives doctors financial incentive to limit patient care	9	14	2 (11)	19 (26)	9 (10)
Higher out of pocket cost for emergency care if not in your network	8	20	8 (21)	11 (26)	7 (17)
Limited access to specialists	4	16	4 (17)	2 (12)	5 (18)
Does not have a sufficient appeals process.	1	6	0 (9)	2 (2)	1 (5)



CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Blame for no bill

14% would blame the Democrats if no Patient's Bill of Rights is passed, **48%** the Republicans in Congress.

Party: Democrats: 6/61, Republicans: 32/31, Independents: 11/46

More proof that the money is not the issue: voters see higher costs of healthcare as a minor reason why Republicans don't support our bill. ***Furthermore, it is about quality now, not cost.***

Why do you think Republicans don't support a stronger HMO bill:	**All**	**D**	**R**	**I**
They are in the pocket of big business interests and the health care providers who don't support these bills	41	45	31	45
Giving patients the right to sue will just benefit lawyers, and not actually improve healthcare	25	26	28	23
They just want to put partisan politics ahead of progress	15	16	13	14
It could raise the cost of health care for many Americans	11	10	18	6

Which is more of a priority to you now:	**All**	**D**	**R**	**I**
Making healthcare more **affordable**	17	18	11	20
Making sure you receive **quality** health care	77	69	84	80

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The Surplus

This polling shows again that Democrats would be better off if the 1) stuck to Social Security First and then 2) had a paid for tax cut package of targeted tax cuts (child care, elder care, marriage penalty). House Democrats are making a mistake in believing that they will face no tax issue in the fall – they could easily head it off.

20% think some of the surplus should be used for tax cuts now, **73%** think the surplus should only be used for tax cuts once legislation is passed that will shore up Social Security for the future.

Party: Democrats: 12/84, Republicans: 28/63, Independents: 21/71

Senate Republicans have proposed putting any surplus aside in a "Social Security Preservation Reserve Fund" that would hold any government surpluses, to be invested by the Treasury Department. This fund could not be used for any spending or tax cut, but could be used for any plan that will help shore up social security. **75/21%** support/oppose this proposal.

75% support (**44%** strongly + **31%** somewhat)
21% oppose (**10%** strongly + **11%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 78/20, Republicans: 68/17, Independents: 72/25

60% would prefer putting the surplus in this reserve Fund, **29%** think the surplus should be used to pay down the federal debt.

Party: Democrats: 68/23, Republicans: 54/36, Independents: 58/30

But the concept of a tax cut, without the argument that it would be in the place of saving social security IS an important campaign issue.
If a Republican running for Congress supported giving Americans a tax cut, and democrats opposed it, **53%** would be more likely to vote for a Republican, **31%** more likely to vote for a Democrat.

53% Republican (**25%** much more likely + **28%** somewhat more likely)
31% Democrat (**17%** much more likely + **14%** somewhat more likely)
Party: Democrats: 39/46, Republicans: 72/12, Independents: 54/30

If a Democrat and Republican both supported putting the entire surplus aside until Social Security is secured for the future, **39%** would vote for a Democrat, **26%** a Republican for Congress.

Party: Democrats: 66/4, Republicans: 15/62, Independents: 35/23

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

If a Democrat supported saving "Social Security First" and putting all the surplus aside until social security is fixed for the future and a Republican supported using half of the surplus for tax cuts, such as cutting the capital gains tax, eliminating the estate tax and repealing the marriage penalty, and put half of the surplus aside until social security is fixed.
46% would vote for a Democrat, **36%** a Republican for Congress.
Party: Democrats: 76/7, Republicans: 20/71, Independents: 42/33

If a Democrat said most of the surplus is coming from the Social Security systems excess revenues so it should be spent on Social Security only. And A Republican said the surplus is projected to be so big, we should put some of the surplus towards tax cuts now.
56% would vote for a Democrat, **33%** a Republican for Congress.
Party: Democrats: 83/7, Republicans: 22/72, Independents: 55/28

If a Democrat said most of the surplus is coming from the Social Security systems excess revenues so it should be spent on Social Security only, but we should have a tax cut now paid for through other means. And A Republican said the surplus is projected to be so big, we should put some of the surplus towards tax cuts now.
58% would vote for a Democrat, 25% a Republican for Congress.
Party: Democrats: 81/12, Republicans: 34/38, Independents: 57/28

Gingrich Plan
56% say that a tax cut of a trillion dollars over 10 years is too large and would be reckless and jeopardize the balanced budget and Social Security; **32%** say because of record growing surpluses we can have a tax cut that large and still protect Social Security.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Education

Congressional Democrats support an education bill that includes funding for the summer jobs initiative, reading tutors, safe and drug-free school coordinators, ensuring everyone has access to a college education and voluntary national testing and education standards.

Congressional Republicans say their bill will send more dollars directly into classrooms, help parents save for education expenses with tax breaks, and increase parental involvement.

49/32% agree more with the Democrats/Republicans.
Party: Democrats: 73/11, Republicans: 36/55, Independents: 39/34

Medical Research Czar

81/14% would support/oppose creating a medical research bureau to be responsible for making information on medical breakthroughs and treatments more available to the public

81% support (**60%** strongly + **21%** somewhat)
14% oppose (**10%** strongly + **4%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 90/9, Republicans: 77/17, Independents: 75/19

Tobacco Summit

55/38% support/oppose inviting political leaders, members of the tobacco community and health experts to the White House for a summit on tobacco.

55% support (**34%** strongly + **21%** somewhat)
38% oppose (**13%** strongly + **25%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 67/25, Republicans: 42/54, Independents: 53/39

If President Clinton did this,

53/35% would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton
53% more favorable (**23%** much + **30%** somewhat)
35% less favorable (**18%** much + **17%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 66/25, Republicans: 38/51, Independents: 54/34

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Presidential Message Schedule

Date	Event	Message
The Next Two Weeks...		
Friday August 8	Bill Signing	
Monday August 10	**Healthcare Event, Louisville, KY**	**Healthcare**
Tuesday August 11	**Crime Event, San Francisco, CA**	**Crime**
Wednesday August 12	Message Event, Los Angeles	
Thursday August 13	WNBA Champions Houston Comets Event	
Friday August 14	Tape Radio Address	
Future Events...		
August 17-31	Vacation	
Monday August 31	Event	
August 31- September 5	Foreign Travel	
Wednesday September 9	**School Modernization Event, Orlando, FL**	**Education**
Friday September 11	Irish American Community Event	
Saturday September 12	Live Radio Address	

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MW

Strategy Session
July 7, 1998
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

Mood Of The Country

	6/2	6/9	6/17	6/23	7/7
Country: right/wrong track	50/38	44/46	44/41	46/38	50/38
Economy: right/wrong track	72/23	70/24	71/23	68/24	69/24
Favorability					
Clinton	59/39	59/39	61/39	63/36	65/34
Gore	63/32	62/32	60/33	60/34	60/34
Clinton Job Approval	**68/32**	**65/33**	**65/32**	**66/32**	**68/30**
Strongly Approve	**31**	**26**	**28**	**26**	**29**
Gore Job Approval	67/27	65/29	63/30	65/28	65/30
Strongly Approve	22	23	17	20	22

Approval by Party:
Democrats: 91/8; Republicans: 44/55; Independents: 69/28

Most Important Issue

- Economy / Jobs is the most important issue at **12%**
- Morality and family values receive **10%**
- Education is the second important issue at **9%**
- Fighting crime follows at **6%**
- Healthcare—**4%**

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Congress

Approval – on a 2 point scale

	5/31	6/2	6/9	6/17	7/7
Congress	52/41	56/35	55/37	53/39	53/38
Congressional Republicans	47/45	45/44	43/46	44/48	44/48
Congressional Democrats	52/40	49/37	52/38	52/40	52/38

Generic Horserace

44% would vote for a Democrat in Congress, **35%** would vote for a Republican. Among prime voters: 42% would vote for a Democrat, 37% Republican.

	6/2	6/9	6/17	6/23	7/7
Democrat	42	41	41	38	43
Republican	36	35	34	33	34

Gingrich Favorability

Favorable - **38%** (**11%** very favorable)
Unfavorable - **53%** (**29%** very unfavorable)

	5/31	6/9	6/17	6/23	7/7
Favorable/ Unfavorable	39/53	37/57	34/58	40/53	38/53

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Newspaper Headlines

China Trip: 27; Lewinsky 2; Medicare: 2; Supreme Court: 1; Minorities: 1; Tobacco: 1; Satellites: 1; Foreign Policy: 1; Misc.: 1

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
7/5	Sunday	New York Times	Clinton's Sojourn in China, Viewed From the Cookout
7/4	Saturday	New York Times	Clinton Optimistic On China's Future As He Heads Home High Praise For Leaders Urges Jiang to End Beijing's Resistance to a Transition to Democratic Reforms
7/4	Saturday	Washington Post	Laurels and Lingering Doubts President's Critics, Backers Await Concrete Change Photo: POTUS
7/4	Saturday	Washington Post	Jiang Earns Clinton's High Praise At trip's End, Optimism About China's Future
7/3	Friday	Washington Post	Clinton Vows Help to Asia President Blames Crisis on Cronyism, Corruption
7/3	Friday	New York Times	G.O.P. Delivers Unusual Praise on Clinton Trip
7/2	Thursday	New York Times	Clinton Sends Dual Message To China In Interview On TV
7/1	Wednesday	Washington Post	Radio Talk Show Host Clinton Charms Shanghai
6/30	Tuesday	USA Today	Clinton Guests on China Talk Radio (Photo POTUS)
6/30	Tuesday	New York Times	Politics Largely Over, Clinton in Shanghai to See China's Future
6/30	Tuesday	Washington Post	Clinton Taking Diplomacy Personally President Adapts Campaign Techniques to Speak Plainly to the Chinese Public (Photo POTUS)
6/29	Monday	Washington Post	Clinton Courts A Future China President Tells Beijing Students That Liberty Brings Prosperity (Photo POTUS)
6/29	Monday	Washington Post	White House Lawyer Role Faces Test Does Staff Serve President or Office?
6/29	Monday	New York Times	Clinton, in Final China Speech, Calls for Defense of Personal Freedom (Photo POTUS)
6/29	Monday	USA Today	Clinton Pushes for Open China
6/28	Sunday	New York Times	Surprising Exchange on Rights of Chinese Television (Photo POTUS) Clinton's Harsh Words on '89 Massacre Seep Into Beijing's Alleys With a Nod to Cultural and Historic Differences, 2 Leaders Smile and Disagree on Delicate Issues
6/27	Saturday	New York Times	China Welcomes Clinton in a Ceremony in Tiananmen (Photo POTUS)
6/27	Saturday	Washington Post	Clinton Welcomed at Tiananmen (Photo POTUS) President Condemns Crackdown

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6/27	Saturday	Washington Post	'Clinton Has to Come Here' Site of Bloodshed, Grandeur Inspires Devotion
6/26	Friday	USA Today	Clinton Chides China for Dissident Arrests
6/26	Friday	New York Times	Justices, 6-3, Bar Veto Of LIne Items in Bills; See H.I.V. as Disability Clinton Calls Ruling on His Power a 'Defeat' for All Americans
6/26	Friday	New York Times	Clinton Starts Visit to China by Answering Critics in U.S.
6/26	Friday	Washington Post	Clinton Calls For Closer U.S.-China Cooperation
6/25	Thursday	USA Today	White House to Bend Contract Rules
6/25	Thursday	USA Today	Crowds Welcome Clinton to China Becomes First U.S. President to Visit Since 1989 Crackdown. (Photo POTUS)
6/25	Thursday	New York Times	White House Revises Policy on Contracts for Minorities
6/25	Thursday	New York Times	Ex-Chinese Leader Confronts Beijing on 1989 Massacre Evokes Visit by Clinton
6/24	Wednesday	USA Today	Clinton Prepares to Leave for China President Criticizes Beijing for withdrawing Journalists' Visas (Photo POTUS)
6/24	Wednesday	New York Times	In China, Clinton Is Lionized as a Global Visionary
6/23	Tuesday	USA Today	Clinton Unveils Major Medicare Changes
6/23	Tuesday	New York Times	White House Adds Broad Protection in Medicare Rules
6/23	Tuesday	Washington Post	Jiang Stakes His Legacy on Relationship With U.S. Clinton's Visit Could Bolster China's Leader (Photo POTUS)
6/22	Monday	Washington Post	U.S. to Study Brands Used By Underage Smokers Clinton Order Aims At Industry, Hill Allies
6/19	Friday	Washington Post	Lawyer: Lewinsky Left Out Details Clinton Gifts, Jordan Help Not Mentioned, Says Carter, Who Drafted Affidavit
6/18	Thursday	New York Times	Administration Rethinking $650 Million China Satellite Deal
6/18	Thursday	Washington Post	Clinton Picks Holbrooke as Envoy to U.N.

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TV Headlines

China Trip: 26; Foreign policy: 6; Tobacco: 4; Scandal: 3; IRS: 1; Medicare: 1

Date	Station	Order	Headline
7/1	NBC	2	Clinton Focuses On Free Trade In China; Barriers Hurt US
7/1	CBS	3	Clinton Calls For Economic Reform, Free Trade In China
7/1	ABC	2	Clinton, on Chinese TV, Endorses Freedom
6/30	NBC	3	Clinton Participates In Lively Radio Talk Show In China
6/30	CBS	5	Judge Orders Jones-Clinton Court Filings Unsealed
6/30	CBS	3	Clinton, China Discuss Taiwan Situation
6/30	ABC	4	Clinton Takes Questions On Shanghai Radio Call-In Show
6/30	ABC	3	White House Reacts To Iraqi Situation, Violence In Kosovo
6/29	NBC	1	Clinton Speech To Skeptical Students Broadcast Across China
6/29	CBS	2	Clinton Takes Tough Questions From Chinese Students
6/29	ABC	5	Starr, White House Lawyers Argue Over Bruce Lindsey Testimony
6/29	ABC	2	Thousands Of Chinese Students Gather To Hear Clinton
6/29	ABC	1	Clinton Speaks On Human Rights, And China Televises It Again2
6/28	NBC	1	Clinton To Confront Ghosts Of Tienanmen Sq. In Speech Tonight
6/28	ABC	2	Some Chinese Dissidents Pleased By Clinton's Visit Deborah
6/28	ABC	1	Clinton In Beijing; How Tough Will He Be On Human Rights?
6/25	NBC	1	As They Welcome Clinton, Chinese Arrest Dissidents
6/25	CBS	1	Clinton Arrives In China To Grand Welcome, Talks About Future
6/25	ABC	7	Clinton Arrives In China To Grand Welcome
6/24	NBC	1	Clinton Off to China, Though No Major Breakthroughs Expected
6/24	NBC	8	Clinton To Sign IRS Overhaul Bill
6/24	NBC	10	Clinton's China Entourage: A Look At The Numbers
6/24	ABC	1	Clinton Leaves for China, Dogged By Questions Over Rights
6/24	ABC	12	A Look At Clinton's Expectations For China Visit
6/24	ABC	13	Chinese Appreciate Clinton's View on China, Despite US Criticism
6/24	CBS	7	Clinton Leaves For China
6/23	ABC	1	Clinton Announces New Rights For Medicare Patients
6/23	ABC	13	Clinton Criticizes China for Canceling 3 Journalists' Visas
6/23	CBS	11	Clinton Heads to China for 9 - Day Visit: Criticisms Continue
6/22	CBS	4	Leaked Lewinsky Tapes Damaging to Clinton May be Inaccurate
6/22	CBS	10	Clinton Orders Government to Survey Kids About Best Smoking Marketing
6/19	CBS	13	Clinton Again Defends His Decision To Go To China
6/19	CBS	14	Chinese People And Especially Government is Excited About Clinton Trip
6/18	NBC	9	Clinton Nominates Richard Holbrooke as UN Ambassador
6/18	NBC	11	Clinton Reaching Out Again to Iran
6/18	ABC	11	Clinton Makes Overture to Iran
6/18	CBS	4	Clinton Shrugs Off Rebuff, Presses Ahead With Iran Overture
6/17	NBC	2	Tobacco Bill Is Dead, In Setback For Clinton & Others
6/17	CBS	4	Clinton Vows Tobacco Legislation Will Be Revived
6/17	CBS	1	Clinton Deploys US Treasury To Rescue The Japanese Yen
6/17	ABC	2	Clinton Upset Over Tobacco Bill; Steps Into Asian Economic Crisis

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The News

Recent measures have been popular, with varying degrees of success at getting them out to the public. Child support enforcement continues to be one of the best conservative values issues.

Did you hear anything about?	% Aware	More/Less Fav
President Clinton signing a bill that sets jail penalties for out-of-state deadbeat parents who fail to pay child support	59	74/11
President Clinton calling for tighter food safety rules and new government research on preventing food contamination	50	60/14
President Clinton launching a national effort to educate every single Medicare recipient about the help available to seniors and recipients with disabilities them to pay their Medicare	46	65/16

The Trip to China

The trip to China was an unquestionable success, creating increased support for our policies and for foreign policy overall.

On foreign policy, would you say that you strongly approve of the job Bill Clinton has been doing, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing?	Approve	Disapprove
7/7	**62**	**35**
6/23	59	33
6/17	53	43
6/9	60	33
5/31	60	39
3/10	66	33
3/3	65	33
2/23	63	35
2/17	64	34
2/11	65	32

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Do you approve/disapprove of President Clinton's foreign policy toward China?	Approve	Disapprove
7/7	48	35
6/23	46	37
6/9	43	42

64/31% approve/disapprove of President Clinton's trip to China.
Party: Democrats: 78/16, Republicans: 53/43, Independents: 58/36

In general, this trip has made **51/31%** more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton.

51% more favorable (**14%** much + **37%** somewhat)
31% less favorable (**14%** much + **17%** somewhat)
Party: Democrats: 65/17, Republicans: 39/47, Independents: 47/33

49% think the Republicans undermined the administration's policies towards China by criticizing the trip, **42%** not.
Party: Democrats: 67/21, Republicans: 37/61, Independents: 39/47

In retrospect we should consider giving speeches on the trip after the trip rather than before the trip, as the trips (if they are to China or Russia tend to speak for themselves) but then they end anti-climatically, with the public not knowing what to make of them afterwards.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Progress, not partisanship

The positioning of the last two days seems the right one for the next 6 weeks. We show progress with administrative orders and by calls for progress on our major legislative agenda. This leaves the Republicans either trying to defend themselves or forced to offer up compromises that we can reflect on, create a process to study or reject as inadequate. We continue to push the theme of our calling for progress throughout the month publicly, and privately we may also signal that if compromises are to be reached, now is the time, not in the fall.

The fall is the time that the attacks on partisanship will be stepped up over the appropriations fights, and because the Republicans will be unlikely to unify around any of their own agenda.

We also have to remember that we are in a much stronger position than in the past to dictate the terms of legislation we will accept. Our job ratings are at near record highs and hard to push much higher, so legislative accomplishments themselves will mean much less for us today than in the past. The Republicans, particularly with their base strategy, can't say the same. The more they appeal to the base, the more they lose the rest of America and the more in need they are of accomplishments to boost their ratings, which are consistently trailing behind the Democrats.

Again, the four main objectives that should serve as organizing principles for the summer schedule are:

– Make a clear appeal to seniors (bill of rights, Medicare expansion, social security first)
– Make a clear appeal to parents and young people on education
– Reinforce the values issues (tobacco, ratings, alcohol, **violence in schools**, drug testing, privacy)
– Reinforce the economy as a positive issue for us and Democrats while the Republicans threaten the economic expansion through partisanship

The Democrats as a whole also have an important task of identifying themselves with clear crime and tax positions. They already win on health, education and the environment by huge margins, but they are doing little to reinforce their own **fiscal** and **crime** positions and waiting until October is too late to remedy this. We need to unveil the package of tax cuts for implementation after we fix Social Security first – tax cuts that help parents raise their children (child care) and take care of their parents. If they go into the fall without their own tax cut package, they will be at a severe handicap.



CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Patients Bill of Rights

Unlike the tobacco bill which is quite complex and has a substantial tax making it an easier target for ads, the Patient's Bill of Rights is both more popular and much harder to ding with the threat of higher premiums for healthcare (that most people don't pay themselves anyway).

And all of the previous polling on this continues to show that adding specific cancer preventive mandates only adds to the popularity of a bill that is already quite strongly supported.

The underlying reason why this is so strongly popular compared to "health care reform" is that reform was seen as primarily about helping the 15% without coverage. This is seen as strengthening the coverage of the 85% of those who do have it, and this makes it powerful against industry attacks.

We have more to do in identifying the President and the Democrats with a specific Patients' Bill of Rights, as only 30% say that they know about it.

Support for the patient's bill of rights is 88%, falling only to 84% after arguments against it (strong support fall somewhat more dramatically –from 67 to 51).
Also, Republicans support HMO reform at the same levels as other voters.

Issue: Should we accept a Republican compromise and let them take it off the table? The polling shows that we can be fairly tough in dictating the terms of any bill. The Democrats can win an election-year advantage out of this if it is left on the table – especially if we pitch it to the main consumers of healthcare – women with kids and seniors.

Trust on HMO reform

46/39% trust **Democrats in Congress/Republicans in Congress** more to handle HMO reform.

Democrat: 83/7, Republican: 6/78, Independent: 43/41

Some people say HMOs give too much control to administrators and not enough to doctors.

70% agree (**47%** strongly + **23%** somewhat)
18% disagree (**9%** strongly + **9%** somewhat)

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Awareness and Support

30% are aware of a patients' bill of rights endorsed by President Clinton.

68/7% support/oppose a patients' bill of rights.

68% support (**43%** strongly + **25%** somewhat)

7% /oppose (**3%** strongly + **4%** somewhat)

A patients bill of rights would provide new guidelines on the way HMOs operate to provide better healthcare services for its members, including guaranteed access to emergency care, giving women direct access to OB-Gyns, safeguarding personal information, allowing doctors to give their patients all medical options available and giving patients the right to appeal decisions made by HMOs.

88/8% support/oppose a patients' bill of rights.

88% support (**67%** strongly + **21%** somewhat)

8% oppose (**5%** strongly + **3%** somewhat)

Democrats: 91/4, Republicans: 89/10, Independents: 86/11

Horserace: Vote Dem: 90/5, Vote GOP: 86/13, Don't Know: 89/9

The Attacks

Do you find this very believable, somewhat believable, not very believable, or not at all believable? Given this, do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose a patient's bill of rights?	Believable /Not Believable	Support/ Oppose	Strongly Support
Opponents of HMO reform laws say politicians are just bashing HMOs for political gain and new legislation will not really improve the quality of health care.	54/38	84/11	54
Opponents of HMO reform laws say that putting new restrictions and requirements on HMOs will make health care much more expensive and leave many Americans without coverage.	49/43	84/11	51
Opponents say these new laws will make hundreds of new Federal mandates on HMOs, thousands of new bureaucrats to enforce them and could even make employers liable for medical malpractice	63/36	83/11	51

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Competing Bills

Support for the Democrat's bill is much stronger than Republicans, given that these descriptions reveal the failure of the Republican bill to cover certain provisions.

While men prefer the Democratic plan, they are much more likely than women to accept a bill that is endorsed by the Republicans.

There are two versions of the patients' bill of rights that have been proposed.

Democrats support a bill that would include the provisions previously mentioned plus allows states to let patients sue their health plans for malpractice, gives patients unrestricted access to specialists, provides continuity of care to assure patients will receive care even if their provider is dropped from the HMO and requires HMOs to cover clinical trials and reconstructive surgery after a mastectomy.
79/15% support/oppose this bill.
79% support (**44%** strongly + **35%** somewhat)
15% oppose (**8%** strongly + **7%** somewhat)
Horserace: Vote Dem: 88/7, Vote GOP: 65/28, Don't Know: 77/14
Democrats: 87/8, Republicans: 65/23, Independents: 83/15

Republicans support a bill that would cap the amount doctors can be sued for malpractice, expands medical savings accounts which are tax deductible savings plans to help people pay for medical expenses, but does not give unrestricted access to specialists or continuous care if a doctor is dropped from a plan.
43/47% support/oppose this proposal.
43% support (**17%** strongly + **26%** somewhat)
47% oppose (**19%** strongly + **28%** somewhat)
Horserace: Vote Dem: 41/49, Vote GOP: 56/33, Don't Know: 27/64
Democrats: 28/60, Republicans: 54/35, Independents: 50/41

60/23% prefer the Democratic/Republican patients' bill of rights.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 86/7, Vote GOP: 26/51, Don't Know: 41/21
Democrats: 93/3, Republicans: 26/48, Independents: 55/26
Men: 52/25, Women: 67/22, Prime Voters: 52/26
Age: <35: 81/8, >35: 50/29

33% think President Clinton should accept and support a patients' bill of rights that the Republicans would pass even if he doesn't think it provides consumers with the protections they need, **55% think he should fight for stronger legislation that may never pass in Congress.**
Horserace: Vote Dem: 22/65, Vote GOP: 51/37, Don't Know: 35/55
Men: 42/50, Women: 26/51, Prime Voters: 35/54

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The Democratic plan also allows states to let patients sue their health plans for malpractice. Given this, **55%** prefer the Democratic plan, **28%** prefer the Republican plan.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 81/11, Vote GOP: 22/55, Don't Know: 39/32
Prime Voters: 48/33

Democrats say patients will only receive the care they need if they have adequate access to specialist and guaranteed protection with the ability to sue the HMO for malpractice; Republicans **say these provisions are too expensive could leave more Americans without healthcare coverage**. Given this, **59/31%** prefer the Democratic/Republican patients' bill of rights.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 83/15, Vote GOP: 28/60, Don't Know: 43/25
***Men: 54/35**,Women: 63/27, Prime Voters: 52/40*
<35: 77/17, >35: 51/36

35% think President Clinton accept and support a patient's bill of rights that the Republicans would pass even if he doesn't think it provides consumers with the protections they need, **53%** think he should fight for stronger legislation that may never pass in Congress.

Horserace: Vote Dem: 21/67, Vote GOP: 62/25, Don't Know: 27/64
Democrats: 15/72, Republicans: 60/29, Independents: 37/50
*Male: **43/47**, Female: 27/58*

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Tobacco

The perception in the press is that tobacco is dead. Much of the public believes it is dead. Smoking is receding as a values concern compared to guns in schools, drunk driving and drugs. The Republicans are creating a much more effective Skinny bill, and the best solution now would be to create some kind of bi-partisan process on tobacco rather than to be forced to accept or veto specific bills.

[Before 6/17] Have you heard anything about tobacco legislation that is currently pending in the Senate? [*After 6/17] Have you heard anything about the tobacco legislation that was killed by the Senate? Do you support or oppose comprehensive tobacco legislation?

Date	% aware	Support/ Oppose	Strongly Support
4/20	66	53/33	28
4/26	66	52/35	29
5/31	74	45/33	29
6/2	66	47/34	28
6/10	71	45/38	25
6/15	70	46/41	23
6/17*	46	53/31	39
6/23*	**67**	**48/40**	33
7/1*	**66**	**48/39**	29
7/7*	**68**	**46/38**	26

The tobacco bill that was before Congress included provisions to reduce class size, child care programs, cancer research and a marriage penalty tax deduction along with $1.10 increase in cigarettes, payment to the states of $200 billion for their claims against tobacco, and anti-smoking measures such as programs to end advertising to minors.

Given this

57/40% support/oppose the tobacco legislation.

57% support (**38%** strongly + **19%** somewhat)

40% oppose (**24%** strongly + **16%** somewhat)

Gender: Male: 63/36, Female: 52/44, Age: <35: 63/35, >35: 53/44

Party: Democrats: 64/32, Republicans: 59/41, Independents: 51/44

Which is the most important part of the tobacco bill to you:	All	Party			Gender		Age	
		D	R	I	M	F	<35	>35
Funding for education, child care and medical research	23	23	28	21	25	21	30	22
Ending advertising to minors	21	19	23	21	17	25	24	20
Anti-smoking programs	10	8	13	9	9	11	3	12
Penalize the tobacco companies if teenage smoking does not decline	10	13	6	10	10	10	11	10

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Marriage penalty tax deduction	7	5	4	11	10	4	8	6
$1.10 increase in the price of cigarettes	7	6	9	6	6	8	7	7
Giving FDA authority to regulate tobacco	7	8	5	7	8	5	7	7
Payment to states for their claims against tobacco	3	1	5	4	4	2	3	3

Increasing taxes on smokers is a good way to provide funding for programs that will help all Americans such as education, cancer research and child care.

60% agree (**31%** strongly + **29%** somewhat)
36% disagree (**21%** strongly + **15%** somewhat)
Gender: Male: 58/38, Female: 62/34
Horserace: Vote Dem: 71/21, Vote GOP: 49/47, Don't Know: 51/46
*Age: <35: **76/22**, >35: 56/40*

The argument that raising cigarette prices is a public health effort is much stronger than that it will deter teen smoking. (6/23)

33% say cigarette prices shouldn't be raised because it's a new tax on Americans that will hurt low income smokers. **61%** say cigarette prices should be raised because this should not be seen as a tax, but as a **public health effort**, that will provide billions of dollars to the public health system in return for the medical costs caused by smoking.
Party: D: 21/77, R: 37/47, I: 38/60

54% say cigarette prices shouldn't be raised because it's a new tax on Americans that will hurt low income smokers; **44%** say cigarette prices should be raised because this is one of the best ways to cut down teenage smoking.
Party: D: 58/42, R: 58/41, I: 44/51

Congressional impact

41% think a tobacco bill will still be passed, **43%** not.
Party: Democrats: 40/41, Republicans: 31/52, Independents: 49/40

If no tobacco bill is passed before the 1998 Congressional elections, **15%** will be more likely to vote for a Democrat for Congress, **4%** more likely to vote for a Republican for Congress, **78%** no effect on vote.
Horserace: Vote Dem: 26/0/73, Vote GOP: 7/9/81, Don't Know: 9/3/81

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The new options

Hatch-Feinstein
There is a new bipartisan bill in the Senate that would raise cigarette prices 66 cents, will not penalize tobacco companies if teen smoking is not reduced and would not expand FDA authority to regulate tobacco.
40/51% support/oppose this bill.

40% support (**18%** strongly + **22%** somewhat)
51% oppose (**28%** strongly + **23%** somewhat)
Gender: Male: 44/50, Female: 37/53
Party: Democrats: 43/48, Republicans: 31/55, Independents: 46/52
Age: <35: 56/43, >35: 35/54

Marriage penalty deduction only
There is a new proposal to raise the price of cigarettes by 30 cents and put the increased revenues towards a marriage penalty tax deduction.
39/47% support/oppose this proposal.

39% support (**18%** strongly + **21%** somewhat)
47% oppose (**30%** strongly + **17%** somewhat)
Gender: Male: 35/51, Female: 42/43
Party: Democrats: 31/49, Republicans: 43/49, Independents: 45/44
Age: <35: 52/38, >35: 36/49

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The New GOP plan (how they are describing it)
They have initial popularity, but we remain much more credible on what will be effective with tobacco.

The House Republicans have introduced another bill aimed at reducing teen smoking that would not protect tobacco companies from lawsuits, would define new, but limited authority for the FDA to regulate tobacco, give the Federal Trade commission more authority to regulated tobacco advertising aimed at teenagers, penalize those who sell tobacco to minors and punish teens who possess tobacco by revoking their driver's licenses and launch an national advertising campaign to reduce teenage smoking.

67/27% support/oppose this proposal.

67% support (**40%** strongly + **27%** somewhat)
27% oppose (**15%** strongly + **12%** somewhat)
Gender: Male: 69/27, Female: 66/26
Party: Democrats: 63/30, Republicans: 73/22, Independents: 71/25
Age: <35: 83/16, >35: 63/29

Not Strong Enough

If President Clinton said their bill is just a bill supported by the tobacco industry and will not really do anything about teen smoking, and pushed the senate to reconsider comprehensive legislation,

54/32% would be more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton
54% more favorable (**20%** much + **34%** somewhat)
32% less favorable (**11%** much + **21%** somewhat)
Gender: Male: 51/39, Female: 57/26
Horserace: Vote Dem: 63/27, Vote GOP: 41/46, Don't Know: 54/26
Age: <35: 62/31, >35: 51/33

33% agree with the Republicans in Congress, **48%** President Clinton.
Gender: Male: 35/49, Female: 30/48
Party: D: 12/67, R: 74/13, I:25/57
Horserace: Vote Dem: 14/77, Vote GOP: 68/15, Don't Know: 21/40
Age: <35: 32/45, >35: 33/49

But when the weaker points of the bill are explained explicitly, support is much lower:
If Republicans now introduced another tobacco bill that would include an advertising campaign to reduce teen smoking and drug use, and encourage states to enact laws that would punish teens caught with tobacco by suspending teen's drivers licenses or through mandatory community service, **but did not raise prices on cigarettes, did not give the FDA regulatory power over nicotine and does not ban tobacco advertising that targets children,** 49/43% would support/oppose this bill.

49% support (17% strongly + 32% somewhat)
43% oppose (23% strongly + 20% somewhat)

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Party: D: 56/41, R: 60/32, I: 34/56

Policy options

Would...be very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective or not at all effective in reducing teen smoking? Should the Government be able to...	**Effective/ Not**	**Gov't should/ not**	**D**	**R**	**I**
Banning Advertising and Marketing aimed at kids	61/37	74/24	82/18	65/31	73/24
Raising Cigarette Prices	51/47	55/42	56/44	49/48	50/46
Community service	46/50	43/51	45/50	50/47	38/57
Taking away driver's licenses	43/54	32/63	27/72	37/58	35/60

Executive Orders

Suing the tobacco companies on the federal level for Medicare is probably much more powerful than any executive order, and would re-ignite the tobacco issue in a powerful way. It is a major idea worth pursuing.

Following are some proposals President Clinton could announce to help reduce teen smoking. For each one, please tell me if you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose this proposal?	**Strongly Support**	**Support/ Oppose**
Require enforcement of smoking bans in buildings where federally funded child care, education or children's health is provided	63	78/17
Ban underage smoking on all federal property	60	75/18
Create a public library of all released tobacco company documents so scientist and consumers have access to them	46	71/23
Deny filming privileges for movies on federal property that would contain teenage smoking	43	63/30
Collect all anti-tobacco advertising produced by individual states and share the information with all other states to increase anti-tobacco advertising	43	66/28
Produce a federal anti-tobacco advertising campaign and make available to states to increase anti-tobacco advertising	43	64/30
Make anti-tobacco advertising free for broadcasting to increase anti-tobacco advertising	38	63/31

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Following are some proposals President Clinton could announce to help reduce teen smoking. For each one, please tell me if you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose this proposal? Ranked by all strongly support	All	Party		
		D	R	I
Require enforcement of smoking bans in buildings where federally funded child care, education or children's health is provided	78/ 17	83/ 14	78/ 19	72/ 20
Ban underage smoking on all federal property	75/ 18	79/ 17	65/ 23	78/ 16
Create a public library of all released tobacco company documents so scientist and consumers have access to them	71/ 23	79/ 18	66/ 24	70/ 26
Deny filming privileges for movies on federal property that would contain teenage smoking	63/ 30	69/ 26	52/ 35	67/ 29
Collect all anti-tobacco advertising produced by individual states and share the information with all other states to increase anti-tobacco advertising	66/ 28	74/ 22	68/ 30	58/ 34
Produce a federal anti-tobacco advertising campaign and make available to states to increase anti-tobacco advertising	64/ 30	71/ 28	66/ 31	56/ 33
Make anti-tobacco advertising free for broadcasting to increase anti-tobacco advertising	63/ 31	63/ 35	69/ 28	57/ 28

Values issues

Which is more important to you?	All	Party			Gender		Age	
		D	R	I	M	F	<35	>35
Measures to reduce drunk driving	80	81	83	76	75	86	84	79
Measures to reduce teen smoking	13	10	14	16	19	7	14	13

Which of these is the most important values issue to you? Second most?	1st	2nd	1st + 2nd
Reducing violence and guns in schools	37	24	61
Reducing teenage smoking	3	6	9
Reducing teenage pregnancy	12	18	30
Reducing teenage drug usage	23	34	57
Reducing violence and sex in the media	22	15	37

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Which of these is the most important values issue to you?	All	Party			Gender		Age	
		D	R	I	M	F	<35	>35
Reducing violence and guns in schools	37	38	32	40	33	41	42	35
Reducing teenage drug usage	23	30	27	17	23	23	21	23
Reducing violence and sex in the media	22	17	22	25	21	23	17	24
Reducing teenage pregnancy	12	9	14	13	16	9	15	12
Reducing teenage smoking	3	3	3	4	5	2	4	3

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Ranked by Much More Favorable

The following are some subjects that President Clinton could talk about. After I read you each one please tell me if this would make you much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable towards President Clinton?	**More/ Less Fav**	**Much More Fav**
Ensuring Americans receive quality health care and enabling doctors to make medical decisions – not HMOs - by passing **a patient's bill of rights**	83/10	60
Reducing youth crime with initiatives that will help keep guns out of the hands of kids	***79/16***	***58***
The importance of programs and proposals to help seniors, such as saving Social Security, enabling older Americans to buy into Medicare early, and fighting crimes against the elderly	85/8	57
Passing a Juvenile crime bill that uses prosecutors and probation officers to crack down on gangs, guns, and drugs, and bars violent juveniles from buying guns for life	80/14	56
Raising the Minimum Wage to help working Americans	75/19	55
Improving education with smaller class sizes, more teachers and funding school construction	82/9	55
Protecting individuals' privacy in the information age by preventing the distribution of personal information	83/9	54
The success of welfare to work programs which have moved millions of Americans off of welfare and given them new skills and responsibilities	85/11	54
The IRS reform law that will make the IRS more people friendly and accountable to the taxpayers.	84/6	53
Reserving the surplus until we save Social Security first.	84/9	53
Cracking down on gangs and crime by giving grants to faith based groups with programs to prevent juvenile crime and gangs	***83/13***	***52***
Urging Congress to pass legislation on important administration priorities, such as programs to improve education by reducing class size, give Americans a child care tax credit	77/16	50
Fighting youth drug use by launching a huge anti-drug media campaign aimed at both kids and their parents so fewer people start using drugs	***79/14***	***47***
The importance of protecting consumers through executive orders that ensure safe foods and consumer products	79/11	39
Passing a comprehensive Tobacco bill that would increase the price of cigarettes and fight to reduce teen smoking	62/30	37
Proposals to help Americans living in rural areas, such as using new technologies such as distance learning to benefit rural areas, special package to help hard hit farm states, and enabling exports	77/13	34
Reforming government by passing bipartisan campaign finance reform.	67/18	33

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The turn of the Millenium, and government celebration of the millenium such as restoring the star spangled banner	64/18	31
Strengthening the International Monetary Fund because our prosperity depends upon the stability of our trading partners in Asia and around the world.	64/22	28
The federal government's role in solving the Year 2000 computer problem and a plan of action	***54/25***	***24***

The following are some subjects that President Clinton could talk about. After I read you each one please tell me if this would make you much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable towards President Clinton? Ranked by All, Much More favorable	**More/Less Favorable**					
	All	**Party**			**Gender**	
		D	**R**	**I**	**M**	**F**
Ensuring Americans receive quality health care and enabling doctors to make medical decisions – not HMOs - by passing a patient's bill of rights	83/ 10	92/ 5	67/ 16	87/ 10	85/ 14	82/ 7
Reducing youth crime with initiatives that will help keep guns out of the hands of kids	79/ 16	93/ 6	65/ 24	76/ 20	71/ 21	87/ 11
The importance of programs and proposals to help seniors, such as saving Social Security, enabling older Americans to buy into Medicare early, and fighting crimes against the elderly	85/ 8	96/ 2	66/ 13	91/ 9	84/ 13	86/ 3
Passing a Juvenile crime bill that uses prosecutors and probation officers to crack down on gangs, guns, and drugs, and bars violent juveniles from buying guns for life	80/ 14	89/ 7	77/ 17	74/ 17	73/ 18	86/ 9
Raising the Minimum Wage to help working Americans	75/ 19	93/ 7	43/ 39	79/ 18	74/ 24	76/ 15
Improving education with smaller class sizes, more teachers and funding school construction	82/ 9	93/ 5	64/ 12	88/ 11	83/ 13	81/ 7
Protecting individuals' privacy in the information age by preventing the distribution of personal information	83/ 9	91/ 4	66/ 16	88/ 9	82/ 13	84/ 6
The success of welfare to work programs which have moved millions of Americans off of welfare and given them new skills and responsibilities	85/ 11	95/ 4	81/ 15	81/ 13	83/ 13	88/ 8
The IRS reform law that will make the IRS more people friendly and accountable to the taxpayers.	84/ 6	96/ 2	62/ 14	89/ 5	87/ 9	80/ 4

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Reserving the surplus until we save Social Security first.	84/ 9	89/ 10	73/ 10	90/ 8	82/ 16	88/ 3
Cracking down on gangs by giving grants to faith based groups with programs to prevent juvenile crime and gangs	83/ 13	87/ 10	68/ 13	84/ 15	83/ 15	78/ 10
Urging Congress to pass legislation on important administration priorities, such as programs to improve education by reducing class size, give Americans a child care tax credit	77/ 16	85/ 12	76/ 18	79/ 16	76/ 21	78/ 11
Fighting youth drug use by launching a huge anti-drug media campaign aimed at both kids and their parents so fewer people start using drugs	79/ 14	83/ 4	78/ 24	80/ 14	70/ 19	88/ 8
The importance of protecting consumers through executive orders that ensure safe foods and consumer products	79/ 11	89/ 4	57/ 19	86/ 11	77/ 17	81/ 5
Passing a comprehensive tobacco bill that would increase the price of cigarettes and fight to reduce teen smoking	62/ 30	75/ 22	51/ 31	63/ 35	65/ 32	61/ 27
Proposals to help Americans living in rural areas, such as using new technologies such as distance learning to benefit rural areas, special package to help hard hit farm states, and enabling exports	77/ 13	86/ 4	64/ 17	77/ 20	72/ 19	81/ 7
Reforming government by passing bipartisan campaign finance reform.	67/ 18	78/ 8	66/ 26	59/ 23	70/ 19	64/ 19
Passing a comprehensive tobacco bill that would provide revenues to reduce class size, fund child care programs, cancer research and end the marriage penalty	66/ 31	69/ 31	76/ 21	58/ 37	54/ 34	71/ 28
The economic and social progress - including a stronger economy, and a better social environment – resulting from policies implemented during the Clinton administration	67/ 22	86/ 6	52/ 34	62/ 26	62/ 30	73/ 15
The turn of the Millenium, and government celebration of the millenium such as restoring the star spangled banner	64/ 18	69/ 18	66/ 19	58/ 19	59/ 20	67/ 16
Strengthening the International Monetary Fund because our prosperity depends upon the stability of our trading partners in Asia and around the world.	64/ 22	77/ 17	48/ 23	70/ 28	73/ 24	59/ 21
The federal government's role in solving the Year 2000 computer problem and a plan of action	54/ 25	59/ 16	47/ 33	56/ 27	57/ 22	51/ 29

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H1B

40/53% support/oppose increasing the number of highly skilled immigrants who can come into the country.

40% support (**17%** strongly + **23%** somewhat)
53% oppose (**30%** strongly + **23%** somewhat)

Party: Democrats: 39/45, Republicans: 52/42, Independents: 37/58

62% say we should allow more highly skilled foreigners into the country to fill positions requiring these skills only if, in addition to providing training for Americans workers we put in place strong protections to ensure that American workers are not laid off when immigrants are hired and American workers are recruited first for these positions. **29%** say strong protections would be burdensome to business, would require them to keep tons of records about their recruiting efforts, so these protections should not be required.

Party: Democrats: 61/27, Republicans: 53/34, Independents: 68/28

"This is one of those issues where indys are w/ you more than Ds.

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Presidential Message Schedule

Message count on scheduled events:

Crime and Drugs – 5, Education- 2, Seniors-2, Millenium - 2
Health, Tobacco, Environment, Race, IRS, Economy – 1 each

Date	Event	Message
The Next Two Weeks		
July 8	**PBS Race Town Hall**	**Race**
	Crime Event – Youth Gun initiative	**Crime and Drugs**
July 9	***Launch Anti-Drug Media, Atlanta, GA***	**Crime and Drugs**
Friday July 10	Medal of Honor ceremony Military Picnic *Meeting with Polish Prime Minister Buzek*	
Saturday July 11	**Live radio address** – *Success of Drug Courts* 200th Anniversary concert of the "president's own" US Marine Band, Kennedy Center	**Crime and Drugs**
Monday July 13	***Treasures Event*** Meeting with American Jewish Leaders	**Millenium**
Tuesday July 14	***Year 2K Event***	
Wednesday July 15	***Children's Healthcare Insurance Program Event***	**Health**
Thursday July 16	***Faith Based Crime Prevention Event*** Working meeting with President Constantinescu of Romania	**Crime and Drugs**
Friday July 17	Girls Nation/Boys Nation Reunion Event	**Tobacco**
	Tobacco executive order on document release	
Saturday July 18	***Radio Address – Charter Schools***	**Education**
Monday July 20	Speech to American Federation of Teachers Conference, New Orleans ***Announcement of School Uniform and curfew and truancy study***	**Education**
Tuesday July 21	***Nursing Home Regulations Announcement***	**Seniors**
Wed July 22	*Japanese official visit*	

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Thursday July 23	***IRS Bill Signing*** **Working visit with President Sanguinetti of Uruguay**	**IRS**
Friday July 24	Boys Nation Event ***Teen Drug Testing for Driver's licenses announcement***	**Crime and Drugs**
Future Schedule ...		
Saturday July 25	Radio Address USS Truman Dedication, Norfolk, VA	
Monday July 27	Social Security Conference, Albuquerque, NM	**Seniors**
Tuesday July 28	National Council of Senior Citizens Dinner	
Wednesday July 29	Address NEA/AFT Congress on Education, Int'l	
Thursday July 30	*Environmental Event*	**Environment**
Friday July 31	Tape Radio Address Statement	
Monday August 3	Economy Speech (T)	Economy
Wednesday August 5	*Meeting with German Chancellor Candidate Gerhard Schroeder*	
	Unity Dinners	
Thursday August 6	Native American Economic Conference	
Friday August 7	*Meeting with Deputy President Mbeki of South Africa*	
Saturday August 8	Live radio address	
Monday August 10	Message Event, Kentucky	
Tuesday August 11	Message Event, CA (City TBD)	
Wednesday August 12	Message Event, Los Angeles	
Thursday August 13	WNBA Champions Houston Comets Event	
Friday August 14	*Message Event, City TBD*	
August 10-31	Vacation	

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	RE: Debate Overview (4 pages)	09/25/1994	P5
002. report	Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates; RE: Strategy Session (17 pages)	06/10/1998	P5
003. report	Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates; RE: Strategy Session (26 pages)	n.d.	P5
004. report	Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates; RE: Strategy Session (20 pages)	04/27/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14444

FOLDER TITLE:
Polls [3]

2006-0469-F
db3364

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Strategy Session
June 10, 1998
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

The ratings of the President remained stable while the mood of the country declined, not economically, but declined significantly in terms of right track/wrong track. This measure is usually more sensitive to legislative accomplishment / gridlock more than any other indicator.

Mood Of The Country

	4/26	5/4	5/19	5/31	6/2	6/9
Country: right/wrong track	48/39	53/39	51/39	47/43	50/38	44/46
Economy: right/wrong track	69/24	71/25	73/18	73/21	72/23	70/24
Favorability						
Clinton	64/36	64/36	61/38	60/39	59/39	59/39
Gore	63/33	64/33	60/35	62/34	63/32	62/32
Clinton Job Approval	**68/30**	**68/31**	**65/33**	**66/32**	**68/32**	**65/33**
Strongly Approve	**28**	**27**	**27**	**29**	**31**	**26**

Approve/Disapprove:
Democrats: 89/11, Republicans: 37/61, Independents 64/34

Gore Job Approval	68/28	67/26	64/30	65/30	67/27	65/29
Strongly Approve	23	22	23	21	22	23

Do you approve/disapprove of President Clinton's foreign policy toward...	Approve	Disapprove
Foreign Policy approval	60	33
Bosnia	56	30
India and Pakistan	52	30
China	43	42
Kosovo	31	21

COPY

Most Important Issue

- Education is the most important issue at **12%**
- Economy / Jobs is the next important issue at **10%**
- Fighting crime is third at **9%**
- Morality and family values-**8%**

*India has fallen to **4%** from **13%** last week*

Congress

Approval – on a 2 point scale

	4/26	5/4	5/20	5/31	6/2	6/9
Congress	52/39	54/38	54/36	52/41	56/35	55/37
Congressional Republicans	42/49	48/42	45/45	47/45	45/44	43/46
Congressional Democrats	52/38	50/39	48/40	52/40	49/37	52/38

Generic Horserace

41% would vote for a Democrat in Congress, **35%** would vote for a Republican. Among Prime voters, we have a 4 point advantage in this week's sample: 39 to 35.

	4/26	5/4	5/20	5/31	6/2	6/9
Democrat	42	39	38	40	42	41
Republican	33	34	33	36	36	35

Gingrich Favorability

Favorable - **37%** (**10%** very favorable)
Unfavorable - **57%** (**34%** very unfavorable)

5/31: 39/53
5/19: 32/60
5/4: 38/54
4/26: 40/53

COPY

Newspaper Headlines

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
6/9	Tuesday	Washington Post	No Truce in Drug-Blame War At U.N., Mexico Dismisses Clinton Call for End to Criticism
6/9	Tuesday	New York Times	Chinese in U.S. Tie Harassment to Clinton Trip
6/6	Saturday	New York Times	Radar Images Of Clinton's Jet Fall Off Screen
6/2	Tuesday	Washington Post	Clinton Narrows Appeal Case Executive Privilege Claim Dropped Attorney-Client Issue Pursued
6/2	Tuesday	New York Times	President Decides to Abandon His Claim of Executive Privilege But He Still Presses for Attorney-Client Protection
6/2	Tuesday	USA Today	Clinton Drops Privilege Claim But Fight Over Lawyer Will Continue

TV News Headlines

Date	Station	Order	
6/4	ABC	2	White House Pleased With Supreme Court Decision
6/4	CBS	9	Clinton Plans To Honor Chinese In Tienanmen Despite Criticism
6/4	NBC	2	Starr Believes He Has Much Of Evidence He Needs Against Clinton
6/4	NBC	6	Clinton Holds Summit On Problem Of Insufficient Retirement Savings
6/3	NBC	4	Clinton Says China Should Retain Most-Favored Trade Status
6/3	CBS	4	Clinton Opens His Annual Battle With Congress Over China Trade
6/2	NBC	2	The White House's Take On Day's Starr/Lewinsky Events
6/2	CBS	11	GOP Convenes Task Force On Clinton's Chinese Missile Scandal
6/1	ABC	1	Clinton Insists Lawyer Lindsey's Testimony Is Protected
6/1	CBS	1	Clinton Exchanges Exec. Privilege Appeal For Atty-Client Privilege
6/1	NBC	1	Clinton Shifts Tactics, Gives Up Exec. Privilege Claim
6/1	NBC	2	Commentary On Implications Of Clinton's Change In Tactics

COPY

Current News

Did you hear anything about. . .?	% aware	More/ Less Favorable
President Clinton's radio address in which he urged the Congress to pass the tobacco bill	58	43/35
President Clinton announcing a $2 billion, five-year media campaign to discourage the use of drugs among American youth	56	68/22
President Clinton signing into law a highway bill aimed at repairing America's highways and beefing up its cities' public transportation systems	53	64/18
President Clinton urging drug-producing and drug-consuming countries to join in an effort to reduce the number of people worldwide who use illegal drugs	53	65/20
President Clinton's radio address in which he supports students' rights to voluntarily practice their religious beliefs, including prayer in school, and to pursue religious activities on school grounds in order to help schools reinforce the values students learn at home and in the community	49	65/19
President Clinton's commencement address at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology last week in which he announced an initiative that would provide federal funding to middle schools that adopt a technology literacy requirement to ensure that there is a technology expert in every school	28	60/19

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Overall Strategy

We are in a holding pattern now – offering the fig-leaf of bi-partisanship, while we bear the brunt of many attacks on all fronts – policy and crisis – from the Republicans and the press. We are not hitting back at the Republicans for their partisanship, for their waste of taxpayer money for investigations, or for holding up the major policies this country needs to keep its economy strong and to keep our families strong. If we accept that this is our position between now and next month, then we need to focus on accomplishments – a tobacco bill, and executive orders/regulations to bolster our standing on values.

Before the China trip, we have the possibility of a Senate Tobacco bill, with other events such as the foreign policy Speech, the immigration speech, family conference, signing of child support, bullet proof vest bills, Oceans Conference and the prostate cancer measures on father's day. The tobacco bill is likely to be the breakthrough event of these, but it will focus more on Congress than the White House.

The key decision after that is whether we should shape our message in more partisan terms after China or not.

The trick is to remember the lesson of the budget fight – have our own plans, push for progress, and stay presidential. Our high numbers will help the Democrats, and we can turn around the nasty words of the Republicans into a fight about our fundamental values – saving social security first while expanding education, healthcare and childcare. Fighting against cutbacks in anti-crime and environmental programs. This is no time to shortchange America as it prepares for a new century.

The way to contrast progress vs. partisanship is to continue to create positive messages for new programs and around the appropriations process, regardless of the other publicity. This is both the lesson of 1996 and of this year's State of the Union.

We may visit individual districts, but we are not in a national election. We <u>are</u> in a continuing national fight over the right priorities for our nation, the right way to save Social Security, the right way to protect our children from drugs, tobacco and guns, the right way to expand educational opportunity, the right way to protect patients of HMOs. A balanced budget is not the end of our responsibilities, it is just the beginning of what needs to be done to prepare America for the 21st Century.

1986 showed that just campaigning on presidential popularity is not enough without a message. We have a much stronger message if we communicate it. We have much stronger fiscal and economic policies if we use them to advantage.

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Tobacco Bill

The dynamics are now favoring passing a tobacco bill, and definitely getting one through the Senate with a tax cut.

The polling in the last two weeks has shifted from not passing a tobacco bill to going ahead with one, and treating passing of the tobacco bill as a mini-balanced budget. And like the balanced budget it is likely to improve the ratings of Congress, but it is likely to leave the Congressional horserace now basically unchanged because tobacco can be portrayed as a Democratic, not a Republican accomplishment..

And most importantly we have the basic finding that adding the marriage penalty expands support for the tobacco bill to 69% when explained and this would in effect be a mini-balanced budget deal for the year.

71% are aware of the tobacco legislation that is currently pending in the Senate.

45/38% support/oppose comprehensive tobacco legislation on a totally unaided basis.(down a few points from last week).



Support goes up when the provisions are explained.

In the trial horserace polling this week, we now get a 6-point Democratic Congressional margin if there is no tobacco bill and an 8-point edge if there is a tobacco bill. We can do much more, however, with a bill that we claim as a Democratic victory.

This chart summarizes the main outcome of the polling of the tobacco bill on an aided basis – a bill with a tax cut, like the balanced budget deal, is a more popular deal.

Summary of spending options – impact on tobacco bill support	Support/oppose
Initial, aided support:	55/41
Part to current spending/part to marriage penalty	69/27
All to spending	59/35
All to marriage penalty	42/52

Marriage Penalty Polling

Using the surplus for tax cuts

COPY

President Clinton supports saving the surplus until Social Security is strengthened. He would support tax cuts only if they were paid in other ways but not with the surplus.
Given this,

62/30% are more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton
62% more favorable (**35%** much + **27%** somewhat)
30% less favorable (**17%** much + **13%** somewhat)

Democrats: 79/15, Republicans: 40/53, Independents: 65/27

74% support saving the surplus until Social Security is strengthened, **17%** support using the surplus for tax cuts before Social Security is fixed.

Eliminating the Marriage Penalty
Currently some couples pay more in taxes when they file as a married couple then they would have if they had not married and filed individually. There is a proposal to eliminate the marriage penalty -essentially a tax cut- for married couples earning under $50,000.
80/14% support/oppose this proposal.

80% support (**58%** strongly + **22%** somewhat)
14% oppose (**7%** strongly + **7%** somewhat)

Alternatives for tobacco revenues

All to spending vs. Part to marriage penalty

The tobacco legislation would raise roughly $60 billion dollars over 5 years. There are two approaches on how to use these funds:

54% would prefer using 12 billion dollars to fund medical research, including cancer research, about 12 billion dollars for anti-smoking programs, $10 billion dollars to help tobacco farmers, and roughly 26 billion dollars to states for programs such as helping families better afford child care:
31% would prefer a $20 billion dollar marriage penalty tax cut for families making less that $50,000 and, using the rest for the same spending proposals I just told you about, but each program would receive about one-third less money.

Democrat: 63/23, Republican: 38/44, Independent: 60/25

Part vs. all to Marriage Penalty
75% prefer putting one-third of the tobacco revenues towards a marriage penalty tax cut and two-thirds towards medical research, anti-smoking programs, help for farmers and state programs such as child care;
14% prefer putting All tobacco revenues towards a marriage penalty tax cut even if it meant no funds would be left for medical research and other health purposes.

COPY

Below 50K vs. up to 120K

59% support a tax cut that would go towards eliminating the marriage penalty for families with incomes below $50,000. Coupled with this tax cut would be money for medical research, public health programs, help for farmers, and for state programs such as child care.

26% prefer excluding all of the health program funding but would include a marriage penalty tax cut for people with up to $120,000 in income.

Democrats: 64/26, Republicans: 51/34, Independents: 61/23
<20K: 57/29, 20-35K: 65/21, 35-60K: 63/20, 60-100k: 48/44, 100+:58/36

Marriage penalty vs. income tax cut

37% prefer a marriage penalty tax cut for couples making less than $50,000,
57% an income tax cut for married couples.

Democrats: 35/58, *Republicans:* 28/61, *Independents:* 35/56

Support for tobacco bill with spending plans

In the current bill, the additional revenues from increasing the price of cigarettes will go towards helping tobacco farmers, medical research, public health programs to reduce smoking and some will go to individual states.

59/35% support/oppose this bill.

59% support (**23%** strongly + **36%** somewhat)
35% oppose (**20%** strongly + **15%** somewhat)

Democrats: 67/25, Republicans: 48/49, Independents: 59/37

If the tobacco bill included spending all the tobacco funds on eliminating of the marriage penalty,

42/52% would support/oppose this bill.

42% support (**13%** strongly + **29%** somewhat)
52% oppose (**30%** strongly + **22%** somewhat)
Democrats: 43/50, Republicans: 32/62, Independents: 48/46

If the tobacco bill included spending some of the tobacco funds on eliminating of the marriage penalty and the rest on medical research, anti-smoking programs, help for farmers and state programs such as child care,

69/27% would support/oppose this bill.

69% support (**31%** strongly + **38%** somewhat)
27% oppose (**18%** strongly + **9%** somewhat)

Democrats: 79/18, Republicans: 56/38, Independents: 72/26

COPY

Which is the most important aspect of the current spending proposal to you?	All	D	R	I
Medical research	**42%**	51	30	43
Giving money to each state to spend on health programs	**26%**	20	31	28
Helping tobacco farmers affected by the bill	**13%**	13	15	12
Health and smoking cessation programs	**12%**	11	14	11

President's Support

If President Clinton said he supports using the tobacco revenues to eliminate the marriage penalty, but the tax cut should be scaled back so there is some money left over for important programs such as medical research, other health programs aimed at stopping smoking and aid to farmers affected by the tobacco bill. Given this,

65/29% would be more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton
65% more favorable (**24%** much + **41%** somewhat)
29% less favorable (**11%** much + **18%** somewhat)

Democrats: 81/15, Republicans: 51/45, Independents: 61/33

If the Republicans do not make a deal, we could simply unveil more of our own tax cut package that should be part of the bill:

If a tax cut is included in the tobacco bill, **25%** think the tax cut should be to eliminate the marriage penalty for those couples earning under $50,000, **63% think the tax cut should be targeted cuts for child care, care for an elderly parent or education?**

Support still is strongest for putting the funds towards child care an education

13% think the tobacco revenues should go towards eliminating the marriage penalty for couples earning under $50,000, **37%** think they should go towards medical research, health programs and to help the tobacco farmers affected by the bill, and **43%** think they should go towards spending on childcare and education.

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E-Rate

The e-rate is best defended as part of the long-standing tradition of the Universal service fee. When put in that context, there is overwhelming support for it. It can also be won as necessary for schools, libraries and rural areas, but the more it is just a tax vs. an extension of this long-standing program, the more it is a close question rather than a clear question. This is particularly true after the campaign by the companies and the Republicans to isolate it as a tax rather than as part of the Universal Service system.

Rhetorically, let's not accept it as a tax – let us say that this is an obligation of the nation's phone companies to provide universal access to the internet for every school, every library, and every rural subscriber – a nominal fee to ensure our children are prepared for the 21st Century.

- **Support for the Universal Fee**

The FCC Universal Service fee is a monthly fee of up to $1.50 that is charged to your phone bill to ensure that everyone across America has local telephone service.
52/38%support/oppose this fee
52% support (32 somewhat + 20 strongly)
38% oppose (18 somewhat + 20 strongly)

Democrat: 63/30, Republican: 37/56, Independent: 52/36

The FCC Universal Service fee is also used to fund an initiative that would connect every classroom to the Internet by the year 2000.

Given this, 68/27%support/oppose this fee
68% support (35 somewhat + 33 strongly)
27% oppose (9 somewhat + 18 strongly)

Democrat: 76/20, Republican: 61/34, Independent: 68/26
<35 yrs: 82/18, >35 yrs: 64/28
<35K: 64/31, **>35K: 78/21**

This use of the Universal Service fee for this purpose actually increases support for it.

COPY

- **"Tax burden" Argumentation**

Phone service

36% say that this is just another tax burden that the federal government is trying to hide in our phone bills. **51%** say that it is such a nominal fee and it ensures that everyone in the US has economical telephone service and it does it without raising phone rates.

Democrat: 37/56, Republican: 47/43, Independent: 33/54
<35 yrs: 34/63, >35 yrs: 38/46
<35K: 44/38, >35K: 30/64
City: 37/50, Suburb: 52/32, ***Rural: 23/69***

35% say that this is just another tax burden that the federal government is trying to hide in our phone bills. **57%** say that it is such a nominal fee and it going to ensure that our children are prepared for the future, by wiring every classroom to the internet by the year 2000.

Democrat: 26/68, Republican: 57/35, Independent: 27/64

But it is a closer question when you just present it as a fee for a service:

47/44% favor/oppose wiring every classroom and every library to the internet and ensuring phone service in rural areas at a cost of 76 cents per month on the phone bill.
Party: D:56/38, R:37/54, I:45/42
Age: ***<35:62/30****, >35:44/47*

The voters by 51/42 believe that the FCC should continue to charge the Universal Service fee, but by 36 to 56% they don't think the FCC should collect the fee if it is just 76 cents for the service.

What is the best reason to allow the fee?	Total	Party: D/R/I	Age: <35/>35
This helps make sure that all schools, rich or poor, urban or rural, have access to the internet	36	31/35/41	43/34
To keep rural telephone rates reasonable	17	11/21/19	12/18
This is a small price to pay for such an important educational advantage	16	21/15/13	27/13
My school could use the help	4	6/4/4	7/4
60,000 schools have applied for help to get on the internet	3	6/1/2	0/4

49% think we should maintain the current goal of connecting all classrooms to the internet even if it means a charge of up to 76 cents on American's phone bills, **28%** think we should instead set a goal of connecting the principal's office in each school, which would reduce the charge to under 50 cents.
Party: D:52/29, R:42/31, I:51/26
Age: <35:62/28, >35:46/29

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Immigration

Without policies and a clear direction, this speech cannot succeed.

The polling has shown for quite some time that this is a responsibility issue – it is about defining the responsibility of those who come to our shores, and it is about the responsibility that we have to give those who come here – to process their application, to give them a timely response, to educate their children to integrate them into American life. They see the INS as in need of fundamental reform (11% well run 71% needs overhaul). And they see that there is a wave of discrimination against immigrants – worthy of connecting this to the race initiative, as part of the same problem. **If not an immigrant's bill of rights, then at lease an agenda for better immigrating immigrants into America. This could include how we handle bi-lingual education as a part of that.**

Here are some reasons that we should encourage immigration to this country. For each one tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree.	Agree/ Disagree	Strongly Agree
America is about being a melting pot – taking people from all over the world and living together in a better, more diverse country.	71/26	39
Immigrant work hard – they are some of the hardest workers we have here in America.	72/24	38
We need to provide an opportunity for people in other countries, but who are qualified, to seek a better life here in America. It is the right thing to do.	61/35	25
Immigration is making us a more diverse and stronger country for the 21st Century.	54/43	24
Increased immigration is a part of the new economy – more people from more countries with more talents coming to America.	48/48	18

Following are some statements about immigrants. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree.	Agree/ Disagree	Strongly Agree
We need to set out the responsibilities new immigrants owe to their new land, and set out the responsibilities we have in helping them to be citizens.	81/15	50
There is a lot of discrimination against new immigrants to this country	76/22	45
Immigrants cost Americans jobs because they are willing to work for less	68/29	40
Immigrants cost too much in social services and don't pay taxes.	62/33	37
Immigrants bring too much crime.	41/53	21

Which is more important right now – **35%** think chasing down and deporting illegal immigrants, **53%** think better integrating legal immigrants into our society.

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Bilingual Education

Limiting Bi-Lingual to Three Years

67/26% support/oppose a proposal that would limit bi-lingual education to three years, and require non-English speaking students to join a regular classroom within three years.

67% support (**37%** strongly + **30%** somewhat)
26% oppose (**17%** strongly + **9%** somewhat)
Party: D:69/24, R:67/26, I:65/27
Gender: M:60/32, F:73/19
Hispanic Origin: 60/40

The federal government would provide additional funding for teacher training and resources to schools that meet goals of moving their students from bilingual classes to regular classrooms within three years.

68/25% support/oppose this proposal.

68% support (**33%** strongly + **35%** somewhat)
25% oppose (**14%** strongly + **11%** somewhat)
Party: D:71/20, R:58/32, I:71/23
Gender: M:62/32, F:73/18
Hispanic Origin: 66/26

H1B

57/43% support/oppose increasing the number of highly skilled immigrants who can come into the country.

57% support (**23%** strongly + **24%** somewhat)
43% oppose (**28%** strongly + **15%** somewhat)

25% say we should allow more highly skilled foreigners into the country to fill positions requiring these skills and provide some training for Americans workers. **69%** say we should allow foreigners to fill these positions, but only if, in addition to providing training for Americans workers we put in place strong protections to ensure that American workers are not laid off when immigrants are hired and American workers are recruited first for these positions.

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Drug Testing

The idea of drug testing for student loans is as good as any we have tested.

80/19% support/oppose requiring applicants to pass a drug test in order to receive a driver's license.

80% support (**70%** strongly + **10%** somewhat)
19% oppose (**11%** strongly + **8%** somewhat)

Men: 73/25, Women: 86/14

75/22% support/oppose requiring applicants to pass a drug test in order to receive student loans?

75% support (**62%** strongly + **13%** somewhat)
22% oppose (**13%** strongly + **9%** somewhat)

There is currently a proposal to limit the eligibility of applicants for federal student loans if they test positive for drugs. Applicants would be able to restore their eligibility for these loans once they stop using drugs or are in a treatment program.
80/17% support/oppose this proposal.

80% support (**55%** strongly + **25%** somewhat)
17% oppose (**9%** strongly + **8%** somewhat)

68% say we should require drug tests for student loans because no American who is abusing drugs should be eligible to receive federal money. **27%** say drug testing for loans is an intrusion of the federal government into the privacy of its citizens, so drug test should not be required to receive federal loans.

Food Safety

Recall of Tainted Food
Currently, the Food and Drug administration does not have authority to recall tainted foods.

Given this, **87/11%** would support/oppose giving the FDA authority to order mandatory recall of tainted foods and impose fines on companies.

87% support (**72%** strongly + **15%** somewhat)
11% oppose (**4%** strongly + **7%** somewhat)

23% say we don't need more federal regulation of food distribution – food companies already respond quickly to problems of food contamination by recalling tainted foods. **76%** say we should give the FDA this authority because the government should have more control over responding to food contamination.

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FDA Budget Increase

President Clinton has requested a 100 million dollar increase in funding of the Food and Drug Administration and the US Department of Agriculture to go in part to hire more inspectors for imported fruits and vegetables.

Given this, **72/23%** support/oppose this increase in funding.

72% support (**42%** strongly + **30%** somewhat)
23% oppose (**8%** strongly + **15%** somewhat)

If a Democrat supported this increase in FDA funding for food safety and inspection , and a Republican said we don't need to spend this much money on bureaucracy, and we should only give half the amount, **50%** would be more likely to vote for the Democrat, **33%** more likely to vote for the Republican.

50% Democrat (**28%** much more likely + **22%** somewhat more likely)
33% Republican (**11%** much more likely + **22%** somewhat more likely)

Child Custody Act

There is a proposal to make it a federal crime to take a minor across state lines to get an abortion in another state. **48/48%** support/oppose this proposal.

48% support (**36%** strongly + **12%** somewhat)
48% oppose (**36%** strongly + **12%** somewhat)

Democrats: 47/40, Republicans: 58/42, Independents: 45/51
Income: <35K: 38/61

45% say this is appropriate to stop kids from going to another state to avoid parental notification laws; **42%** say it is wrong to arrest friends or relatives who would typically be helping a teenager to get an abortion.

Democrats: 47/40, Republicans: 58/42, Independents: 45/51

Millenium

We are defining the millenium as a celebration of American values and of preserving its history while looking towards the future. Its emphasis on America, its history and preservation of it is serving to position the millenium as a second bicentennial, one focused more on cultural history.

The public certainly approves of the direction, but it is also important to note that also place the millenium in a much broader context – to them, it is fundamentally about the future and the ability of the human race to make it to the third millenium. It is very much about world peace, living with nuclear weapons, preserving our planet, the future of spirituality, the miracles of bioscience. Preparing for the 21st Century is associated with immediate concerns – technology, the global economy, etc. – while the millenium is, in addition, identified with much larger issues of worldwide harmony and growing interdependence, and how we maintain it.

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They also prefer more action-oriented verbiage to describe what we are doing and always tying it to the future – not "honoring" the past, but "protecting" and "preserving" our heritage. And adding "for the future" or "for the next generation" to phrases greatly increases their connection to their future orientation and increases their scores considerably.

23% think that we need to prepare America for the new millenium, **56%** think we should prepare America for the 21st Century.

11% think the millenium is more about honoring our past, 68% think imagining our future.

The most important aspect of the new millenium - **22%** think it marks a historical point of development for America, **67%** think it is the beginning of a new and brighter future for America.

19% see the millenium as a time to celebrate the history and development of America, **68%** the history and development of the world.

43% think of the millenium project as a celebration, **37%** think as a commemoration.

Here are some words and phrases about the millenium celebration. For each one, please tell me if you think it is very appropriate, somewhat appropriate, or not very appropriate as describing the new millenium and the First lady's millenium project?	Appropriate / Not Appropriate	Very Appropriate
It's about learning to live together	83/15	59
It's about keeping the world at peace for another 1000 years	75/21	55
It's about the future of mankind	83/14	51
It's about a legacy for the next generation	85/13	47
It's about protecting our American Heritage for the future	79/18	46
It's about preserving our tradition of giving to those in need	81/17	44
It's about imagining the future	76/18	43
It's about a journey of discovery	76/18	40
It's about America's ingenuity and creativity	73/18	38
It's about preservation of our past for all time	74/22	38
It's about honoring the past	79/18	37
It's about the difference America has made in the world	75/22	35
It's about leaving gifts to the future	67/27	31

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Upcoming possibilities

Here is a list of a menu of some proposals touched upon in past weeks that could supplement what is already being being done on the major issues:

Larger Concepts:

Tax credit for taking care of an elderly parent
Overhaul of antitrust laws to explicitly take the consumer into account
Taxation/Health benefit availability for independent contractors/free agent workers

Smaller Concepts:

Anti-Slamming Regulations
Expanding Medicare Prostate Cancer Screening
Endorse mammograms for all women over 40
Food Safety FDA recall authority, labeling of genetically modified foods
Drug testing of student loan applicants
Announce rural agenda of rural empowerment zones, revised farm policy in light of downturn
Interstate Juvenile Crime Databank

Speeches

Major address on nuclear non-proliferation/India/Pakistan policy
A speech on the differences in values between Clinton's budget and the Republicans

Pushbacks on Republicans

Event on Kasich budget on eliminating the crime trust fund, 100,000 cops
Laying down a marker that the Republicans are threatening the recovery with blocking of education, trade, risky tax schemes (Gore)

Rahm suggests the following initiatives:

Amicus brief in the Chicago gang case
Endorse Parent's Responsibility Act, holding parents responsible for gun use of their kids
Launch of the anti-drug campaign
Follow-up on penalizing insurance companies that gouge consumers who change jobs

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Methodology and Overview of Top Targeted Districts

The 1998 election will be determined by the outcome of races in 71 battleground districts nationwide.

The Battleground Districts

- ✓ 33 currently Democratic
- ✓ 38 currently held by Republicans.
- ✓ 28 are entirely or mostly rural
- ✓ 18 suburban
- ✓ 8 urban/suburban
- ✓ 5 urban
- ✓ 4 urban/rural
- ✓ 4 suburban/rural
- ✓ 4 mix (no dominant characteristic)

We identified forty of these battleground seats as High Priority Targets. We sampled 600 registered voters in these high priority House districts between May 14 and May 18, 1998. The margin of error for the survey is +/- 4.0% at the 95% confidence level.

High Priority Targets:

- ✓ 20 currently Democratic
- ✓ 20 currently held by Republicans
- ✓ 16 are entirely or mostly rural
- ✓ 12 suburban
- ✓ 5 urban/suburban
- ✓ 3 mix
- ✓ 2 urban
- ✓ 1 urban/rural
- ✓ 1 suburban/rural

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High Priority Congressional Districts Surveyed

While there are top targeted House districts in every region of the nation, there are just two in the Northeast (CT 5 and PA 13). California alone represents six of the forty highest priority targeted districts, none of which are rural. Texas has four of the top targeted races, three of which *are* rural.

GOP Districts	
CD	**CD Type**
AL 3	R
CA 27	U/S
CA 49	U
IA 2	R
ID 2	R
IN 8	R
KS 3	S
LA 6	R
MT AL	R
NM 1	U
NM 3	R
OH 1	U/S
OK 3	R
PA 13	S
TX 14	R
UT 2	S
WA 1	S
WA 3	S/R
WI 1	Mix
WI 2	Mix

Democratic Districts	
CD	**CD Type**
CA 3	S
CA 24	S
CA 42	U/S
CA 46	U/S
CO 2	S
CT 5	S
IA 3	R
IL 19	R
IN 9	R
IN 10	S
KY 6	U/R
MI 8	S
NC 2	R
NC 4	S
OH 6	R
OR 1	S
TX 2	R
TX 9	U/S
TX 17	R
WI 8	Mix

Key to CD Type Codes:

R = Rural
U = Urban
S = Suburban
Mix = no dominant characteristic

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Summary of Findings and Recommendations

Despite the historical trend to the contrary, Congressional Democrats are entering the general election phase of the 1998 election in reasonably good shape. Traditionally, the party that holds the White House has been bloodied in mid-term elections. This year, however, we have the capacity to hold our own, or perhaps gain some seats, and we have an outside chance to recapture control of the House outright.

This poll shows that among *prime* voters in 40 targeted districts, the Congressional horserace now stands at 43% - 43%, indicating that the 1998 election, if held today, would be extremely close. In 1996 the popular vote nationwide was deadlocked at 49% - 49% and a very few votes in a handful of districts left the Republicans with a 10-seat edge. As in 1996, small shifts in voting patterns will determine the outcome of this campaign. But we also know that the Republican spending patterns typically mean that we must go into the last month with an advantage because they spend late and typically pick up several points in the last week when their spending advantage and Christian Coalition mobilization hits a peak.

The Gender Gap is Alive and Well

Reports of the demise of the gender gap are greatly exaggerated. Instead of narrowing, the gender gap has widened in terms of the congressional vote (not to be confused with the presidential vote where a larger 16 point edge with women was balanced by a 1 point loss with men). In 1996, congressional Democrats had a 10 point advantage with women and trailed Republicans by 8 points among men.

Furthermore, the suburban/rural nature of the targeted districts gender gap against us is more pronounced in the targeted congressional districts than nationally.

- The advantage among women in these districts is 16 points for the Democrats, 46 to 30.
- The advantage for the Republicans among men is 11 points, 46 to 35.
- Among whites only, Democrats have an 11 point advantage with women and a 20 point deficit with men.

It is easy to forget that on the question of values, it is the Democrats in Congress who are seen as massively out of touch with men. Specifically, Democrats in Congress are fundamentally out of touch with men on the issues of tax and spend and crime and welfare, on treatment of issues such as prayer and homosexuality. While the President closed the gap on these issues to lose men by only one point, Democrats in Congress have had and continue to have much more significant problems with the voters on these issues than the President. And the numbers are quite clear, the problem is not that Democrats are losing the women of 1996, but that they are losing the men, thus widening the gap.

1998 Is Not 1994

The ratings of the economy and of the administration are fundamentally different than they were in 1994 and higher than in 1996. The Republicans have realized this and now appear to have made attacks on the administration their strategic focus, reasoning that low administration ratings are the key to building on the victory that gave them control of the House in 1994.

The Republican attempt to turn the 1998 elections into a reprise of the 1994 "referendum" on the first two years of the Clinton presidency is a major strategic blunder on their part. The GOP is applying an outmoded strategy to fundamentally changed circumstances. The voters now see this as an administration with a substantial record of accomplishment, and the leader of successful bi-partisan reforms. This is our opportunity to seize the high ground by depicting the Republicans as more interested in diversionary, partisan investigations than serving the people, and, at the same time, to show the President and the Democrats as the nation's leadership on the substantive challenges of the day.

We need to portray the Republicans as . . .

- ✓ A party more interested in trying to replay the elections of the past than focusing on the problems of the 21st Century. They are the party of partisanship while we are the party of progress.

- ✓ A party that is endangering the hard-won economic recovery, and undermining the expansion of the recovery to more Americans, by blocking education investments, retarding our global economic leadership and imperiling the balanced budget with risky new schemes.

- ✓ A party whose values are leaving our elderly and our children to fend for themselves – on everything from the HMO bill of Rights, to Medicare expansion and the need to preserve Social Security First for seniors and education, child care and tobacco for our children.

- ✓ The anti-immigrant party. The Republicans are truly the party that is seeking to make it difficult at every turn for our new immigrants. While Blacks are a relatively small (but important) vote in swing districts, Hispanics in these districts are equally as important as they are nationally, and together this vote represents 7% of the electorate, with higher concentrations some districts.

The Democratic Agenda is a Winning Agenda

Overall, voters prefer the Democratic agenda to the Republican agenda. When given a choice of a Democrat who favors Social Security First, class size reduction, an HMO bill of rights and other key Democratic policies vs. a tax cutting Republican who favors partial birth, IRS reform, etc., the prime voters give Democrats an 13 point edge over the Democrats *(see page 19 for full text of each message)*.

But the Republican agenda is much more effective in rural districts. In those districts, Democrats gain 9 points while Republicans gain 6 points, making the agenda a statistical wash in those districts. In other words, we have a very effective suburban message, but no rural message.

But this election is not just about a contrast of agendas – it is about who is really better at keeping up the progress that America is enjoying. And the best reasons to vote against a Republican are found in their attempts to block the economic and social policies that are preparing America for the 21st Century.

Which of the following is the best reason to vote against a Republican for Congress?	%
They are threatening our economic recovery by trying to spend too much, cutting back on education and blocking trade legislation	21
They are blocking new proposals that would improve education and child care, and they want to use the budget surplus for a tax cut rather than to protect social security	17
They are running a government of partisan investigations rather than legislation	16
They are in the hands of Newt Gingrich and the right wing of the party	9

The Seven Elements of Success

Taking all of the data into account, we believe that there are seven steps to success in these upcoming elections. We should turn this into an election about continuing the progress not turning back to politics and partisanship.

1. *Buttress Support Among Seniors, Particularly Senior Men*

Seventy four percent of seniors say that they will vote in the mid-term election this November. The gender gap is at its widest among seniors. While we win senior women by 31 points (52/21) we trail the Republicans by 33 points among senior men (30/63). If there weren't more senior women than men, we would be losing seniors.

Senior men are driven in part by senior-oriented issues, but they are differentiated from their female counterparts by their **fiscal conservatism** and added concern over crime and violence. Although 57% regard themselves as conservative they are not "family values" voters – but they are the tougher Swing II conservative voters who are impatient with the moral direction of our society.[1]

Approaches to this important vote:

Appeal to senior specific issues – Save Social Security First, Medicare Expansion, HMO Bill of Rights. In all the testing, Social Security first is the most powerful message for seniors, and most voters. (see section below)

Exploit economic differences - Voters over age 50, particularly men, see themselves as most affected by threats to an economic recovery. They show the greatest movement on the economic contrast message:

> *"President Clinton and the Democrats are trying to get us ready for the 21st Century with a strong economic policy that includes fiscal responsibility, investing in people through education and training and expanding markets overseas. The Republicans want to cut back on education, turn our backs on the rest of the world and have abandoned the idea of fiscal responsibility by proposing tax cuts that put the federal budget out of balance and billions in spending over what we can afford."*[2]

---

[1] Our methodology has been to divide the electorate into four mutually exclusive segments. At the poles are the Republican and Democratic bases. In between are so-called Swing I voters who lean Democratic and Swing II voters who lean Republican.

[2] This argument results in a rise of 24% among men age 50+.

2. *Win Suburban voters with the Democratic issues of Education.*

The need to expand educational opportunities and push for a reduction in class size, expansion of teachers, is the single most powerful argument with suburban voters – moving them 26 points in the Democratic direction.

The Republicans have realized the enormous inroads that we have made on education and countered with an "agenda" of giving local control back to school boards and providing vouchers.

But the Democratic message of modernizing the schools with school construction, reduced class size, new teachers, and leveling out access to technology is a message that is much more powerful than the Republican position on education. All voters favor the Democratic message over the Republican message by 60 to 34. This was even more true of people very concerned about education.

3. *Develop a targeted rural agenda.*

Aside from our national message, this data suggests that all of the media and communications in rural areas need to be fundamentally different. The basic Democratic arguments that work so well elsewhere overall fail to work in the rural area because rural men have defected in such large numbers. And unless we check this movement, the political story of 1998 could well be the emergence of the rural male gap of huge proportions and the switch of rural America from the Democrats to the Republicans. Every one of the nine rural target seats that are currently held by Republican Members were Democratic before 1994.

These voters care about values, about working families (i.e. minimum wage) and about specific help to their area such as highways, farm bills and the spread of new technologies and advances to their region.

4. *Drive up the Hispanic vote with education and community specific messages.*

The education message is strong in the Hispanic community; indeed education is the top concern of that important and growing voter group, which increasingly believes that Republicans are out of touch with their community. Recent votes by the Republicans to deny food stamps to legal immigrants and GOP efforts to promote English as the "official" language are increasing the gulf between Republicans and the Latino community.

5. *Develop a tax and fiscal message to blunt the Republican attacks on this issue.*

We have two basic messages that will work:

- ✓ We must save the surplus for Social Security and keep the budget in balance. (This position is so powerful that the Republicans are afraid of it, alternately attacking it and then retreating from it).

- ✓ We need further targeted tax relief to 1) help people with child care and 2) help people care for an elderly parent.

If we can combine a proposal to help Americans do our duty for our elderly with a proposal to protect our children, then we would have a strong tax cut package that outweighs the marriage penalty proposal. This is a tax package that communicates family values is an effective way.

We can synthesize this into a basic message of fiscal responsibility consistent with our values – Saving Social Security First, and then, after that job is done, we should enact targeted tax cuts for stronger families.

The Tobacco bill may also serve as a mini-balanced budget that would take tobacco and tax issues off the table at the same time by including a marriage penalty tax cut. This would be the short-term answer to a tax cut – we voted for one. The long-term answer is to fix Social Security First and then enact more targeted cuts.

6. *Use the investigations against the Republicans.*

Republicans have spent much of the last two years on a series of unproductive, non-stop investigations. The endless hearings have turned off the public and cost millions of taxpayer dollars. The nastier they get, the more our base will want to turn out to stop them.

Assuming the same outcome for all the investigations from here to Election Day – the argument that the Republicans spent more time and taxpayer money on investigations than Medicare and Education combined is a strong reason to turn out and it is a strong motivation to vote Democratic for independent voters who are sick of partisanship.

The percentage of time spent on investigative hearings, the taxpayer money spent, and the lack of legislation, are all evidence that the Republicans have put partisanship over progress – politics over dong the people's business. This is an issue they have abused so much that we can now fight back on it.

Ultimately, this is about the values of a Republican Congress that spends millions of taxpayer dollars on investigations while holding up legislation on tobacco, child care, health care and education.

7. *Crime*

This poll paints a dismal view of the Democrats running for Congress and the issue of crime. In many of the districts, this has become the number one issue, and House Democrats, unlike the President, are facing a massive deficit on the issue. No discussion of values will work unless we are able to project more of a position on crime and drugs. The Republicans are joining the issue of education, they are trying to neutralize the debate on Social Security and Medicare, but the Democrats are failing to do the same on crime. Whether it is new policies or protections for the elderly against fraud or juvenile justice legislation on kids and guns, the Democrats must make a concerted to neutralize this significant Democratic disadvantage.

Which of the following is greatest concern to you?	All	Dem Base	Sw I	Sw II	GOP
The weakening of traditional family values	23	9	18	24	38
High taxes and government spending	14	7	8	16	23
The need for better and safer schools	14	18	14	15	9
The stability of Medicare and Social Security	14	21	15	9	13
Crime and violence	11	11	18	11	5
The need for quality and affordable health care	8	19	7	5	3
The need for clean air and clean water	7	7	7	10	1
The lack of good jobs and economic opportunity	6	6	9	5	5

Strategic Conclusions

The Republicans are trying to nationalize this election by attacking the President for allegedly stonewalling the investigations while stumbling in his foreign policy. Republicans hope that these attacks, accompanied by calls for tax cuts, and appeals to the GOP's right wing (such as the ban on partial-birth abortion) will offset their dismal record in the 105th Congress.

Of course, this election will be won or lost in the individual districts, and this poll shows that there is much that can be done with carefully targeted, mail messages to groups of voters by age, by gender, by type of area. And it shows that if Democrats would stick to the national agenda in their districts, particularly in urban and suburban areas, they can soundly defeat the Republican message.

It is important that we don't repeat the Republican mistake of applying the lesson of 94 too strictly to 96 without considering the changed circumstances. In 1994, a majority believed the country was going in the wrong direction, and the President's approval close to 34%. We do not want to make this election about a "Democratic" Congress, but we do need a defining national message that counters the Republican attacks; we know that if unanswered, those attacks will take their toll and chip away at Independents and drive a substantial gender gap of men against the Democrats.

Our response based on this poll is to define this election as about Progress vs. Partisanship.

Democrats stand for progress according to our priorities and values. They stand for working together with the people to maintain our fiscal integrity and continue to grow our economy, while expanding the opportunities for education, healthcare, and childcare in America. Yet the Republicans stand for partisanship in the holding up of virtually every piece of important, people-oriented legislation, coming up with risky tax and extreme budget schemes, while using congress and the taxpayers' money on investigations that are nothing more than their own campaigns.

The Nature of the Battleground Electorate

Comparison of Targeted Districts With Nation Overall

Voters in the 40 high priority districts are both richer and poorer than voters overall. While 20% of voters nationwide fall into the $20-35,000 income bracket, this is true of just 14% of voters in the targeted districts.

Racially, the high priority districts are also whiter than the nation as a whole. They have a much lower number of blacks (4% as opposed to 9% nationwide), and an equal number of Hispanics (3% both in the targeted districts and nationwide).

Voters in these districts are also somewhat more partisan than the overall electorate. While 26% of the national electorate is undecided on the question of generic congressional ballot preference, in the targeted districts only 21% are undecided.

		Targeted Congressional Districts	National Sample
Party ID	Democrat	34	33
	Republican	27	26
	Independent	33	38
Vote	Vote Dem	41	39
	Vote GOP	38	34
	Don't know	21	26
Race	White	82	79
	Black	4	9
	Hispanic	3	3
Income	<$20,000	19	15
	$20-$34,999	14	20
	$35-$59,999	23	23
	$60,000-$99,999	17	14
	$100,000+	6	5

Targeting

While voters in the battleground congressional districts are less likely to be undecided than are voters nationwide, the challenge for Democrats in 1998 is as much to persuade swing and undecided voters as it is to mobilize the Democratic base, which is in fact more solid than the current GOP base.

In terms of generic congressional ballot preference, the strongest Democratic voting groups include:

- √ Hispanics
- √ African Americans
- √ Liberals
- √ Women overall: 46% - 30% Dem./GOP generic ballot preference
- √ Women 18 – 24: 49% -36%
- √ Women 50 – 64: 44% - 34%
- √ Women 65+: 45% – 36%

As the chart below indicates, the electoral battle ground is mainly comprised of middle income voters, moderates, and Independents. These groups are the mostly likely to be undecided, or evenly divided in their generic party preference. As a result, the Democrats' ability to craft a persuasive appeal, not just the success of our get out the vote effort to mobilize partisans, will be key to our ability to succeed in the upcoming Congressional elections.

Gender and age are the best demographic predictors of generic ballot preference in these priority House districts. While Democrats have a significant lead over Republicans among women, this lead is smaller among women age 35 – 49 (10% advantage), and we trail by 4% among women age 25 – 34.

Democrats lead among men age 18-24 but trail the GOP among all other male age cohorts. We are essentially tied with the GOP among 50-64 year old men, with 38% Democratic ballot preference and 40% Republican preference.

While liberals and conservatives are polarized in their generic ballot support, one-quarter (26%) of moderates are undecided, with Democrats enjoying a 7% advantage over those who have a preference.

Generic Congressional Ballot by Demographic Groups

		% of Voters	Vote Dem	Vote GOP	Don't know
All Voters		100%	41%	38%	21%
Prime		58	43	43	14
Gender	M	48	35	46	19
	F	52	46	30	23
Women by Age	18-24	6	51	31	17
	25-34	8	36	40	23
	35-49	12	43	33	24
	50-64	11	49	29	22
	65+	11	52	21	26
Men by Age	18-24	8	47	40	14
	25-34	8	21	58	21
	35-49	13	34	43	24
	50-64	9	38	40	21
	65+	6	30	63	7
Party ID	Dem	34	86	5	9
	GOP	27	5	85	10
	Ind	33	29	33	39
Income	<20	19	58	24	19
	20-35	14	41	39	21
	35-60	23	40	41	19
	60-100	17	42	45	13
	100+	6	23	59	18
Race	White	82	38	42	20
	Black	4	79	8	12
	Hispanic	3	67	11	22
Ideology	Liberal	24	75	9	16
	Mod.	37	40	33	26
	Cons.	31	17	67	16
Habitat	Suburb	26	37	43	20
	Rural	47	41	39	20

Generic Congressional Ballot Preference Among Independents

Republicans have a 4% edge among Independents, although 39% of Independents express no party preference in a generic test of Congressional ballot support. As a result, six in ten of all undecided voters are Independents. Independent women are significantly more likely to vote Democratic or to be undecided than are Independent men (60% among men vs. 74% among women). **For this reason, Independent women should be considered to have greater potential for Democratic candidates than Independent men. We are playing defense with me – trying to prevent the gap from slipping too far while playing offense with women.**

Ballot Preference	Independent Men	Independent Women
Dem.	24	33
Rep	40	26
Don't Know	36	41
% Prefer Dem. + % Undecided	60	74

The Undecided voter

Undecided voters are disproportionately women (58%) and Independent (61%). Almost half (46%) are moderates, and only 39% are Prime voters.[3] Like voters overall, undecided voters tend to say that the economy is on the right track (76%). Seven in ten undecided voters (68%) approve of the job the President is doing, which is a slightly higher figure than President Clinton achieves among the electorate as a whole.

Undecided voters do not give either party in Congress high ratings, but Democrats fare somewhat better and have 6% lower job disapproval:

40/42% GOP Congress job approve/disapprove
43/36% Dem. Congress job approve/disapprove

The Democratic Base In Targeted Districts

The Republicans have embarked on a "base" strategy. The reason for this is quite clear from the data – in the last year, it is the Democratic base that has been firming up while the Republican base had been dissipating. Here is some evidence of that:

[3] Prime voters are those who say that they will definitely vote in the November 1998 election.

1) Liberals are more likely to "definitely" support Democratic candidates than conservatives are to "definitely" support Republicans;

44% of liberals say they will definitely vote for a Democrat, while 30% of conservatives will definitely vote for a Republican candidate for Congress.

2) Those who intend to vote Democratic are more likely to "definitely" support Democrats than are those who intend to vote Republican.

Among voters who intend to vote for a Democrat, 47% say they will definitely vote this way, compared with 33% of those who intend to vote for a Republican.

3) Democrats are more likely to "definitely" support Democratic candidates than Republicans are to support Republican candidates.

46% of Democrats will definitely vote Democratic, compared with 39% of Republicans who will definitely vote Republican.

The Party Images

The Gender Gap Against us - Our Problem With Men

The gender gap against us (the tendency of men to vote Republican) is stronger in the targeted Congressional Districts than it is nationally. Nationwide, the GOP has a 7 percentage point lead among men (42-35), but this gap widens to 11 points in the high priority districts (46 to 35).

Among women, our gender gap among women is equally strong in these districts (16 point advantage for Democrats in the targeted CDs, 17 points nationally)

The Gender Gap In Party Perceptions

Despite the gender gap in ballot preference, men and women share many common perceptions of the major parties. Both men and women perceive the Democrats as better on issues that embody an active role for government - protecting kids from tobacco (as opposed to protecting children in general, at which men say the parties are at parity), increasing access to health care, protecting Social Security or improving education.

On the other hand, both men and women say the Republicans are tougher on crime, better at protecting traditional American values, balancing the Federal budget and keeping taxes low. Neither sex gives either party an advantage when it comes to fighting drugs.

Where the sexes differ is that men give Democrats much lower marks when it comes to "caring about people like me," which is a major Democratic advantage among women), and on economic competitiveness, reforming government, defense issues. Among women, Democrats have a 37 point advantage in "caring about people like me" and a 12 point edge when it comes to being "in touch with my values." However, men give the nod to the GOP on these issues by 2 and 8 points respectively.

The biggest gap on issues is on defense – there is a 42 point gender gap on the issue of defense in comparing Democrats to Republicans.

Perceptions of the Democratic and Republican Party
% of Men and Women Who Say Each Attribute Applies To Each Party

	Men			Women		
Does this apply more to the Democrats or Republicans in Congress?	Dems	GOP	Dem. Adv.	Dem	GOP	Dem. Adv.
Maintaining abortion rights	59	23	36	61	16	45
Easing racial tensions	57	19	38	54	13	41
Protecting Kids from tobacco	59	13	46	50	13	37
Protecting Medicare and Social Security	58	22	36	61	24	37
Cares about people like me	39	41	-2	58	21	37
Increasing access to health care	68	19	49	55	22	33
Protecting the clean air and clean water	61	19	42	53	20	33
Helping working families	49	34	15	54	22	32
Working to improve our educational system	50	25	25	55	24	31
Reforming Medicare and Social Security	40	40	0	54	29	25
Working to improve our economy	41	39	2	49	27	22
Protecting children	33	33	0	44	23	21
Creating opportunity for people to make the most out of their own lives	43	42	1	44	29	15
Is in touch with my values	35	43	-8	43	31	12
Making America competitive in the world economy	33	49	-16	42	31	11
More concerned about public issues than political gain	43	33	10	38	29	9
Making wise decisions about the country's defense policies	24	57	-33	37	28	9
Fighting Drugs	36	37	-1	35	28	7
Reforming welfare	35	50	-15	43	38	5
Reforming government	29	45	-16	38	33	5
Working to enter into tough trade agreements	43	42	1	35	33	2
Keeping taxes low	33	48	-15	31	35	-4
Balancing the Federal budget	34	49	-15	34	41	-7
Tied to special interests	41	35	6	31	48	-17
Tough on crime	26	53	-27	24	44	-20
Protecting traditional American values	26	60	-34	25	50	-25
Encouraging high moral standards	21	59	-38	19	46	-27

Strength of Democratic and Republican Agendas

A composite profile that introduces the main agenda issues of each party to voters results in a 10 point increase in Democratic vote and a 1 point increase in Republican vote in a ballot test. This change is even more significant among Prime voters -- with the Democratic vote increasing 11 points and Republican *decreasing* 2 points.[4] The Republican agenda is more effective in rural districts than suburban districts, even though Republicans are currently stronger in these suburban districts.

All Voters	Generic	After Profile	Change
Vote Dem	41	51	+10
Vote GOP	38	39	+1

Prime Voters	Generic	After Profile	Change
Vote Dem	41	52	+11
Vote GOP	41	39	-2

Impact of Contrasting Profiles Among Target Voters

The chart below shows ballot support after voters hear a positive profile of both a Democratic and Republican candidate.

Men age 35-49 are the most elusive targets for Democratic candidates. Among these voters, the profiles increase support for Democrats and Republicans equally (6%), and results in a Democratic disadvantage in ballot support of 9%. Among senior men, the profiles increase Democratic support by 9% and reduce support for Republican's by 2%, but in the end, senior men still prefer Republicans by a 61% to 39% margin.

In the case of women between the ages of 25 and 34, the only age group of women in which Democrats trail, the profiles increase support for each party

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[4] If a Democrat said he would reform education by making class sizes smaller and investing in school construction; he would support a settlement with the tobacco companies to protect our children; he would ensure quality health care by passing an HMO bill of Rights; and would invest any budget surplus in Social Security until it is fixed for the next generation; expand Medicare to make it available for early retirees; strengthen equal pay laws, raise the minimum wage and improve the quality and availability of child care.

And if a Republican said he would reform education by giving parents vouchers for public or private schools and allowing tax free IRAs to be used for elementary and secondary school; use the surplus for either a tax cut or to pay down the national debt; abolish the marriage penalty; decrease the power of the IRS; cut federal funding of the NEA, promote school prayer and advocate an all out ban on partial birth abortions.

roughly equally, and result in a tie in generic ballot preference – which represents only minor change from the initial Democratic deficit of 4% in generic ballot preference among these voters.

Importantly, the Republican profile results in a drop of 9% in GOP generic ballot preference among men age 18-24 and 25-35. For this reason, we include men age 25-34 as a potential Democratic target even though after these voters hear the contrasting profile, we continue to lose by a 40% to 49% margin. *We recommend primarily focusing on reducing the Republican margin among these voters.*

		Initial ballot		After Message		Difference	
		Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep
Male by Age	18 - 24	47	40	62	31	15	-9
	25 - 34	21	58	40	49	19	-9
	35 - 49	34	43	40	49	6	6
	50 - 64	38	40	48	48	10	8
	65+	30	63	39	61	9	-2
Female by Age	18 - 24	51	31	53	38	2	7
	25 - 34	36	40	47	47	11	7
	35 - 49	43	33	58	31	15	-2
	50 - 64	39	29	52	35	13	6
	65+	52	21	63	20	11	-1
Habitat	Suburb	37	43	48	35	11	-8
	Rural	41	39	50	45	9	+6
Race	Hispanic	67	11	67	22	0	+11

Other groups among whom support significantly changes after hearing the composite profile include, Hispanics (+11), rural voters (+6), older voters (50-64, +7), women with children at home (+8). The composite profile results in a drop in Suburban voters for the Republican candidate (-8). The Democratic vote increases most significantly among young, low income men and men with children, as well as moderate and educated women.

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Investigations Clarify Party Contrasts For Democratic Base

Legislative Priorities, Not Partisanship Most Important

The most effective arguments against Republicans stress that the GOP agenda threatens our economic recovery by spending too much and by cutting back on education and blocking trade legislation (21% say it is the best argument) and that the Republicans are blocking important legislative priorities.

Which of the following is the best reason to vote against a Republican for Congress?	%
They are threatening our economic recovery by trying to spend too much, cutting back on education and blocking trade legislation	21
They are blocking new proposals that would improve education and child care, and they want to use the budget surplus for a tax cut rather than to protect social security	17
They are running a government of partisan investigations rather than legislation	16
They are in the hands of Newt Gingrich and the right wing of the party	9

Voters also respond to the argument that the GOP is blocking proposals for education and childcare and want to use the budget surplus for a tax cut rather than protect Social Security (17%). Somewhat less effective are the arguments that the Republicans are running a government of partisan investigations instead of legislation (16%) or that the GOP is in the hands of Newt Gingrich and the right wing of the party (9%).

While voters are more concerned about legislative initiatives than about partisan attacks, they are concerned that Republican investigations may impede legislative progress. Almost six in ten (57%) say the argument that the Republicans want a majority so they can continue impeachment hearings makes them more likely to vote Democratic (38% much more), with 26% who say it makes them more likely to vote Republican. After hearing this argument, ballot preference is 55%/30% in favor of the Democrats.

Republicans Viewed As Partisan

When asked specifically about the on-going Congressional investigations, voters are more responsive to the arguments that the Republicans in Congress are partisan and have accomplished little because they concentrate on investigations instead of legislation, than to assertions that the Republicans are big-spenders, extremists, are playing politics with important legislation, or risking the economic recovery with risky tax schemes. For instance, 59% agree (34% disagree) with the statement that "Partisanship is more important to the Republicans then progress. They have blocked passage of all Democratic legislation, such as new spending for education, child care and health care that

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will help Americans." This argument produces a 48% to 30% Democratic advantage in the generic Congressional ballot test.

When we made the more explicit argument – that Republicans say their goal is to gain additional seats for the Republican party so that they will continue to have enough of a majority to hold impeachment hearings -- this produces a 55% to 35% Democratic advantage in the ballot test.

Men Respond Best to Critique of GOP Fiscal Policies

Women respond best to the arguments that the Republicans are partisan and would rather focus on investigations and opposing Democratic initiatives than with progress. Men are most responsive to anti-GOP arguments that attack Republican handling of fiscal issues: namely that the Republicans are now offering radical Federal budget cuts in order to eliminate the marriage penalty, and that the Republicans threaten our economic performance with risky schemes such as phasing out the tax code without knowing what will replace it.

	Men		Women	
	Agree/ Disag.	Vote D/R	Agree/ Disag.	Vote D/R
Partisanship is more important to the Republicans than progress. They have blocked passage of all Democratic legislation, such as new spending for education, child care and health care that will help Americans	48/48	43/46	68/22	69/21
The Republican Congress has been a do-nothing Congress, focusing on investigations instead of passing legislation to that will help Americans	50/47	41/50	66/28	66/21
The Republicans in Congress have become old-fashioned pork-barrel big-spenders. They are trying o fund a 200 billion dollar highway bill by cutting funding for Medicaid, food stamps, social service programs, and medical and other benefits for veterans with illnesses related to smoking. Even with these cuts, the spending would put the budget out of balance.	43/45	48/36	49/37	54/23
The Republicans are now offering a plan that would radically cut Federal services by cutting $100 billion from the budget over five years in order to eliminate the marriage penalty from the tax code. They have suggested deep cuts in Medicaid, food stamps, welfare and other related programs, cut back tax credits for the working poor, and eliminate the Departments of Commerce and Energy to pay for tax cuts.	59/29	49/38	51/28	51/27
The Republicans are threatening our economic performance with risky schemes such as phasing out the tax code without knowing what would replace it, and going back to deficit spending with unfinanced tax cuts.	47/42	42/37	35/50	53/31

Republican Critiques (cont.)

	Men		Women	
	Agree/ Disag.	Vote D/R	Agree/ Disag.	Vote D/R
The Republican Congress is just a Congress of innuendo, making gestures and statements that they care about the values of the average American, yet they have done nothing to fight tobacco, improve education or expand child care.	45/38	39/41	49/39	50/32
The Republicans have played politics with important legislation such as disaster relief, and UN dues by attaching unrelated riders that they know the administration opposes.	56/29	44/37	46/29	35/28

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Perceptions of Congressional Investigations

Six in ten (59%) voters agree that the Republicans in Congress are using their power to conduct investigations to try to remove President Clinton from office since they could not beat him in the 1996 elections, while one-third (35%) disagree. Similarly, six in ten voters see the investigations as a political campaign run at taxpayers expense, believe that Republicans have spent more time investigating the President than on doing the people's business, see the investigations as generally partisan, and believe that the investigations continue because the Republicans are reluctant to admit that after $40 million in investigations they have found no serious wrongdoing by the President.

Arguments Ranked by % Agree Among All Voters

	Agree/ disagree
The Republicans in Congress are using their power to conduct investigations to try and remove President Clinton from office since they could not beat him in the 1996 elections.	59/35
The on-going Republican investigations of President Clinton by the Republicans in Congress continue because the Republicans are reluctant to admit after spending $40 million in taxpayer money to investigate the resident and others, they have found no serious wrongdoing by the President.	58/31
By running a year-long $10 million investigation primarily of Democratic fundraising, the Republicans are really just running a part of their political campaigns at taxpayer expense rather than taking on the people's business.	57/31
Republicans in Congress have spent more of their time and effort over the last year and a half since the last elections investigating the President than they have doing the people's business.	57/32
The investigations by the Republicans in Congress have for the most part been partisan, rather than even-handed.	57/28
When Republicans in Congress released selectively edited audio tapes that painted a biased case against the President, they clearly demonstrated that their investigation is about political gain, not about a real investigation.	55/29
In 1994, Newt Gingrich promised that if the Republicans won a majority in Congress, they would have dozens of committees investigating the President. The Republicans won, and Gingrich's promise has come true. As long as the Republicans are in the majority, they will continue to find new excuses to investigate the President.	54/28
The on-going Republican investigations of President Clinton by the Republicans in Congress are little more than an attempt by the Republicans to overturn the last election in which the voters chose to re-elect President Clinton.	51/33
The on-going Republican investigations of President Clinton by the Republicans in Congress continue because Republicans are afraid that without the investigations, the public will turn its attention to the fact that the current Republican Congress has been one of the least productive in history.	51/33

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Tobacco

Seven in ten voters (71%) have heard about tobacco legislation that is currently pending in the Senate. By a 50/35 margin, voters are more likely to support than oppose the idea of comprehensive tobacco legislation in general. Similarly, when told the elements of the McCain bill, voters support the bill by 51% to 38% margin.

While Democrats support the McCain bill by a 61% to 27% margin, Independents are more divided, with 48% who support and 44% who oppose the bill. Republicans support the bill by a 51% to 40% margin.

Voters are more likely to say that the bill is too hard on the tobacco companies (40%) than to say it is too easy on the tobacco companies (15%), or is just about right (28%). Almost half of men (49%) say it is too hard, while among women, one in three (32%) say it is too hard. Among Independents, 41% say too hard, 16% too easy, and 27% say the bill is just right.

Impact of Passage/Failure of Tobacco Legislation

While voters believe it is legitimate for Republicans to oppose the tobacco bill, Democrats will benefit if Republican opposition results in a failure to pass a tobacco bill.

If a Democrat running for Congress pushed for tobacco legislation and a Republican opposed it and tobacco legislation is passed, by 42% to 40% voters are more likely to vote for a Democrat for Congress, but if a Democrat and Republican hold these positions, and a bill is not passed, support for the Democrat rises to a 52% to 34% margin.

Seven in ten (71%) have heard about tobacco legislation that is currently pending in the Senate, and by a 50/35 margin, voters in these targeted districts are more likely to support than oppose the bill.

The Senate is considering a tobacco bill that would add a fee of $1.10 per pack of cigarettes over the next five years, restrict advertising and marketing to children, give the FDA authority to regulate tobacco, and penalize the tobacco companies if teenage smoking does not decline by 60 percent in ten years. These measures are expected to cost the tobacco industry $516 billion over the next twenty-five years. The bill would also settle state lawsuits and class actions against the tobacco industry and would impose an annual liability cap of $6.5 billion. There would be no ban on mass lawsuits or punitive damages.

51/38 support/oppose this bill

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Is this bill too hard on the tobacco companies, too easy on the tobacco companies, or is it just about right?

		Suburb	Rural	Urban/ Suburban	Other
Too hard	40	40	41	41	28
Too easy	15	12	14	24	11
Just right	28	26	29	23	42

Tobacco Scenarios- Bill or No Bill	
If a Democrat running for Congress pushed for tobacco legislation and a Republican opposed it and tobacco legislation is passed	42/40
If a Democrat running for Congress pushed for tobacco legislation and a Republican opposed it and no tobacco bill is passed	52/34

Strategy Session
April 27, 1998
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

Mood Of The Country

	2/23	3/3	3/10	4/10	4/20	4/26
Country: right/wrong track	53/32	54/36	55/31	53/35	52/37	48/39
Economy: right/wrong track	72/21	77/18	76/17	74/21	74/21	69/24
Favorability						
Clinton	62/37	65/34	62/38	64/34	64/35	64/36
Gore	59/35	61/32	60/35	63/33	62/35	63/33
Clinton Job Approval	**69/31**	**69/28**	**70/30**	**69/29**	**68/30**	**68/30**
Strongly Approve	**31**	**32**	**33**	**32**	**30**	**23**
Gore Job Approval		63/29	63/32	64/30	61/33	68/28
Strongly Approve		23	19	22	20	23

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Most Important Issue

- **Jobs / Economy is the most important issue at 15%.**
- **Education** is next at 12%.

Congress

Approval – on a 2 point scale

	3/3	3/10	4/10	4/20	4/26
Congress	59/33	58/35	53/39	54/42	52/39
Congressional Republicans	52/38	48/45	45/46	46/46	42/49
Congressional Democrats	51/37	52/39	52/38	51/40	52/38

Generic Horserace

The Democratic advantage is up to 8 points in this week's poll. The movement is among undecided voters to the Democrat. This is a confirmation of the shift from last week, and is a statistically significant shift of over 1000 voters.

42% would vote for a Democrat in Congress, 33% would vote for a Republican.

	3/3	3/10	4/10	4/20	4/26
Democrat	37	38	38	44	42
Republican	35	34	35	36	33

And, we now have an advantage among those who are absolutely certain to vote: 43% vote Dem, 34% Republican, 23% Don't know (Jan-March we were even, sometimes a point or two below Republicans among this group)

Current Congressional vote by Party;

Vote Dem/Vote GOP/Don't Know:
*Democrats: 82/3/16, Republicans: 8/80/12, Independent: 30/29/**41***

With leaners:
39% Democrat, 31% Republican, 25% Neutral
22% will definitely vote Dem, 14% Definitely Republican

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Among those who are **absolutely certain to vote:**
42% Democrat, 31% Republican, 24% Neutral
27% will definitely vote Dem, 16% definitely Republican

News

	% heard	More/less favorable
President Clinton asking Congress to enact his plan to expand child care options for working families by giving parents a child care tax credit, expanding Head Start , providing more after-school programs, and giving businesses a tax credit if they provide on-site child care	67	64/25
President Clinton and the FDA ordering that warning labels on unpasteurized juice to alert people to the possibility of E.Coli bacteria	44	60/21
President Clinton's Saturday radio address in which he described the ways the government working to shore up the Social Security system by cracking down on prisoners' fraud	19	45/17
President Clinton urging Congress on Earth Day to release hundreds of millions of dollars that have been earmarked for expanding national parks and wildernesses	18	56/20

Analysis of Congressional Vote

Democrats are currently winning the Congressional vote even though none of the conditions have really occurred that most Democrats expected would be necessary to win. There are no major recognizable fights on major issues like education and child care that are in the public domain.

Instead, we are now significantly winning the Congressional vote, and the number one and two reasons are the ratings of the president and the strong economy. There is a firm belief that the President's leadership deserves the credit for the economic recovery.

By 49/33, people give the president the majority of the credit for the economic recovery. And this is the key to determining who is a Democratic Congressional voter.

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And without doubt, we are going to go through a period of economic worry before the election. A 10,000 dow will only trigger massive fears of a collapse, and the question will be how can we keep the economy going. This will be 1) the central question on their minds and 2) is the central reason that they can be persuaded to vote for one candidate or another.

When the issue of the economy was unclear, we seized the values issues, and built up support for the notion that we generated a better economy. Now that the economy is better, and we are seen as the clear winner on that issue, we need to use that to our electoral advantage. This means that we have to b e ready not just to build pods of senior citizen and family values issues, but to raise the stakes on the economic front – to clearly use as a theme the need to continue to do the things as a nation that will keep our economy ahead of the curve, and accuse the Republicans of trying to dismantle that program.

Key Data on Congressional Vote:

4/26 data	Vote Dem	Vote GOP	Don't know
All	**42**	**33**	25
Right Track	**50**	24	26
Wrong Track	32	47	21
Credit Clinton Ec	65	8	26
Credit Reps Ec	16	62	22
Credit Dems in Cong.	79	7	14
Clinton Fav	59	14	26
Clinton Unfav	12	66	23
Clinton Approve	57	17	26
Clinton Disapprove	9	69	23

Credit for the economic recovery:

49% President Clinton 33% Republicans in congress

36% Democrats in Congress, 29% Republicans in Congress

Do you think that the key policies that brought about the economic recovery were done:

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1993/4	**45%**
1995/6	**24%**
1997	**13%**

The belief is that it is not the short-term, but the long term adherence to economic discipline that has produced the solid economic results.

The fear that more Democrats in Congress would move the country to the left has diminished substantially.

48% think that more Democrats in congress now would make it more productive in furthering the policies of President Clinton that are working, **34%** think that more Democrats in Congress would just take the country to the left and undo the policies that are working

Democrat: 75/12, Republican: 35/55, Independent: ***34/40***
Vote Dem: 73/15, Vote GOP: 21/64, Don't know: 41/29 (30% don't know)
Men: 47/37, Women: 49/31

Inserting the word "moderate" before Democrats makes it 47/26, and 42/22 among independents.

47% think that more **moderate** Democrats in congress now would make it more productive in furthering the policies of President Clinton that are working, **26%** think that more moderate Democrats in Congress would just take the country to the left and undo the policies that are working

*Democrat: 61/19, Republican: 34/**43**, Independent:* ***42/22***
Vote Dem: 66/15, Vote GOP: 38/41, Don't know: 43/24(33% don't know)
*Men: **50**/25, Women: 44/28*

Strong Economy..continue the President's work
Suppose the Democrats say that the leadership of President Clinton has brought a balanced budget, a strong economy and a brighter future, and this is the best reason to vote for a Democrat in your local Congressional race to elect moderate Democrat who will continue that work. The Republicans say that they are equally responsible for the improvements and only keeping a Republican Congress to balance the president will keep America going.

43% say President Clinton brought a strong economy/best reason to vote for a moderate Democrat

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46% say Republicans are equally responsible, only keeping a Republican Congress will keep America going

Democrat: 71/18, Republican: 9/84, Independent: 39/47

Congressional vote:
42% Democrat
33% Republican

Democrat: 77/6, Republican: 9/77, Independent: 32/31

Republicans will undo policies
They do not believe this now, but it has a significant impact on the vote, even when paired with a significant Republican response.

Suppose President Clinton said the Republicans are trying to undo all of the policies that have brought us an economic expansion – stop investments in education, delay improvements in trade, and upset the fiscal balance with risky tax and Social Security schemes. And the Republicans said that they have been equally responsible for improvements and that their polices of more tax cuts and creating choice in education are the right ones that reduce big government.

35% say Republicans are trying to undo all of the policies that have brought us an economic expansion
51% say Republicans have been equally responsible for improvements

Democrat: 71/18, Republican: 9/84, Independent: 39/47

Congressional vote:
47% Democrat
30% Republican

Democrat: 88/0, Republican: 11/72, Independent: 36/32

Suppose the Democrats said this election is all about our needs for more child care, education and better healthcare, fundamental needs to give our kids better opportunities, and they say the Republicans are blocking the needed expenditures for all of these needs. And suppose the Republicans said that they are just trying to prevent the Democrats from spending too much and trying big government again when programs like vouchers can promote school choice without big government.

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Democrat: 70/23, Republican: 17/71, Independent: 37/51

43% this election is all about our needs/Republicans are blocking needed expenditures
46% Republicans said that they are just trying to prevent the Democrats from spending too much

Congressional vote:

47% Democrat
32% Republican

Democrat: 84/5, Republican: 13/71, Independent: 41/29

Democratic Agenda – adding the environment

Adding environmental programs to the agenda most significantly affects gender- increasing women's support and decreasing men's. It is a net positive and should be part of the standard talk on the budget cuts of the Republicans.

The best reason to vote for a Democrat is the expansion of Medicare, and new education and childcare programs.
64% agree/33% disagree (34% strongly agree)

*Democrat: 89/8, Republican: 36/62, Independent: **65/33***
Vote Dem: 93/7, Vote GOP: 29/69, Don't know: 62/30
Men: 61/38, Women: 68/28

The best reason to vote for a Democrat is the expansion of Medicare, and new education, childcare and **environmental programs**
66% agree/29% disagree (38% strongly agree)

*Democrat: 87/6, Republican: 40/53, Independent: **63/34***
Vote Dem: 90/9, Vote GOP: 38/56, Don't know: 68/22
Men: 56/39, Women: 75/19

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Now we are headed for an election season in which the Republicans have abandoned for now the idea of accomplishments, will plan to send us veto bait on education abortion, drugs, and IRS reform, and we will need to develop a consistent message about what they are up to.

They will say that the president is siding with big government, higher taxation, failing on the key values issues of drugs and abortion.

Our refrain to this is clear – they are shortchanging America on the education, child care, environmental and anti-teen smoking needs of the country. However, this analysis suggests that we should also be opening up an economic front – that the Republicans are imperiling the continuation of the economic expansion by holding up the country on educational investments, export expansion, and trying to bust the budget with risky new tax and Social Security schemes. This brings it back to the issues that attract swing voters.

The undecided/swing Congressional voters are:

74% are over 35 years old
42% are over 50 years old

39% are moderate in ideology
61% identify themselves as independents

52% are women

56% do not have kids at home

Corporations

A majority of Americans are ready for updating our anti-trust laws. They more than twice as likely to say they will be hurt by mergers than helped. Now that this issue has hit banks and airlines, it is into industries that people understand. This is an issue now waiting for someone to take it up and drive it home.

27% say that the mergers and alliances in airlines and banks are just making them and America much more globally competitive; **68%** that these mergers and alliances are just creating more of a monopoly in the marketplace and leaving the consumer with few choices and possibly higher prices.

28% think the old antitrust laws are working.

52% think that we need new laws on mergers and acquisitions **37%** think we should just keep and enforce our old laws.

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*Democrat: 64/24, Republican: **39/52**, Independent: 51/36*

24% think we are enforcing antitrust laws sufficiently, **56%** do not

29% think business mergers generally help consumers, **54%** hurt consumers.

Democrat: 24/66, Republican: 35/50, Independent: 28/49
Men: 37/45, Women: 21/63

73% heard about the recent mergers of two large regional banks to create the largest bank in the country (**26%** no)

16% think this will help, **58%** hurt.

63% heard about proposals for alliances between the major domestic airlines (**35%** no)

22% think this will help you, **52%** hurt

60% say business development has changed since anti-trust laws were developed and we should update our laws so the government can do more to stop mergers and alliances that may hurt consumers. **26%** say the laws we have relied on for over 100 years have worked, so we should not make changes.

Democrats; 77/15, Republicans: 45/43, Independents: 58/30
Men: 49/37, Women: 70/22

Care for aging

Efforts to help voters with long-term care have consistently been the most important untouched issue – and this is one idea for a targeted tax cut. Again, a White House conference on the subject that could develop an agenda item such as this could be used very effectively by the White House and Democrats going into the election.

26% currently help take care of an aging parent

63% expect that some day you will have to help take care of an aging parent (36% do not)

88/8 favor/oppose a <u>tax break for people who take care of an aging parent</u>

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85/10 favor/oppose a $400 a year tax credit for people to help take care of an aging parent

Suppose the Democrats stood for a tax credit for taking care of an elderly parent and the Republicans stood for ending the marriage penalty – **52% prefer a tax credit for taking care of elderly parent, 32% ending marriage penalty**

Democrat: 68/24, Republican: 35/50, Independent: 52/29
Men: 43/41, Women: 60/24
<35: 65/32, >35: 46/34

Information age

As we continue to develop possible policies for this speech, the idea of focusing on the effects of inequality are still very central to the theme of creating and extending opportunity and creating more mobility in society.

One concept that would serve to frame all of these would be to make it a goal for all students to pass a course on computers and their use for high school graduation (or even earlier). And the policies that would support that goal would then include more emphasis on teacher training and equal access in the schools in order to meet that 21st Century educational goal.

Benefits: it is simple, easy to understand, has policy implications, costs no immediate money, and exerts us to get ready for the next century. It also points out and supports the need for help in developing educational standards in the new high tech areas which are much more difficult for individual communities to create and manage.

Which is the more important program we can undertake to help us in the information age:	1st	2nd	1st + 2nd
ensure that poor schools and rich schools have the same access to computers	38	23	61
require every student to pass a computer course for high school graduation	25	16	41
train all teachers on how to use computers so they can teach their students	20	36	56
wire all the schools and libraries to the internet	9	15	24

Miscellaneous

COPY

"Slamming"

Unaided: 52% Have heard of a practice called "slamming"

Every year more than one million people are have their telephone long-distance service involuntarily switched unscrupulous carriers, a practice known as "slamming." This often results in huge increase in long-distance charges for unwary consumers

79% Have heard anything about this (21% have not)

85/11 support oppose new legislation or regulations to stop slamming.

If President Clinton proposed tough action against slamming **79/12** more/less favorable

Environment

The EPA is considering tougher restrictions on auto-emissions by the year 2004. **68/28** support/oppose

According to the EPA the new standards would add as much as $161 to the cost of a new car **61/34** support/oppose

Affirmative Action

IN Response to the effects of proposition 209, UC Berkeley Law School is undertaking a pilot in which they are selecting 150 applicants by taking economic background into consideration.

What do you think the goal of affirmative action programs for determining college admissions should be: to achieve racial diversity or to ensure that those who faced disadvantages in their upbringing are given a fair chance

15% to achieve racial diversity
68% to give a fair chance

Thinking about affirmative action programs which use race as a factor in determining college admissions, do you think these programs should look at race alone to achieve ethnic diversity, or do you think they should look at both race and income to achieve racial and socio-economic diversity

14% race only
63% both race and income

COPY

This is the most ludicrous stand alone Question I've ever seen

Micro-Radio

The FCC is considering licensing micro-radio stations with just enough power to broadcast a signal for about a mile in any direction.
39/43% support/oppose
39% support (11% strongly + 28% somewhat)
43% oppose (20% strongly + 23% somewhat)

NATO Expansion

Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose the expansion of NATO to include Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic

62/23% support/oppose
62% support (29% strongly + 33% somewhat)
23% oppose (12% strongly + 11% somewhat)

Education

As in past polling, we hit about 50/50 with arguments against tax free education savings accounts, and a majority would accept a Presidential veto.

30% have heard about the bill passed in the Senate that would create tax free savings accounts for elementary and secondary school educational expenses (69% no)

55/22% support/oppose
55% support (25% strongly + 30% somewhat)
22% oppose (13% strongly + 9% somewhat)

Democrat: 52/21, Republicans: 55/23, Independents: 59/21

These education savings accounts would allow parents to put away up to $2000 per year tax free for educational expenses, including tuition for elementary and secondary school.

71/24% support/oppose
71% support (38% strongly + 33% somewhat)
24% oppose (13% strongly + 11% somewhat)

Democrat: 66/27, Republicans: 66/30, Independents: 78/20

61% think this will be effective, 35% not effective (24%very effective) in improving education

COPY

Democrat: 62/30, Republicans: 57/41, Independents: 62/37

Hurt public schools
Opponents of these tax free accounts would take tax dollars away from the public school system and inevitably hurt public education.

46/47% support/oppose
46% support (19% strongly + 27% somewhat)
47% oppose (28% strongly + 19% somewhat)

Democrat: 36/53, Republicans: 45/50, Independents: 53/42

Opponents of these tax free accounts say the goal of these accounts is to make it easier to send children to private school. The amount save would be very little- as little as $7 and no more than $57 per year, so they would help only those who may already be able to afford private school.

43/52% support/oppose
43% support (18% strongly + 25% somewhat)
52% oppose (26% strongly + 26% somewhat)

*Democrat: 30/62, Republicans: **50/48**, Independents: 50/45*

President Clinton has threatened to veto this bill because it will take money away from public schools and will not improve education for those who need it most.
54/36 more/less favorable

Democrat: 73/21, Republican: 37/48, Independent: 47/44

Which of the following education proposals do you think would be most effective in improving the education available to American children	**All**	**D**	**R**	**I**	**M**	**F**
Reducing class size in early grades to 19 students per class	54	59	54	48	45	61
Funding for school construction	17	18	14	22	22	13
Creating tax free education savings accounts to help pay for school tuition cost	17	15	18	18	19	16

Which would help the country more: making it easier to send children to a private school, or having better public schools available for all children

COPY

11% being able to send a child to private school
84% having better public schools

Tobacco

Who do you trust more on issues related to tobacco and teen smoking?

52% Clinton
27% Republicans in Congress
Democrats: 74/13, Republicans: 34/48, Independents: 44/27

59% Clinton
22% Gingrich
Democrats: 76/13, Republicans: 33/45, Independents: 59/17

66% Have you heard anything about tobacco legislation that is currently pending in the Senate (30% have not)

52/35% support/oppose comprehensive tobacco legislation
52% support (29% strongly + 23% somewhat)
35% oppose (19% strongly + 16% somewhat)

42/31% support/oppose the tobacco bill that is pending in the Senate
42% support (21% strongly + 21% somewhat)
31% oppose (12% strongly + 19% somewhat)

The Senate will soon consider a tobacco bill that would add a fee of $1.10 per pack of cigarettes over the next five years, restrict advertising and marketing to children, give the FDA authority to regulate tobacco, and penalize the tobacco companies if teenage smoking does not decline by 60 percent in ten years. These measures are expected to cost the tobacco industry $516 billion over the next twenty five years. The bill would also settle state lawsuits and class actions against the tobacco industry and would impose an annual liability cap of $6.5 billion . There would be no ban on mass lawsuits or punitive damages.

57/36% support/oppose the tobacco bill that is pending in the Senate
57% support (32% strongly + 25% somewhat)
36% oppose (21% strongly + 15% somewhat)
Democrats: 72/24, Republicans: 46/45, Independents: 52/44

4/20/98 – 58/40 – support/oppose

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Is this bill too hard on the tobacco companies, too easy on the tobacco companies, or is it just about right

	4/20	4/26	D	R	I
Too hard	39%	38%	31%	43%	38
Too easy	16	16	17	18	1
Just right	40	42	48	34	4

The tobacco companies are fighting against the bill that will soon be debated in the Senate.

57/35% support/oppose the tobacco bill that is pending in the Senate
57% support (30% strongly + 27% somewhat)
35% oppose (22% strongly + 13% somewhat)
Democrats: 62/29, Republicans: 48/40, Independents: 58/37

38% Have seen any advertising on TV or in the newspapers by the tobacco companies attacking the tobacco bill now pending in the Senate.

43/24 More supportive/Less supportive of tobacco legislation as a result.

Suppose the House Republicans proposed legislation that was not quite as strong, but the tobacco companies did not fight it. 49% think it would be better to pass the tougher, Senate bill that the tobacco companies are fighting, 35% weaker bill that the tobacco companies accept.
Democrats: 58/22, Republicans: 34/42, Independents: 52/40

Suppose former Surgeon-General C. Everett Koop said that the proposed House bill was not an effective way to fight teen smoking and that the Senate bill would do a better job at curbing smoking by our kids. 60% think it would be better to pass the tougher, Senate bill that the tobacco companies are fighting, 25% weaker bill that the tobacco companies accept

Now I am going to read you the text of an ad that has been produced by the tobacco companies.

Last June there was a historic resolution of tobacco issues, This would have changed the tobacco industry and reduced under-aged use of tobacco products. Now politics has taken over. Instead of a reasonable debate on a resolution, Washington has gone haywire, proposing their same old tax and spend. Even with a huge budget surplus, Congress is actually considering raising half a trillion in new taxes. And who will pay the majority of these taxes? Working people,

COPY

people earning $30,000 a year or less. But that's not all. There will be new federal spending, 17 new bureaucracies. Cigarettes up to $5.00 a pack, $50 a carton. A black market with unregulated access to children; An un-elected federal agency with new power to make it illegal to buy tobacco products. huge job losses among farmers, retailers and small businesses. Big Taxes, Big Government, Big Job losses. After hearing this, do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose the tobacco bill?

50/45% support/oppose the tobacco bill that is pending in the Senate
50% support (38% strongly + 12% somewhat)
45% oppose (36% strongly + 9% somewhat)
Democrats: 44/41, Republicans: 51/45, Independents: 52/48

45/53% find the ad believable/not believable

Which of the arguments advanced by the tobacco industry is the best reason NOT to enact the comprehensive tobacco legislation now pending in the Senate	Total
The government raising half a trillion dollars in new taxes	34
Creating conditions for a black market in tobacco products	15
Job losses	14
Establishing 17 new federal bureaucracies	13
Allowing the FDA to make tobacco illegal	2

Former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop says the tobacco companies claims are exaggerated and untrue and we need tough tobacco legislation to protect our children. Raising cigarette prices will only affect those who smoke, and it will make teenagers less likely to begin smoking which will keep them from paying any cigarette tax. And this shouldn't be considered a tax- it is a public health effort and the benefits will go to all Americans. He says this ad is just tobacco company propaganda aimed at turning public sentiment away from legislation that will protect our children.

After hearing this, do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose the tobacco bill

57/36% support/oppose the tobacco bill that is pending in the Senate
57% support (31% strongly + 26% somewhat)
36% oppose (23% strongly + 13% somewhat)

70/24% believable/not believable

Tax Arguments

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The tobacco companies have been scoring points by portraying the McCain bill as a tax bill, rather then an anti-smoking bill. We need to return the debate to one over public health not the public till. However, while the revenue provisions of the legislation cannot be excised from the debate we should seize the opportunity to re-cast them as vital to advancing the goal of reducing teen smoking, not excessive, and as reimbursements for the billions spent on treating smoking-related disease.

The tobacco company advertisement says cigarette prices shouldn't be raised because it's a new tax on the American public; Supporters of the legislation say cigarette prices should be raised because this should not be looked at as a tax, it should be counted as public health effort, that will provide billions of dollars to the public health system in return for the medical costs caused by smoking. Which is closer to your view?

35% shouldn't be raised- a new tax
59% should be raised- a public heath effort
Democrats: 37/61, Republicans: 28/65, Independents: 39/56

The tobacco company advertisement says cigarette prices shouldn't be raised because it's a new tax on the American public; Supporters of the legislation say cigarette prices should be raised because this is a small tax that will not affect all Americans, and the revenues will go to good things, such as child care, education and health care. Which is closer to your view?

37% shouldn't be raised- a new tax
57% should be raised- a small tax that will go towards good things
Democrats: 32/66, Republicans: 38/53, Independents: 40/53

The tobacco company advertisement says cigarette prices shouldn't be raised because it's a new tax on the Americans; Supporters of the legislation say cigarette prices should be raised because this is one of the best ways to cut down teenage smoking.

37% shouldn't be raised- a new tax
59% should be raised- will cut down
Democrats: 37/63, Republicans: 35/59, Independents: 38/57

36% say that President Clinton and the supporters of the Senate's tobacco bill are more interested in hiking cigarette taxes to pay for new government programs than they are in reducing teen smoking. 55% say that raising the price of cigarettes is one of the most effective ways to deter teens from smoking and that any tax increase is justifiable because tobacco products have cost the federal and state governments and US taxpayers billions of dollars in medical costs.

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Regressivity

The tobacco company ads say this tax will hurt working people- those earning $30,000 per year or less.

48 Believable/47 not believable
Democrats: 54/43, Republicans: 44/54, Independents: 48/44

Which of the following is the best response to their argument:	T	D	R	I
The cigarette companies just playing politics with the issue, looking for any argument that will turn public sentiment against the legislation	45	44	38	51
Raising cigarette prices will make them less likely to ever start smoking, so they wont ever get taxed	19	18	15	19
The industry targets lower income Americans with their marketing and advertising.	16	11	21	20
Raising cigarette prices will help all smokers quit, so they won't be subject to any cigarette tax	5	9	5	2

The tobacco company ads say this will create new federal spending and 17 new bureaucracies,
58 Believable/38 not believable
Democrats: 46/47, Republicans: 60/38, Independents: 66/31

Which of the following is the best response to their argument	T	D	R
this just gives the FDA the authority it needs- that's not big government	19	10	20
most doesn't go to the federal government, it goes to states, to farmers, to tax cuts and to research	18	20	19
The tobacco companies are just playing politics and finding an excuse not to help lower smoking among children	47	59	38

The Tobacco companies are also fighting the legislation because it does not provide immunity from future lawsuits from individuals who want to sue tobacco companies for damages. 48% think tobacco companies should receive some immunity from future law suits, 48% do not.

Democrats: 45/50, Republicans: 45/52, Independents: 51/46

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27% say a cap on liability for the tobacco industry will make it too hard for people to sue the tobacco industry; 58% say a cap is a small price to pay if we can ban advertising for children, keep the companies from going bankrupt and prevent the industry from tying up an agreement in court.

Democrats: 27/62, Republicans: 22/64, Independents: 30/54

Gingrich's statement that smoking in movies is more of an impetus for teens to start smoking has resonance, especially given the centrality of the advertising restrictions to the McCain bill. The argument itself needs to be factually rebutted (we can use the JAMA article earlier this month that showed advertising to be the primary motivator for teens to start smoking). We also need to explore voluntary initiatives with the entertainment industry to cut smoking in movies and on television

Which do you think causes more kids to start smoking, advertising by the tobacco companies or the use of tobacco products in television and movies.

26% Advertising / 53% Use in movies
Democrats: 30/53, Republicans: 18/56, Independents: 23/53

House Speaker Newt Gingrich believes that advertising by the kids start smoking because they see smoking in movies and television. President Clinton believes that kids start smoking because the cigarette companies market their products to them. Which do you think causes more kids to start smoking, advertising by the tobacco companies or the use of tobacco products in television and movies.

33% Advertising / 49% Use in movies
Democrats: 41/45, Republicans: 25/56, Independents: 30/49

Political Effects

Most Important finding – Maybe a fight over the tobacco bill would be just fine. If they stop it, it is considerably more powerful as an issue. It is the best and most representative values issue, and is emerging as the clearest fight in Congress. If they won't join in the accomplishment, then this suggests it can be our gain – a change in previous polling.

If a Democrat running for Congress pushed for tobacco legislation and a Republican opposed it and tobacco legislation is passed; who would you vote for, the Democrat or Republican?

45% Democrat

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37% Republican
Democrats: 66/22, Republicans: 26/65, Independents: 36/33

If a Democrat running for Congress pushed for tobacco legislation and a Republican opposed it and no tobacco bill is passed, who would you vote for, the Democrat or Republican?

54% Democrat
28% Republican
Democrats: 76/11, Republicans: 28/61, Independents: 52/22

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Strategy Session
June 1, 1998
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

Mood Of The Country

The mood of the country has fallen as juvenile crime and talk of China, investigations dominates the news and the India/Pakistan situation unfolds. Nevertheless, job approval has climbed up a point since last week.

	4/20	4/26	5/4	5/19	5/31
Country: right/wrong track	52/37	48/39	53/39	51/39	47/43
Economy: right/wrong track	74/21	69/24	71/25	73/18	73/21
Favorability					
Clinton	64/35	64/36	64/36	61/38	60/39
Gore	62/35	63/33	64/33	60/35	62/34
Clinton Job Approval	**68/30**	**68/30**	**68/31**	**65/33**	**66/32**
Strongly Approve	**30**	**28**	**27**	**27**	**29**
Approve/Disapprove:					
Democrats: 90/8, Republicans: 38/60, Independents 66/32					
Gore Job Approval	61/33	68/28	67/26	64/30	65/30
Strongly Approve	20	23	22	23	21

Most Important Issue

Crime increases again after the Springfield High incident.

India/Pakistan was the most important issue at 13%

- Economy / Jobs is the next important issue at 11%
- Fighting crime is next at 10%
- Education is third at 9%

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Congress

Approval – on a 2 point scale

	4/20	4/26	5/4	5/20	5/31
Congress	54/42	52/39	54/38	54/36	52/41
Congressional Republicans	46/46	42/49	48/42	45/45	47/45
Congressional Democrats	51/40	52/38	50/39	48/40	52/40

Generic Horserace

40% would vote for a Democrat in Congress, 36% would vote for a Republican. Among Prime voters, we have a 2 point advantage: 39 to 37.

	4/20	4/26	5/4	5/20	5/31
Democrat	44	42	39	38	40
Republican	36	33	34	33	36

Gingrich's favorability climbed back to its usual levels this week after dropping to 32% favorable during his most vocal week.

Gingrich Favorability

Favorable - 39% (11% very favorable)
Unfavorable - 53% (31% very unfavorable)

5/19: 32/60
5/4: 38/54
4/26: 40/53

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Newspaper Headlines

China: 7; Investigation: 4; Terrorism: 2; Pakistan:1; Russia:1.

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
6/1	Monday	New York Times	Clinton Supports the IMF Plan To Help Russia
6/1	Monday	USA Today	Clinton May Be Subpoenaed Starr may force the president to discuss relationship with Monica Lewinsky.
6/1	Monday	Washington Post	Clinton May Drop Appeal on Privilege Strategy Could Avert Supreme Court Review
5/29	Friday	New York Times	After His Anguished Plea Fails, Clinton Penalizes Pakistan
5/26	Tuesday	USA Today	Clinton Aide Warned of China Controversy
5/25	Monday	New York Times	Clinton Aide Says China Trip Delay Would be a Mistake White House Seeks Offerings for Beijing Amid Criticism of Technology Exports
5/24	Sunday	New York Times	A Top Clinton Donor Says Money didn't But Approval on Satellites
5/23	Saturday	New York Times	Papers Show White House Staff Favored a China Satellite Permit Advisors Told Clinton Benefits Outweighed Risk
5/23	Saturday	New York Times	Judge Rejects Bid to Cite 'Privilege' in Clinton Inquiry Says Secret Service Can be Forced to Testify About the President
5/23	Saturday	Washington Post	Secret Service Officers Told to Testify on Clinton
5/23	Saturday	Washington Post	Clinton Rejected China Worries Justice Feared Impact on Satellite Probe' Loral Lobbied for Deal
5/22-5/25	Fri - Mon	USA Today	Clinton Escalates the War on Terrorism
5/22-5/25	Fri - Mon	USA Today	Clinton Defends Tech Sales to China, Won't Cancel Trip
5/21	Thursday	Washington Post	House Rebukes Clinton On China Satellite Deal 'Not in National Interest'
5/21	Thursday	Washington Post	Clinton to Order Reserves of Germ Weapon Antidotes

COPY

TV News Headlines

Investiagtion: 4; Balanced Budget: 3; India/Pakistan: 3; China: 3; Gulf Troops: 2; Indonesia: 2; Misc: 4

Date	Station	Order	
5/28	ABC	2	Clinton Tried But Failed To Halt Nuclear Tests
5/28	CBS	2	Having Failed to Stop Tests, Clinton Moves to Punish Pakistan
5/28	CBS	6	Clinton Plans to Require States to Pay for Viagra Under Medicaid
5/28	NBC	2	Clinton Condemns Pakistani Tests; What US Goals Are Now
5/27	ABC	8	Clinton Says Welfare Are Rolls Down Since Law Was Passed
5/27	CBS	1	Clinton Has Refused Starr Requests To Testify On Lewinsky
5/27	NBC	1	Judge Rules Clinton Confidante Not Covered By Exec. Privilege
5/27	NBC	2	Clinton Has Refused Starr Requests To Testify On Lewinsky
5/26	ABC	1	Clinton Celebrates Budget Surplus; Debate On Spending Begins
5/26	CBS	1	Starr Closes In On Lewinsky; Clinton Announces Budget Surplus
5/26	CBS	5	Clinton Has Decided To Bring Home Most US Forces From Gulf
5/26	NBC	2	Clinton Insists He'll Go To China Despite Fundraising Questions
5/26	NBC	5	White House Celebrating First Budget Surplus In 29 Years
5/21	CBS	2	White House Encourages but Cautious Over New Indonesia Leaders
5/21	CBS	3	Clinton Advisors Now Favor Bringing Home Most US Gulf Forces
5/21	CBS	4	Clinton To Announce Plans to Stockpile Germ Warfare Defenses
5/21	NBC	2	Clinton Reacts to Latest Outburst of School Violence
5/21	NBC	5	White House on Defensive Over China & Missile Technology
5/20	ABC	4	White House, China Allegations Serious; GOP Demands Answers
5/20	CBS	4	White House Wants Suharto to Leave as Promised

COPY

Current News

Did you hear anything about. . .?	% aware	More/ Less Favorable
President Clinton's child care proposal which would create a dependent care tax credit that would allow families to subtract a share of child care costs from taxes otherwise owed	57%	66/21%
President Clinton's proposal for a 10 year program to hire 100,000 new teachers in order to reduce overcrowding in classrooms	54%	72/20%
President Clinton congratulating the voters in the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland after their approval of a wide-ranging peace plan	53%	59/13%
President Clinton announcing that the nation now has the lowest percentage of its population on welfare rolls since 1969 and his challenge to businesses to do more to help those who remain on welfare	50%	66/18%
President Clinton's radio address where he expressed deep concern over India's nuclear test explosions and pressed the Senate to impose serious sanctions against India	49%	42/19%
President Clinton considering to cut taxes as early as next year if there is sufficient progress in reforming Social Security	42%	59/26%
President Clinton's recent radio address where he acknowledged that the US culture has become desensitized to violence and he urged civilians and lawmakers, alike, to take action to restore a safe environment, both through prevention tactics and punishment measures for young offenders	42%	71/19%
President Clinton's announcement to cut the number of forces in the Persian Gulf in half	36%	47/28%
President Clinton's commencement address at the US Naval Academy where he proposed ways to protect American troops and citizens against electronic or germ warfare	33%	58/14%
President Clinton criticizing House Republican leaders for continuing to block a farm bill that would restore food stamps to a quarter-million legal immigrants	19%	46/38%

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Priorities

Americans are most concerned with the Situation in India and Pakistan. Only Republicans show much concern for the investigations – with 26% most concerned about China.

Yet their interests switch to the budged surplus and saving Social Security.

Which of the following concerns you most about Clinton and his Presidency right now?	All	D	R	I
How he will handle the situation in India and Pakistan	42%	45%	46%	37%
How he will manage the budget surplus	21%	26%	11%	24%
Investigations about contributions from China	17%	10%	26%	16%
The Ken Starr/Monica Lewinsky investigation	14%	12%	13%	17%

Which of the following is the best thing President Clinton could do now? Second best?	1st	2nd	1st + 2nd
Protect the surplus to save Social Security	45%	29%	74%
Take measures to ease the situation in India and Pakistan	27%	23%	50%
Get additional funds and tax credits for child care	12%	22%	34%
Get additional funds to reduce class size	8%	14%	22%
Secure passages of comprehensive tobacco legislation	2%	8%	10%

Which of the following is the best thing President Clinton could do now? By Party	D	R	I
Protect the surplus to save Social Security	52%	40%	43%
Take measures to ease the situation in India and Pakistan	19%	36%	29%
Get additional funds and tax credits for child care	15%	8%	12%
Get additional funds to reduce class size	9%	5%	7%
Secure passages of comprehensive tobacco legislation	1%	2%	4%

1998 Congressional Outlook in targeted districts

This poll shows that right now among targeted districts with prime voters the election for Congress is at 43/43 – exactly as it stood in 1996, when a very few votes in very few districts left the Republicans with a 10-seat edge.

Reports of the death of the gender gap are greatly and totally exaggerated. The gender gap is expanding, not contracting. Women are expressing a higher

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degree of support for Democrats in these targeted districts that are heavily suburban.

The advantage among women in these districts is 16 points for the Democrats, 46 to 35.

The advantage for the Republicans among men is 11 points, 46 to 35.

The gender gap had widened, not diminished in terms of the Congressional vote (not to be confused with the Presidential vote where a larger gap was driven). In 1996, the Democrats had a 10-point advantage with women and an 8-point deficit for men.

The ratings of the economy and of the administration are fundamentally different than in 1994 and higher than in 1996. The Republicans have realized this and now appear to have refocused as their major strategy the taking down of the administration under the reasoning that low administration ratings are the key to victory that put them there.

94 strategy of focusing on the leadership

But the Republicans have a habit of using old strategies in new times. And we now have an administration with a substantial record of accomplishment and that is seen as the leader of successful bi-partisan reforms. Now it is our turn from the high ground to depict the story line of Republicans who are mired in investigations, not policies. Who are seeking to replay the elections of the past with taxpayer money. Who spend more time on Campaign hearings than Medicare and education combined. Who are leaving seniors to fend for themselves. And who are endangering the economic recovery by blocking education investments, global leadership policies and are endangering the balanced budget with risky new schemes.

These are all arguments that can win over a substantial number of voters.

All in all, voters prefer a Democratic agenda to a Republican agenda. A composite profile that introduces the main agenda issues of each party to the respondent results in a 10 point increase in Democratic vote and a 1 point increase in Republican vote in a ballot test. This change is even more significant among Prime voters -- with the Democratic vote increasing 11 points and Republican *decreasing* 2 points.[1] The Republican agenda is more effective in rural districts than suburban districts, even though Republicans are currently stronger in these suburban districts.

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[1] If a Democrat said he would reform education by making class sizes smaller and investing in school construction; he would support a settlement with the tobacco companies to protect our children; he would ensure quality health care by passing an HMO bill of Rights; and would invest any budget surplus in Social Security until it is fixed for the next generation; expand Medicare to make it available for early retirees; strengthen equal pay laws, raise the minimum wage and improve the quality and availability of child care.

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Here are the steps we need to take:

Shore up our support among senior voters. 83% of them will vote in the mid-terms. The gender gap in at its highest with senior voters. We win senior women by 31 points (52/21) and lose senior men by 33 points (30/63).

These senior men appear to be driven by fiscal conservatism and concern over crime and violence. These are not "family values" voters – but they are the tougher Swing II conservative voters who are impatient with the direction of our society. 57% regard themselves as conservative.

There are two approaches to this important vote:

Appeal to senior specific issues – Save Social Security First, Medicare Expansion, HMO Bill of Rights. In all the testing, Social Security first is the most powerful message for seniors, and most voters. (see section below)

Voters over age 50, particularly men, see themselves as most affected by threats to an economic recovery. They show the greatest movement on the economic contrast message:

" President Clinton and the Democrats are trying to get us ready for the 21st Century with a strong economic policy that includes fiscal responsibility, investing in people through education and training and expanding markets overseas. The Republicans want to cut back on education, turn our backs on the rest of the world and have abandoned the idea of fiscal responsibility by proposing tax cuts that put the federal budget out of balance and billions in spending over what we can afford."

2. Win Suburban voters with the theme of Education.

The need to expand educational opportunities and push for a reduction in class size, expansion of teachers, is the single most powerful argument with suburban voters – moving them 26 points in the Democratic direction.

And if a Republican said he would reform education by giving parents vouchers for public or private schools and allowing tax free IRAs to be used for elementary and secondary school; use the surplus for either a tax cut or to pay down the national debt; abolish the marriage penalty; decrease the power of the IRS; cut federal funding of the NEA, promote school prayer and advocate an all out ban on partial birth abortions.

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3. Drive up the Hispanic vote with education and community specific messages.

The education message is strong in the Hispanic community, and is the top concern of that important and growing voter group that believes that increasingly believes that the Republicans are out of touch with their community. And we now have new votes by the Republicans to deny food stamps to legal immigrants, and Republican efforts to promote an official language as pushing them further out of touch with the Latino community.

4. Develop a tax message to blunt the Republican attacks on this issue. We have two basic messages that will work:

Must save the surplus for Social Security, keep the budget in balance.

Need further targeted tax relief to 1) help people with child care and 2) help people care for an elderly parent. If we can combine a proposal to help due our duty with our elderly with protecting our children, then we would have a strong tax cut that outweighs the marriage penalty proposal. This is a tax package that communicates family values.

We could synthesize these messages into the viewpoint that 1) Let's Save Social Security First and then 2) Let's enact targeted tax cuts to build stronger families.

5. Use the investigations against the Republicans. It will be two years of non-stop investigations with little outcome or public support and huge taxpayer expenditure. The nastier they get, the more our base will want to turn out to end this.

Assuming the same outcome of all the investigations from here to election day – the argument that the Republicans spent more time and taxpayer money on investigations than Medicare and Education combined is a strong reason to turn out and it is a strong motivation to vote Democratic for independent voters who are sick of partisanship.

The percentage of time spent on hearings, the money spent, the partisan attacks over progress, and the lack of legislation, are all evidence that these investigations are hurting the people.

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6. Develop a rural agenda.

None of the basic arguments worked to produce much movement among rural voters. They are most susceptible to: the minimum wage increase, highway and road construction, technological connections, help for agricultural exports, and values messages around tobacco and alcohol. Highways have been taken off the table, so that leaves on minimum wage and any specific agenda for these areas around exports and connecting the rural areas so they are not left out of the health and other advances the rest of America has, and these values issues. This remains the toughest target for the Democrats in the election.

6. Tobacco.

If legislation is passed, tobacco will be off the table. If it ends without resolution it is made more powerful by having a fight visible – allowing it to work with many of the suburban education, child protection, values-oriented voters. This must be teamed with strengthened messages bout youth crime and violence and the media to appeal to values voters.

Should we nationalize the election?

The Republicans are nationalizing this election along the lines of – The President is stonewalling the investigations while stumbling with foreign policy. And they add to that a drumbeat for tax cuts and some sops to the right wing.

We have the numbers to have as strong Democratic Agenda as clear as the Contract ever was, and we can develop a consistent message throughout the next few months that this election is about Strengthening Education and Maintaining our growing economy. About saving Social Security, not squandering it. It's about progress, not politics.

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Implementation of the Strategy

Let's start this week. The Vice President at the AARP can lay down a strong marker laying out the administration's policies for seniors, and at the same time strengthen the pledge of Social Security First against the onslaught of Republican proposals to squander the surplus and risk the economy and leave Social Security at peril.
Then on Thursday, the president could confront Newt Gingrich and ask him to keep his pledge of a few months ago to Save the Surplus for Social Security.
This allows us then to get out the political story by Friday of the one/two punch on the senior issue.

Surplus

Awareness of Surplus
50% are aware of President Clinton's announcing that the Federal Government would run a budget surplus of $39 Billion this year.
Given this,

54/22% are more/less favorable towards President Clinton
54% more favorable (**20%** much + **34%** somewhat)
22% less favorable (**9%** much + **13%** somewhat)
By Party: Dems: 71/16, GOP: 38/37, I:54/18

49/35% think/do not think we have a surplus.
By Party: Dems: 61/27, R:41/40, I:42/39

Uses for Surplus
52% say the budget surplus shows that we have finally achieved a balanced budget and the government's revenues and spending are at a healthy level, so we should leave them as is and use extra revenues to solve long term problems such as Social Security.
43% say a the fact that we have a surplus shows that we are taking in too much revenues so we should lower taxes now to eliminate any surplus.
Income: <$35K: 45/51, >$35K: 59/35
By Party: Dems: 59/35, GOP: 53/45, Ind: 48/47

50% say the budget surplus shows that we have finally achieved a balanced budget and the government's revenues and spending are at a healthy level, so we should leave them as is and use extra revenues to solve long term problems such as Social Security.
38% say a the fact that we have a surplus shows that we not spending enough on programs such as education, child care and health care so we should bring our spending levels up to the amount of revenue we are currently bringing in.
Income: <$35K: 30/53, >$35K: 64/26
By Party: Dems: 41/50, GOP: 58/26, Ind: 51/36

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Credit for Surplus
42% think President Clinton deserves more credit for the budget surplus, **44%** Republicans in Congress.
By Party: Dems: 70/16, GOP: 23/67, Ind: 35/50

65/34% think/do not think President Clinton deserves credit for the budget surplus.
65% credit (24% a lot + 41% some)
34% no credit (15% none at all + 19% not very much)
By Party: Dems: 87/11, GOP: 40/59, Ind: 64/36

38% say that Clinton's 1993 budget package, which included a tax increase delayed the economic success America now enjoys; **42%** say 1993 was a time of a failing economy, and the tax increase brought us the economic success we have today.
By Party: Dems: 24/55, GOP: 46/36, Ind: 44/36

Spending vs. Saving the Surplus
President Clinton has pledged that any surplus would be saved until Social Security is fixed for the next generation.
Given this,
75/18% are more/less favorable towards President Clinton
75% more favorable (**36%** much + **39%** somewhat)
18% less favorable (**8%** much + **10%** somewhat)
By Party: Dems: 89/6, GOP: 60/28, Ind: 73/21

Tax Cut vs. All to Social Security
19% say that a surplus this big shows that Americans are being overtaxed and the surplus should be returned to the people in a tax cut now; **77%** say saving Social Security is a long term challenge, and we should wait until we figure out how to save Social Security, and then determine whether or not we can have a tax cut too.
By Party: Dems: 15/82, GOP: 18/77, Ind: 23/71

Both vs. All to Social Security
41% say that with a 39 billion dollar surplus, we can afford to give Americans some form of tax cut AND save some of the surplus for Social Security. **53%** say saving Social Security is a long term challenge, and we should wait until we figure out how to save Social Security, and then determine whether or not we can have a tax cut too.
By Party: Dems: 39/58, GOP: 47/45, Ind: 39/54

Save Social Security First
Suppose President Clinton said we must save Social Security first. We will not have a tax cut now, but once Social Security reforms have been put in place so we are guaranteed Social Security is available in the future, we can then discuss whether there is enough money for a tax cut.
Given this, **86/12%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton

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86% more favorable (**44%** much + **42%** somewhat)
12% less favorable (**7%** much + **5%** somewhat)
By Party: Dems: 96/3, GOP: 81/17, Ind: 83/15

Effect on Congressional Vote

EDUCATION+SOCIAL SECURITY FIRST VS. VOUCHERS, TAX CUTS
If a Democrat supported improving education by reducing class size and modernizing schools, and supported putting the budget surplus towards social security; and a Republican supported giving parents vouchers that would make it easier to pay for private school, and support using the budget surplus for a tax cut, **63%** would vote for the Democrat for Congress, **34%** the Republican.

Save Social Security vs. Marriage Penalty
If a Democrat said we must save the surplus for Social Security until it is fixed for the future, and a Republican said we should use the surplus to eliminate the marriage penalty, **65%** would vote for the Democrat for Congress, **19%** the Republican.
By Party: Dems: 89/5, GOP: 37/46, Ind: 61/14

Save Social Security & Targeted Tax Cut vs. Marriage Penalty
If a Democrat said the surplus is big enough so we can should save most of it for Social Security and give Americans targeted tax relief and a Republican said we should use all $39 billion dollars to eliminate the marriage penalty, **64%** would vote for the Democrat for Congress, **23%** the Republican.
By Party: Dems: 85/5, GOP: 33/56, Ind: 67/17

Adding the aspect of a future tax cut once Social Security is fixed is an important element in the defense so that it is not a long term either or choice.

Save Social Security vs. Tax Cut
If a Democrat said we must save the whole surplus for Social Security until it is fixed for the future, and a Republican said we should use some for Social Security and some for a tax cut, **43%** would vote for the Democrat for Congress, **50%** the Republican.
By Party: Dems: 69/23, GOP: 14/83, Ind: 43/49

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Uses For a Tax Cut

If we have a tax cut now, do you think we should cut the capital gains tax rate, cut the income tax rate, eliminate the marriage penalty or give targeted tax cuts to help with education, raising a child or taking care of an elderly parent?	Tot	D	R	I	M	F
Give targeted tax cuts	39%	41%	28%	46%	34%	44%
Cut the income tax rate	28%	27%	35%	26%	26%	30%
Cut the capital gains tax rate	15%	16%	23%	10%	24%	8%
Eliminate the marriage penalty	12%	13%	7%	15%	11%	13%

Targeted tax relief: **47%** would prefer a child care tax credit; **43%** would prefer a tax credit for taking care of an elderly parent. Under 50, 56% prefer child care. Over 50, 51% elederly parent.

Which of the following types of targeted tax relief would you prefer?	Tot	D	R	I
Make child care more affordable	23%	26%	16%	25%
Promote expanded retirement savings	19%	11%	20%	25%
Help take care of an elderly parent	18%	19%	22%	12%
Increase energy efficiency and improve the environment	15%	16%	8%	20%
Expand incentives for school construction	11%	15%	12%	8%
Help develop more affordable housing	10%	8%	15%	8%

92/6% would support/oppose a tax credit for taking care of an elderly parent.

92% support (**55%** strongly + **37%** somewhat)

6% oppose (**3%** strongly + **3%** somewhat)

Youth Crime

99% are aware of the recent school shootings in Jonesboro, Arkansas, and in Springfield, Oregon.

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How important do you think each of the following people are in preventing such tragedies from happening again?	Important/ Not Important	Very Important
Parents	99/0%	97%
Caring adults, other than parents, such as teachers, coaches, and mentors	97/1%	79%
Local governments	79/20%	44%
State governments	65/32%	30%
The federal government	47/50%	23%

In the long term, what do you think will be the most important way to protect schools and communities from tragedies like those that occurred in Jonesboro and Springfield?	Tot	With Kids	No Kids
Start early to help children grow up healthy and well-adjusted	39%	43%	39%
Intervene at the first warning signs to give troubled children help	22%	25%	20%
Keep children from getting unlawful access to guns	19%	14%	22%
Prosecute more juveniles as adults	10%	9%	11%

Punishment and Prevention

Increase Penalties vs. Penalties AND Prevention

20% say that the best way to stop children from committing crimes is to punish young offenders severely, so that they and their friends learn that crime doesn't pay. **75%** say that the best way to stop children from committing crimes is to *combine* firm and fair punishment with healthy, positive alternatives to crime, especially in the hours after school.

If President Clinton were to sign a juvenile justice bill that only guaranteed money to punish young offenders, but didn't guarantee any to help *prevent* youth crime, **22/72%** would be more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton

22% more favorable (**7%** much + **15%** somewhat)
72% less favorable (**39%** much + **33%** somewhat)

If President Clinton were to tell Congress he would not sign a juvenile justice bill that only guaranteed money to punish young offenders and nothing to prevent youth crime, and encouraged Congress to pass a bill that provides funding for both prevention and punishment, **60/31%** would be more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton

60% more favorable (**26%** much + **34%** somewhat)
31% less favorable (**14%** much + **17%** somewhat)

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Now I'm going to read you a list of statements. For each, tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.	Strongly Agree	Agree/ Disagree
The best way to reduce juvenile crime is to get strong, caring adults involved in children's lives, teaching them responsibility and reward.	86%	97/2%
Parents are the best resource for raising strong, healthy children, but if parents cannot or will not do their job, other caring adults like teachers, coaches, and mentors can help children stay on the right track.	66%	93/7%
The best way to reduce juvenile crime is to make sure children stay in school.	65%	89/8%
The best way to reduce juvenile crime is to provide after-school programs, so children can stay safe and out of trouble in the hours between when school lets out and parents come home.	64%	88/13%
The best way to reduce juvenile crime is to help parents learn how to raise their children.	64%	84/16%
The best way to reduce juvenile crime is to give parents more tools to help their children succeed.	56%	86/14%
The best way to reduce juvenile crime is to ensure that there are enough counselors or other adults trained in helping troubled children in the schools	54%	88/10%
The best way to reduce juvenile crime is to invest a great deal of money in crime prevention programs.	26%	58/41%
The best way to reduce juvenile crime is to punish young offenders more harshly, including longer jail sentences.	24%	52/47%

The Mandates

Combining Youth and Adult Jail Populations

Under current law, States are prohibited from putting juvenile delinquents in jail with adult criminals. Some Senators have proposed repealing this rule, and letting States put delinquents and adult criminals in the same jails.

19/80% support/oppose this change in the law.

19% support (**9%** strongly + **10%** somewhat)

80% oppose (**65%** strongly + **15%** somewhat)

Too Burdensome for States vs. Will Cause Abuse of Juveniles

15% say that States should be allowed to house juveniles and adults in the same jails because it is too burdensome for State officials to have to drive juveniles to facilities far away; **79%** say that putting juveniles in adult jails causes assault and abuse of juveniles that is unjust.

Too Burdensome for States vs. Will Make Youths Worse Criminals

13% say that States should be allowed to house juveniles and adults in the same jails because it is too burdensome for State officials to have to drive juveniles to facilities far

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away; **83%** say that putting juveniles in adult jails just makes those juveniles worse criminals later on.

Jailing Runaways and Truants
Under current law, States are not allowed to jail children whose offenses are things like running away from home and skipping school. Some Senators have proposed not only letting these children be put in jail, but letting them be jailed with adult criminals.
13/84% support/oppose this change in the law.
13% support (**5%** strongly + **8%** somewhat)
84% oppose (**74%** strongly + **10%** somewhat)

Recent School Shootings
61% think the recent schoolyard shootings are indicative of a trend towards a type of juvenile crime that will continue to threaten the safety of our schools; **31%** think schoolyard shootings are just the latest fad in criminal actions that will lessen as time goes on.

Which of the following do you think would be most helpful in reducing juvenile violence?	Tot	With Kids	No Kids
Training teachers to detect signs of violence and how to proceed	28%	26%	29%
Setting up more prevention measures, such as stricter gun laws or metal detectors in schools	28%	41%	21%
Increasing the number of guidance counselors in schools to help deal with the troubled children	24%	17%	29%
Placing police officers in schools who are trained in the detection of signs of violence	11%	6%	13%

MIT Speech

The information age adds to optimism: 68% believe that the information age makes it more true that America is a country of opportunity and that if you work hard you can reach your goals. 17% say it is less true.

- **Computer Expert in Every School Proposal**

There is broad support for incentives to states to ensure a technologically literate student in every school. The importance of computer knowledge far outweighs any concerns of

If President Clinton proposed that any state that meets a technology literacy requirement for middle schools students will receive federal funding ensure there is a technology expert in their schools.

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Given this, **73/23%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton.
73% more favorable (33% much + 40% somewhat)
23% less favorable (12% much + 11% somewhat)

28% say the federal government should not impose standards of universal technological literacy by telling states and local school districts what to do; **63%** say in the information age, universal computer literacy is essential, so the federal government should provide incentives to states.
D: 26/67, R: 34/59, Ind: 25/62
By age: <35 11/81%; >35 33/58%
No kids: 32/59, ***With kids: 24/69***

- **Low income vs. all schools**

A proposal to target low income schools receives slightly more support than a more general proposal, yet voters do believe ALL schools deserve this incentive.

If President Clinton proposed that any state that meets the requirement of computer training for middle school students will receive federal funding so their low-income school districts can afford to have a trained computer expert.
Given this, **79/18%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton.
79% more favorable (44% much + 35% somewhat)
18% less favorable (7% much + 11% somewhat)

72% think federal funding should be available for all schools, **22%** just low income schools.

If federal funding goes towards teacher training, **25%** think it is better to be given to states for unspecified use; **71%** think the government should specify that the funding should be used to ensure that there is at least one teacher trained in the use of computers in the school.

Paragraphs that put this into action:

"But the Information Age, the new economy, demands the basics and beyond. That is why this nation must commit to a new imperative: computer literacy for every child. We would not let a child graduate from middle school without knowing how to read. We cannot let a child graduate from middle school without knowing how to use a computer to learn.

Already, ten states with an eye to the future have made computer literacy a requirement of graduation from high school. But there is no reason we should not help our children meet this goal in their middle school years. I believe that every child, in every state, should leave middle school able to use computers and the Internet as tools for learning, research, communication, and collaboration. Students should feel as confident with a keyboard as they do with a chalkboard. Students should be as familiar with a laptop as they are with a textbook. That is the way we

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will ensure opportunity for all in the Information Age.

We will help every state to achieve this ambitious goal. If they commit to adopt a computer literacy requirement, then the national government will help provide the training that middle school teachers will need. Today, I propose a 21st Century Computer Literacy Fund -- to create a corps of trained technology experts, at least one for every American middle school in every one of these states. In every community in America, we will empower teachers, and teachers will empower students -- to master 21st century tools."

Rural Agenda

Overall, voters are generally favorable towards the idea of helping improve rural and farming areas. So in light of the number of Swing districts in the Congressional elections, a rural agenda with some of these components would be effective in bringing Democrat support for these voters to the forefront.

When Americans know the goal of trade is to sell more American product, they strongly support encouraging free trade and other proposals to help with marketing. Improving transportation is also popular.

Following are some things the President could announce to help people living in rural areas. For each one, please tell me if this would make you much more favorable...	Much More Fav	More/ Less Fav	Among Rural Voters (33%)
Encouraging free trade so that Americas agricultural products can be sold in many markets.	43%	84/11%	87/6
Improving roads and highways in rural areas.	47%	80/13%	79/9
Strengthening laws that promote cooperatives which would allow farmers to gather together to market their products	31%	78/14%	75/14
Bringing new technologies to rural America such as making medical expertise and educational programs available via computer or over the Internet.	40%	73/18%	68/19
Expanding programs that help farmers manage risk, such as giving them more crop insurance	35%	68/22%	68/21
Promoting small farms by taking a tough stance on concentration in agricultural industries like railroads and meatpacking.	28%	63/20%	65/16
Supporting specific programs like ethanol: subsidizing the use of crops that can be used for fuel even if the price Is higher.	17%	46/38%	39/39

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If President Clinton announced a package of reforms to aimed at improving rural and farming areas, including many or all of these proposals mentioned above, **83/14%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton.

83% more favorable (34% much + 49% somewhat)
14% less favorable (3% much + 11% somewhat)
Among rural voters: 83/13%

Health Coverage

Voters strongly support requiring managed care plans to cover cancer prevention procedures – with equal support for prostate exams and mammograms.

There is little support – even among men- for health insurance coverage of Viagra.

83/15% support/oppose requiring managed care health plans to cover yearly prostate exams for men over 50 to ensure early detection and prevention of prostate cancer.

83% support (65% strongly + 18% somewhat)
15% oppose (11% strongly + 4% somewhat)
By party: Dems: 93/7%; GOP: 70/27%; Ind: 83/14%

82/15% support/oppose requiring managed care health plans to cover yearly mammograms for women over 40 to ensure early detection and prevention of breast cancer.

82% support (64% strongly + 18% somewhat)
15% oppose (9% strongly + 6% somewhat)
By party: Dems: 94/6%; GOP: 74/24%; Ind: 8020/%

32/57% support/oppose requiring managed care health plans to cover prescriptions for Viagra, the anti-impotency drug.

32% support (18% strongly + 14% somewhat)
57% oppose (42% strongly + 15% somewhat)
By party: Dems: 33/58%; GOP: 29/61%; Ind: 35/56/%
By gender: Male: 32/56%; Female: 32/60%

Foreign Policy

This is a time to give a major foreign policy address on Asia, and all of our policies. We need to discuss whether to give this instead of the immigration speech or in addition to it before the China trip.

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Newt Gingrich's intemperate remarks in Israel last week have presented us with the opportunity to do to the Republicans in the area of foreign policy what we have been successful in doing to them on domestic policy: paint them as obstructionist and more interested in playing politics.

The escalating nuclear tensions in South Asia, the situation in Kosovo, ongoing economic crises in Asia and Russia, and your upcoming trip to China will all serve to highlight the importance of foreign policy. We should use this opportunity not only to seize control of the domestic political dimension of foreign policy, but also to re-articulate the need for a cohesive, but flexible policy for the post Cold War world.

We should emphasize four main themes over the coming weeks: Bipartisanship, Engagement, Leadership, and Multilateralism.

96/3% think it is important/not important that Republicans and Democrats to cooperate on foreign policy issues.

96% important (84% very + 12% somewhat)
3% not important (1% not at all + 2% not very)

68/30% agree/disagree that President Clinton has tried to reach out to Republicans to try to help solve serious issues of foreign policy, but the Republicans are more interested in playing politics and attacking the President.

68% agree (37% strongly + 31% somewhat)
30% disagree (18% strongly + 12% somewhat)
Democrats: 82/16; Republicans: 37/51; Independents: 80/17

Engagement

61% think that modern times means that we are more connected and need to be more involved in the world, 33% think that the modern times means we must be more guarded and withdraw more from foreign involvement.
Democrats: 65/31; Republicans: 55/40; Independents: 64/30

40% think that President Clinton has responsibly engaged us in international affairs, 31% think he has put us into too many dangerous conflicts, and 20% think he has not gone far enough in involving us in the world.
Democrats: 47/22/21; Republicans: 33/40/22; Independents: 41/32/22

83% think that the U.S. should be a world leader, 11% think that it should withdraw from world affairs?
Democrats: 84/11; Republicans: 87/7; Independents: 79/13

70% say the world has become potentially more dangerous, and the United States must remain engaged and use a combination of incentives and punishments to keep stability.

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21% say we should disassociate ourselves from problems facing other areas of the world, such as the Mid-East and Asia.
Democrats: 73/18; Republicans: 68/24; Independents: 68/23

Security in an Insecure World

Americans want the United States to take the lead and to exercise leadership in solving the world's problems, but they do not want us acting on our own.

In the post Cold War world of the late 1990s the United States is the only superpower. However, rather than becoming easier to manage, US foreign policy has become more complex. War in the former Yugoslavia, the continuing confrontation with Iraq, genocide in Rwanda, the collapse of the Asian economies, and, most recently, the overthrow of the Suharto regime in Indonesia, and the nuclear tests conducted by India and Pakistan are all examples of the new kinds of challenges that face America

67% think the U.S. should help solve these new world problems, 25% think that it should disassociate itself from these challenges.
Democrats: 74/18; Republicans: 58/36; Independents: 68/25

Taking the above statement into consideration, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements.	Agree/ Disagree	Strongly Agree	D	R	I
While America is the lone superpower we cannot solve the world's problems on our own. We must continue to work with our allies and with the United Nations to collectively confront aggression and to build a more peaceful, cleaner and more prosperous world for our children.	86/10	61	90/6	73/23	93/5
America is the indispensable nation and vital to efforts to promote peace around the world – from Ireland, to Bosnia, to the Korean peninsula and the Middle East. We cannot afford to become disengaged either because of political bickering here at home or disagreements with our allies abroad.	76/17	52	80/11	73/21	74/22
More than ever, it is important for American foreign policy to be characterized by bipartisanship. Modern technology, satellite TV hookups and the internet, mean that	70/24	34	78/20	72/19	64/33

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people all over the world are watching and listening to American political discourse. Reasonable disagreement is part of democracy, but injecting domestic political concerns into foreign policy debates makes America look foolish at best and is dangerous at worst.					
During the Cold War the United States relied on fear of the Soviet Union to keep its allies in line and used economic and military aid as tools to reward other countries. In the post Cold War world we must rely on a more varied set of incentives – both carrots and sticks – to help shape the policies of other nations. From International Monetary Fund loans to computer exports to trade deals we are living in a time of change in the way that we conduct foreign policy.	67/25	30	83/13	44/45	72/20

Which of the following is the best reason for the United States to remain actively engaged in international affairs?	Tot%	D	R	I
It is essential that the United States play the role of peacemaker and world leader to ensure global stability.	35%	37	32	43
In the global economy trade and economic strength is essential to being a world power and we must use our military and diplomatic power to ensure our economic strength	21%	18	28	19
Only the United States has the economic, military and diplomatic power to ensure stability in the world.	17%	17	19	18
The United States, as the world's only superpower, has a duty to remain engaged around the globe and exercise leadership.	14%	14	10	17

India / Pakistan Nuclear Weapons Tests

Americans are concerned about this issue and want your administration to take a lead. They understand that a nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan will have repercussions outside of the region, and, by a margin of 3:1 believe that the situation is of vital strategic importance. One in two Americans believe that the South Asian nuclear testing represents an important test of your leadership.

- **77% think that a nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan would be a danger to the United States and the rest of the world**

- **53% think that vital U.S. Strategic interests are involved in the acquisition of nuclear weapons by India and Pakistan**

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- **51% think the India and Pakistan situation is an important test of President Clinton's leadership**

Gingrich Attacks on Mid- East Policy

Who do you trust more on issues related to foreign policy, President Clinton or Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich?	*Clinton*	*Gingrich*	*D*	*R*	*I*
	64	23	92/6	33/50	62/20

Gingrich is recklessly endangering the delicate Middle East peace process and that it is one thing to criticize the President at home, but that a senior government official should never do so while overseas	% Agree	D	R	I
	63	68	46	68

Gingrich is just playing politics.	% Agree	D	R	I
	61	83	32	60

President Clinton has been working to advance the Oslo peace accords between Israel and the Palestinians and is trying to broker an agreement in which Israel will turn over more of the West Bank to Palestinian control in exchange for greater security cooperation and other compromises by the Palestinians.
Given this,

62/28% are more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton
62% more favorable (22% much + 40% somewhat)
28% less favorable (12s% much + 16% somewhat)

Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich has been travelling in Israel and has publicly criticized the President's handling of the Middle East peace process because he believes that the US should not try to exert any influence on the Israelis. Gingrich has also called Secretary of State Madeline Albright an agent for the Palestinians.
Given this, 23/70% are more favorable/less favorable towards Newt Gingrich

23% more favorable (11% much + 12% somewhat)
70% less favorable (29% much + 41% somewhat)

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Gingrich -- Domestic

Clearly, Gingrich's attacks are not having a positive influence on his image, or a negative influence on the President's image. In fact, 16% say his attacks have made them more favorable towards the President.

- **Awareness of Attacks**

44% are aware of Newt Gingrich's recent stepped up attacks on President Clinton.
Among those aware of the attacks Clinton Favorability is 60/40%

- **Effect on Favorability**

Given this, **23/50%** are more favorable/less favorable towards Newt Gingrich
23% more favorable (11% much + 12% somewhat)
50% less favorable (32% much + 18% somewhat)
By party: Dems: 11/73%; GOP: 42/30%; Ind: 22/45%

- **Views on Criticism**

27/44% agree/disagree with his criticisms (29% don't know).

Gingrich's increased criticisms have made **16**% more favorable towards President Clinton, **6**% less favorable, and **71**% have not changed their opinion.
By party: Dems: 28 more /2 less /60 no effect; GOP: 6/12/78%; Ind: 13/7/77%

24% say Gingrich's criticisms are legitimate and necessary- it is about time the Republican leader speak out. **63%** say Gingrich is being too extremist and partisan.

24% say Gingrich's criticisms are legitimate, the Republicans need not cooperate with President Clinton while he is not cooperating with investigations; **59%** say Gingrich should stop his partisan attacks because he is blocking passage of important bi-partisan legislation that will help the American people.

87/11% agree/disagree that the role of the Speaker of the House should be to bring opposing factions together and work on a non-partisan basis to make sure work is getting done for the American people.
87% agree (63% strongly + 24% somewhat)
11% disagree (5% strongly + 6% somewhat)

75% say Gingrich's role as Speaker of the House and Republican leader is to make sure Congress is working to do the people's business and pass legislation that will help the American people; **19%** say that as the Republican leader his role is to push the Republican's agenda and support their investigations of the President.

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Investigations vs. American People

25% think the Republicans in Congress are spending more time on working for American people, **66%** think investigations.

By party: Dems: 17/80%; GOP: 39/53%; Ind: 23/63%

90% think the Republicans in Congress SHOULD spend more time on the people's business, **8%** think investigations.

By party: Dems: 95/5%; GOP: 81/19%; Ind: 93/3%

Which is the best argument against the Republicans in Congress?	**1st**	**2nd**	**1st + 2nd**	**D**	**R**	**I**
They are running a government of partisan investigations rather than of legislation	26%	12%	38%	29	26	23
They want to use the budget surplus for a tax cut rather than to protect social security	17%	17%	34%	17	16	18
They are in the hands of Newt Gingrich and the right wing of the party	14%	12%	26%	23	11	8
They are blocking new proposals that would improve education and child care	12%	13%	25%	11	5	17
They are threatening our economic recovery by trying to spend too much, cutting back on education and blocking trade legislation	5%	17%	22%	10	1	4

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Following are some things the President Clinton could say. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.	Agree/ Disagree	More/ Less Favorable	Much More Favorable
President Clinton says that they are spending more time in Congress on investigations than they are on education, social security and medicare combined. Time to focus on the peoples business, not politics.	83/16%	66/27%	36%
These attacks are unfair, he never changed any policies for any contributor, and we should stick to doing the people's business.	74/22%	53/37%	23%
President Clinton says he will cooperate and nothing will come of these investigations just as nothing has come from any others.	71/26%	59/32%	22%
President Clinton says that the ultra right wing has seized the Republican party and now they are just attacks and right wing legislation.	45/44%	48/39%	21%
Newt Gingrich is using millions of taxpayer funds to fund investigations that are just part of the Republican campaign for congress	71/28%	50/30%	17%
Newt Gingrich and other Republicans have broke the bipartisanship that has meant progress and turned to gridlock instead and this is hurting America	70/25%	50/41%	17%

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Strategy Session
Monday, February 1, 1999
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

The State of the Union reinforced the President's image and job performance.

Mood of the Country

	12/9	12/23	1/5	1/12	1/20	1/27
Country: right/wrong track	51/39	50/40	51/39	53/37	63/27	57/33
Economy: right/wrong track	74/21	74/18	78/17	79/16	83/12	81/16
Favorability						
Clinton	59/41	57/41	58/43	56/43	59/38	56/42
Gore	63/32	62/32	60/32	57/37	64/28	59/33
Clinton Job Approval	68/32	71/28	66/33	69/28	72/26	72/27
Strongly Approve	39	43	34	39	44	41
Gore Job Approval	65/27	68/24	65/29	69/23		64/29
Strongly Approve	25	26	24	23		22

Most Important Issue

— Investigation of the President is the most important issue at **15%.**
— Economy/Jobs is second most important issue at **10%**.
— Morality/Family Values is third at **8%.**
— Education is fourth at **7%.**

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Congress

Approval—on a 2 point scale

	12/9	12/23	1/5	1/12	1/20	1/27
Congress	45/50	51/45	48/48	47/49	48/39	50/44
Congressional Republicans	38/57	41/54	40/55	40/54	38/53	41/54
Congressional Democrats	52/43	56/40	50/43	51/44	49/40	50/44

The CNN poll has the Republicans at 39% in their generic Congressional ballot, which they then described as about the same as on election day. This was not the case at all for two reasons: 1) the 39% they showed Republicans at the lowest level in their polls since 1982 2) turnout in 2000 will not be 36% -- a 52% turnout would produce an enormously different result.

Horserace

	12/9	12/23	1/5	1/12	1/20	1/27
Democrat	44	47	44	46	44	43
Republican	35	35	35	33	33	35

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Newspaper Headlines

Trial: 5, Environment: 1, Budget: 1, Papal Visit: 2, Misc: 1

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
2/1	Monday	New York Times	Clinton to Unveil $1.7 Trillion Plan for U.S. spending Marked by Conservatism; Budget Includes New Domestic Programs and More Money for Republican Interests
2/1	Monday	New York Times	Debate on Indictment Constitution Does Not Favor or Forbid Charges Against President, Experts Say
1/31	Sunday	New York Times	Clinton Pushes Environmental Power-Sharing Fewer Federal Strings on Aid to the States
1/31	Sunday	New York Times	Starr is Weighing Whether to Indict Sitting President A Constitutional Matter; Colleagues Say Counsel Has Decided He Has Authority but May Not Use It
1/30	Saturday	New York Times	Justice Inquiry of Clinton Aide Closed by Reno
1/27	Wednesday	New York Times	Papal Visit Spotlights Clinton's Bully Pulpit
1/27	Wednesday	New York Times	On Appeal, Judges Let Starr Press His Case Against a Clinton Friend
1/27	Wednesday	USA Today	Clinton Thanks John Paul for his 'spiritual guidance'
1/25	Monday	Washington Post	11th- Hour Push Forged Social Security Plan: Clinton Team Aimed for Middle Ground
1/23	Saturday	Washington Post	Prosecution Loses Ground in Senate Byrd Seeks Dismissal of Clinton Charges
1/22	Friday	New York Times	Armed With His New Initiatives, President Campaigns Yet Again
1/22	Friday	New York Times	Clinton Describes Terrorism Threat For 21st Century Focus on Germ Warfare; Studies Name Military Chief For Continental U.S., a Plan Rights Groups Oppose
1/22	Friday	New York Times	Clinton Defense Concludes By Weighing Admitted Sins Against Good of the Nation

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Television Headlines

Trial: 20, Papal Visit 3, Terrorism plan: 3, Arkansas Visit: 2, Education Plan: 2, Social Security: 1, Economy: 1

Date	Station	Order	Headline
1/29	CBS	5	White House Says Depositions Are Attempt To Embarrass Clinton
1/29	NBC	3	Clinton Touts Economic News, Rides High By Following The Polls
1/28	ABC	2	White House Says GOP Plan Unfair To Clinton
1/28	CBS	3	Greenspan Says Clinton Social Security Plan Won't Do The Job
1/28	NBC	3	White House Angry And Frustrated At Senate Decisions
1/27	ABC	2	White House Keeping Options Open Despite Calling Of Witnesses
1/27	CBS	2	White House Talking About Deal To Bring Trial To An End
1/27	NBC	2	Clinton Lawyers Want More Time For Witnesses
1/26	NBC	6	One Year Ago Today, Clinton Denied Lewinsky Affair to Nation
1/26	NBC	3	President to Greet Pope in St. Louis
1/26	CBS	2	House Managers Want Clinton Testimony But White House Says No
1/26	CBS	1	Pope Arrives in St. Louis Greeted by Clinton, Big Crowds
1/26	ABC	2	GOP Makes Case for Witnesses; White House Calls Move Political
1/26	ABC	1	Pope Arrives in US Greeted by Clinton and Crowds of Americans
1/25	NBC	4	Conservatives Suspicious of Polls Showing Support of Clinton
1/25	NBC	3	GOP Senators Sent Clinton Questions But He's Not Answering
1/25	ABC	9	Clinton's $3 Billion Embassy Safety Request
1/25	ABC	2	Clinton Releases Figures Showing Welfare Rolls at 30-year Low
1/22	NBC	1	Senate Statesman & Clinton Critic Byrd Calls For End To Trial
1/22	NBC	2	Despite Good News, White House Has Learned To Be Wary
1/22	NBC	3	Clinton Heads To Arkansas After Deadly Tornadoes Hit
1/22	NBC	6	Clinton Announces Plan To Battle Terrorism
1/22	NBC	10	A Look At The Clintons' Relationship After The Affair
1/22	ABC	1	Influential Sen. Byrd Will Move To Dismiss Clinton Trial
1/22	ABC	2	White House Pleased At Byrd Motion
1/22	ABC	5	Clinton Highlights Danger Of Future Germ/Chemical Terrorism
1/22	ABC	7	Taxpayer Group Says Clinton Proposals Would Create Deficit
1/22	CBS	2	White House Treats Byrd's Announcement Cautiously
1/22	CBS	3	Clinton To Head To Arkansas After Deadly Tornadoes
1/22	CBS	8	Clinton Asks For Billions To Fight Terrorist Attacks
1/21	NBC	1	Former Sen. Bumpers Defends Clinton Before Senate
1/21	NBC	2	Clinton Touts Education Plan; White House Confident About Trial
1/21	ABC	1	Clinton Defense Rests With Former Senator Bumper's Arguments
1/21	ABC	2	White House Pleased With Trial Defense & Feeling Confident
1/21	CBS	1	Bumpers Defends Clinton; Senators Discussing Trial's Course
1/21	CBS	2	Hopeful White House Thinks Seeds Of Doubt Have Been Planted
1/21	CBS	13	Clinton Proposes Re-Funding Excellent Military-To-Teacher Program
1/21	CBS	15	Clinton Subtly Trying To Spin Historians To Help His Legacy

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In the News

Mostly State of the Union roll out events. Welfare and healthcare are the only topics that have broken through.

The meeting with the Pope had the most coverage in the news media—with the most front page headlines and television coverage (second only to the trial)—and had the highest awareness of all the news issues.

The welfare to work announcement receives the most favorable to the President for it, despite the announcement not receiving top coverage in either the television news or the leading newspapers. It could be pickup from the statements about welfare rolls being down from the SOTU.

The partisan atmosphere towards the President is such that Republicans did not even approve of him visiting a disaster site.

Did you hear anything about...?	% aware	More/ Less Fav	D	R	I
Bill Clinton's meeting with Pope John Paul II In St. Louis this week	87	38/24	62/3	10/53	50/23
President Clinton proposing new programs to help more people get move from welfare to work	81	61/28	85/13	40/49	52/29
President Clinton visiting Arkansas after the recent tornadoes and declared areas hit as disaster areas	75	45/21	56/11	21/35	52/23
President Clinton proposing a major expansion of Medicare to cover prescription drugs	66	57/22	79/0	55/38	41/31
Bill Clinton announcing that the number of people on welfare has fallen to the lowest it has been in 30 years	65	58/16	97/3	35/28	36/20
Bill Clinton proposing an initiative to protect abortion clinics from violence	51	54/38	71/20	47/45	43/52
President Clinton proposing new tax credits and health care incentives to encourage Americans with disabilities get back to work	42	57/31	80/5	41/46	50/43
Bill Clinton's plans to battle 21st century terrorism, including chemical, biological, and computer warfare	40	36/32	56/14	27/54	27/33
President Clinton asking Congress to spend 1 billion dollars to buy more land for national parks and other conservation purposes	25	46/36	87/2	23/54	27/52
Bill Clinton proposing $1 billion in tax incentives to spur the development and use of more energy-efficient technologies	20	48/26	76/8	16/61	43/22

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Outside Polls

The LA Times poll shows strongly favorable responses to SOTU initiatives:

83/12% support/oppose President Clinton's proposal for a series of tax breaks, grants, and subsidies to make child care more affordable for working families, such as a $500 tax credit for child care expenses for any parent who stays at home with children under one year old (LA Times, 1/27-29)

86/11% support/oppose President Clinton's proposal to devote $600 billion of the budget surplus over the next fifteen years to Medicare (LA Times, 1/27-29)

D	R	I	Lib	Mod	Con
96/4	71/24	89/10	96/4	91/7	76/21

78/17% support/oppose President Clinton's proposal to transfer more than 60% of the budget surplus over the next 15 years to the Social Security system (LA Times, 1/27-29)

D	R	I	Lib	Mod	Con
89/8	68/29	80/16	92/7	83/15	67/29

Vision for the 21st Century
65/29% think/do not think President Clinton has a clear vision on where he wants to lead the country into the next century (LA Times, 1/27-29)

D	R	I	Lib	Mod	Con
84/12	46/51	68/25	72/21	70/27	58/38

President Clinton vs. Republicans in Congress
51% think President Clinton has better ideas for how to solve the problems this country currently faces, **30%** the Republicans in Congress (LA Times, 1/27-29)

D	R	I	Lib	Mod	Con
81/7	18/68	46/30	75/11	60/22	29/55

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Republican Agenda vs. Democratic Agenda

The Republican message can now be telescoped to impeachment, partisanship and taxes. These are the only issues that receive more than 10% recognition in the survey on an open-ended basis. Essentially they have only one issue on which they could be a winner with the public – taxes – on the rest of the issues they are on the defensive. If we can neutralize them on taxes now, they will have nothing left for 2000 and no real time to build an agenda that isn't simply anti-Democratic.

Perception of Republican Agenda
50% think the Republican party has an agenda on the issues, **36%** not.

D	R	I
45/42	65/21	47/39

28% of those who say the Republican party has an agenda on the issues identify specific issues other than Impeachment or the Democratic party. (9% overall)

What is that agenda? (OPEN END) Among those who believe Republicans have an agenda	All	D	R	I
Political Agenda – 44%				
Impeaching the President	28	43	2	41
Save their own party / Gain control of the White House	5	11	1	3
Anti-Democrat, political in nature	11	7	12	13
Issues – 28%				
Lowering Taxes	14	6	31	4
Less government	7	3	13	5
Foreign Policy	5	8	3	2
Education	1	0	1	0
Abortion	1	0	0	2
Morality – 5%				
Restore integrity/morality	4	0	9	4
Make a better America / Getting the country on the right track	1	0	2	2
Other/Don't Know – 24%				
Other	10	13	11	8
Don't Know	14	9	15	16

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Perception of Democratic Agenda
58% think the Democratic party has an agenda on the issues, **30%** not.

D	R	I
73/16	60/32	46/39

34% of those who say the Democratic party has an agenda on the issues identify specific issues. (**15%** overall)

Democrats stand for getting back to the business of the country, and for helping average Americans.

What is that agenda? (OPEN END) Among those who believe Democrats have an agenda	All	D	R	I
Political Agenda - 20%				
Defending/trying to keep the President in office	14	15	11	16
Gaining control/personal agenda	6	1	16	4
Issues - 34%				
Helping the average people	7	9	2	10
Keep Economy Strong	5	9	0	1
Save Social Security	5	6	3	5
Misc. Issues	5	7	3	5
Foreign policy/peace	4	5	0	6
Taxing and Spending	2	0	8	1
Medicare/Health Care	2	1	4	4
Social Programs	2	1	7	0
Education	2	2	5	0
Morality – 13%				
Getting back to the issues of America	9	17	3	2
Negative comments	2	0	2	5
Socialism	2	0	5	1
Other/Don't Know –32%				
Other	10	7	10	16
Don't Know	22	19	21	24

But the difference now is less about specific issues than it is about approach. If you want a moderate approach (and who wouldn't when 81% believe the economy is in the right direction), then you want more Democrats, not Republicans in control. This is a lead that is larger than the lead on issues – and we have to incorporate this in all of our rhetoric.

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56% think the Democrats represent more the moderate viewpoint – **29%** the Republicans. (11/9—55/28)

D	R	I
80/15	33/50	52/27

52% think the Democrats have a better agenda on the issues – **30%** the Republicans. (11/9—48/31)

D	R	I
88/7	14/69	46/23

Conservatives vs. Moderates Within the GOP

This polling confirms that the impeachment proceedings are helping drive perceptions that the conservative wing of the Republican party dominates Republican politics and that most Republicans in Congress are conservative. After abortion, impeachment is seen as the second most dominant issue for conservatives.

17% think that the religious right is gaining strength in affecting the Republican party , **15%** think it is losing strength, and **54%** not changing in strength.

D	R	I
21/26/51	14/10/60	17/10/50

20% think that the conservative wing is gaining strength in affecting the Republican party **27%** think it is losing strength, and **41%** think it is not changing in strength.

D	R	I
30/20/39	18/33/46	14/31/38

22% think that the Republicans have become more moderate since the November elections, **25%** more conservative and **28%** stayed about where they were.

D	R	I
11/44/41	31/12/55	25/16/49

38% think most Republicans in Congress are moderate, **55%** conservative

D	R	I	M	F
22/75	41/55	49/39	43/51	34/58

31% think Moderate Republicans dominate the Republican party, **57%** Conservative Republicans.

D	R	I	M	F
21/70	39/58	34/47	33/57	30/57

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44% think moderate Republicans are being forced to the right, **40%** not.

D	R	I	M	F
61/20	34/59	38/43	44/43	44/37

37% would trust a moderate Republican to vote for the moderate positions **39%** believe they would be forced to vote for the conservative right position.

D	R	I
27/45	56/30	32/41

Abortion, Impeachment and Taxes are issues where conservatism dominates the Republican image. Independents see a conservative education agenda being presented by the Republicans, and this is a very big problem for them. So this is a party dominated by conservatives, and abortion is the top issue on the conservative agenda – this remains a powerful attack on the Republicans, especially with women.

For each of the following issues, please tell me if you think the moderate position or the Conservative position dominates the Republican party on the issue?	Moderates	Conservatives	Conservative Adv. Over	Mod/cons		
				D	R	I
Abortion	27	61	34	30/67	29/69	24/51
Impeachment	40	50	10	39/51	39/56	41/48
Defense	42	50	8	53/39	36/62	37/51
Taxes	44	49	5	51/44	24/72	50/38
Crime	44	47	3	49/38	36/63	44/44
Social Security	41	43	2	43/49	41/50	40/35
Education	49	43	-6	51/41	62/37	**38/47**
Environment	53	36	-17	57/40	63/33	44/33
Race Issues	53	31	-22	57/38	57/32	47/24

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The Politics of Income

1998	% electorate	Vote Dem	Vote GOP
Under $15,000	8	59	41
$15-30	19	44	45
$30-50	27	49	51
$50-75	26	46	54
$75-100	10	47	53
$100+	10	45	55

National	1994 Dem Margin	1996 Dem Margin	1998 Dem Margin
Under $15,000	24	26	18
$15-30	2	12	-1
$30-50	-10	0	-2
$50-75	-16	-12	-8
$75-100	-24	-20	-6
$100+	-28	-26	-10

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Budget Surplus

Perception of the Budget Surplus

We have totally changed the view of the public on the surplus – though 4 in 10 Republicans and independents still think we have a deficit this year.

36% think we have a budget deficit this year, **43%** a budget surplus, **17%** think the budget is balanced.

	All	D	R	I
1/14	36/31/21	26/36/24	45/32/13	41/25/26
1/20	23/46/17	18/41/29	27/47/9	23/52/10
1/27	36/43/17	23/52/22	42/47/10	44/35/15

President Clinton's Agenda For the Budget Surplus

Standing firm on using the surplus for Social Security and Medicare is working.

There is support for a Republican plan for a 10% tax cut that INCLUDES using 60% of the surplus for Social Security, but people are not convinced that the surplus can be used for both.

52/33% approve/disapprove of how President Clinton proposed to use the surplus. (1/20—58/25)

D	R	I	M	F	<35yrs	>35yrs
72/17	26/49	51/36	57/30	48/36	44/28	57/33

Telling people our plan for the aging of America works – and we should be supplying this small capsule over and over again.

President Clinton has proposed to put 62% of the surplus to saving Social Security for 55 years, 15% of the surplus toward extending Medicare, 11% towards Universal Savings accounts to help Americans save and part for a $1000 long term care tax credit for those who care for an elderly parent. **75/19%** support/oppose this.

75% support (**46%** strongly + **29%** somewhat)
19% oppose (**9%** strongly + **10%** somewhat)

D	R	I	M	F	<35yrs	>35yrs
89/7	67/34	65/23	75/19	75/21	87/8	71/24

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Surplus for Social Security or Tax Cuts

Again, Social Security and Medicare trump an across the board tax cut. Targeted tax cuts are about equal to a ten percent tax cut.

Social Security/Medicare vs. Tax Cut

72% think the surplus should be used to save Social Security and Medicare, **19%** for a tax cut.

D	R	I	M	F	<35yrs	>35yrs
85/14	59/28	67/18	67/21	76/18	62/26	74/18

Social Security/Medicare vs. 10% Tax Cut

70% think the right way to use the surplus is to save Social Security, Medicare and for retirement savings and a tax credit for long term care, **24%** a 10% across the board tax cut.

D	R	I	M	F	<35yrs	>35yrs
89/10	52/41	62/28	67/25	72/24	66/29	69/24

If 60% of the surplus is used to save Social Security, **65%** would prefer using the remaining surplus to extend Medicare, individual accounts to help Americans save and for a long term care tax credit and other targeted tax cuts, and **29%** a 10% across the board tax cut

D	R	I	M	F	<35yrs	>35yrs
76/14	53/43	63/32	70/26	60/32	71/26	62/32

Targeted Tax Cuts vs. Across the Board

Targeted tax cuts are doing better as a concept than they were before the state of the union.

45% prefer targeted tax cuts that would help with child care, paying for long term care for the elderly, saving for retirement, school construction and environmental programs, **42%** a 10 percent across the board income tax cut.

D	R	I	M	F	<35yrs	>35yrs
69/20	28/63	38/47	38/51	52/34	63/36	41/44

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Republican Tax Cut Proposals

GOP Plan

Suppose Republicans said they would save 60% of the surplus for Social Security and use the rest for a 10% across the board tax cut. **58/40%** support/oppose this plan.

58% support (**28%** strongly + **30%** somewhat)

40% oppose (**25%** strongly + **15%** somewhat)

D	R	I
45/53	90/11	47/50

Effect of Tax Cut on Self

44% think a 10% across the board income tax cut will help them personally, **8%** think it will hurt them personally and **46%** think it will have no effect.

D	R	I
40/14/44	63/2/34	35/7/55

Do you think..., or not? *Ranked by YES*	Yes/ No	D	R	I
A permanent 10 percent across the board tax cut would jeopardize future surpluses	66/30	77/12	44/55	71/28
A permanent 10 percent across the board tax cut could force us back to the era of deficits	61/32	76/14	44/52	63/36
A permanent 10 percent across the board tax cut would jeopardize the Social Security program	53/41	62/25	34/65	62/36
A permanent 5 percent across the board tax cut would jeopardize the Social Security program	37/46	54/27	32/61	25/52
A permanent 5 percent across the board tax cut would jeopardize future surpluses	32/51	47/33	36/56	16/61
A permanent 5 percent across the board tax cut could force us back to the era of deficits	24/56	32/42	28/72	15/56

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Freedom Accounts – a Quayle proposal

Another proposal would be to establish individual accounts -- Freedom Accounts -- that allow individuals to contribute up to $10,000 annually with tax-free buildup for use in their retirement years. Individuals would be able to these funds for the education; health-care expenses; purchase of a home by first-time buyers; and the cost of long-term care for elderly or disabled relatives. **76/19%** support/oppose this proposal.

76% support (**50%** strongly + **26%** somewhat)
19% oppose (**13%** strongly + **6%** somewhat)

D	R	I
75/22	85/15	71/18

If Democrats said this proposal would only help the most well off and provide few benefits to middle income families, **41/54%** would support/oppose this proposal.

41% support (**18%** strongly + **23%** somewhat)
54% oppose (**40%** strongly + **14%** somewhat)

D	R	I
34/62	50/48	41/52

Possible Democratic Tax Cut Ideas

Graduated Tax Cuts

Respondents would prefer a graduated tax cut over a 10% tax cut.

61/26% support/oppose a Democratic proposal to cut taxes by 10% for those earning under 100,000 dollars and 5% for those earning over $100,000.

61% support (**32%** strongly + **29%** somewhat)
26% oppose (**10%** strongly + **16%** somewhat)

55/35% support/oppose a Democratic proposal for a graduated tax cut that would cut taxes 15% for those earning under $75,000, 10% for those earning $75-100,000 and 5% for those earning over $100,000.

55% support (**30%** strongly + **25%** somewhat)
35% oppose (**24%** strongly + **11%** somewhat)

Across the Board vs. Graduated Tax Cut
32% prefer the Republican proposal of 10% across the board tax cut for everyone, **57**% the Democratic proposal of a graduated tax cut based on income.

D	R	I	<$35K	>$35K
8/83	61/28	34/52	15/69	36/56

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President Clinton's Plan

The biggest issue in the Presidents plan to save Social Security is the investment in the private sector. When questions are asked about "government investing in the stock market, that component of the plan fails by 20 points. It succeed only when people understand that that is the only alternative to benefit cuts or tax increases. In many ways this element of the plan is this years IMF funding- something that starts out skeptical and unpopular and would need considerable support and persuasion to win over. We have a basic decision whether or not to bolster that element of the plan or simply to focus on using the surplus to save Social Security. Much of that depends upon other third party validators such as AARP and others answering Greenspan. In addition you have the other problem or the USA accounts, despite a radio address explaining them still not being clear to most Americans.

People favor President Clinton's plan to save Social Security. They don't exactly know what that plan is, but the commend him for having offered one and they favor his plan.

President Clinton introduced a plan to save Social Security by dedicating 60% of federal budget surpluses to Social Security, and investing a portion of this in the private sector to get higher returns in the long run and secure the program for 55 years.
60/34% support/oppose this plan.

60% support (**31%** strongly + **29%** somewhat)
34% oppose (**22%** strongly + **12%** somewhat)

	All	D	R	I
1/20	*69/23*	*82/10*	*52/43*	*67/23*
1/27	*60/34*	*60/28*	*55/44*	*62/32*

Greenspan Opposition
60% have heard something about Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve, opposing President Clinton's plan to invest some of the surplus in the stock market for Social Security.

	All	D	R	I
1/20	*40*	*38*	*43*	*37*
1/27	*60*	*62*	*67*	*53*

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Medicare
President Clinton has proposed to dedicate 15 percent of the projected budget surpluses to secure the solvency of the Medicare Trust Fund until the year 2020.
76/20% support/oppose this proposal.
76% support (**38%** strongly + **38%** somewhat)
20% oppose (**15%** strongly + **5%** somewhat)

D	R	I
83/10	*69/25*	*72/24*

Tax Cuts vs. Medicare
16% would prefer using this part of the surplus for tax cuts, **70**% to extend Medicare.

D	R	I
0/79	*36/47*	*17/78*

Consumers' Bill of Rights

Following are a list of proposals that could be included in a Consumers' Bill of Rights. After each one, Please tell me if you think this is a very important proposal, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important.	Very Important	Important/ Not Important	D	R	I
Protecting consumers from telemarketing fraud.	81	93/ 5	95/ 2	88/ 6	93/ 8
Protecting consumers from auto insurance fraud.	77	94/ 3	94/ 0	93/ 7	95/ 5
Protecting consumers from excessive ATM fees and double charging of ATM fees by banks.	72	85/ 14	77/ 23	94/ 6	87/ 11
Protecting consumers from false or misleading advertising by long-distance companies who provide dial-around services, also known as 10-10 services.	66	85/ 13	71/ 26	86/ 11	95/ 5
Protecting consumers from inaccurate pricing by stores who rely on bar code scanning who don't regularly update their systems with sale prices	65	95/ 5	92/ 8	96/ 4	97/ 3
Protecting consumers from gas stations whose pumps are not regularly tested for measurement accuracy and unfairly overcharge consumers.	61	86/ 7	76/ 5	96/ 4	87/ 11
Protecting consumers from inaccurate pricing by who fail to take down sale signs after a promotion has ended	38	71/ 25	62/ 24	69/ 31	78/ 22

94/5% would support/oppose a Consumers bill of rights that included all or most of these provisions.
94% support (**69%** strongly + **25%** somewhat)
5% oppose (**4%** strongly + **1%** somewhat)

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Upcoming Schedule

Date	Event	
The Next Two Weeks…		
Tuesday February 2	***Education event, Boston***	**Education**
Wednesday February 3	***AARP Event***	**Seniors**
Thursday February 4	Malcolm Baldridge Awards Ceremony National Prayer Breakfast	
Friday February 5	***Microenterprise Development Award Event*** *Brief meeting with Presidents of Peru and Ecuador*	**Cities**
Saturday February 6	Live Radio Address	
Monday February 8	***Message Event*** Little League World Series Championship Event	
Tuesday February 9	Address House Democratic Issues Conference	
Friday February 12	Tape Radio Address	
Future Events		
Friday February 19	*Official working visit of President Chirac of France* Tape radio address	
Monday February 22	National Governors' Association Meeting	
Tuesday February 23	***Children's Health Event***	**Healthcare**
Wednesday February 24	*State Visit for President Rawlings of Ghana*	
Thursday February 25	***Message Event***	
Friday February 26	Tape Radio Address	

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Strategy Session
Thursday, January 21, 1999
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

The State of the Union was a success. It rolled out an agenda that showed that President Clinton has a vision for the future that is focused on people – giving them the tools they need to make the most of their own lives in the 21st Century.

Mood of the Country

	11/29	12/9	12/23	1/5	1/12	1/20
Country: right/wrong track	51/36	51/39	50/40	51/39	53/37	63/27
Economy: right/wrong track	73/21	74/21	74/18	78/17	79/16	83/12
Favorability						
Clinton	59/40	59/41	57/41	58/43	56/43	59/38
				Among those who Watched SOTU:		65/33
Gore	58/35	63/32	62/32	60/32	57/37	64/28
HRC	64/32	67/31	65/31	69/28	66/30	67/28
Clinton Job Approval	65/34	68/32	71/28	66/33	69/28	72/26
Strongly Approve	36	39	43	34	39	44

Congress

Approval—on a 2 point scale

	11/29	12/9	12/23	1/5	1/12	1/20
Congress	49/47	45/50	51/45	48/48	47/49	48/39
Congressional Republicans	43/53	38/57	41/54	40/55	40/54	38/53
Congressional Democrats	49/43	52/43	56/40	50/43	51/44	49/40

Horserace

	12/9	12/23	1/5	1/12	1/20
Democrat	44	47	44	46	44
Republican	35	35	35	33	33

Newspaper Headlines

Trial: 26, SOTU: 4, Social Security: 3, Economy: 3, Misc: 2

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
1/21	Thursday	New York Times	Greenspan Sees Possible Threat in Clinton Plan
1/21	Thursday	New York Times	Clinton Outlines Plan to Test Limited System to Intercept Rogue Nuclear Attack
1/21	Thursday	Washington Post	Clinton Defense Blasts Evidence as Distorted Lawyers Call Disputes 'Trivial'
1/20	Wednesday	USA Today	Clinton: Fix social security Speech caps day of trial and tension
1/20	Wednesday	USA Today	Proposal sets down 'marker' for Social Security's future
1/20	Wednesday	USA Today	Clinton defense opens against 'the witches' brew of charges'
1/20	Wednesday	Washington Post	Clinton Says Prosperity Must Aid Elderly Social Security, Medicare Highlighted in SOTU
1/20	Wednesday	Washington Post	Clinton Defense Calls Charges 'Witches Brew'
1/20	Wednesday	Washington Post	Turning to the Stock Market Plan Would Mark Fundamental Change in Retirement System
1/20	Wednesday	New York Times	Unbowed, Clinton presses Social Security Plan Government Investment in the Stock Market Urged to Aid Fund
1/20	Wednesday	New York Times	Emphatic 'Not Guilty' Opens the Case for Clinton's Defense
1/19	Tuesday	New York Times	White House Opens Case To day Losing Ground on Witness Issue Senate Democrat Calls Depositions 'inevitable
1/19	Tuesday	Washington Post	Clinton to propose More Welfare-to-Work Funding
1/19	Tuesday	Washington Post	The Trial of Their Lives Presidents case Has Consumed His Team
1/19	Tuesday	Washington Post	No Elbow Room at the White House Park Service Plans $300 Million Overhaul to Ease Congestion
1/19	Tuesday	USA Today	Polls High on Eve of Speech Clinton to Press Ahead With Agenda
1/19	Tuesday	USA Today	Public's Dueling Views Americans judge the president vs. The man
1/19	Tuesday	USA Today	Many Americans balance performance vs. Character
1/18	Monday	Washington Post	Clinton Team Plans Switch in Strategy Focus on Witness Conflict Carries Risk
1/18	Monday	New York Times	Clinton To Urge More U.S. Control on Aid to Schools To Stick to Policy, Not His Trial in SOTU Address
1/18	Monday	USA Today	Clinton team prepares defense in increasingly divided Senate
1/17	Sunday	New York Times	Prosecution Argues Impeachability of Clinton's Deeds Effort to Prove High Crimes Occurred
1/17	Sunday	New York Times	Partisan Gulf Grows After Prosecutors make Case Lott and Daschle Split on Witness Again
1/16	Saturday	New York Times	Senate Told It's Clinton 'Who Is Not Telling The Truth' Prosecutors Say Call Lewinsky if in Doubt
1/16	Saturday	New York Times	Party Lines Are Toughening Over the Calling of Witnesses
1/15	Friday	USA Today	Prosecutors: Call Witnesses against Clinton

1/15	Friday	NY Times	Senators Hear 1st plea by House to Remove Clinton
1/15	Friday	Was Post	Prosecutors Allege Scheme by Clinton
1/14	Thursday	USA Today	Clinton: Senate will do the Right Thing
1/14	Thursday	Wash Post	Prosecutors Start to Present Clinton Case Today
1/14	Thursday	NY Times	GOP Senators Meet Secretly with Prosecutors on Witnesses
1/13	Wednesday	Washington Post	Clinton's Jury: 100 Interested Parties
1/13	Wednesday	Wash Post	Clinton Payment Ends Jones Suit
1/11	Monday	New York Times	Witness Question in Clinton's Trial Remains Big Issue Senators Squaring Off; Republicans Seek Testimony of Some Major Figures, but Democrats Don't Yield
1/11	Monday	Washington Post	Clinton Looks For Best Spin From History
1/10	Sunday	Washington Post	How House, Clinton May State the Case
1/10	Sunday	New York Times	Trial Accord Shifts Focus Back to Starr's Evidence Battle Is Over Details of Case Against Clinton
1/10	Sunday	New York Times	How Henry Hyde's Resolve Was Shaped Against Clinton

Television Headlines

Trial: 27, SOTU: 6, Economy: 3, Social Security: 2, Misc: 1

Date	Station	Order	Headline
1/19	ABC	1	Clinton's Attorney Makes Presentation For Defense
1/19	ABC	4	Clinton To Address Education, Health Care, Many Other Issues
1/19	ABC	5	Clinton Proposing Programs To Use Budget Surplus, Block Tax Cuts
1/19	ABC	15	Republicans Say They're Eager To Work With Clinton On New Policies
1/19	ABC	16	Clinton To Use State Of The Union To Change Focus From Scandal
1/19	CBS	1	Clinton Counsel Presents Impeachment Defense To Senate
1/19	CBS	2	Look At Clinton's White House Counsel Charles Ruff
1/19	CBS	5	Security At Capitol Is High For President's Address
1/19	CBS	13	Clinton Wants To Invest Some Social Security Funds In Stocks
1/19	NBC	1	Clinton Lawyer Makes Emotional Appeal Not To Convict
1/19	NBC	2	Clinton Has A High Approval Rating Because Of The Good Economy
1/19	NBC	3	Clinton Wants To Use Some Of the Budget Surplus For S. Security
1/19	NBC	4	A Look At How Clinton's Social Security Plan Will Work
1/19	NBC	5	Clinton Believes He Won't Be Removed From Office
1/18	ABC	2	Clinton Administration Condemns Atrocities, But Takes No Other Steps
1/18	ABC	3	Latest On Kosovo, Trial, State Of Union From The White House
1/18	CBS	3	Clinton Lawyers To Begin Defense On Day Of State Of The Union
1/18	NBC	4	Clinton Will Make Major Proposals In State Of Union
1/14	ABC	1	Clinton Impeachment Trial Begins With GOP Arguments
1/14	ABC	3	White House Says Clinton Didn't Watch Trial, Attacks GOP Case
1/14	ABC	4	Analysts Discuss Impeachment Trial, Evidence Against Clinton
1/14	CBS	1	House Prosecutors Begin Laying Out Case Against Clinton
1/14	CBS	2	White House Line: Clinton Concerned With More Important Things
1/14	CBS	3	Former Sen. George Mitchell Discusses Trial, Clinton Defense
1/14	NBC	1	Impeachment Trial Begins With Prosecutors Laying out Charges
1/14	NBC	2	Clinton's Legal Team Follows Trial While Clinton Ignores It
1/13	ABC	1	Clinton Says He Believes The Senate Will Do the Right Thing
1/13	CBS	1	Preparations Underway For Resumption of Clinton Trial Tomorrow
1/13	CBS	2	President Speaks About Case for 1st Time Since His Impeachment
1/13	CBS	3	Senate Majority Leader Lott Discusses Clinton Trial
1/13	NBC	1	With Trial To Begin Tomorrow, Clinton Team Advances Arguments
1/12	ABC	6	Clinton Sends $850,000 Check To Paula Jones
1/12	CBS	6	Clinton Sends $850,000 Settlement Check To Paula Jones
1/12	CBS	7	GOP Prosecutors Angry With White House Attacks
1/12	NBC	4	Clinton Sends Paula Jones $850,000 For Settlement
1/11	ABC	1	White House Submits Formal Response To Impeachment Charges
1/11	CBS	1	Clinton Denies Scheme To Obstruct Justice
1/11	CBS	2	GOP Prosecutors Lay Out Case Against Clinton, Hope For Witnesses
1/11	NBC	1	A Look At the Case Against Clinton & the Q's Facing the Senate

State of the Union follow-up

62% said they watched President Clinton's State of the Union address on television.

D	R	I
76	56	53

Among those who watched, the address made **63/27%** more/less favorable towards President Clinton.

D	R	I
85/9	25/59	60/28

93/6% would say that in delivering the speech Bill Clinton was Presidential/not Presidential.

D	R	I
99/1	82/17	96/4

75/21% think President Clinton was sincere/not sincere during his speech.

D	R	I
97/2	48/46	71/21

What was the most important part of the speech to you personally?	1/19 SOTU viewers only	1/20 SOTU viewers only
Strengthening Social Security	27	24
Education	15	11
Medicare	8	1
Balanced Budget/Surplus	5	11
Health Care	3	3
Other Foreign Policy objectives	3	1
Preparing America for the future	3	2
Race/One America	3	1
Campaign finance/political reform	2	1
Minimum wage	2	2
Seniors/Long term care tax credit	2	0
Ban child labor	1	1
Childcare/families	1	2
Crime/Drugs	1	2
Foreign policy	1	1
Retirement savings/USA Accounts	1	2
Tobacco issues	1	2
Training/lifelong learning	1	0

Urban investment/homeownership tax credit	1	1
Defense/International Conflict	0	2
Environment	0	2
Hate Crimes/Employment Non-Discrimination Act/Gay rights	0	1
International Economy/Trade	0	1
Medical research	0	2
Rural agenda/farm issues/farm safety net	0	0
Volunteerism/community service/Americorps	0	0
Welfare to work/welfare reform	0	2
Other domestic priorities	14	5

Clinton Attributes

How well does this fit President Clinton? Please use a one to five scale, with five meaning that the word or phrase fits very well, and one meaning that it doesn't fit at all. % saying 4+5	Pre	Post	Gain
Has a vision for the future	58	72	**14**
Cares about people like me	45	56	**11**
Takes clear stands on the issues	45	55	**10**
In touch with my values	32	41	**9**
A peacemaker in the world	53	61	**8**
Uniting the country	45	52	**7**
Strong leader	58	63	**5**
Effective—gets things done	54	55	**1**

How well does this fit President Clinton? Please use a one to five scale, with five meaning that the word or phrase fits very well, and one meaning that it doesn't fit at all.	Dem			GOP			Ind		
	Pre	Post	Gain	Pre	Post	Gain	Pre	Post	Gain
In touch with my values	55	68	**13**	11	15	**4**	21	32	**11**
Takes clear stands on the issues	75	87	**12**	23	29	**6**	31	41	**10**
Strong leader	84	95	**11**	29	29	**0**	53	53	**0**
Cares about people like me	81	90	**9**	13	28	**15**	30	41	**11**
A peacemaker in the world	84	91	**7**	28	41	**13**	39	43	**4**
Effective—gets things done	77	82	**5**	25	31	**6**	51	43	**-8**
Has a vision for the future	89	93	**4**	26	44	**18**	51	73	**22**
Uniting the country	79	82	**3**	17	28	**11**	28	60	**32**

During the speech, **63%** think President Clinton laid out an agenda for the future that they could agree with, **27%** not.

Those who watched SOTU	*D*	*R*	*I*
63/27	*82/6*	*45/41*	*65/22*

Clinton vs. Republicans in Congress

Who do you trust more to accomplish each of the following—Bill Clinton or the Republicans in Congress?	Clinton PRE	Clinton POST	Change	Dem Adv
Fight tobacco	67	76	**11**	58
Improve the lives of Senior citizens	56	66	**10**	35
Encourage research and development into new technologies for the future	50	60	**10**	22
Protect American values	40	48	**8**	4
Save and strengthen Social Security	59	66	**7**	31
Extend Medicare	65	70	**5**	44
Improve racial equality	64	69	**5**	43
Protect the environment	65	69	**5**	42
Fight crime	53	58	**5**	23
Help working families	67	71	**4**	43
Create opportunity for people to make the most of their own lives	57	60	**3**	24
Ensure quality healthcare	61	63	**2**	33
Use the surplus in the best way	52	54	**2**	13
Improve Education	64	65	**1**	25
Handle the economy	58	59	**1**	22
Protect our children	56	57	**1**	20
Reform welfare	54	55	**1**	13
Handle the federal budget	54	55	**1**	12
Improve the lives of American families	49	50	**1**	4
Make wise decisions about the country's defense policies	51	51	**0**	9
Cut taxes	43	35	**-8**	-8

Message Strategy

The most important fight to win is that using the surplus to save Social Security and Medicare is the right way to use the surplus. That is the pivotal point for all of the rest of the President's agenda for the long term future of the country.

So we should give priority to establishing the support for and seriousness of our Social Security, Medicare and USA account proposals.

Next, we should defend and explain our education agenda – though we are on much stronger footing with the accountability agenda than the GOP realizes. Just as Bob Dole made his biggest mistake by calling to end the Education Department, so can Republicans fall into the same trap by opposing this education agenda.

Third, we should look for some events on some of the top scoring individual proposals– equal pay for equal work scored best, followed by the disability proposal. Welfare to work, and more cops on the street were also hugely popular.

Tobacco was the big surprise in the speech and any joint meetings that are held now show that we are serious in our resolve.

Our overall theme: This is the moment to prepare America for the 21st century by using our prosperity and our surplus to secure Social Security and Medicare and to improve education.

Proposals

3 in 4 State of the Union watchers support the proposals he outlined in the speech. 83% of these respondents support his proposals to improve education.

Seniors were particularly impressed by the address and proposals outlined.

Among those who watched the State of the Union Address:
74/15% support/oppose the policies President Clinton announced.

Those who watched SOTU	*D*	*R*	*I*
74/15	*88/6*	*45/37*	*75/13*

72/17% support/oppose the proposal to save Social Security President Clinton announced.

Those who watched SOTU	*D*	*R*	*I*
72/17	*87/5*	*53/37*	*66/19*

83/11% support/oppose the proposals to improve education President Clinton announced.

Those who watched SOTU	*D*	*R*	*I*
83/11	*95/3*	*67/24*	*76/13*

52% think President Clinton has the better agenda for the future of this country, **29%** the Republicans in Congress.

D	*R*	*I*	*Those who watched SOTU*
86/4	*13/71*	*46/24*	*60/24*

These questions make the partisanship of the country clear – Republicans are unlikely to believe – or give the President credit for improvements in the economy or crime levels.

They do believe the economic statistics given the jump in right track/wrong track

I am going to read you a list of things President Clinton announced last night in his State of the Union. Please tell me if you find this very believable, somewhat believable, not very believable or not at all believable and if this makes you much more favorable towards President Clinton somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable towards President Clinton. Ranked by much more favorable	Very believable	**Believable/not**	D	R	I	Much more favorable	**More/less fav**	D	R	I
President Clinton announced that we had a surplus of 70 billion dollars last year and we are on track for budget surpluses for the next 25 years.	16	47/ 42	72/ 21	20/ 68	44/ 45	29	46/ 35	82/ 11	10/ 72	36/ 33
President Clinton announced that we have the lowest violent crime rate in a quarter century.	17	51/ 43	67/ 29	30/ 65	49/ 41	27	43/ 37	75/ 14	12/ 68	34/ 41
President Clinton announced that we have Cleanest environment in a quarter century.	20	52/ 41	63/ 36	49/ 45	47/ 40	23	44/ 34	67/ 20	26/ 52	36/ 33

No proposal made fewer than 65% more favorable toward the President. Even Republicans reacted favorably towards many of the State of the Union proposals.

Now I'd like to read you some of the proposals President Clinton announced in his state of the union address last night. For each one please tell me if this proposal makes you much more favorable towards President Clinton somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable towards President Clinton?	Much more favorable	More/less fav	D	R	I	D+I
Make sure women and men get equal pay for equal work by strengthening enforcement of the equal pay laws.	67	86/ 10	91/ 6	70/ 24	92/ 5	91/ 5
Allow people with disabilities to keep their health insurance when they go to work	67	84/ 8	90/ 1	77/ 18	83/ 8	87/ 5
Help 200,000 people move from welfare to work and to increase the employment of men whose children are on welfare so they can pay child support;	63	83/ 14	93/ 5	72/ 23	81/ 15	87/ 10
Pass a strong enforceable Patients' Bill of Rights to ensure quality healthcare	63	82/ 12	88/ 5	71/ 26	84/ 11	86/ 7
Make prescription drugs for Seniors more affordable	65	80/ 12	92/ 6	65/ 28	79/ 9	85/ 8
Pass a 21st century crime bill to give law enforcement officials the latest technologies to make communities safer, put 50,000 more police on the street and keep prisoners and parolees off drugs	63	81/ 12	93/ 3	73/ 25	78/ 13	85/ 8
Allow 55-65 year olds who lose their health insurance to buy into Medicare	60	80/ 13	93/ 4	72/ 21	75/ 20	84/ 12
Spend $1 billion to help 200,000 people move from welfare to work and to increase the employment of men whose children are on welfare so they can pay child support;	59	78/ 17	87/ 9	68/ 28	75/ 17	81/ 13
Give a 1,000 dollar tax credit to the aged, sick or disabled and the families who care for them	57	75/ 16	**94**/ 4	56/ 33	**69**/ 16	**81/ 10**
Increasing funding for summer school and after school programs for children	55	76/ 17	95/ 4	61/ 33	66/ 19	81/ 11
Raise the minimum wage by one dollar per hour over the next two years	55	71/ 21	94/ 6	43/ 50	69/ 18	81/ 12
Improve education by ending social promotion, turning around failing schools, supporting qualified teachers and promoting innovation, competition and discipline	51	75/ 16	90/ 9	60/ 34	70/ 13	80/ 11
Use 1/6 of the surplus to guarantee the soundness of Medicare until 2020	50	71/ 18	93/ 5	46/ 45	66/ 11	80/ 8
Help states turn around their failing schools	49	73/ 20	92/ 8	53/ 40	69/ 19	80/ 14
Allow stay-at-home parents with children less than one year old to claim a tax credit for child care expenses of $500	61	76/ 20	84/ 15	71/ 27	74/ 21	79/ 18
Increase scholarships for college students who commit to teach to bring talented teachers to inner cities and isolated rural areas	53	72/ 22	88/ 10	50/ 47	70/ 17	79/ 13
Pass legislation to prohibit companies from refusing to hire or promote workers simply because they have children.	53	73/ 20	84/ 11	57/ 39	75/ 15	79/ 13
Require school districts to issues report cards on every school to give parents more information and more choices	50	71/ 20	88/ 5	49/ 42	68/ 19	79/ 12
Expand the Family and Medical Leave Act by requiring smaller employers, with 25 or more workers to grant leave to their workers for family needs.	50	73/ 18	79/ 12	60/ 33	78/ 16	78/ 13

Eliminating the limits on what Seniors on Social Security can earn	49	73/ 19	87/ 6	59/ 36	66/ 20	78/ 12
Host a White House conference on Mental Health to address efforts to treat and prevent mental illness	48	75/ 16	88/ 3	69/ 26	68/ 25	78/ 14
Increase funding for child care subsidies to cover 1.15 million more children, increase funding for early learning programs and to improve child care quality.	52	75/ 18	85/ 9	67/ 30	69/ 20	77/ 14
Require states and school districts to adopt and implement discipline policies	51	70/ 20	84/ 10	54/ 40	65/ 17	75/ 14
Commit 60% of the budget surpluses Social Security, investing a small portion in the private sector to earn a higher return and keep Social Security sound for the next 55 years	47	67/ 22	87/ 5	43/ 51	64/ 19	75/ 12
Offer $1 billion in tax credits over five years to try to boost investment in poor inner-city and rural areas;	44	72/ 20	79/ 12	63/ 31	71/ 23	75/ 17
Use 11 percent of surpluses to create 'Universal Savings Accounts' – government-subsidized savings accounts to help individuals to save for retirement	46	65/ 23	83/ 8	51/ 42	58/ 24	70/ 17
Boost defense spending by $12 billion next year to improve troop benefits, strengthen recruitment and modernize weapons programs	44	70/ 24	77/ 17	72/ 28	61/ 30	69/ 23

Using the surplus

Awareness of our budget surplus increased as a result of the State of the Union. One in four still believe we have a deficit – down from 36% last week.

23% think we have a budget deficit this year, **46%** a budget surplus, **17%** think the budget is balanced. (1/15—36/31/21)

D	*R*	*I*	*Those who watched SOTU*
18/41/29	*27/47/9*	*23/52/10*	*19/53/20*

58/25% approve/disapprove of how President Clinton proposed to use the surplus.

D	*R*	*I*	*Those who watched SOTU*
84/9	*36/53*	*50/20*	*63/25*

18-24	*25-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
80/8	*52/28*	*59/24*	*60/28*	*58/29*

Tax cuts

The most serious vulnerability is that we are not proposing any tax cuts, and the Republicans have proposed an across the board 10% tax cut. They have chosen a reasonable sounding level for a change.

This is a popular proposal – it beats targeted tax cuts.

It does not beat saving Social Security and Medicare.

Saving Social Security and Medicare – that's the right way to use the surplus should be a constant refrain in our message.

32% think President Clinton proposed any tax cuts in the State of the Union address, **33%** not. 35% don't know

D	R	I	Those who watched SOTU
48/36	24/39	23/26	40/41

18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
56/30	35/28	32/40	24/34	34/33

President Clinton's proposals includes targeted tax cuts and tax credits for individual accounts, long term care, child care and school construction environmental programs. **71/15%** approve/disapprove of these tax cuts.

D	R	I	Those who watched SOTU
86/9	63/23	60/15	77/12

18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
56/10	84/7	78/10	65/23	73/25

Given this, **54%** think President Clinton proposed any tax cuts, **24%** not.

D	R	I	Those who watched SOTU
63/32	45/27	52/13	59/27

18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
56/25	74/10	60/23	46/29	48/35

38% would you prefer targeted tax cuts that help you save, pay for childcare, long term care, school construction and environmental programs, **49%** an across the board tax cut.

D	R	I	Those who watched SOTU
57/38	30/61	22/54	44/46

18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
64/17	52/33	39/52	38/57	16/76

27% would you prefer a $1000 tax credit for long term care, that help you save, $500 tax credit for parents who stay at home or for child care, a deposit into a universal savings account and tax incentives for school construction and environmental programs, **55%** a 10% across the board tax cut.

D	R	I	Those who watched SOTU
40/45	19/75	20/52	29/55

18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
18/63	42/52	22/58	34/54	23/59

A Strong majority of voters prefer President Clinton's use of the surplus to a tax cut, and this is our best stand on this.

61% think the surplus should be used according to President Clinton's plan of using it for Social Security, Medicare and retirement savings, **24%** for a tax cut.

	D	R	I	
	78/14	40/45	61/18	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
69/29	60/26	64/23	66/24	56/21

Social Security

Greenspan is powerful with the elites, but the proposals themselves are coming across as quite popular – as a plan to save Social Security and Medicare. The details appear less important than the basic belief that only President Clinton has suggested a plan without raising tax rates or drastic cuts in benefits. We should schedule an event at the AARP on the Social Security plan – they are a better validator than Greenspan.

33% think the Republicans in Congress have a plan to save Social Security, **48%** do not.

	D	R	I	
	22/66	59/27	27/46	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
18/82	33/47	36/56	46/42	26/35

69% think President Clinton has a plan to save Social Security, **18%** do not.

	D	R	I	
	81/9	66/34	58/16	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
77/23	60/24	82/16	81/13	53/22

President Clinton introduced a plan to save Social Security by dedicating 60% of federal budget surpluses to Social Security, and investing a portion of this in the private sector to get higher returns in the long run and secure the program for 55 years. **69/23%** support/oppose this program.

69% support (**40%** strongly + **29%** somewhat)
23% oppose (**15%** strongly + **8%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	82/10	52/43	67/23	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
71/23	77/27	72/19	72/22	65/27

50% think President Clinton's plan to save Social Security will work, **29%** not.

	D	R	I	
	72/9	22/55	47/32	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
53/36	50/28	38/32	49/33	60/21

Some people have said the government should not invest in the private sector because then the government would own a portion of the stock market. Given this, **54/34%** support/oppose President Clinton's plan to secure Social Security for the next 55 years.

54% support (**29%** strongly + **25%** somewhat)
34% oppose (**20%** strongly + **14%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	65/22	40/50	54/36	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
71/26	54/34	60/29	51/39	40/40

The argument that this will extend Social Security without cutting benefits or raising taxes is still the strongest.

Following are some responses to this argument. For each one, please tell me if given this, you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose President Clinton's plan to secure Social Security for the next 55 years?	**Strongly support**	**Support/ oppose**	**D**	**R**	**I**
By investing a portion of the surplus in the stock market for Social Security, we can make Social Security sound for the next generation without cutting benefits or raising taxes	44	66/ 28	81/ 14	58/ 35	54/ 39
Now that we have the advantage of the a budget surplus, we must use it in a way that will benefit Americans the most. This is a once in a lifetime opportunity to invest extra funds for Social Security investments receive same high long run returns	37	66/ 24	79/ 9	52/ 41	62/ 28
Only as small portion of the surplus will be invested in the private sector – just as much as is needed to secure Social Security for the next generation	34	66/ 26	77/ 14	53/ 42	63/ 28
The government will never own anymore than 3% of the private sector. This is no more than one mutual fund and much less than state pension plans own.	32	57/ 29	70/ 16	49/ 43	50/ 35

Greenspan's opposition in itself does not strongly increase voter opposition to investing in the stock market – but make respondents less sure in their support.

40% have heard something about Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve, opposing President Clinton's plan to invest some of the surplus in the stock market for Social Security.

	D	R	I	
	38	43	37	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
32	36	33	42	61

Given that Greenspan opposes the plan, **49/28%** support/oppose President Clinton's plan to secure Social Security for 55 years by investing a small portion of the surplus in the private sector.

49% support (**30%** strongly + **19%** somewhat)
28% oppose (**18%** strongly + **10%** somewhat)

Greenspan Opposition	D	R	I	Those aware of Greenspan's opposition
49/28	63/13	28/49	51/26	47/46

Compare to:

Initial Support	D	R	I
69/23	82/10	52/43	67/23

Suppose you knew the AARP - the American Association for Retired People supported the idea because it will extend the solvency of Social Security for longer, Given this, **61/25%** support/oppose President Clinton's plan to secure Social Security for 55 years by investing a small portion of the surplus in the private sector.

61% support (**39%** strongly + **22%** somewhat)
25% oppose (**17%** strongly + **8%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	72/13	45/46	61/22	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
24/ 31	62/ 25	67/ 25	67/ 24	66/ 26

Suppose you knew that any other plan for saving Social Security involved some benefits cuts or increase in taxes, and this plan does not. Given this, **63/24%** support/oppose President Clinton's plan to secure Social Security for 55 years by investing a small portion of the surplus in the private sector.

63% support (**40%** strongly + **23%** somewhat)
24% oppose (**17%** strongly + **7%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	71/18	47/45	66/17	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
43/ 25	61/ 24	66/ 28	71/ 23	66/ 27

Keep or drop private sector investment?

Most of President Clinton's plan is to save the surplus for Social Security which will extend the solvency of Social Security to 2050. Investing a small portion in the private sector will extend this to 2055. **45%** think President Clinton should include private sector investment as part of his plan to secure Social Security for another 5 years, **35%** think he should drop that proposal.

	D	R	I	
	58/28	35/56	38/29	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
35/46	38/41	49/36	54/32	43/34

Education

We are on very firm ground with the education plan. This has nearly universal support, and the Republicans are going to get themselves into a create deal of trouble opposing the Accountability agenda.

President Clinton announced a plan to improve education that includes requiring schools to end social promotion, ensure teachers are qualified and institute a discipline code. **81/15%** support/oppose this plan.

81% support (**63%** strongly + **18%** somewhat)
15% oppose (**11%** strongly + **4%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	87/11	75/22	79/16	
M	F	Kids	No Kids	
77/ 19	85/ 12	80/ 15	82/ 15	

A majority do not buy the argument that this is too much government control. Independents and Voters with kids are least likely to agree with this.
Some people have said that requiring schools to meet these standards in order to receive full federal funding is too much government control of schools. **42%** think this is too much government control, **53%** not.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
42/57	53/38	33/62	**35/59**	47/48

The government control argument knocks support down from 81% to 75%.

	Strongly support	Support/ oppose	D	R	I	M	F	Kids	No Kids
Initial	63	81/ 15	87/ 11	75/ 22	79/ 16	77/ 19	85/ 12	80/ 15	82/ 15
Opposing argument: Some people have said that requiring schools to meet these standards in order to receive full federal funding is too much government control of schools.	48	75/ 20	84/ 14	64/ 30	74/ 20	70/ 24	79/ 17	76/ 19	74/ 21
Other people say setting these goals is the best way to make government expenditures work, and not waste money on programs that don't provide the best education.	50	75/ 20	88/ 8	65/ 33	67/ 23	75/ 19	74/ 20	75/ 22	73/ 18
Other people say this is not dictating any programs to schools, it is just ensuring that basic expectations are met so children receive a quality education and are not pushed to the next grade before they are ready, teachers are qualified and discipline is enforced.	54	79/ 16	84/ 16	75/ 22	74/ 14	74/ 19	84/ 15	81/ 14	78/ 17

Tobacco

Tobacco Lawsuit

Support for taking on the tobacco companies nationally breaks along party lines – but receives substantial strong support (45% overall strongly support, 62% f Democrats strongly support).

President Clinton announced in the State of the Union address that the Justice Department will follow the lead of the states and sue the tobacco industry to recoup the hundreds of billions of dollars the government has spent on smoking related health costs, and use the funds to strengthen Medicare. **63/29%** support/oppose this proposal.

63% support (**45%** strongly + **18%** somewhat)
29% oppose (**19%** strongly + **10%** somewhat)

D	*R*	*I*	*Those who watched SOTU*
79/16	*47/48*	*59/30*	*66/29*

This is well received by suburban voters – 70% support/26% oppose, with rural voters expectedly less supportive (55/35 support/oppose).
Also, lower income voters support the lawsuit most strongly: <35K 69/19, >35K: 61/34
Minorities strongly support the tobacco lawsuit (81/12 among Blacks, 84/10 among Hispanics).

Republican Response to the State of the Union

33% said they watched Republican House Representatives Jennifer Dunn and Steve Largent's response to President Clinton's State of the Union Speech last night.

D	R	I	Those who watched SOTU
42	32	24	48

29/38% approve/disapprove of how the Republicans in Congress reacted to President Clinton's speech.

D	R	I	Those who watched SOTU
22/49	47/16	24/42	30/46

51/18% approve/disapprove of how the Democrats in Congress reacted to President Clinton's speech.

D	R	I	Those who watched SOTU
61/11	47/25	43/20	61/17

26% think the Republicans applauded President Clinton, **50%** not.

D	R	I	Those who watched SOTU
28/49	28/55	21/48	**28/58**

The fact that the Republicans did not applaud President Clinton's State of the Union address make **33/39%** more/less favorable towards the Republicans in Congress.

33% more favorable (**22%** much + **11%** somewhat)
39% less favorable (**22%** much + **17%** somewhat)

D	R	I	Those who watched SOTU
21/48	54/27	27/39	**32/44**

Upcoming Schedule

Upcoming Schedule

Date	Event	
The Next Two Weeks...		
Saturday January 22	Radio Address –USA accounts	
Tuesday January 26	*Arrival of Pope John Paul II, St. Louis, MO*	
Wednesday January 27	Social Security/Medicare event	
Thursday January 28	Employment initiative event	
Saturday January 30	Radio Address – Equal Pay	
January 31-February 2	National School Board Association Federal Relations Network Conference	
Tuesday February 2	Education event	
February 3-7	The College Fund/UNCF's National Alumni Council Conference	
Thursday February 4	1999 Economic Report of the President National Prayer Breakfast	
Friday February 5	FMLA Bill signing anniversary University of Arkansas Business College Kick-off Celebration	
Future Events		
February 7-9	House Democratic Issues Conference	
Wednesday February 10	The Business Roundtable Policy Meeting	
February 11-13	The Black engineer of the Year Awards Conference	
Wednesday February 17	LULAC Friendship Awards Gala	

Strategy Session
Wednesday, November 4, 1998
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

Key election trends:

Democrats continued the gender gap as women voters decided almost every election, and continued to vote solidly Democratic.

Democrats solidified the gains of 1996 with Hispanics – taking more than 2/3rd of the vote; the exceptions were Texas and Florida

The black vote was energized, and showed increases in key elections.

In many ways, this election represented a fusion of the gains of 1996 with middle income, women voters, along with the unity of an energized base. Turnout was put by the AP at 38% -- actually 1% below 1994. No doubt blacks and Hispanics will have an expanded role in that vote – but this election was **just as much about the success of moderation over hard-line social conservatives as it was about turnout.** The last month saw a swing of 5 points from the Republicans to the Democrats among likely voters as the Republicans won the money issue, but Democrats were right on the message.

The basic dichotomy of issues over investigations is reflected in the polls. While some read the polls as showing that the voters did not concern themselves with impeachment – the reason is that we created a pro-issue movement. Saying you voted on the "issues" was a rejection of the attempt by the Republicans to run the election on impeachment. And the exit polls showed 65% rejected impeachment. They also showed that education, Social Security, healthcare, and the economy were the key issues, not morals or impeachment.

Mood of the Country

	9/24	9/30	10/7	10/12-13	10/26	11/3
Country: right/wrong track	55/38	53/37	49/42	48/43	50/37	53/34
Economy: right/wrong track	74/19	74/20	67/29	63/29	67/25	66/27
Favorability						
Clinton	56/43	57/43	57/43	55/44	59/40	58/42
Gore	60/34	57/37	61/35	57/37	61/32	59/36
Clinton Job Approval	**71/28**	**68/31**	**66/33**	**65/35**	**69/30**	**68/31**
Strongly Approve	**41**	**37**	**40**	**39**	**35**	**41**
Gore Job Approval		**61/31**	**62/31**	**66/26**	**65/27**	**65/30**
Strongly Approve		**21**	**22**	**22**	**24**	**21**

Most Important Issue	% Importance	Vote Dem	Vote GOP
Economy/Jobs	19	60	31
Morality/Family Values	11	10	66
Education	11	58	31
Fighting crime	4	44	16
Healthcare	4	62	30

Foreign Policy Approval	Approve	Disapprove
11/3	64	33
10/26	65	31
10/13	66	31
10/7	65	32
9/30	64	35
9/22	65	32
9/7	62	36
6/9	60	33
2/17	64	34

Congress

Approval—on a 2 point scale

	9/30	10/5	10/7	10/12-13	10/26	11/3
Congress	59/35	56/38	57/36	53/41	55/36	52/42
Congressional Republicans	48/45	44/49	48/45	46/48	44/47	**40/53**
Congressional Democrats	52/37	54/39	56/36	53/39	56/34	51/41

Tuesday's Election

Why voters voted:

Which of the following best describes why you voted today?	All	D	R	I	Vote D	Vote R
To send a message on local issues	27	31	25	24	33	24
To punish Bill Clinton	2	0	3	2	0	2
To stop the Republicans from going to far on impeachment	11	19	4	9	19	2
To send a message on national issues such as taxes, Social Security, and education	42	36	57	36	35	51

This number will grow by tomorrow:

33/19% think the results of the 1998 elections were more a victory for the Democratic Party/the Republican party.

D	R	I
52/7	*19/36*	*27/15*

Did the outcome of the election help/hurt	All	D	R	I
President Clinton	34/21	51/15	25/30	26/19
Vice President Gore	30/18	46/9	17/34	27/13
Democratic Party	40/17	60/9	31/31	30/15
Republican Party	24/29	18/43	37/20	20/24

Progress over partisanship
71% think this election was about electing a Congress that will focus on Progress instead of Partisanship, **19%** not.

D	R	I
78/12	69/28	66/18

71/21% agree/disagree that this election was a call from the American people to end partisan investigations and focus on the work of the people.

D	R	I
74/17	64/30	76/16

Presidential Response
Suppose President Clinton said the American people have voiced their opinion and voted for a Congress that will put progress ahead of partisanship and called upon new members of Congress in both parties to work together in the coming months to reach solutions to our most pressing needs of Social Security reform and education. If President Clinton said this, **80/17%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton.

80% more favorable (**48%** much + **32%** somewhat)
17% less favorable (**11%** much + **6%** somewhat)

D	R	I
96/2	67/32	75/20

Calling back Congress
The House Judiciary Committee is currently in session working on impeachment hearings. **88%** think Congress should come back to work after the midterm elections to pass important legislation such as Social Security and an HMO bill of rights, **9%** not.

D	R	I
90/3	83/17	88/8

If President Clinton said if some of Congress is working on impeachment then the rest of Congress should be working on important issues of Social Security, HMO reform, and education, **71/19%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton.

71% more favorable (**46%** much + **25%** somewhat)
19% less favorable (**8%** much + **11%** somewhat)

D	R	I
83/10	65/26	66/23

What do we say about the election?

We have no basic change in strategy – we should now carry our pre-election themes and positioning right on through to the victory.

1. Turned out to be an extraordinary election – unprecedented mid-term gains by Democrats, active voter participation. Good night for America, good night for Democrats.
2. Voters sent a message – continue the progress we are making to protect Social Security, education, healthcare, environment. We should review some of the progress we made with the last budget and use this opportunity to take credit for that (100,000 teachers, etc.)
3. President turning to the people's business right **now** – calling for the passage of the unfinished bills – school construction, patient's bill of rights, minimum wage increase, and kicking off the fist steps necessary to reform Social Security on a bipartisan basis. Continue to strengthen our economy with upcoming international economic trip.
4. Continue to deflect questions about what should happen and say that it is up to Congress, <u>having now heard from the people.</u> Want to avoid becoming an election commentator, but can comment on the Democratic gains in the South, NY, and California and congratulate some of the winners and say that we do see a <u>rejection of the politics of division</u> in these returns. Obviously, avoid overconfidence.

In the News

Newspaper Headlines

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
11/2	Monday	Washington Post	Gore Musters a Roar, Vice President Stings GOP on Stump
11/1	Sunday	NY Times	Big Question: Clinton Fate, Impeachment Subtext is an Election Reality
11/1	Sunday	Washington Post	White House Aspirants Out of Gate Early
10/31	Saturday	NY Times	With a Few Days to Go
10/29	Thursday	Washington Post	Clinton: Scandal Ads are Bid to 'Distract'

Television Headlines

Date	Station	Order	Headline
11/2	CBS	5	Clinton Tries To Motivate Poor Democrats; First Lady Campaigns
11/2	CBS	6	Iraq Cuts Off UN; Clinton Complains But No US Action Is Planned
10/29	NBC	4	Clintons Attend Shuttle Launch
10/28	NBC	3	GOP Launches Tough Ads Against Clinton But They May Backfire
10/28	CBS	5	GOP Launches Ad Blitz On Clinton-Lewinsky Affair
10/28	CBS	6	Clinton Says Voters Should Vote On Issues Not Affair
10/28	ABC	3	Clinton Announces New Funding For AIDS Education
10/27	CBS	4	Clinton Proposes Changes To Help Women With Retirement

Republicans became partisan about even the most routine stories about the President.

Did you hear anything about	% aware	More/ Less Fav	D	R	I
President Clinton's radio address where he talked about the urgent need for modernizing, repairing and building 5,000 schools around the country	38	52/ 25	87/ 0	9/ 50	55/ 31
President Clinton praising the gains of the U.S. Space Program at the historic launching of the space shuttle last week with John Glenn aboard	58	42/ 28	67/ 0	21/ 53	38/ 31
President Clinton announcing plans to changing retirement plans in order to make them more responsive to women's needs	35	50/ 13	75/ 0	24/ 33	48/ 13
President Clinton announcing that the government will invest $156 million in new funding to better fight the AIDS epidemic among minorities	14	48/ 32	73/ 17	10/ 62	50/ 24
President Clinton signing the Head Start bill directing that that more money go towards improving the quality of the preschool program rather than to expand the program	32	65/ 15	83/ 5	46/ 33	60/ 12
President Clinton saying that the international community is unified against Iraq's decision to end all cooperation with United Nations' weapons inspectors	52	51/ 26	69/ 6	30/ 46	50/ 29

Presidential Actions

Which of the following is the best thing President Clinton could work on now? Second?	1st	1st + 2nd	D	R	I
Work with Congress to develop a plan to protect Social Security for the future	37	66	31	41	39
Build support for proposals to improve public school education	21	47	29	5	27
Take measures to ease the international economic crisis	19	40	20	30	9
Propose new legislation that will help parents spend more time with their children	11	22	11	9	12
Urge Congress to pass a patients' bill of rights	6	15	6	5	6

Bipartisan work on Social Security

If President Clinton called on Republicans to work with him on Social Security reform, **73/12%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton.

73% more favorable (**38%** much + **35%** somewhat)

12% less favorable (**6%** much + **6%** somewhat)

D	R	I
81/4	*64/18*	*72/13*

Fall/Winter Policy Announcements

I am going to read you some things that President Clinton could announce in the coming months. Please tell me if this proposal would make you much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable, or much less favorable towards President Clinton.	Much More Fav	More/ Less fav	D	R	I
Expanding anti-gang measures which include anti-truancy, school, violence and crime intervention; and after-school programs to keep kids off the streets.	60	85/ 13	99/ 1	62/ 34	90/ 8
Announcing directives to crack down on food stamp fraud so individuals and retailers can not exploit the food stamp system	60	83/ 13	91/ 4	80/ 18	78/ 18
Announcing the official implementation of the Brady National Instant Criminal Background Check System that will help keep guns out of the hands of criminals.	58	79/ 17	92/ 5	52/ 40	87/ 12
Announcing support for a bill to provide health care services to individuals with disabilities that will help those individuals to become employed and independent.	54	85/ 12	91/ 5	79/ 19	86/ 14
Promoting a new zero-tolerance for drug use plan aimed at keeping prisoners and parolees off drugs which will allow states to use up to 10 percent of their prison funds to drug test and treat prisoners and parolees.	45	74/ 22	82/ 14	63/ 34	76/ 18
Announcing a tax credit for people with disabilities returning to work or a program to help people with disabilities go back to work.	43	82/ 15	90/ 8	77/ 21	80/ 16
Announcing a proposal to expand the Child Care and Development Grant in order to provide Child Care for many of the 8.2 million children eligible for assistance not currently benefiting from this grant.	42	70/ 22	93/ 5	43/ 51	71/ 16
Announcing a proposal to provide a 1,000 dollar tax credit to people with long-term care needs or their care givers.	42	76/ 17	81/ 14	76/ 17	72/ 21
Announcing the falling welfare role and rising work participation rates resulting from the welfare-to-work programs.	41	78/ 13	87/ 1	78/ 19	73/ 19
Making adoption easier by developing an internet-based national registry of children in foster care waiting to be adopted.	40	75/ 20	90/ 10	68/ 27	71/ 24
Announcing plans to give more funds to hire new Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearm agents to investigate gun trafficking around the country.	37	68/ 28	84/ 12	35/ 55	76/ 23
Signing an executive order prohibiting discrimination in education programs conducted by the federal government	37	71/ 17	83/ 2	43/ 44	80/ 12
Designating 20 new Empowerment Zones which would give these distressed communities a mixture of tax incentives and grants to promote business development and job creation.	35	72/ 24	87/ 7	60/ 38	69/ 29
Announcing a series of new grants to support values-based crime prevention efforts, underscoring the role that civic, community and faith based organizations can plan in reducing crime.	34	73/ 19	79/ 15	69/ 27	73/ 20
Announcing a new program for welfare-to-work recipients to apply for 50,000 welfare-to-work housing vouchers.	33	59/ 34	77/ 17	47/ 47	52/ 43
Announcing that the FBI Crime Report Data shows that crime has decreased dramatically under the Clinton administration.	32	61/ 24	87/ 4	37/ 38	57/ 30
Announcing a new 87 million dollar budget proposal to crackdown on food safety nationally.	32	64/ 31	84/ 15	51/ 46	59/ 38

Social Security

Personal Savings accounts

If the Republicans decide to issue their own plan, they can get some initial popularity, but support for their plan will be extremely soft. Going it alone, given their lack of credibility on the issue, could be turned into another major mistake for them.

54% are aware of proposals to help guarantee Social Security for the future by setting up Personal Security Accounts for individuals to control and invest for retirement. (4/20—63%)

61/28% support/oppose creating personal savings accounts for Social Security. (4/20—70/9%)

D	R	I
50/38	66/21	68/22

63/26% would support/oppose using the surplus to create Personal Savings Accounts to supplement retirement income and preserve the Social Security Trust fund.

D	R	I
63/24	62/29	66/26

The GOP Proposal

Under the current system, the Social Security Trust fund, which is funded by the Social Security taxes you pay now and pays benefits for current retirees, will be used up by 2030. One proposal is to use the surplus to put 2 percent of up to 64,000 dollars of every individual's earnings into a Supplemental Social Security account. Each account holder would control this account within a range of options set by a Social Security Investment Board. At the time of retirement, 75% of this account would go towards paying your Social Security benefits, and the remainder of your benefits would be paid out of the Social Security Trust fund. Under this proposal, the portion of benefits paid out of the trust fund would be reduced over time, thus prolonging the solvency of the Trust fund.

Given this, **63/25%** would support/oppose this proposal.

63% support (**20%** strongly + **43%** somewhat)

25% oppose (**11%** strongly + **14%** somewhat)

D	R	I
68/22	54/32	66/24

	Support/ Oppose	D	R	I
Original Support	61/28	50/38	66/21	68/22
This plan is based on projections that the federal government will run budget surplus for the foreseeable future. **Once there is no more budget surplus,** the contribution to the Supplemental accounts will create a budget deficit, and could require cuts in spending programs such as education and child care.	35/57	29/65	39/59	39/49
This Supplemental Social Security account plan is just a risky scheme that would **eventually end the Social Security programs as we know it**, as more and more of your social security benefit depends on the ups and downs of the stock market rather than the solid guarantee of the Social Security Trust fund.	36/55	33/59	32/61	40/50
The Supplemental Social Security accounts will be invested in the Stock Market, and **subject to the volatility of the stock market**. If the Stock Market falls, this will have done nothing to help support the Trust fund and ensure the long term solvency of Social Security.	35/57	38/54	32/60	37/56
This proposal **contains many loopholes that would help the wealthy**, such as allowing untaxed inheritance of these assets	35/56	25/68	43/45	39/54

Family

If President Clinton urged schools to make more of an effort to include parents and encourage their involvement in their child's education, **84/9%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton.

84% more favorable (**42%** much + **42%** somewhat)
9% less favorable (**4%** much + **5%** somewhat)

D	R	I
96/0	*60/28*	*97/3*

If President Clinton announced a plan to solve the problem of the diminished amount of time parents have to spend with their children today, **67/25%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton.

67% more favorable (**37%** much + **30%** somewhat)
25% less favorable (**15%** much + **10%** somewhat)

D	R	I
77/18	*54/37*	*68/22*

Superbug

66% are aware of Americans becoming increasingly resistant to antibiotics.

Some people say that pneumonia is becoming resistant to most antibiotics and staph is now only responding to the strongest drug available and some people are even starting to show resistance to this drug. **83/17%** are concerned/not concerned about the increasing resistance to antibiotics as a public health crisis.

83% concerned (**56%** very + **27%** somewhat)
17% not concerned (**6%** not at all + **11%** not very)

D	R	I
84/16	*80/20*	*83/17*

If President Clinton announced an initiative to educate Americans about resistance to antibiotics and to prevent further public health problems, **71/18%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton.

71% more favorable (**35%** much + **36%** somewhat)
18% less favorable (**12%** much + **6%** somewhat)

D	R	I
88/4	*60/31*	*64/24*

Presidential Message Schedule

Date	Event	Message
The Next Two Weeks...		
Wednesday November 4	***Social Security Meeting*** *Working Visit with PM Drnovsek of Slovenia*	
Thursday November 5	Medal of Arts and Humanities Ceremony	
Friday November 6	Airport Dedication Ceremony, Fayetteville AR Bill Signing	
Monday November 9	***NCAA Basketball Champions Event***	
Wednesday November 11	***Arlington Cemetery Veterans Day Event***	**Veterans**
Thursday November 12	***Treasures Event***	
Friday November 13	Tape Radio Address Foreign Travel through Sunday November 22	

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	Penn, Schoen & Berland; RE: Strategy Session [pages 3-19] (17 pages)	04/21/1998	P5
002. report	Penn, Schoen & Berland; RE: Strategy Session [pages 6-13] (8 pages)	05/20/1998	P5
003. report	Penn, Schoen & Berland; RE: Strategy Session (27 pages)	04/13/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14458

FOLDER TITLE:
MW [Michael Waldman] - Polls

2006-0469-F
db3413

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Nationalizing this election – let's have Speaker Gephardt – would only backfire because it would then turn the issue to whether divided government is working or not, which splits the country down the middle. Instead, the standing of individual Democrats is gaining because of the growing belief that they are closer to Clinton. This is a national election that is not nationalized, and that must be fought on the swing district level.

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Newspaper Headlines

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
4/21	Tuesday	New York Times	Clinton Decides To Maintain Ban On Funding For Needle Program
4/21	Tuesday	Washington Post	Clinton Supports Needle Exchanges But Not Funding
4/20	Monday	Washington Post	Chinese Dissident Arrives In U.S. Release of Key Leader In '89 Protest Smooths Way for Clinton Visit
4/15	Wednesday	USA Today	Clinton tours Ala. tornado damage President pledges $3.2 million to help hire displaced workers
4/15	Wednesday	Washington Post	Race-Sports Talk Focuses Off the Field Clinton Is Largely Spectator at Event
4/15	Wednesday	Washington Post	Raines Departing As Chief of OMB Clinton Aide to Be CEO of Fannie Mae (Photo: POTUS, Raines)

TV Headlines

Date	Network	Order	Headline
4/20	ABC	4	Clinton Retains Ban On Use Of Federal Funds For Needle Programs
4/20	CBS	2	Clinton, Congress Play Blame Game Over Failed Tobacco Pact
4/20	NBC	2	Clinton Tries To Rescue Tobacco Pact, But The Ground Is Shifting
4/20	NBC	11	Clinton Admin Turning To Afghanistan, Where Women Are Suffering
4/17	ABC	4	Clinton, In Chile For Summit Of Americas, Praises Democracy
4/16	ABC	3	Paula Jones Says She'll Appeal Dismissal Of Her Clinton Lawsuit
4/16	NBC	3	Paula Jones Confirms She Will Appeal Her Case Against Clinton
4/15	ABC	3	Clinton, In Ala., Promises $3.2 Million In Emergency Tornado Aid
4/15	CBS	3	Clinton Tours Tornado Disaster Area, Offers Federal Help
4/15	NBC	7	Starr, White House Battle Over Forcing Secret Service Testimony
4/15	NBC	8	Clinton Visits Alabama To Tour Tornado Damage
4/13	ABC	7	George Mitchell Gets Thanks From Clinton On Ireland
4/13	ABC	9	Clintons Release Their Tax Return

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4/13	CBS	8	Clintons Release Their Tax Return
4/13	CBS	12	Clinton Admin To Introduce New Air-Safety Program
4/13	NBC	4	Clinton To Tour Alabama; Weary Residents Accept Any Help
4/13	NBC	5	Clintons, Gores Release Their Tax Returns
4/13	NBC	8	George Mitchell Tells Clinton He Could Cement Irish Peace

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Current News

Did you hear anything about...	% Aware	More/ Less Fav
President Clinton going to the Summit of the Americas in Chile for free trade talks with Latin American Countries*	72	43/28
President Clinton going to the south to survey the damages of recent tornadoes in the region and pledge federal aide	83	**66**/18
The Peace accord reached in Northern Ireland**	68	57/19
President Clinton's panel in Houston broadcast on ESPN with 10 sports stars in which he encouraged hiring of minority coaches and administrators for college and professional sports	42	47/31
President Clinton's Radio address in which he praised the work of FEMA - the Federal Emergency Management Agency -in rebuilding communities struck by natural disasters.	38	56/23

* The summit resulted in an agreement between the U.S. and 33 other nations decided to go forward with plans to create a free-trade zone throughout the Americas by 2005. **60/29%** support/oppose this free trade agreement.

60% support (23% strongly + 37% somewhat)
29% oppose (20% strongly + 9% somewhat)

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Highway Bill

If we had Democratic support, we could have a good fight on the highway bill, especially if they take the excess money from the surplus. If they take it from childcare and from education, it will still be a fight, but not on as strong a ground. This is not a fight about highway funding – it is a fight about balancing priorities so that we cut the last $17 billion (or parts of it) to maintain the balance of spending and priorities.

43% are aware of the House has recently passed a Highway funding bill that allocates over 200 billion dollars for highway building and repair. Have you heard anything about this bill.
60/21% support/oppose this bill.

60% support (31% strongly + 29 somewhat)
21% oppose (11% strongly + 10% somewhat)

Democrats: 76/7, Republicans: 59/29, Independents: 46/28
Men: 64/22, Women: 56/19

This bill may exceed the spending allowed to maintain a balanced budget next year, requiring us to use the surplus to fund some of these projects.
Knowing this, **51/39%** support/oppose this bill.

51% support (13% strongly + 38% somewhat)
39% oppose (22% strongly + 17% somewhat)

Democrats: 59/22, Republicans: 52/47, Independents: 43/48

If Congress sends President Clinton a bill that exceeds the balanced budget by $17 billion dollars, requiring this highway funding to come out of the surplus that would otherwise be used for Social Security, **15%** think President Clinton should sign **76%** veto the highway funding bill

Both the House and Senate have passed highway spending bills that allocate over $200 billion for building and repairing highways. If Congress passes a bill authorizing this much for highway spending, there will be little funding left for the education, child care, and health care programs President Clinton has proposed, and still be within a balanced budget. If this highway spending bill is passed by Congress, do you think the President should sign it or veto it?
23/67% think that he should sign/veto it.

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Tobacco

While support for strong, comprehensive legislation is stable, there is little sentiment for a bill that is tougher than the McCain legislation now before the Senate. House Republicans have changed strategy and now seem prepared to introduce a "skinny" bill that does not include the anti-advertising provisions and target mandates of the McCain bill. Gingrich has picked up the tobacco companies' cudgel and is now deriding McCain as a "big government" approach, an argument that has some resonance with the electorate.

The new tobacco company position is working, as many people (39%) now believe that the bill is too tough on the tobacco companies, an amazing change the result of their media campaign.

But our position of not fighting the tobacco companies directly through the President is unlikely to have any effect other than to confuse and further politicize the situation.

Our best positioning on this has been to wraps ourselves around kids, and we should be generating new reports on smoking that we can use to trigger school-type events that bring this to about saving kids' lives and not about whether the tobacco companies are evil. The tobacco companies are not up for election.

But we need a media response to the tobacco advertising campaign. The prior polling shows that we should use C. Everett Koop in an advertisement basically responding on a substantive way to the tobacco company's arguments – they should be spending their dollars on ads to reduce teen smoking, not fight comprehensive tobacco legislation. This could be run by any group related to the issue. The President could also cut an ad if any of the groups wanted to sponsor it. Realistically this is the only way to fight back in an effective manner to the tobacco ad campaign.

Also, remember that the whole point of this legislation, from the public's view, is that is was a cooperative effort to bring everyone together an hammer out a national policy, and now it is falling more and more onto a typical beltway squabble. We need to return the issue to basic values of protecting children.

The strategy, though, is to keep the statements and events up while trying to negotiate a bill that the Senate passes. This will create editorial and public momentum for a bill, and set up a standard that Gingrich would have to "dumb down" if he now tries to introduce the Skinny bill. Still believe at that point we need to shift to publicly calling for bi-partisan negotiations to resolve it rather than leave it to the House to kill.

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66% are aware of the tobacco legislation that was approved by the Senate Commerce Committee.(30% are not)

53/33% support/oppose comprehensive tobacco legislation.
53% support (28% strongly + 25% somewhat)
33% oppose (15% strongly + 18% somewhat)

Democrats: 58%, Republicans:45%, Independents: 52%

The Senate will soon consider a tobacco bill that would add a fee of $1.10 per pack of cigarettes over the next five years, restrict advertising and marketing to children, give the FDA authority to regulate tobacco, and penalize the tobacco companies if teenage smoking does not decline by 60 percent in ten years. These measures are expected to cost the tobacco industry $516 billion over the next twenty five years. The bill would also settle state lawsuits and class actions against the tobacco industry and would impose an annual liability cap of $6.5 billion . There would be no ban on mass lawsuits or punitive damages.
58/40% support/oppose this bill.
58% support (35% strongly + 23% somewhat)
40% oppose (29% strongly + 11% somewhat)

Democrats: 60%, Republicans:44%, Independents: 66%

39% think this bill too hard on the tobacco companies, 16% too easy on the tobacco companies, 40% it is just about right.

Democrats: 37 / 16 / 39, Republicans: 58 / 5 / 35, Independents: 29 / 22 /47

President Clinton said today that the Senate bill was "a strong step in the right direction" and said it's no time for half measures that won't reduce teen smoking. Given this, **57/40%** support/oppose this bill.
57% support (33% strongly + 24% somewhat)
40% oppose (26% strongly + 14% somewhat)

Democrats: 54%, Republicans: 47%, Independents: 66%

Suppose the House Republicans proposed a bill that would increase the excise tax on cigarettes, granted the FDA the authority to regulate tobacco and settled the lawsuits filed by individual states against the tobacco industry while withholding the liability protections that they have been seeking. **50/41%** support/oppose such a bill.
50% support (25% strongly + 25% somewhat)

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41% oppose (26% strongly + 15% somewhat)

Democrats: 49%, Republicans:34%, Independents: 59% (39% strongly)

The advertising provisions and the teen-smoking reductions targets are key distinctions between McCain and the proposed House bill.

37/28% think the Senate/House bill would be more effective in stopping teen smoking.

Democrats: 47 / 19, Republicans: 33 / 23, Independents: ***29 / 40***

The proposed House bill does not contain the advertising or marketing restrictions that are in the Senate bill, nor does it penalize the tobacco companies for not meeting targeted reductions in teen smoking. A recent article in the Journal of the American Medical Association, shows that the role of advertising on children and their smoking habits is greater than peer pressure. Given this, **45/24%** think the Senate/House bill would be more effective in stopping teen smoking.

Democrats: 45 / 30 , Republicans: 36 / 16, Independents: ***50 / 26***

Along with public fears of a black market in tobacco, this is the tobacco companies' best argument against the McCain bill.

40% say that the bill pending before the Senate would create enormous new bureaucracies and that this is not the best way to fight teen smoking. **44%** say that the tobacco companies have deceived the public and the government for so long that strict oversight is the only way to ensure that they comply with an agreement.

63/31% support/oppose granting the FDA authority to regulate nicotine.
63% support (45% strongly + 18% somewhat)
31% oppose (22% strongly + 9% somewhat)

39% say that we should not give the FDA authority to regulate nicotine because this is just another example of big-government. **55%** say that the FDA should regulate nicotine because it is a drug.

Democrats: 37 / 55, Republicans:47 / 51, Independents: 36 / 58

But restrictions on second-hand smoke can be too tough and cause the bill to lose support:

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PRESERVATION

48% say that the best way to curb second-hand smoke is by making all public spaces, including bars and restaurants, smoke-free. **48%** say that this will cost too many jobs because smokers will not patronize these businesses.

Which of the following is the most effective way to stop cigarette smuggling?	**Tot**	**D**	**R**	**I**
Increase the number of border agents	**9**	**13**	**5**	**8**
License convenience stores that sell cigarette	**35**	**32**	**32**	**42**
Increase funding for law enforcement to enforce laws against teen smoking	**34**	**32**	**37**	**30**

Which of the following is the best way to stop black market cigarette sales:	**Tot**	**D**	**R**	**I**
License convenience store workers who sell cigarettes and check their criminal backgrounds	**22**	**15**	**28**	**24**
Register cigarette wholesalers	**64**	**73**	**58**	**58**

Some Republicans in the House have said that they will not support a tobacco bill unless it contains anti-drug provisions. Which of the following is the best argument against the Republican position?	**Tot**	**D**	**R**	**I**
The Republicans are just looking for an excuse not to get tough on their friends in the tobacco industry and fight teen smoking. If they are serious they'll get tough on drugs **and** cigarettes.	**29**	**24**	**17**	**43**
The administration already has an effective anti-drug strategy in place	**15**	**22**	**20**	**7**
Everyone knows we need to get tough on drugs, but that is no excuse not to get tough on smoking	**39**	**40**	**30**	**42**

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Child Care

This is an important electorate with the new base of the Democratic Party. Right now the gender gap is 42/30 in favor of the Democrats among women. Once given the message including child care, that increases to 57/30. This is an issue that counts with our growing women's constituency.

Americans support expanding child care to help working families to better afford it and because so many parents are now forced to put their kids into unregistered and inadequate facilities.

69% / 27% support expanding child care

The major theme for the next event should be making childcare more affordable for working families, which is heavily favored by Democrats and independents.

Some people say that we need to pass legislation to regulate and expand child care. Which of the following is the best reason to pass legislation to expand child care?	**Tot**	**D**	**R**	**I**
Better education and child development programs for our kids	14	9	30	9
Current child care options are inadequate and do not meet our needs	24	21	19	26
To make child care more affordable for working families	**38**	**49**	**29**	**37**
To improve the safety of the nation's child care facilities	12	20	7	10

Which of the following is the best reason to pass legislation expanding child care?	**Tot**	**D**	**R**	**I**
60% of mothers with children under 6 work outside the home	**26**	**27**	**22**	**24**
45% of kids under 1 are in child care	**2**	**1**	**2**	**3**
5 million children are left unattended after school	**22**	**28**	**21**	**18**
Only 1 in 7 child care facilities provides good care	**9**	**11**	**8**	**8**
Only 13% of child care facilities are registered and 50% of the unregistered facilities do not provide adequate care.	**26**	**29**	**27**	**25**

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Which of the following is the most important issue that should be addressed by Congress in crafting child care legislation?	Tot	D	R	I
Safety	28	13	47	28
Quality of instruction to ensure that children are prepared to learn when they start school	19	16	17	23
Availability of child care	18	21	18	16
Affordability	29	46	16	20

Which of the following is the best reason not to pass child care legislation?	Tot	D	R	I
More parents should stay home to take care of their children	19	15	24	18
A big federal program is not the way to fix whatever problems there are with our existing child care system	30	19	25	47
The states have adequate resources to fix child care without the federal government getting involved	39	50	40	25

Need to address the last point – indicating that states do not have and are not dedicating the resources for childcare.

Corporate Power

The theme of large companies getting even bigger in the information age – a topic which we have not addressed but have previously polled and identified as an issue got a huge boost in salience with the megabank mergers. CNN poll shows 8-point jump to 76% agree that too much power is concentrated in the hands of too few companies. 54% say they are bad for consumers.

Now is the time to begin an extensive policy process on reviewing the merger laws for the 21st century economy. This would no longer be about software companies, but about the most classic of trust – banks and other industries. This would be a major, lasting legacy undertaking.

MIT Speech

Topic has gained more salience with the New York Times front page story "Racial Divide Found on the Information Highway" showing that 73% of white college and high school students have access to a home computer, compared to 31% of blacks.

Should center on the four challenges of the information age:

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PRESERVATION

Democratization of technology – assuring it becomes a tool that helps everyone have more opportunity rather than creating a new form of division and segregation by class, race and education.

Atomization of Society – that technology will separate rather than unite us

Social Security

Public discussion of PSA proposals has heightened awareness and built strong support for the ideas, in particular among young people. Those over 50 largely have not formed a strong opinion because they are unsure how a proposal for PSAs will affect their current or near retirement benefits. In order to gain their support, the 50+ group must be reassured that they will not lose out/

63% have heard about proposals to help guarantee Social Security for the future by setting up Personal Security Accounts for individuals to control and invest for retirement. (31% NO)

70% support (51% strongly + 19% somewhat)
9% oppose (6% strongly + 3% somewhat)

Democrat: 57/7, Republican: 90/4, Independents: 67/12
Age: *<35: **94**/2 (69% strongly support)* *<50: 90/4*
>35: 64/10 (27% don't know) *>50: 44/13* ***(43% dk)***

Among those have heard about these proposals: 82/9 support/oppose

31% have heard anything about Senator Moynihan's proposal to reform Social Security. (66% NO)

33% support (17% strongly + 16% somewhat)
17% oppose (13% strongly + 4% somewhat)

The Moynihan proposal has some support – the 1 point cut in COLA is too severe and importantly the increase of the retirement age, which is widely opposed.

Senator Moynihan's proposal would extend Social Security coverage to all newly hired state and local workers, count more years of earnings in calculating benefits, applying the same tax rules to Social Security and private pensions, and accelerate the already-scheduled increase in the normal retirement age from 65 to 67, Cut payroll taxes by two percentage points now and increase them later;

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PRESERVATION

cut cost-of-living adjustments (COLAs) by one percentage point, and set up voluntary personal savings accounts. **50%/36% Support/Oppose** this proposal

50% support (12% strongly + 38% somewhat)
36% oppose (17% strongly + 19% somewhat)

Democrat: 38/39, Republican: 56/26, Independent: 53/40
<35: 78/15 (78% somewhat support)
>35: 43/40

Arguments against

Hurt Low income workers
Some people say this plan will hurt low income workers who do not participate in voluntary personal savings accounts because they will not be protected from the 30% benefit cut. **43%/43% Support/Oppose** this proposal.

43% support (20% strongly + 23% somewhat)
43% oppose (21% strongly + 22% somewhat)

Overcompensating for COLA
Opponents of this plan say the cut in the Cost of Living index is excessive, and may even lead to overcompensating for what some economists have recommended it should be cut by, reducing benefits for Social Security recipients. 37**%/53% Support/Oppose** this proposal.

37% support (1% strongly + 36% somewhat)
53% oppose (24% strongly + 29% somewhat)

Trust Fund in Stock Market

Telling voters that Canada is investing their Social Security Trust fund in the Stock Market does not change opinions

43% support some of the Social Security Trust fund in the Stock Market while 49% oppose it.

Young people overwhelmingly favor it.

43% support (19% strongly + 24% somewhat)
49% oppose (38% strongly + 11% somewhat)

Democrats: 45/35, Republicans: 69/23, Independents: 23/75
*<35: **64/34**, >35: **35/53***

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Canada is now investing some of their Social Security trust Fund in the stock market to get the advantage of a potential higher return on the investment. 46%/46% Support/Oppose this proposal.

46% support (19% strongly + 27% somewhat)
46% oppose (34% strongly + 12% somewhat)

Democrats: 59/30, Republicans: 62/20, Independents: 26/70

Education

The Republicans are gearing up for an attack on our plan to keep money closer to the states under the guise of providing more for disabled students. Telling voters that we have a strong record of funding for the disabled AND that our proposal will help everyone, including these students revives strong support.

Administration spending plan

President Clinton has proposed new spending for school construction and smaller class sizes in next years budget. **74/22%** support/oppose this proposal.

74% support (48% strongly + 26% somewhat)
22% oppose (12% strongly + 10% somewhat)

Democrat: 87/6, Republican: 58/39, Independent: 74/23
Men: 69/31, Women: 80/15

Republican argument

Republicans say this money should not go towards school construction and hiring, instead it should go towards programs for disabled children. They say the federal government is not living up to 1972 legislation which required 40% of spending for programs for disabled children to come from the federal government, but now only 12% does. Knowing this, **58/38%** support/oppose President Clinton's proposal for spending on school construction and smaller class sizes.

58% support (30% strongly + 28% somewhat)
38% oppose (20% strongly + 18% somewhat)

Democrat: 71/23, Republican: 34/62, Independent: 61/37

Responses

The Clinton administration has in fact increased spending for the disabled by 1.5 billion dollars, and increase of 64% over the past two years. Knowing this, **67/27%** support/oppose President Clinton's proposal for spending on school construction and smaller class sizes.

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67% support (37% strongly + 30% somewhat)
27% oppose (15% strongly + 12% somewhat)

The Clinton administration has in fact increased spending for the disabled by 1.5 billion dollars, and increase of 64% over the past two years, and spending for school construction will help ALL students including the disabled with better facilities and smaller classes. Knowing this, **76/20%** support/oppose President Clinton's proposal for spending on school construction and smaller class sizes.

76% support (53% strongly + 23% somewhat)
20% oppose (13% strongly + 7% somewhat)

60% Agree with, President Clinton's position/**31%** Republican's position.

If a Democrat supported President Clinton's plan for school construction and smaller class sizes, and a Republican opposed it saying more funding should go to programs for the disabled, **59/27%** would vote for a Democrat/Republican.

E-Rate

President Clinton and the Democrats support a program that raises revenue to make sure every school and library in the country has access to computer lines so every student knows how to use a computer and the internet; Republicans argue that this program is too expensive, costing $2.2 billion a year and raising telephone rates. **57/37%** agree more with President Clinton and the Democrats/ Republicans.

Democrats: 77/17, Republicans: 22/73, Independents: 65/30
Men: 49/43, Women: 65/32

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Patients Bill of Rights

While Americans overwhelmingly support a patients' bill of rights. The question is how to pay for its protections. Most are willing to pay 2% more for these rights.

Patients' Bill of Rights - **83/9** support/oppose (**52%** strongly support)

President Clinton has asked Congress to pass a patients' bill of rights that would guarantee access to specialists, including OB-GYNS, ensure patients access to emergency room care whenever and wherever a medical emergency develops and give patients the right to appeal decisions made by their health plan to an independent body. How much would these patient protections be worth to you?	**Tot**	**D**	**R**	**I**
A one percent increase in health insurance premiums	**29**	**22**	**38**	**31**
A two percent increase	**20**	**23**	**8**	**27**
A five percent increase	**14**	**18**	**13**	**9**
A ten percent increase	**8**	**12**	**11**	**3**
A twenty percent increase	**4**	**7**	**3**	**5**
Not worth it	**15**	**11**	**20**	**11**

Don't Know – 9%.

Attacks on cost and the role of "big government" are somewhat effective, while arguments against the right to sue fall short.

Some people say that this proposal would increase health care premiums and cause people to lose their health care coverage. **56/40%** convincing/not convincing reason not to pass a Patients Bill of Rights.

Some people say that this proposal is an example of unnecessary Federal government regulation of the health care system. **51/45%** convincing/not convincing reason not to pass a Patients Bill of Rights.

Some of the proposed Patients' rights bills now under consideration by Congress contain an enforcement provision that provides for state court-based remedies. **38%** say that allowing patients to sue in state courts is just a gift to the trial lawyers and that it would significantly increase health insurance costs causing more people to lose their health care coverage. **51%** say that a patients' bill of rights is not meaningful without real enforcement.

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Supermajority Constitutional amendment

While support is soft for a Constitutional Amendment for a super-majority to raise taxes, we need a strong, practical explanation for opposition that the public understands. ***(such as in a time of crisis (ie war) a minority could hold up necessary funding)***

63/30% support/oppose a constitutional amendment to require a two-thirds majority in Congress to raise taxes.

60% support (**41**% strongly + 22% somewhat)
30% oppose (22% strongly + 8% somewhat)

Democrat: 61/36, Republican: 77/17, Independent: 55/31
Income: <35K: 48/43, >35K: 72/21

We only lose 10% strong support (and 2% support overall) through and argument referring to historical precedence and giving power to the minority.

Opponents of such a constitutional amendment say that a constitution with majority rules has been the foundation of our government for 200 years. Requiring a 2/3 majority to pass spending would give too much power to a minority who could easily block a vote.
Knowing this, **61/32%** support/oppose a constitutional amendment to require a two-thirds majority in Congress to raise taxes.

61% support (**31**% strongly + 30% somewhat)
32% oppose (20% strongly + 12% somewhat)

Democrat: 62/30, Republican; 75/17, Independent: 50/45

If a Democrat opposed this constitutional amendment because it would give too much power to a minority, and a Republican supported it to make it more difficult to raise taxes, **28/54%** would vote for a Democrat/Republican.

Democrat: 49/34, Republican: 1/77, Independent: 29/57

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MIT speech/The information Age

This speech is shaping up as an important speech about one of the most important issues of our time. The technological literacy of our people in the information age and its universal availability through education, teacher training and increase of research and development and important proposals to redress the imbalance in technological literacy that is emerging between the rich and the poor.

Policy continues to be developed to create a national goal of every high school senior having completed a computer literacy course for graduation.

Right now 10 states have adopted some requirement, and expanding this to 40-50 states can be an important educational legacy.

The public has two basic areas of concern about computer sciences:
a) that every young person have an opportunity to be part of the information age
b) that job training of these skills is also important for older workers.

This goal would be consistent with our teacher training proposal, and consistent with the wiring of every school. The goal should shift from the machines and the teachers to the students – what they need to know and how they will learn it.

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Following are some proposals related to technology. If President Clinton proposed this, would you be much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable towards President Clinton?

	Much more fav	More/Less fav	D	R	I
Set a national goal that every student should take and pass a computer course to get a high school diploma and provide the training and manuals to help set up the program	40	67/28	**70/25**	50/42	**73/25**
Make it a national priority that every school has at least one trained technology expert always on hand to troubleshoot and help teachers make best use of technology in the classroom.	39	73/21	75/13	51/40	73/17
To head off these shortages of workers with high-tech computer skills, governments, colleges and businesses must forge a new 21st Century Technology Partnership to ensure that American workers have high-tech computer skills.	36	80/12	81/14	77/11	80/12
Make it a national priority that all teachers in American schools are trained to help students make use of computers.	34	75/16	75/15	67/25	77/11
U.S. Government investment in R&D helped to create the Internet and has kept America at the cutting edge of technology. America should double its investment in information technology R&D over the next ten years.	23	73/17	74/12	66/26	74/14

48% think the information age will bring more opportunity and equality, 37% think it will further divide society

Democrats: 37/39; Republicans: 55/29; Independents: 57/37
Men: 53/35; Women 44/38
Age: < 35 - 57/35; >35 - 44/38

86% think the information age will leave some people behind

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Both Democrats and Republicans have technology worries, but not Independents.

28% think that they will be left behind in the information age:
Democrats: 32/64; Republicans: 30/70; Independents: 18/82
Men: 13/87; ***Women 42/35***
Age: < 35 - 17/83; >35 -35/69
<$35,000 37% left behind over $35,000 15% left behind

49% say the information age will increase the divide between those who have access to and the skills to use technology, and those who do not. 40% say the information age will close the divide between the haves and have-nots because technology will make information and learning more accessible to everyone to more opportunity for everyone.
Democrats: 52/34; Republicans: 52/37; Independents: 42/47
Age: < 35 - 46/50; >35 - 47/37

If there is a growing gap in education, income and opportunity between those who have access to information technology and those who do not, 22% think this will affect only those who do not have access to technology 71% think it will affect society as a whole
Democrats: 14/74; Republicans: 34/60; Independents: 21/74
Men: 17/76; Women 26/66
Age < 35: 28/68; >35 19/72

Independents, women and voters under 35 are most strongly in favor of government efforts to help Americans to adapt to the information age.

62% think the federal government should take actions to help minimize the gap between those who have access to information, 34% those who do not?
Democrats: 62/32; Republicans: 49/45; Independents: 67/31
Men: 48/47; ***Women 74/22***
Age < 35: 80/16; >35 56/39

If President Clinton proposed a plan to help Americans deal with the challenges of the information age, 71/17% more/less favorable (23% much more favorable)
Democrats: 74/15; Republicans: 52/32; Independents: 80/11

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Social Security - Raising the Retirement Age

The National Commission on Retirement Policy report calls for raising the retirement age to 70. Polls show that this idea is universally opposed.

30/61 favor/oppose raising the retirement age to 70
Among those 50-64, 24% favor, 73% oppose

Raising the retirement age to 70 would help preserve Social Security.
40/51 favor/oppose raising the retirement age to 70
18-24: 47/43, 25-34: 41/49, 35-49: 39/56, ***50-64: 29/68,*** *65+51/38*

While Republicans will move aggressively to pass PSAs we can respond by challenging Republicans to take increasing the retirement age off the table in order to allay public concern.

Offshore Drilling

Americans endorse bans on offshore drilling that are short-term, renewable and provide maximum flexibility. They do not support a permanent ban on offshore drilling.

Currently, there are areas off the coast of the United States where drilling of oil and gas is prohibited for a certain amount of time. 45/29% support/oppose placing bans on offshore oil drilling
Democrats: 46/24; Republicans: 30/51; Independents: 53/22

53/29% support/oppose bans on off-shore drilling that are reviewed every year or two and continued if necessary.
Democrats: 58/20; Republicans: 58/26; Independents: 51/34

Currently, there are areas off the coast of the United States where drilling of oil and gas is prohibited and these bans are periodically renewed by the President. 38/41% support/oppose making those bans permanent
Democrats: 53/30; Republicans: 15/65; Independents: 38/42

When given reasons for a permanent ban, they prefer renewable ban.

14% say that the bans of off-shore drilling should be permanent so that our environment will be safeguarded forever. 74% say that these bans should be reviewed periodically in case technology and our energy needs change.
Democrats: 9/73; Republicans: 14/80; Independents: 20/72

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28% say that the bans on off-shore drilling should be permanent so that our environment will be safeguarded forever. 57% say that these bans should be temporary because a permanent ban sends a signal to the oil producing world that the U.S. has no alternative but to buy from them.
Democrats: 31/52; Republicans: 11/71; Independents: 36/54

There are currently moratoriums on offshore drilling in many areas that ban this drilling for a certain amount of time.
38% think these moratoriums should be extended,
22% think there should be a permanent ban on off-shore drilling,
23% think there should be no ban on off-shore drilling.

Democrats: 32/24/24; Republicans: 46/10/30; Independents: 36/30/21

Mexico City

Most Americans support continued financial assistance for family planning programs with the current ban on abortion funding. A majority of 2:1 sees Republican efforts to impose draconian speech restrictions as going to far. Picking a fight with the Republicans on this issue is a two edged sword. Although we would strip independents away from the GOP we may also energize the Republican base. Given the projected record-low turnout for the November elections we might not want to see the Republicans succeed too well in whipping up the right.

The United States currently provides financial assistance to family planning efforts in developing countries. By law these funds cannot be used for abortions, and only for family planning. 66/29 support/oppose this funding.
Democrats: 74/19; Republicans: 72/26; Independents: 56/40

The Mexico City debate can be used by us as a women's health issue – the Republicans are denying information to women abroad who need it.

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	Ban organizations from speaking out	Leave as is	D	R	I
This is a women's health issue. This information should be available for women so they know their options without compromising their health or safety	17	76	13/85	21/67	17/76
If we ban these organizations from speaking out and educating people about abortion, we will be restricting free speech- an example we should not set in developing nations	19	72	21/75	19/61	15/79
Family planning reduces the incidence of pregnancies, and therefore of abortions. We should not put further restrictions on these organizations or they will not be as effective in educating people about family planning.	19	71	16/73	29/59	14/78
Some people say we should go a step further and ban family planning organizations that receive funding from the United States from speaking or distributing material about abortion.	24	68	20/74	37/52	18/78

This is meant by the Republicans to be an issue to cement their base, but unlike partial birth abortion, which has a powerful constituency, this issue does not and in fact when explained seems to go too far.

The Republicans in Congress want to ban funding for any developing country family planning organization that even speaks about abortion; President Clinton believes this goes too far and is an example of unnecessary right wing legislation. Which is closer to your view?

	Overall	D	R	I
Ban funding for any developing country family planning organization that even speaks about abortion	27	22	41	25
This goes to far and is an example of unnecessary right wing legislation	55	69	42	53

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Making agreements with the Republicans. This polling generally does not support any agreements with the Republicans. But Democrats would rather have an education bill than fight about Mexico City rule.

More/Less Favorable to Clinton if . . .	All	D	R	I
The president gave into the Republicans on this point in exchange for their agreement on Education legislation that they would pass	42/35	56/32	32/38	40/33
The president gave into the Republicans on this point in exchange for their agreement on trade legislation that they would pass	28/47	30/56	33/28	25/52

Immigration

First, it is important that we underscore a theme of making immigration work for America. There is a profound sense among many voters that immigration is not helping the country right now – and we need to portray some of the benefits of being a melting pot.

53% believe immigration strengthens our nation. 41% disagree.
Democrats: 62/31; Republicans: 48/47; Independents: 53/43
Men: 65/30; Women 43/51
Age: <35 - 42/54; > 35 - 61/34

Consistent with that, here are two policy areas for consideration:

1) INS reform. People think that this is an agency that is as backward and in need of reform and restructuring as the IRS.

2) Building the speech around a clear set of rights and responsibilities that we have to legal immigrants and that they owe to the country.

91% think that legal immigrants into this country need a clear set of rights and responsibilities that would outline their rights to have such things as citizenship decided upon in a set time and their responsibilities such as the need to find work and improve their skills

11% think that the immigrations service is a basically a well-run organization or 71% think it is an organization with many problems in need of an overhaul like the IRS.
Democrats: 7/77; Republicans: 21/56; Independents: 9/74

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Budget

When first told about the possible Kasich budget plan voters are inclined to support it. However, this situation is reversed when voters are told why we oppose the Kasich plan.

Suppose Republicans passed a budget bill that contained another round of budget cuts, put the surplus towards Personal Savings Accounts for Social Security and eliminated the marriage penalty. 58/29 more/less favorable to Congressional Republicans.

Democrats: 43/47; Republicans: 72/11; Independents: 63/24

Suppose President Clinton vetoed the Republican budget saying it threatens the economic success we have established through balancing the budget according to our values, and we should now put the surplus into social security until Social Security is fixed, and not into a risky tax scheme. 59/28 more/less favorable to President Clinton (30% much more favorable)

Democrats: 77/19; Republicans: 29/58; Independents: 57/21

If the Republicans pass this budget, 40% think President Clinton should veto it, 42% do not.

Democrats: 58/32; Republicans: 17/61; Independents: 36/40

58/24 More/less favorable towards President Clinton.

Democrats: 84/8; Republicans: 28/51; Independents: 50/25

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Strategy Session
April 13, 1998
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

Mood Of The Country

With the PPI down, retail sales up and the stock market breaking the 9000 barrier the mood of the country remains excellent. Favorability is still on an upswing, now at 64% and approval remains steady at a solid 69%.

	2/11	2/17	2/23	3/3	3/10	4/10
◆ **Country:** right/wrong track	60/31	52/37	53/32	54/36	55/31	53/35
◆ **Economy:** right/wrong track	77/19	74/21	72/21	77/18	76/17	74/21
Favorability						
Clinton	61/38	62/38	62/37	65/34	62/38	64/34
Gore	61/33	62/33	59/35	61/32	60/35	63/33
◆ **Clinton Job Approval**	66/32	66/33	**69/31**	**69/28**	**70/30**	**69/29**
Strongly Approve	**33**	**38**	**31**	**32**	**33**	**32**
2nd Term Satisfaction	64/35	65/34	63/36	67/32	66/33	66/32

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Most Important Issue

We see an increase in concern about Crime as a result of the Jonesboro incident. Previously, about 4% of Americans had cited crime as the most important issue.

- **The economy/jobs is the most important issue at 16%.**
- Education is next at 11%.
- Crime climbs to third most important issues at 10%

Congress

While the horserace and approval of Congressional Democrats remain stable, overall approval of Congress and approval of the Republicans have dropped over the past month. This is consistent with the widely-held belief that Congress has become over-politicized and that the Republicans are to blame for the lack of action on the issues facing the nation.

Approval – on a 2 point scale

	2/10	2/17	3/3	3/10	4/10
Congress	60/33	59/33	59/33	58/35	53/39
Congressional Republicans	51/41	47/41	52/38	48/45	45/46
Congressional Democrats	55/37	51/38	51/37	52/39	52/38

Generic Horserace

38% would vote for a Democrat in Congress, 35% would vote for a Republican.

	2/10	2/17	3/3	3/10	4/10
Democrat	41	39	37	38	38
Republican	36	36	35	34	35

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Congress

The general view is that we should hit this Congress as a do-nothing Congress, but it is hard for anyone to tell the difference between Congresses that do work and those that don't, especially when the mood is good. But there is a sense that the Republicans are playing partisan politics and this always works to their disadvantage – the more they want to create issues like Campaign finance the more their ratings go down.

14/20/58 think Congress has accomplished more/less/about the same amount this session as Congress usually does.

Congress has been criticized for being a "do-nothing Congress". 50/46 % agree/disagree.

Democrats: 48/49, Republicans 36/58, Independents 52/42

24% think Democrats in Congress are more responsible for the lack of legislation passed this session, 42% the Republicans in Congress.

Democrats: *3/62, Republicans 53/22, Independents: 25/38*

44% think a Democrat in Congress would do more to move the country in the right direction, 37% a Republican in Congress.

Democrats: 83/4, Republicans 14/77, Independents 35/31

75% say this Congress has done little for the American people, politicizing everything so legislation on important things such as education, child care and tobacco has not been passed. We need a Congress that will bring the changes America needs. 22% say Congress is doing what is necessary to make things best for the American people and only the right kind of legislation has been passed, so there is no need for a change.

Democrats: 82/15, Republicans 59/41, Independents 78/17

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NEWSPAPER HEADLINES

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
4/12	**Sunday**	**Washington Post**	Exiting Center Stage, Jones Weighs Appeal Clinton Accuser an Enigmatic Figure
4/11	**Saturday**	**Washington Post**	Historic Promise of Peace for N. Ireland
			Clinton's Support Played Major Part In Clinching Deal
4/9	**Thursday**	**Washington Post**	Back on the Road, on the Issues Trip Offers Clinton Respite and Forums to Focus on Agenda (Photo: POTUS)

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4/6	Monday	New York Times	linton to Impose A Ban On 58 Types Of Imported uns Fresh Blow to the N.R.A Assault Weapons Fail To Meet Exemption For Sport Use, Treasury Review Finds
4/5	Sunday	New York Times	ismissal Of Suit Puts Clinton Back On Center Stage New Proposals Planned President to Present Democratic Policy Goals Based On His State Of Union Address
4/3	Friday	Washington Post	oming Out Of Africa With A Double Boost White House Elated By Trip, Ruling (Photo: POTUS)
4/2	Thursday	USA Today	ones Suit Dismissed Clinton camp elated; her lawyers plan appeal (Photos: POTUS, Paula Jones)
4/2	Thursday	USA Today	oes Ruling Get Clinton Out Of The Woods?
4/2	Thursday	New York Times	aula Jones Case Is Dismissed; Judge Says Even If ale Is True, Incident Is Not Harassment 'No Genuine Issues' But Plans for an Appeal Mean President Still May Face Trouble
4/2	Thursday	New York Times	linton Marks A 'Vindication' With A Guitar
4/2	Thursday	Washington Post	ones v. Clinton Suit Dismissed Judge Finds 'No Genuine Issues For Trial'
4/2	Thursday	Washington Post	olitical Analysis: President's Victory Took Enormous oll
4/1	Wednesd ay	New York Times	hite House Lawyers Assert A Broad Executive rivilege
3/31	Tuesday	Washington Post	linton Side Accuses Jones of 'Sabotage'
3/31	Tuesday	Washington Post	moked: The White House Offensive: Unlikely lliance Enlisted President For Tobacco War
3/30	Monday	USA Today	linton's Privilege Claim May Only Buy Him Time

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TV Headlines

Date	Network	Order	Headline
4/7	ABC	7	Clinton Says Social Security Needs Reform Before Money Dries
4/7	CBS	4	Clinton Holds Town Meeting On Social Security Repair
4/7	NBC	1	Clinton Starts National Dialogue On Social Security Reform
4/7	NBC	6	Dick Armey Stands By His Call For Clinton's Resignation
4/6	ABC	8	Clinton Strengthens Gun Control Law But Some Say It's Not Enough
4/6	CBS	4	Clinton Bans Assault Weapon Imports, Though Domestics Still Legal
4/6	NBC	4	Clinton Closing Loophole In Assault Weapon Import Ban
4/1	CBS	2	Clinton Camp, Visiting Senegal, Shocked And Elated At Ruling
4/1	CBS	3	Jones Case Only One Part Of Clinton's Wide-Ranging Legal Problems
4/1	CBS	6	Jones Attorney Notes Judge Did Not Find Clinton Innocent
4/1	NBC	2	White House Relieved But Clinton Still In Legal Jeopardy
4/1	NBC	3	Clinton Aides In Africa Surprised And Gleeful At Ruling
4/1	NBC	4	Ruling Is A Major Victory For White House In A Political War
3/31	CBS	6	Two Clinton Aides Summoned To Testify Before Starr Jury Again
3/31	CBS	13	Clinton Took Communion In Catholic Church Despite Church Rules
3/31	NBC	8	Clinton Promises His Help In Battle To Stop Decertificaiton
3/30	ABC	14	Clintons Go On Safari In Botswana
3/30	CBS	6	Clinton's Lawyers Accuse Jones Camp Of "Scurrilous Harassment"
3/30	CBS	7	Supreme Court Rejects Starr Request For White House Atty's Notes
3/30	CBS	15	A Look At Beautiful Botswana Wildlife Seen On Safari By Clintons
3/30	NBC	1	Clinton & Jones Lawyers In Ever-Uglier, Knock-Down Fight
3/30	NBC	7	Clinton & First Lady Take In Wildlife On Botswana Safari

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Issues In the News

While much of the media's attention over the past two weeks has been focused on the dismissal of the Paula Jones suit and its aftermath, our initiatives on Social Security, assault weapons, school construction, and the need to strengthen Social Security are all resonating with the American people. *As a result, awareness for these domestic policy announcements is high.*

With the Republicans in some disarray over tobacco and engaged in intra-party struggles over leadership and "values" issues, this is a time for us to focus on the issues that matter to the American people.

Did you hear anything about?	% Aware	More/ Less Fav
President Clinton's trip to Africa	89	45/30
President Clinton's radio address from Africa in which he expressed his sympathy for the grieving families of Jonesboro Arkansas where five schoolchildren and a teacher were killed	74	62/8
President Clinton's radio address in which he discussed tobacco legislation to protect children from tobacco and a proposal to reduce drunk driving	71	66/17
President Clinton announcing a permanent ban on imports of modified assault weapons	70	64/20
President Clinton's radio address in which he discussed the need for a national effort to strengthen Social Security for the 21st Century	68	65/15
President Clinton urging Congress to pass legislation to set a nationwide limit for drunk driving at .08 blood alcohol content.	67	67/19
President Clinton expressing regret for the role of the United States in African slavery	61	52/23
President Clinton's visit to Chicago where he spoke of the importance of rebuilding and repairing schools, and pressed Congress to pass his school construction plan	45	55/16
President Clinton taking communion at a Catholic Church in Africa	38	32/24

* 61% think he put the trip to good use (27% No).

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Budget Resolution/Highway bills

A. Budget Resolution

No visibility of the budget resolution

Basic Approval of the Republican position over the Democratic one, until the trade off between overspending on highway funding is presented as crowding out the needed funding for the President's proposals for education, childcare and health care.

The issue of the environment and the budget cuts proposed by the Republicans has been omitted from this debate, running counter to the clear 95 budget mantra.

48% trust President Clinton more on issues related to the federal budget, 36% the Republicans in Congress

Democrats: 83% President Clinton/11% GOP
Republicans:14/68, Independents:41/39

25% are aware of the Budget resolution bill passed by the Senate last week.

Unaided: 35/11% support/oppose the budget

Aided:
The budget passed by the Senate is the first balanced budget in 30 years. It provides over $60 billion in tax cuts, $214 billion for highways and would put all money from a tobacco industry settlement towards Medicare.
Given this,

80/11% support/oppose the budget
80% support (47% strongly + 33% somewhat)
11% oppose (5% strongly + 9% somewhat)

Democrats: 84/12, Republicans: 71/19, Independents: 83/13

Criticism:
President Clinton opposes this budget because he says it eliminates all of his proposals for education, child care, medical research and health care.
Given this,

58/35% support/oppose the budget
58% support (24% strongly + 34% somewhat)
35% oppose (16% strongly + 19% somewhat)

Democrats: 57/39, Republicans: 55/33, Independents: 58/35

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Presidential veto: Both the House and Senate have passed highway spending bills that allocate over $200 billion for building and repairing highways. If Congress passes a bill authorizing this much for highway spending, there will be little funding left for the education, child care, and health care programs President Clinton has proposed, and still be within a balanced budget. If this highway spending bill is passed by Congress, do you think the President should sign it or veto it?
23/**67% think that he should sign/veto it.**

Democrats: 19/75, Republicans: 36/51, Independents: 17/72
Men: 32/59, Women: 15/75

16% say the highway spending should be accepted as is because this huge investment in infrastructure will provide much needed rebuilding and new jobs. **75% say this highway bill is just full of pork and small projects to win votes and money from constituents and this highway bill should be reduced so more money can go to education, child care and health care**

If no budget is signed this spring, 29% would hold President Clinton responsible, 46% the Republicans in Congress.

Democrats: 23/62, Republicans: 32/29, Independents: 32/44
Men: 34/38, Women: 24/53

Congressional vote: If a Democrat in Congress opposed this budget because it did not provide enough spending for education, child care and medical research, and a Republican supported it,
49/37% would vote for a Democrat/Republican for Congress.

Democrats: 69/26, Republicans: 29/60, Independents: 47/30
Men: 36/45, Women: 60/30

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Unz Initiative

The UNZ initiative has broad support among the white community. But each one of these proposals has backfired in the sense that they raise Latino turnout and do not bring out additional white voters. The position of opposing it but supporting a 3-year transitional program is in line with the polling that shows a desire to help those students so long as the goal is to move them to English when they can be moved.

According to the LA Times, Unz is favored in California by 63/23, Hispanics 50/32. However our polling shows support for it diminishing in the Latino community in California.

Nationally, 48 % have heard about the UNZ initiative. In June, there will be a referendum in California on the Unz initiative, also known as Proposition 227 which would end bilingual education programs and replace it with one year of English language class, then put students back into an English only classroom setting.

60/26 support/oppose this initiative

In the small national sample of Hispanics it was 14% support, 78% oppose.

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Tobacco

No matter what the Republicans do, it is unlikely that they will get any credit for tobacco legislation as the public sees them as aligned with the tobacco companies. Without a major fight over tobacco, it is also unlikely they would pay any real penalty by November, however.

59% are aware of the tobacco legislation that was approved by the Senate Commerce Committee last week, and approve of it on an aided basis.

Who do you trust more on questions concerning tobacco legislation?

46% President Clinton
27% Republicans in Congress.

34% President Clinton
39% the Democrats in Congress.

43% Democrats in Congress
30% the Republicans in Congress.

23% President Clinton
61% former Surgeon-General C. Everett Koop.

63% former Surgeon-General C. Everett Koop
20% the Republicans in Congress.

The Senate will soon consider a tobacco bill that would add a fee of $1.10 per pack of cigarettes over the next five years, restrict advertising and marketing to children, give the FDA authority to regulate tobacco, and penalize the tobacco companies if teenage smoking does not decline by 60 percent in ten years. These measures are expected to cost the tobacco industry $516 billion over the next twenty five years. The bill would also settle state lawsuits and class actions against the tobacco industry and would impose an annual liability cap of $6.5 billion . There would be no ban on mass lawsuits or punitive damages.
Given this,

60/35% support/oppose the legislation

Democrats: 66/29, Republicans: 51/50, Independents 63/33

66/32% think it is important/not important that this bill is passed by Congress and signed into law by the president.

66% important (36% very + 30% somewhat)
32% not important (16% not very + 16% not at all)

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89/13% think it is important/not important to ban tobacco advertising aimed at children.
89% important (76% very + 13% somewhat)
11% not important (6% not very + 5% not at all)

If Congress passed this bill and the President Clinton vetoed it saying that it was not tough enough on the tobacco industry and did not do enough to reduce teen smoking, 50/40% would be more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton.
50% more favorable (23% much + 27% somewhat)
40% less favorable (15% much + 25% somewhat)

Democrats: 57/33, Republicans: 25/56, Independents: 58/34

If former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop and other public health advocates said that they oppose the bill because it is too soft on the tobacco companies

50/43% would support/oppose the tobacco bill pending before the Senate.

24% say that the bill does not go far enough to reduce teen smoking and that the tobacco companies will not be paying enough in fees and penalties. **65% say that the bill is a necessary first step towards drastic reductions in tobacco usage by Americans and that we need to concentrate on reducing teen smoking rather than engaging in a rush to see who can be hardest on the tobacco companies.**

Black Market -- People do believe in the black market

63% say that the money that the tobacco companies would have to pay in fees and penalties would dramatically increase the price of cigarettes and that this would lead to a black market in cigarettes. 31% say that law enforcement authorities will be able to control any black market activity.

Final Bill
President Clinton has said that the bill is a good start, but he wants a significant strengthening of the penalties imposed on cigarette manufacturers if teen smoking reductions targets are not met.
If a final bill contained these changes and included a restriction on advertising and marketing to children, FDA authority to regulate tobacco, settlement of state lawsuits and class actions against the tobacco industry and an annual liability cap of $6.5 billion, 65/29% would support/oppose the tobacco bill.
65% support (32% strongly + 33% somewhat)
29% oppose (16% strongly + 13% somewhat)

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Key Point – The Democrats would benefit from passing a bill here, rather than just a fight.

If Congress passes a comprehensive tobacco bill and the President signs it, **who do you think should get the credit?:**

43% President Clinton and the Democrats in Congress should get the credit
13% the Republicans in Congress
Democrats: 57/8, Republicans: 26/24, Independents: 46/10

If Congress passes a comprehensive tobacco bill and the President signs it, 48/26% would be more likely to vote for a Democrat/Republican running for Congress.

48% Democrat (25% much more + 23% somewhat)
26% Republican (17% much more + 9% somewhat)

Democrats: 82/5, Republicans: 20/62, Independents: 42/20

Only 34% would wind up blaming the Republicans for a failure – this is not high enough to make any difference since the Democrats are above the 34% mark:

If the Senate passes a comprehensive tobacco bill, but the House of Representatives fails to act and there is no tobacco legislation passed this year, 12% would blame President Clinton, 11% the Democrats in the House of Representatives, and **34% the Republicans in the House of Representatives.**

Tobacco Industry Withdrawal

The sudden decision by the tobacco industry to attack the McCain bill had some immediate resonance with voters, who found the tobacco companies' arguments credible on their face and were somewhat more likely to be willing to settle for the terms of the June 1997 settlement between the AGs and the tobacco industry.

Many Americans, however, believe that the tobacco companies are bluffing in hopes of getting a better deal and the tobacco companies' withdrawal made more than half more supportive of the McCain bill.

We need to drive home the point that the tobacco companies' withdrawal is merely a negotiating ploy that is part of a larger industry "exit" strategy devised by their consultants last December.

72% heard about the tobacco companies' announcement that they would not cooperate with Congress in enacting comprehensive tobacco legislation and that they would fight any attempts to pass the tobacco bill now pending before the Senate

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The tobacco companies argue that the bill currently pending in the Senate violates the agreement reached last June between the tobacco companies and the state attorneys general. They tobacco companies say that the bill would impose half a trillion dollars in new taxes on the American people, allow the FDA to make it illegal to buy tobacco products, create a black market in tobacco products, establish 17 new federal bureaucracies, and eliminate thousands of jobs.

57% find this argument credible (29% very credible), 40% do not

Americans want Big Tobacco to stop marketing its products to children and to reimburse the public for the cost of treating smoking-related disease, but they do not want to drive the tobacco companies out of business. Tobacco arguments that the McCain bill will create "17 new federal bureaucracies" also resonate with the public.

Which of the arguments advanced by the tobacco industry is the best reason NOT to enact the comprehensive tobacco legislation now pending in the Senate?		**D**	**R**	**I**
The government is trying to drive tobacco companies out of business by asking them and their customers to pay more than $500 billion in penalties	23	25	20	21
Establishing 17 new federal bureaucracies	20	10	32	19
Creating conditions for a black market in tobacco products	17	17	13	22
Eliminating thousands of jobs	12	13	13	10
Allowing the FDA to make tobacco illegal	11	13	10	12

Does the decision by the tobacco companies to fight comprehensive tobacco legislation make you much more supportive of the bill pending before the Senate, somewhat more supportive, somewhat less supportive, or much less supportive of the Senate bill

55% more supportive/49% less supportive

Democrats: 65/31, Republicans: 50/48, Independents: 52/40

Given the arguments of the tobacco companies do you think that the Congress should move forward on the bill now pending in the Senate or should the Congress pass a bill that would implement last June's original agreement between the tobacco companies and the states?

42% Move forward
47% Implement June '97 agreement

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41% say that the tobacco companies are sincere and that the bill now pending before the Senate would drive them out of business. **51% say that the tobacco industry might be secretly willing to live with the pending tobacco bill** and that yesterday's announcement was merely intended to prevent Congress from making the bill even tougher on the tobacco companies.

45% heard about President Clinton's trip to Kentucky today to meet with tobacco farmers.

47% more favorable/28% less favorable

Tobacco Money

If Congress passes a tobacco bill and it is signed into law by the President the government will receive periodic payments from the tobacco industry that will total billions of dollars over a twenty five year period. I am going to read you some of the proposals that people have made for using that money. For each, please tell me whether you would strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose using tobacco money to fund it.

Proposal for use of tobacco money	Strongly Support	Total Support	Total Oppose
Increase funding to Medicare	63	86	11
Fund drug prevention programs	60	83	15
Fund a tax credit for small business to help them to provide health insurance for their employees	57	83	13
Fund a child-care tax credit	51	79	19
Fund a tax credit for stay-at-home moms	39	59	38

If a settlement is reached with the tobacco companies, the government will have additional revenues. The Republicans say this revenue should go towards a tax cut and Protecting the Medicare program, and Democrats say it should go towards programs for child care, education, and cancer research.

***44%** agree with, the Republican's plan; **49%** Democrats.*

Democrats: 32/59, Republicans: 63/31, Independents: 39/53

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Tobacco Summit

The best way to win or lose this tobacco fight however is to have a budget type process with key Republican and Democratic leaders. The public would support adding everyone else to the table, but this would probably become an unproductive circus. This could be focused on solving the issue of Tobacco legislation issue – if it broke down it would work to create focus on Republican failure; if it succeeded, it would be a major Democratic victory.

Should there be a tobacco summit?

Support 68% (46% strong) / Oppose 24% (15% strong)

Democrats: 73/17, Republicans: 59/33, Independent: 74/19

Who Should be Invited to a Tobacco Summit?

	Invite	Definitely	Not Invite
Tobacco Industry	80%	64%	13%
State AGs	78	53	17
Anti-Tobacco Groups	76	56	16
Members of Congress	74	46	28

Social Security

We have the right language – strengthening Social Security, but Americans now favor all three in concept.

Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose **privatizing** Social Security?

Support: 52% (26% strong) / Oppose: 30% (21% strong)

Among 18-35, 72% support privatizing Social Security, an amazing statistic.

Democrats: 44/38, Republicans: 67/20, Independents: 48/25

Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose **reforming** Social Security?

Support: 73% (52% strong) / Oppose: 14% (8% strong)

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Democrats: 74/13, Republicans: 73/14, Independents: 74/13

Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose **strengthening** Social Security?

Support: 82% (67% strong) / Oppose 9% (3% strong)
Democrats: 88/5, Republicans 72/19, Independents: 84/4

Would you consider making independent retirement savings accounts a component of Social Security to be privatization of Social Security?

Privatization: 49% / Not 34%

Democrats: 45/39, Republicans: 57/28, Independents: 44/33

Social Security

But the public is open to a long national debate on this topic before any resolution takes place. This is perhaps the one issue on which they in many ways prefer debate to action until a clearer course of action is set.

The Republicans have a solid proposal in Social Security to Personal Security accounts, and our best response is that this cannot be a substitute for resolving the issue of Social Security.

But the data shows that there is an opening for the some limited creation of individual accounts while payroll taxes are lowered. There is broadscale desire for private accounts among younger voters – an astounding 94% want some form of personal account in the mix.

48% heard about President Clinton's town meeting in Kansas City this week to discuss ways of shoring up the Social Security system to ensure its solvency for the future

50/22 are more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton (29% don't know)

Democrats: 80/5, Republicans: 34/38, Independents: 36/23

Among those who have heard about it 57/34 more favorable/less favorable
Democrats: 90/9, Republicans: 38/57, Independents: 47/34

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How much would you say you know about the options to secure Social Security for the next generation?

14% A great deal
43% some
32% not very much
10% or nothing at all.

Educating the public

How important do you think it is that the American public understands any changes being made to the Social Security system before they are made

97% important 3% not important

President Clinton will hold a series of town hall meeting on Social Security across the country, and hold a White House conference on Social Security. He will then meet with congressional leaders to draft a plan to save Social Security.

76% more favorable/ 17% less favorable

Democrats: 82/3, Republicans: 50/38, Independents: 70/25
18-24: 93/7, 25-34: 83/15, 35-49:67/20, 50-64: 76/29, 65+: 79/21

22% say President Clinton should make decisions and present a plan sooner. **72% say this is a long term challenge with complex solutions so he must take the time to learn and understand all options, and get the public involved in the debate before making any decisions.**

The gap in support for Personal Savings accounts is 53% between the youngest and oldest age groups- steadily descending with support dropping by over 10% between most age groups.

Social Security Proposals	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Set up personal security accounts and requiring workers to contribute to them, which the individuals would invest and manage.	94	84	70	61	41
Total: 66% support		-10	-14	-11	-20

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The Proposals

Social Security Proposals *Sorted by Total Support*	Strongly Support	Total Support	Total Oppose
Make all newly hired local and state government workers join the Social Security system	61	79	16
Raise the cap on income that is subject to the Social Security tax from $68,500 to $90,000, so all income earned up to $90,000 is taxed for Social Security benefits	40	68	29
Set up personal security accounts and requiring workers to contribute to them, which the individuals would invest and manage.	27	**66**	28
Limit Social Security benefits for the wealthy based on a recipient's other income and assets.	45	63	34
Invest Social Security's assets collectively in some stocks and bonds, which would be riskier but could yield higher interest rates than Treasury securities, where the money is now invested.	**23**	55	40
Lower annual cost-of-living increases.	30	47	50
Set up personal security accounts which the government would invest and manage and requiring workers to contribute to them.	20	42	50
Increase the amount that workers pay into the Social Security program by raising the payroll tax	12	28	69
Make retirees wait longer to receive full Social Security benefits. The minimum age already is increasing gradually from 65 to 67.	11	27	72
Raise income taxes on Social Security benefits.	11	24	75

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Which of these proposals do you think would be the best way to preserve Social Security?	First	Second
Limit Social Security benefits for the wealthy.	26	12
Set up personal security accounts	**13**	**8**
Include local and state government workers	11	21
Invest Social Security's assets in some stocks and bonds	10	13
Lower annual cost-of-living increases.	9	10
Raise the cap on income that is subject to the Social Security tax.	9	9
Raise minimum age for Social Security benefits	6	9
Increase the amount that workers pay into the Social Security program	4	2
Raise income taxes on Social Security benefits.	3	6

Which of these proposals do you think would be the best way to preserve Social Security?	First	D	R	I	M	F
Limit Social Security benefits for the wealthy.	26	29	24	25	20	32
Set up personal security accounts	13	8	24	10	16	10
Include local and state government workers	11	9	6	18	12	11
Invest Social Security's assets in some stocks and bonds	10	11	15	6	14	5
Lower annual cost-of-living increases.	9	10	7	9	9	8
Raise the cap on income that is subject to the Social Security tax.	9	10	9	8	9	9
Raise minimum age for Social Security benefits	6	8	4	7	8	5
Increase the amount that workers pay into the Social Security program	4	5	1	3	2	6
Raise income taxes on Social Security benefits.	3	1	2	4	5	2

Personal Security Accounts

One proposal for personal security accounts would put a portion of the current 12.4% Social Security tax in individual accounts.

66/23 support/oppose (23 strongly support)

Democrats: 70/17, Republicans: 68/26, Independents: 59/29
18-24: 80/19, 25-34: 63/19, 35-49: 75/15, 50-64: 71/11, 65+ 47/43

Using a portion of the current Social Security tax could put tremendous strain on the existing Social Security system and lead to earlier insolvency.

40/51 support/oppose

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Democrats: 36/59, Republicans: 43/48, Independents: 44/42
18-24: 71/29, 25-34: 35/52, 35-49: 42/57, 50-64: 34/49, 65+ 34/55

	Support/ Oppose	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
DLC: Right now each employee contributes 6.2% from each paycheck that goes into the Social Security Trust Fund. One proposal is to take about one – third, or 2% of this contribution and allow the employee to put it in a private retirement fund instead.	75/21	82/15	84/13	81/18	72/25	51/36
DLC: Right now each employee contributes 6.2% from each paycheck that goes into the Social Security Trust Fund. One proposal is to add one or 2 percent onto this contribution which would be put into a private retirement fund.	64/32	72/23	65/35	63/33	57/39	56/26

If the government requires individuals to contribute to personal security accounts do you think the funding for these accounts should come out of the current Social Security tax, or should it be an additional contribution?

42% come out of current tax
43% additional contribution

Democrat: 45/37, Republican: 49/42, Independent: 32/51
18-24: 53/47, 25-34: 52/35, 35-49: 61/31, 50-64: 33/46, 65+:9/59
Men: 59/29, Women: 26/56

Contribution
If the government sets up personal security accounts, **71%** think everyone should contribute a certain percentage or their income, **21%** think everyone should contribute the same dollar amount to the account

Management of PSAs
If Personal Security accounts are part of a plan, **64%** think they should be managed by the individual recipient **26%** by the government

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Surplus for PSAs

Another proposal is to use any budget surplus to fund individual accounts for retirement benefits.

68/27 support/oppose (27% strongly support)
Democrats: 77/19, Republicans: 79/17, Independents: 54/41
18-24: 84/17, 25-34: 68/32, 35-49: 68/28, 50-64: 69/25, 65+: 52/33
Men: 66/30, Women: 69/24

Some people say we should start putting the current surplus into individual savings accounts now, and worry about a comprehensive plan to secure Social Security later; Other people say we should first determine a complete package for securing Social Security so we know how the surplus would best be used before putting the surplus into individual savings accounts.

29% surplus to individual savings accounts now
69% wait until we know the complete package

Some people say putting the surplus into individual retirement accounts is the best way to use the surplus to help secure Social Security for the future. Other people say it is not a good idea to be dependent on a surplus for Social Security because we can't rely on a surplus each year, so contributions will fluctuate or drive our economy into a deficit.

26% surplus is best way
68% can't rely on surplus
Democrats: 11/77, Republicans: 27/73, Independents: 38/62

Another proposal is to always use the surplus for individual retirement accounts, and in years where there is no surplus, phase in mandatory contributions from an individual's income.

44/46 support/oppose
Democrats: 44/44, Republicans: 49/45, Independents: 40/49

Argument against including State and Local Workers
58% say we should include all newly hired State and local government employees in the national system because they are the only sizeable group not covered and this would enlarge the pool of contributors; 32% say making them move into Social Security could put pressure on the state and local pension plans current state and local government employees are in now.

Democrats: 53/39, Republicans: 52/47, Independents: 69/11

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Education

There is broad support for our proposal that states require math and science teachers to pass competency tests before receiving teaching licenses and seven in ten would support a federal mandate that states administer such tests. Most Americans oppose using school vouchers for parochial or religious schools, but a plurality of Republicans support the idea/

President Clinton called on states to require teachers of math and science to pass "high-level competency tests" before receiving licenses.

85/11% support/oppose states requiring such tests
85% support (64% strongly + 21% somewhat)
11% oppose (6% strongly + 5% somewhat)

71% think the federal government should require states to administer tests to teachers of Math and Science, (24% No).
Democrats: 69/19, Republicans: 67/32, Independents: 73/25

Needle Exchange

The public remains decidedly skeptical about needle exchange programs even when told that such programs would slow the spread of AIDS without increasing IV drug use.

33% trust Democrats in the House of Representatives more in the fight against drugs,
22% the Republicans in the House of Representatives.
25% Neither
Democrats: 60/5/18, Republicans: 14/41/23, Independents: 26/25/27

41/56 support/oppose federal funding for a needle exchange program that would allow IV drug users to trade in used needles for sterile ones.

40% support (26% strongly + 14% somewhat)
56% oppose (**48% strongly** + 8% somewhat)

38/55 support/oppose federal funding for a needle exchange program that would allow IV drug users to trade in used needles for sterile ones only if the local police chief agrees with having a needle exchange in that community

38% support (16% strongly + 22% somewhat)
55% oppose (**46% strongly** + 9% somewhat)

Democrats: 38/59, Republicans: 40/49, Independents: 36/56

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Suppose government health experts said that a needle exchange program would control the spread of AIDS without increasing IV drug use.
Given this, **45/48** support/oppose federal funding for a needle exchange program that would allow IV drug users to trade in used needles for sterile ones

45% support (24% strongly + 21% somewhat)
48% oppose (37% strongly + 11% somewhat)

Democrats: 53/44, Republicans: 47/43, Independents: 39/55

Suggestion: limit it to high AIDS areas with local support for the program as a test of its effectiveness. This would focus the policy, if any, on the AIDS problem and not on drugs. This might survive an immediate elimination by Congress.

Support for a demonstration project in limited areas: 64/34 oppose.

Alcohol Billboards

President Clinton is urging the alcohol industry to voluntarily remove advertising billboards near schools.

84% support (68% strongly + 16% somewhat)
10% oppose (6% strongly + 4% somewhat)

If President Clinton is successful at getting the alcohol industry to remove advertising billboards near schools **73/19** more/less favorable towards President Clinton.

If the alcohol industry refuses to remove advertising billboards near schools **65/32 support/oppose legislation** forbidding alcohol billboards near schools

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National drunk driving limits

67% are aware of President Clinton urging Congress to pass legislation to set a nationwide limit for drunk driving at .08 blood alcohol content.
Given this,

67/19% are more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton
67% more favorable (36% much + 31% somewhat)
19% less favorable (9% much + 12% somewhat)

The big difference is between men and women:

58% say a national blood alcohol limit should be passed to protect our young people from harm, make streets safer, and help crack down on drunk driving nationwide; **41**% say blood alcohol limits should be left to the jurisdiction of states and should not be under federal control.

Men: 47/51, ***Women 68/31***

If a Democrat voted to pass a national blood alcohol limit to help reduce drunk driving and a Republican voted against it saying it should not be the mandated by the federal government, **63/28**% would vote for a Democrat/Republican for Congress.

Miscellaneous

Unless it is pasteurized, fruit juice can harbor E-Coli and other bacteria which can be harmful or fatal to humans. Given this, **90/8% would support/oppose requiring warning labels on unpasteurized juice.**

Equal Pay

We should do a more effective event on Equal Pay – with a new report on the issue to bring it out, as it has broad appeal:

If a candidate for congress supported strengthening equal pay laws to enforcement of already existing laws that ensure women receive equal compensation for work,

88/8% would be more likely/less likely to vote for the candidate.
88% likely (48% much more + 40% somewhat more)
8% less likely (2% much less + 6% somewhat less)

If a Democrat supported legislation that strengthened equal pay laws and a Republican opposed it, **73/14**% would vote for a Democrat/Republican for Congress.

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National Practitioner Data Bank

The National Practitioner Data Bank has the complete history of all malpractice claims against every doctor in the United States. The information in the data bank is available only to hospitals, state medical boards and HMOs. The only way that a patient can find out a doctor's history of malpractice claims is to search the court records in every county in which the doctor has ever practiced.

83/15 support/oppose (71% strongly support) giving the public access to the information in the National Practitioner Data Bank

16% say that the data bank should remain closed to the public because some malpractice suits are just nuisance suits settled for economic reasons and that a patient might not go to a physician based on that irrelevant information. **80% say that a patient has an absolute right to know about malpractice suits against a doctor so that the patient can make an informed choice about medical care**

The Information Age

MIT would welcome a speech on the Information Age.

No President has given a clear speech on the challenges of this age – the social consequences of this age and how it is having a profound impact on Americans – how it is affecting their ability to learn, how it is changing access to knowledge, how it is affecting the problems and stresss of work, how it is affecting the privacy of individuals, opening up another potentially dangerous souce of direct access to minors. It is no longer a question of every home having a computer – they will have it just as every home has a TV set or toaster. But the questions of the social consequences of the information age must be understood or we will turn this greatest new invention into just another vehicle for advertising and commercialism.

This speech would complement the speech you gave last year on the ethics of science, and with David HSU speaking allow you to make reference to the AIDS efforts.

But we will need to undertake something more of a policy development process here to come up with a policy as important as the wiring of the schools – something like the accessibility of all books (not just the card catalogue) on the internet that would serve as a new goal that would extend the learning and social benefits.

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Presidential Message Schedule

Event	Date
National Teacher of the Year Week/National Volunteer Week	April 20-24
Children's Environmental Health Executive Order Anniversary/National Youth Service Day	April 21
Earth Day Event Millennium Lecture Series Event	April 22
White House Correspondents Association Dinner	April 25
Grand Opening for the Ronald Reagan Building, DC	May 5
US Naval Academy Commencement, Annapolis, MD	May 22
Georgetown 30th Reunion Gala	May 30



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Message Summary II – The last few days of the campaign

Where we are: The President's approval stands at 69%, up to its highest point in the last few weeks and within one point of the record high of the presidency.

Democratic Congressional Approval is at 56/34
Republican Congressional Approval is at 44/47

As the race comes down to the wire, the generic horserace is showing movement in the Democratic direction with a 43/40 Democratic edge among very likely voters. The gender gap continues to drive Democrats to success – Democrats have an 18-point edge among women. The NBC/Wall Street Journal Poll showed Democrats over Republicans by similar numbers.

Following the Mid-east Peace Agreement, fewer voters favor impeachment -- 80% now would not favor impeachment of the President, a sharp spike in anti-impeachment sentiment. This makes all the more puzzling the move by Republicans to inject the Lewinsky scandal back into the campaign when nearly two-thirds disapprove of the Republican handling of the Lewinsky matter.

Democratic credit for the budget deal increased in the last week. By 37/20, Democrats got credit for the budget over the Republicans.

The public wants a Congress that focuses on issues, and overwhelmingly most people believe the Democrats have the right views on the key issues of Social Security, education, healthcare. This is their basic sentiment and we have refined this into a series of messages:

1. Message for Democratic Incumbents (Basic Message)

This election is fundamentally about the choice Americans have between progress on the issues that count – Social Security, education, healthcare – and continued partisanship.

While Democrats in Congress worked to save the surplus for Social Security and hire 100,000 new teachers – major accomplishments for us

26% have heard
3-1 more likely D

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and our children -- Newt Gingrich and the Republicans blocked them for 8 months, preferring partisan games. Next year, let's pass the other measures Newt Gingrich and the Republicans blocked: A patient's bill of rights, a juvenile justice bill, and a school construction initiative that would build classrooms instead of trailers for these new teachers. Elect Democrats who will finish the job next year and put progress over partisanship.

Generic Message: Just a few more Democrats in Congress would make a big difference next year. Just a few more Democrats and Newt Gingrich wouldn't be speaker anymore. Just a few more Democrats and the Patient's Bill of Rights would become law. Our students would have classrooms instead of trailers. And the surplus would be saved for Social Security. And we would end these partisan games and negative attack ads to give us a Congress that works on the people's business for a change. What a difference a few more Democrats would make.

2. Message for Democratic Challengers

What did the Republicans (your opponent) do in Congress this year? They killed the patient's bill of rights that gives every American the right to choose their own doctor. They killed the minimum wage increase that hard-working families needed. They killed comprehensive tobacco legislation that would have turned around soaring teenage smoking rates and saved lives. And they tried to spend the surplus on risky tax schemes instead of saving it for Social Security. All the while going ahead with partisan games. It's time to send them a message – elect Democrats that will bring progress we need, not the partisanship we can't afford.

Add this week: And after a year of partisan games, the Republicans are spending $10 million on ads – not on the issues – in a desperate, last-minute attempt to divert attention from the real issues of Social Security, education and healthcare.

3. Turnout Message to motivate core Democrats

This is no ordinary time, and no ordinary election. The Republicans have taken partisan games so far that they have made removing the president from office their top priority. The threat is real. The damage to the republic and the policies we need would be real. The damage to the issues we care about – Social Security, education, and healthcare would be real. Only electing a few more Democrats can stop them from carrying out this plan. Only you can stop them.

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Here are some specific messages on issues:

4. Message on Social Security

Saving Social Security First – Democrats are committed to it. Republicans instead want to spend the surplus. Some Republicans have already proposed a $700 billion risky tax scheme. Trent Lott says he won't even work in a bi-partisan process to save Social Security. Republican attack ads now announce a secret Republican plan to "save" Social Security. We know what their plans are like for Social Security. Our plan – put people above politics, strengthen Social Security by saving the surplus until we fix it for then next generation.

5. Message on Patient's Bill of Rights

The Patients' Bill of Rights - a protection that every American needs. The right to choose your own doctor, the right to visit the emergency room whenever you need and to be covered by insurance, the right to hold insurance companies responsible if they deny you medical care. Republicans voted to block it. And they got millions in contributions in support of their efforts from the healthcare companies. It's time to elect a Congress that will stand up to the special interests and pass the patient's bill of rights. Vote Democratic.

6. Message on Education

What do our children need?

Not another two years of partisanship.

They need a Congress that honors the pledge to hire 100,000 new teachers. That makes a commitment to the modern schools our kids need so that these new teachers will teach in classrooms not trailers. Republicans blocked the president's school construction initiative. Blocked higher educational standards. Blocked the reforms our educational system needs. Some prominent Republicans believe we should close down the Department of education. This year elect a Congress that will strengthen education. Vote Democratic.

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Strategy Session
Tuesday, October 27, 1998
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

The Mideast peace agreement had an impact on the personal ratings of the president – they went back up to 59% favorable and job approval up to 69% among all voters. At the same time, intensity declined to 35% strong approval.

Other polls show the president's ratings remaining high, and the ABC poll shows Lewinsky-related anger subsiding significantly – as much as 8-10 points down.

The Congressional generic ballot remains lop-sidedly Democratic among all voters and narrowly Democratic among the most likely voters. The narrower the turnout, the harder the time for Democrats. We have moved past the point of persuasion, and it is solely an issue of motivation.

Mood of the Country

	9/22	9/24	9/30	10/7	10/12-13	10/26
Country: right/wrong track	52/40	55/38	53/37	49/42	48/43	50/37
Economy: right/wrong track	72/21	74/19	74/20	67/29	63/29	67/25
Favorability						
Clinton	56/44	56/43	57/43	57/43	55/44	59/40
Gore	59/36	60/34	57/37	61/35	57/37	61/32
Clinton Job Approval	**69/30**	**71/28**	**68/31**	**66/33**	**65/35**	**69/30**
Strongly Approve	**40**	**41**	**37**	**40**	**39**	**35**
Gore Job Approval	**65/27**		**61/31**	**62/31**	**66/26**	**65/27**
Strongly Approve	**22**		**21**	**22**	**22**	**24**

Most Important Issue

- **Economy/Jobs is the most important issue with 18%**
- **Morality/Family Values—12%**
- **Education is third at 11%**

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Foreign Policy Approval	Approve	Disapprove
10/26	65	31
10/13	66	31
10/7	65	32
9/30	64	35
9/22	65	32
9/7	62	36
6/9	60	33
2/17	64	34

Congress

Approval—on a 2 point scale

	9/22	9/30	10/5	10/7	10/12-13	10/26
Congress	60/37	59/35	56/38	57/36	53/41	55/36
Congressional Republicans	49/44	48/45	44/49	48/45	46/48	44/47
Congressional Democrats	55/38	52/37	54/39	56/36	53/39	56/34

Generic Horserace

45% would vote for a Democrat in Congress, **37%** would vote for a Republican. Among the most likely voters, the vote is 43% to 40% for Democrats, again the second week we have shown this, though this is well within the margin of error for the 350 or so most likely voters – which would be plus or minus 5%.

	9/22	9/24	9/30	10/7	10/12-13	10/26
Democrat	42	41	40	42	44	45
Republican	38	35	35	36	37	37

60% of Democrats are absolutely certain to vote, **62%** of Republicans and **58%** of Independents.

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Newspaper Headlines

Middle East: 7, Budget: 6, **Scandal: 3**, Foreign Policy: 2, Misc.: 1

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
10/24	Saturday	New York Times	West Bank Accord Agreement is Rescued by Clinton Vow Over Israeli Spy Case
10/24	Saturday	New York Times	Clinton Didn't Blink
10/22	Thursday	Washington Post	President Signs Bill For Agency Funding Lawmakers Decry Dealmaking Process
10/22	Thursday	New York Times	Budget Bill Is Signed Into Law by Clinton
10/21	Wednesday	Washington Post	A Presidential Gamble on Peace Clinton Wagers Energy, Standing in Middle East Talks
10/21	Wednesday	New York Times	Military is Warned on Rebuking Clinton
10/20	Tuesday	Washington Post	Clinton Steps Up Efforts as Attack Roils Peace Talks
10/20	Tuesday	Washington Post	Congress Stokes Visions Of War to Oust Saddam White House Fears Fiasco in Aid to Rebels
10/20	Tuesday	USA Today	Clinton Trip is canceled to salvage peace talks
10/19	Monday	Washington Post	Clinton Rejects $2 Million Plan to Settle Jones Suit
10/19	Monday	USA Today	Delay Seen in Clinton Inquiry
10/16	Friday	Washington Post	Mideast Talks Begin Clinton Pushes Netanyahu, Arafat for Deal
10/16	Friday	New York Times	Budget Accord is Reached; Both Sides Claim A Victory as a Shutdown is Averted Clinton Down, Not Out Photo: POTUS with Gephardt, Bowles and Rubin
10/16	Friday	New York Times	Clinton Plea Opens Mideast Peace Talks
10/16	Friday	USA Today	Clinton, Congress settle on a budget
10/16	Friday	USA Today	Clinton: Break Mideast 'logjam' Photo: POTUS, Netanyahu, and Arafat
10/15	Thursday	New York Times	Congress's Rating Continues to Slip in Inquiry's Wake Clinton Support at 63% Times/CBS Poll Finds a Sense that Vital Issues Are Taking a Back Seat to Politics
10/14	Wednesday	New York Times	Budget Talks Trip Over School Aid and Other Issues Fourth Deadline Looms Republicans and White House Dig In to Send a Message to Voters Next Month
10/13	Tuesday	New York Times	NATO Opens Way To Start Bombing in Serb Province Milosevic Eases Stance Agreement Appears Imminent White House Aides Say— Clinton Voices Caution

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Television Headlines

Middle East: 5, Budget: 5, Scandal: 2, Misc.: 4

Date	Station	Order	Headline
10/22	ABC	4	Clinton Returns To MD Mideast Peace Talks; Progress Reported
10/22	CBS	1	Israelis More Positive About Deal But Clinton More Cautious
10/21	ABC	4	Clinton Declares 20 Texas Counties Eligible For Relief Funds
10/20	ABC	1	Clinton Meets With Netanyahu & Arafat In Effort To Advance Peace
10/20	CBS	4	Military Service Members Told To Refrain From Clinton Criticisms
10/20	CBS	5	McCurry Comments On Clinton After Leaving White House
10/20	CBS	13	Clinton Names John Podesta As His New Chief Of Staff
10/19	CBS	6	Clinton Personally Tries To Save Mideast Talks
10/16	CBS	9	Clinton Phones Nobel Peace Prize Winners, Publicly Praises Them
10/15	ABC	4	White House & GOP Reach Budget Agreement; A Look At The Bill
10/15	ABC	6	Teachers, Police Officers, Clinton Hold School Safety Conference
10/15	CBS	5	Clinton Launches Major New Push For Mideast Peace With MD Summit
10/15	NBC	3	White House Pleased With Budget Deal; Dems Claim Victory
10/14	ABC	5	Clinton, Republicans Both Claim Victory In Budget Battle
10/14	CBS	4	House Judiciary Panel Preparing Stipulation List For White House
10/14	NBC	1	Clinton Gets Most Of Education Funding He Wanted In Budget

In the News

84% are aware of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu reaching a peace agreement after a week of negotiations with President Clinton.

Given this,

62/14% are more/less favorable towards President Clinton
62% more favorable (**28%** much + **34%** somewhat)
14% less favorable (**7%** much + **7%** somewhat)

D	R	I	Those aware of accord
72/9	*55/18*	*57/16*	*65/16*

80/17% think President Clinton deserves credit/no credit for this peace agreement.
80% credit (**29%** a lot + **51%** some)
17% no credit (**7%** none at all + **10%** not very much)

D	R	I	Those aware of accord
87/11	*74/19*	*77/23*	*80/19*

76% think President Clinton has been an effective peacemaker, **21%** not.

D	R	I	Those aware of accord
91/7	*64/30*	*70/26*	*74/22*

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77/19% think brokering this peace accord is a significant/insignificant accomplishment for President Clinton.

77% significant (**32%** very + **45%** somewhat)

19% insignificant (**9%** very + **10%** somewhat)

D	*R*	*I*	*Those aware of accord*
87/6	*70/25*	*71/26*	*77/22*

But there is no clear sense of what this election is about:

What is this election about?

Type of Election	
Congressional election / Which party will control congress	7%
Gubernatorial/senatorial election / State elections	5%
An election / Politics / Leadership	4%
Who will run the country	2%
The Issues	
Economy / Money	6%
Education / Schools	3%
Other issues: Taxes / Health Care / Crime	8%
Miscellaneous	
Who will be the best person for the people / Electing someone who represents my views/ Electing best/better people to do the job	6%
The future of our country / Getting/keeping our country on track	6%
Bill Clinton issue / Impeachment	5%
Morality / Honesty	4%
Mudslinging	2%

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Election Week Strategy

Goal: Highlight the core Democratic issues, and appeal to voters to come out and vote in this election – it is no ordinary time, no ordinary election.

Attack #1 on the Republicans

The Republicans in Congress have blocked the Patient's Bill of Rights – and at the same time taken millions of dollars in contributions from the Insurance industry. Sold your right to choose your own doctor. Sold your right to hold HMOs responsible for medical decisions.

Done the same things on minimum wage, tobacco…

Delivery: DNC issues report with press conference – documents what the RNC has done, shows the ads paid for with Insurance Company money. Romer takes this cause up.

President holds Patient's Bill of Rights event and underscores the basic message: The Republican majority blocked even a vote on the Patient's Bill of Rights. Blocked the right to choose.

Attack #2 on the Republicans

Social Security must be part of a bipartisan effort. The Republicans are refusing to work with us as part of a bi-partisan process. Some Republicans like Kasich are proposing $700 billion tax schemes. Social Security **is** at stake in this election.

Delivery: President today and on Friday.

Attack #3 on the Republicans.

Our kids need the classrooms for the 100,000 new teachers we have coming. They need to get out of trailers and into classrooms so they have a decent chance to learn. Republicans blocked the school construction and modernization initiative. Blocked higher standards. Blocked reform. Some of them are still calling for an end to the Department of education.

Delivery: President on Saturday

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GOTV messages:

1) Press conference. What is the election about? Is this a referendum on the Presidency On Impeachment?

This election is fundamentally about the choice Americans have between progress on the issues that count – Social Security, education, and healthcare, or continued partisanship.

They have seen the Patient's bill of rights blocked. School construction initiatives blocked. They have seen a minimum wage increase voted down. A juvenile justice bill scuttled. Social Security threatened with one risky scheme after another by the Republican majority.

This is no ordinary election and no ordinary time. We know that the much is at stake and that is why I have the simple message to every American that this is one election they should come out and vote next week.

2) Message to Black Church on GOTV

Stronger message about what is at stake at this election – a much more moral message that brings in the money that is being spent on the other side by the special interests, that brings up the violence we have seen that could tear us apart at a time we need healing and progress.

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President Clinton Accomplishments

In which of these areas do you think President Clinton has done the most so far? Which of these areas do you is most important for President Clinton to focus on now? Second most?	Done the most			
	All	D	R	I
Economy	32	42	23	32
Foreign affairs	30	33	34	23
Education	12	8	16	13
Healthcare	8	7	9	8
Crime	5	3	5	6
Social Security reform	4	4	0	6

In which of these areas do you think President Clinton has done the most so far? Which of these areas do you is most important for President Clinton to focus on now? Second most?	1st Priority	1st + 2nd	1st Priority		
			D	R	I
Economy	18	32	18	21	17
Foreign affairs	14	25	8	18	17
Education	19	43	21	18	20
Healthcare	12	34	15	8	11
Crime	9	24	8	9	8
Social Security reform	22	35	26	18	21

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Messages

Here are some messages about the upcoming elections. Please let me know after each one whether it would make you more or less likely to vote and whether it would make you more or less likely to vote for a Democrat.	Much More Likely to Vote	More/Less Likely to Vote				Much More Likely to Vote Dem	More/Less Likely to Vote Dem			
		All	D	R	I		All	D	R	I
The Patients' Bill of Rights – a protection that every American needs. The right to choose your own doctor, the right to visit the emergency room whenever you need and to be covered by insurance, the right to hold insurance companies responsible if they deny you medical care. Republicans voted to block it. And they got millions in contributions in support of their efforts from the healthcare companies. It's time to elect a Congress that will stand up to the special interests and pass the patient's bill of rights. Vote Democratic.	58	80/ 10	95/ 0	79/ 11	69/ 18	47	67/ 24	91/ 5	48/ 45	59/ 29
Social Security. The Republicans have said they will use the surplus for a risky tax scheme instead of saving Social Security. They have said they will refuse to participate in a bipartisan process to save it. They tried to cut Medicare before, and now they are threatening to privatize Social Security. We need a Congress that will save it. Vote Democratic.	55	77/ 12	92/ 4	70/ 17	70/ 17	44	64/ 24	90/ 4	45/ 44	55/ 30
We succeeded in getting 100,000 new teachers for our students in this year's budget. Now we need to build the classrooms so those new teachers can get out of trailers and into the modern schools we need. Republicans blocked the president's school construction initiative. Blocked higher educational standards. Blocked the reforms our educational system needs. Some prominent Republicans believe we should close down the Department of education. This year elect a Congress that will strengthen education. Vote Democratic.	57	80/ 15	91/ 4	72/ 22	73/ 19	44	66/ 26	91/ 6	42/ 48	60/ 29
This is no ordinary time. The Republicans have taken partisan games so far that they have made removing the president from office number one on their agenda. The threat is real. The damage to the republic and the policies we need would be real. The damage to the issues we care about – Social Security, Healthcare and education would be real. Only electing a few more Democrats this	58	80/ 11	92/ 5	69/ 20	78/ 10	40	60/ 28	89/ 7	25/ 68	60/ 19

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year can stop them from carrying out their plan. This is no ordinary election. Only you can stop them.										
Fixing Social Security should not be a partisan issue. But the Republicans including Newt Gingrich are saying they won't even work with me and the Democrats to fix Social Security. But they worked with the Insurance Industry to kill the patient's bill of rights. They worked with extremists to kill our school modernization plan. Worked with cigarette companies to kill tobacco legislation. It's time we put progress ahead of this kind of partisanship next year.	53	71/ 18	87/ 6	64/ 23	67/ 23	40	59/ 30	87/ 6	26/ 64	59/ 30
The Democrats stand for an agenda for progress – Saving Social Security First, reforming education, modernizing our schools, a patient's bill of rights, raising the minimum wage, and strengthening our juvenile justice system. Republicans want to play partisan games instead. That's the choice we face. Vote Democratic.	49	77/ 15	90/ 5	64/ 24	78/ 12	37	63/ 26	93/ 2	30/ 66	64/ 18
The Republicans have taken millions in special interest dollars for their negative TV ad campaigns. Healthcare companies alone have spent millions against the Democrats supporting a Patient's Bill of Rights giving people the right to choose their own doctor. And it doesn't stop there – Republicans have taken money to kill the minimum wage increase. Millions from big tobacco to kill comprehensive tobacco legislation. Say no to their special interest ads and partisan games and vote Democratic this year.	53	75/ 14	82/ 11	59/ 27	79/ 9	35	63/ 23	91/ 5	31/ 53	62/ 18

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If President Clinton campaigned on behalf of major Democrats in the next few days **23%** would be more likely to vote for a Democrat, **16%** less likely, **60%** say it would not affect their vote.

D	R	I	Democrats: Very Likely Voters	Democrats: Possible Voters
36/3/60	*7/32/59*	*23/15/61*	*37/3/60*	*50/9/41*

If Vice President Gore campaigned on behalf of major Democrats in the next few days **23%** would be more likely to vote for a Democrat, **13%** less likely, **63%** say it would not affect their vote.

D	R	I	Democrats: Very Likely Voters	Democrats: Possible Voters
37/3/60	*8/24/65*	*19/14/65*	*25/3/72*	*41/5/54*

We should start putting this at the end of any election-related messages:

If President Clinton asked you to turn out and vote this year because of what is at stake, **37%** would be more likely to vote, **5%** less likely, **58%** say it would not have any effect on their vote.

D	R	I	Democrats: Very Likely Voters	Democrats: Possible Voters
49/2/49	*22/7/68*	*37/5/58*	*45/0/55*	*67/5/28*

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Budget

51% are aware of the budget deal President Clinton and Congress agreed to last week. (47% the weekend after the budget deal on 10/18)

34/16% approve/disapprove of the budget deal. (on 10/18: 31/18)

D	R	I	Those aware of budget deal
32/14	35/10	35/22	55/26

37% think President Clinton deserves more credit for the budget deal, **29%** Republicans in Congress. **(on 10/18: 36/30)**

D	R	I	Those aware of budget deal
55/6	18/46	33/36	38/31

The only change has been that Democrats have won more of the credit for the budget deal in the fall out:

37% think Democrats in Congress deserves more credit for the budget deal, **20%** the Republicans in Congress. (on 10/18: 33/26)

D	R	I	Those aware of budget deal
55/17	20/23	37/19	35/25

Surplus
Voters are finally beginning to believe we have a surplus:

57% think we have a surplus, **32%** not.

D	R	I	10/1
67/25	57/34	46/38	48/39

32% think this budget saves the surplus for Social Security, **31%** think it spends the surplus, **4%** both.

D	R	I
43/18/3	28/41/7	27/33/1

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Hate Crimes

49% are aware of President Clinton asking lawmakers to give homosexuals the protection of hate-crime laws.
Given this,

51/30% are more favorable/less favorable towards President Clinton

D	R	I
70/16	28/59	50/22

91% are aware of the murder of Matthew Shepard, a homosexual student in Wyoming.

89% are aware of the sniper killing of Dr. Barnett Slepian, a doctor who performed abortions in New York.

Some people say the extreme agenda of the right wing is somewhat responsible for these actions because their political leaders have supported intolerance. **44/46%** agree/disagree with this statement.

44% agree (**20%** strongly + **24%** somewhat)
46% disagree (**30%** strongly + **16%** somewhat)

D	R	I
60/28	32/61	39/51

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Presidential Message Schedule

Date	Event	Message
The Next Two Weeks...		
Tuesday October 27	***Social Security Event (Women & Pensions Surplus)***	**Social Security**
Wednesday October 28	*Colombian State Visit* Health Announcement	
Thursday October 29	*Shuttle Launch, Cape Canaveral, FL*	
Friday October 30	Departure Statement Tape Radio Address	
Monday November 2	***Message Event***	
Wednesday November 4	***Message Event*** *Working Visit with PM Drnovsek of Slovenia*	
Thursday November 5	Medal of Arts and Humanities Ceremony	
Friday November 6	Airport Dedication Ceremony, Fayetteville AR Tape Radio Address	
Monday November 9	***Message Event***	
Future Events...		
Wednesday November 11	***Arlington Cemetery Veterans Day Event***	**Veterans**
Thursday November 12	***Message Event***	
Friday November 13	Tape Radio Address	
Friday November 20	Tape Radio Address	
Tuesday November 24	***Message Event***	
Friday November 27	Tape Radio Address	
Monday November 30	***Message Event***	

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Strategy Session
Wednesday, November 4, 1998
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

Key election trends:

Democrats continued the gender gap as women voters decided almost every election, and continued to vote solidly Democratic.

Democrats solidified the gains of 1996 with Hispanics – taking more than 2/3rd of the vote; the exceptions were Texas and Florida

The black vote was energized, and showed increases in key elections.

In many ways, this election represented a fusion of the gains of 1996 with middle income, women voters, along with the unity of an energized base. Turnout was put by the AP at 38% -- actually 1% below 1994. No doubt blacks and Hispanics will have an expanded role in that vote – but this election was **just as much about the success of moderation over hard-line social conservatives as it was about turnout.** The last month saw a swing of 5 points from the Republicans to the Democrats among likely voters as the Republicans won the money issue, but Democrats were right on the message.

The basic dichotomy of issues over investigations is reflected in the polls. While some read the polls as showing that the voters did not concern themselves with impeachment – the reason is that we created a pro-issue movement. Saying you voted on the "issues" was a rejection of the attempt by the Republicans to run the election on impeachment. And the exit polls showed 65% rejected impeachment. They also showed that education, Social Security, healthcare, and the economy were the key issues, not morals or impeachment.

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Mood of the Country

	9/24	9/30	10/7	10/12-13	10/26	11/3
Country: right/wrong track	55/38	53/37	49/42	48/43	50/37	53/34
Economy: right/wrong track	74/19	74/20	67/29	63/29	67/25	66/27
Favorability						
Clinton	56/43	57/43	57/43	55/44	59/40	58/42
Gore	60/34	57/37	61/35	57/37	61/32	59/36
Clinton Job Approval	**71/28**	**68/31**	**66/33**	**65/35**	**69/30**	**68/31**
Strongly Approve	**41**	**37**	**40**	**39**	**35**	**41**
Gore Job Approval		**61/31**	**62/31**	**66/26**	**65/27**	**65/30**
Strongly Approve		**21**	**22**	**22**	**24**	**21**

Most Important Issue	% Importance	Vote Dem	Vote GOP
Economy/Jobs	19	60	31
Morality/Family Values	11	10	66
Education	11	58	31
Fighting crime	4	44	16
Healthcare	4	62	30

Foreign Policy Approval	Approve	Disapprove
11/3	64	33
10/26	65	31
10/13	66	31
10/7	65	32
9/30	64	35
9/22	65	32
9/7	62	36
6/9	60	33
2/17	64	34

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Congress

Approval—on a 2 point scale

	9/30	10/5	10/7	10/12-13	10/26	11/3
Congress	59/35	56/38	57/36	53/41	55/36	52/42
Congressional Republicans	48/45	44/49	48/45	46/48	44/47	**40/53**
Congressional Democrats	52/37	54/39	56/36	53/39	56/34	51/41

Tuesday's Election

Why voters voted:

Which of the following best describes why you voted today?	All	D	R	I	Vote D	Vote R
To send a message on local issues	27	31	25	24	33	24
To punish Bill Clinton	2	0	3	2	0	2
To stop the Republicans from going to far on impeachment	11	19	4	9	19	2
To send a message on national issues such as taxes, Social Security, and education	42	36	57	36	35	51

This number will grow by tomorrow:

33/19% think the results of the 1998 elections were more a victory for the Democratic Party/the Republican party.

D	*R*	*I*
52/7	*19/36*	*27/15*

Did the outcome of the election help/hurt	All	D	R	I
President Clinton	34/21	51/15	25/30	26/19
Vice President Gore	30/18	46/9	17/34	27/13
Democratic Party	40/17	60/9	31/31	30/15
Republican Party	24/29	18/43	37/20	20/24

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Progress over partisanship
71% think this election was about electing a Congress that will focus on Progress instead of Partisanship, **19%** not.

D	R	I
78/12	69/28	66/18

71/21% agree/disagree that this election was a call from the American people to end partisan investigations and focus on the work of the people.

D	R	I
74/17	64/30	76/16

Presidential Response
Suppose President Clinton said the American people have voiced their opinion and voted for a Congress that will put progress ahead of partisanship and called upon new members of Congress in both parties to work together in the coming months to reach solutions to our most pressing needs of Social Security reform and education. If President Clinton said this, **80/17%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton.

80% more favorable (**48%** much + **32%** somewhat)
17% less favorable (**11%** much + **6%** somewhat)

D	R	I
96/2	67/32	75/20

Calling back Congress
The House Judiciary Committee is currently in session working on impeachment hearings. **88%** think Congress should come back to work after the midterm elections to pass important legislation such as Social Security and an HMO bill of rights, **9%** not.

D	R	I
90/3	83/17	88/8

If President Clinton said if some of Congress is working on impeachment then the rest of Congress should be working on important issues of Social Security, HMO reform, and education, **71/19%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton.

71% more favorable (**46%** much + **25%** somewhat)
19% less favorable (**8%** much + **11%** somewhat)

D	R	I
83/10	65/26	66/23

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

What do we say about the election?

We have no basic change in strategy – we should now carry our pre-election themes and positioning right on through to the victory.

1. Turned out to be an extraordinary election – unprecedented mid-term gains by Democrats, active voter participation. Good night for America, good night for Democrats.
2. Voters sent a message – continue the progress we are making to protect Social Security, education, healthcare, environment. We should review some of the progress we made with the last budget and use this opportunity to take credit for that (100,000 teachers, etc.)
3. President turning to the people's business right **now** – calling for the passage of the unfinished bills – school construction, patient's bill of rights, minimum wage increase, and kicking off the fist steps necessary to reform Social Security on a bipartisan basis. Continue to strengthen our economy with upcoming international economic trip.
4. Continue to deflect questions about what should happen and say that it is up to Congress, having now heard from the people. Want to avoid becoming an election commentator, but can comment on the Democratic gains in the South, NY, and California and congratulate some of the winners and say that we do see a rejection of the politics of division in these returns. Obviously, avoid overconfidence.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In the News

Newspaper Headlines

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
11/2	Monday	Washington Post	Gore Musters a Roar, Vice President Stings GOP on Stump
11/1	Sunday	NY Times	Big Question: Clinton Fate, Impeachment Subtext is an Election Reality
11/1	Sunday	Washington Post	White House Aspirants Out of Gate Early
10/31	Saturday	NY Times	With a Few Days to Go
10/29	Thursday	Washington Post	Clinton: Scandal Ads are Bid to 'Distract'

Television Headlines

Date	Station	Order	Headline
11/2	CBS	5	Clinton Tries To Motivate Poor Democrats; First Lady Campaigns
11/2	CBS	6	Iraq Cuts Off UN; Clinton Complains But No US Action Is Planned
10/29	NBC	4	Clintons Attend Shuttle Launch
10/28	NBC	3	GOP Launches Tough Ads Against Clinton But They May Backfire
10/28	CBS	5	GOP Launches Ad Blitz On Clinton-Lewinsky Affair
10/28	CBS	6	Clinton Says Voters Should Vote On Issues Not Affair
10/28	ABC	3	Clinton Announces New Funding For AIDS Education
10/27	CBS	4	Clinton Proposes Changes To Help Women With Retirement

Republicans became partisan about even the most routine stories about the President.

Did you hear anything about	% aware	More/ Less Fav	D	R	I
President Clinton's radio address where he talked about the urgent need for modernizing, repairing and building 5,000 schools around the country	38	52/ 25	87/ 0	9/ 50	55/ 31
President Clinton praising the gains of the U.S. Space Program at the historic launching of the space shuttle last week with John Glenn aboard	58	42/ 28	67/ 0	21/ 53	38/ 31
President Clinton announcing plans to changing retirement plans in order to make them more responsive to women's needs	35	50/ 13	75/ 0	24/ 33	48/ 13
President Clinton announcing that the government will invest $156 million in new funding to better fight the AIDS epidemic among minorities	14	48/ 32	73/ 17	10/ 62	50/ 24
President Clinton signing the Head Start bill directing that that more money go towards improving the quality of the preschool program rather than to expand the program	32	65/ 15	83/ 5	46/ 33	60/ 12
President Clinton saying that the international community is unified against Iraq's decision to end all cooperation with United Nations' weapons inspectors	52	51/ 26	69/ 6	30/ 46	50/ 29

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Presidential Actions

Which of the following is the best thing President Clinton could work on now? Second?	1st	1st + 2nd	D	R	I
Work with Congress to develop a plan to protect Social Security for the future	37	66	31	41	39
Build support for proposals to improve public school education	21	47	29	5	27
Take measures to ease the international economic crisis	19	40	20	30	9
Propose new legislation that will help parents spend more time with their children	11	22	11	9	12
Urge Congress to pass a patients' bill of rights	6	15	6	5	6

Bipartisan work on Social Security

If President Clinton called on Republicans to work with him on Social Security reform, **73/12%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton.

73% more favorable (**38%** much + **35%** somewhat)

12% less favorable (**6%** much + **6%** somewhat)

D	R	I
81/4	*64/18*	*72/13*

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Fall/Winter Policy Announcements

I am going to read you some things that President Clinton could announce in the coming months. Please tell me if this proposal would make you much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable, or much less favorable towards President Clinton.	Much More Fav	More/ Less fav	D	R	I
Expanding anti-gang measures which include anti-truancy, school, violence and crime intervention; and after-school programs to keep kids off the streets.	60	85/ 13	99/ 1	62/ 34	90/ 8
Announcing directives to crack down on food stamp fraud so individuals and retailers can not exploit the food stamp system	60	83/ 13	91/ 4	80/ 18	78/ 18
Announcing the official implementation of the Brady National Instant Criminal Background Check System that will help keep guns out of the hands of criminals.	58	79/ 17	92/ 5	52/ 40	87/ 12
Announcing support for a bill to provide health care services to individuals with disabilities that will help those individuals to become employed and independent.	54	85/ 12	91/ 5	79/ 19	86/ 14
Promoting a new zero-tolerance for drug use plan aimed at keeping prisoners and parolees off drugs which will allow states to use up to 10 percent of their prison funds to drug test and treat prisoners and parolees.	45	74/ 22	82/ 14	63/ 34	76/ 18
Announcing a tax credit for people with disabilities returning to work or a program to help people with disabilities go back to work.	43	82/ 15	90/ 8	77/ 21	80/ 16
Announcing a proposal to expand the Child Care and Development Grant in order to provide Child Care for many of the 8.2 million children eligible for assistance not currently benefiting from this grant.	42	70/ 22	93/ 5	43/ 51	71/ 16
Announcing a proposal to provide a 1,000 dollar tax credit to people with long-term care needs or their care givers.	42	76/ 17	81/ 14	76/ 17	72/ 21
Announcing the falling welfare role and rising work participation rates resulting from the welfare-to-work programs.	41	78/ 13	87/ 1	78/ 19	73/ 19
Making adoption easier by developing an internet-based national registry of children in foster care waiting to be adopted.	40	75/ 20	90/ 10	68/ 27	71/ 24
Announcing plans to give more funds to hire new Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearm agents to investigate gun trafficking around the country.	37	68/ 28	84/ 12	35/ 55	76/ 23
Signing an executive order prohibiting discrimination in education programs conducted by the federal government	37	71/ 17	83/ 2	43/ 44	80/ 12
Designating 20 new Empowerment Zones which would give these distressed communities a mixture of tax incentives and grants to promote business development and job creation.	35	72/ 24	87/ 7	60/ 38	69/ 29
Announcing a series of new grants to support values-based crime prevention efforts, underscoring the role that civic, community and faith based organizations can plan in reducing crime.	34	73/ 19	79/ 15	69/ 27	73/ 20
Announcing a new program for welfare-to-work recipients to apply for 50,000 welfare-to-work housing vouchers.	33	59/ 34	77/ 17	47/ 47	52/ 43
Announcing that the FBI Crime Report Data shows that crime has decreased dramatically under the Clinton administration.	32	61/ 24	87/ 4	37/ 38	57/ 30
Announcing a new 87 million dollar budget proposal to crackdown on food safety nationally.	32	64/ 31	84/ 15	51/ 46	59/ 38

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

	Support/ Oppose	D	R	I
Original Support	61/28	50/38	66/21	68/22
This plan is based on projections that the federal government will run budget surplus for the foreseeable future. **Once there is no more budget surplus,** the contribution to the Supplemental accounts will create a budget deficit, and could require cuts in spending programs such as education and child care.	35/57	29/65	39/59	39/49
This Supplemental Social Security account plan is just a risky scheme that would **eventually end the Social Security programs as we know it**, as more and more of your social security benefit depends on the ups and downs of the stock market rather than the solid guarantee of the Social Security Trust fund.	36/55	33/59	32/61	40/50
The Supplemental Social Security accounts will be invested in the Stock Market, and **subject to the volatility of the stock market**. If the Stock Market falls, this will have done nothing to help support the Trust fund and ensure the long term solvency of Social Security.	35/57	38/54	32/60	37/56
This proposal **contains many loopholes that would help the wealthy**, such as allowing untaxed inheritance of these assets	35/56	25/68	43/45	39/54

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Family

If President Clinton urged schools to make more of an effort to include parents and encourage their involvement in their child's education, **84/9%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton.

84% more favorable (**42%** much + **42%** somewhat)
9% less favorable (**4%** much + **5%** somewhat)

D	R	I
96/0	*60/28*	*97/3*

If President Clinton announced a plan to solve the problem of the diminished amount of time parents have to spend with their children today, **67/25%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton.

67% more favorable (**37%** much + **30%** somewhat)
25% less favorable (**15%** much + **10%** somewhat)

D	R	I
77/18	*54/37*	*68/22*

Superbug

66% are aware of Americans becoming increasingly resistant to antibiotics.

Some people say that pneumonia is becoming resistant to most antibiotics and staph is now only responding to the strongest drug available and some people are even starting to show resistance to this drug. **83/17%** are concerned/not concerned about the increasing resistance to antibiotics as a public health crisis.

83% concerned (**56%** very + **27%** somewhat)
17% not concerned (**6%** not at all + **11%** not very)

D	R	I
84/16	*80/20*	*83/17*

If President Clinton announced an initiative to educate Americans about resistance to antibiotics and to prevent further public health problems, **71/18%** would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton.

71% more favorable (**35%** much + **36%** somewhat)
18% less favorable (**12%** much + **6%** somewhat)

D	R	I
88/4	*60/31*	*64/24*

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Presidential Message Schedule

Date	Event	Message
The Next Two Weeks...		
Wednesday November 4	***Social Security Meeting*** *Working Visit with PM Drnovsek of Slovenia*	
Thursday November 5	Medal of Arts and Humanities Ceremony	
Friday November 6	Airport Dedication Ceremony, Fayetteville AR Bill Signing	
Monday November 9	***NCAA Basketball Champions Event***	
Wednesday November 11	***Arlington Cemetery Veterans Day Event***	**Veterans**
Thursday November 12	***Treasures Event***	
Friday November 13	Tape Radio Address Foreign Travel through Sunday November 22	

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Strategy Session
Wednesday, February 17, 1999
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

Mood of the Country

	1/5	1/12	1/20	1/27	2/9	2/16
Country: right/wrong track	51/39	53/37	63/27	57/33	49/38	53/35
Economy: right/wrong track	78/17	79/16	83/12	81/16	78/16	79/18
Favorability						
Clinton	58/43	56/43	59/38	56/42	55/43	54/45
Gore	60/32	57/37	64/28	59/33	59/34	59/34
Clinton Job Approval	66/33	69/28	72/26	72/27	66/32	68/30
Strongly Approve	34	39	44	41	40	35
Gore Job Approval	65/29	69/23		64/29	64/28	65/28
Strongly Approve	24	23		22	21	23

Most Important Issue

— Education is the most important issue at 14%.
— Morality/family values is second at 12%.
— Economy/Jobs is third at 10%.

Congress

Approval—on a 2 point scale

	1/5	1/12	1/20	1/27	2/9	2/16
Congress	48/48	47/49	48/39	50/44	45/49	46/47
Congressional Republicans	40/55	40/54	38/53	41/54	40/54	39/56
Congressional Democrats	50/43	51/44	49/40	50/44	50/45	50/43

Horserace

	1/5	1/12	1/20	1/27	2/9	2/16
Democrat	44	46	44	43	43	42
Republican	35	33	33	35	34	35

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Who is doing the work of the country?

	Doing/Not Doing Work of	D	R	I
Republicans	43/52	22/73	69/28	47/47
Democrats	47/45	64/29	25/72	49/38
President Clinton	**57/42**	88/12	28/69	57/43

Newspaper Headlines

Trial: 12, Kosovo: 3, Mexico: 2

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
02/17	Wednesday	Washington Post	Jones Case Judge May Cite Clinton
02/16	Tuesday	New York Times	Clinton indicates support to Mexico on battling drugs
02/16	Tuesday	Washington Post	Clinton Enters a Renewal Phase; On Mexico Visit, Policy is Central
02/15	Monday	Washington Post	Public Blames Clinton, Gives Record Support
2/14	Sunday	New York Times	Clinton Proposes Force for Kosovo; Cites US Interest; Nearly 4,000 Americans; Commitment of Peacekeeping Troops Depends on Accord at the Talks in France
02/14	Sunday	New York Times	Road to Reconciliation Appears Long and Hard After Acquittal; Bipartisan Pledges Will Test Clinton and GOP
02/14	Sunday	Washington Post	Kosovo Action Needed Now, Clinton Says
02/13	Saturday	New York Times	Clinton Acquitted Decisively: No majority for either charge; President says he is sorry and seeks reconciliation
02/13	Saturday	New York Times	Censure is barred; but rebuke from both sides of the aisle dilutes presidents victory
02/13	Saturday	New York Times	A dispirited Hyde Opposes indicting Clinton
02/13	Saturday	New York Times	Clinton to Declare he will send G.I.'s if Kosovo get pact
02/12	Friday	Washington Post	Fork in Post-Trial Path: Revenge or Redemption; Aides Say Clinton 'Vents' but is Set on Issues
02/12	Friday	Washington Post	Indictment of President Appears More Unlikely
02/12	Friday	USA Today	Acquittal 'Assured'; Censure of Clinton is Unlikely
02/12	Friday	USA Today	After trial, can Clinton, Congress work Together?
02/11	Thursday	USA Today	Clinton picks up 3 GOP votes Both charges could fall short of 50%
02/11	Thursday	NY Times	Majority Verdict in doubt for conviction on perjury; Obstruction faltering too Plan to censure Clinton is virtually dead, Its supporters admit
02/11	Thursday	NY Times	Clinton vows strong drive to win majority, Advisors say

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Television Headlines

Trial: 19, Mexico: 3

Date	Station	Order	Headline
02/15	ABC	1	Clinton's in Mexico; Speculation over First Lady Senate Run Rises
02/15	CBS	2	Clinton Visits Mexico; First lady senate run is hot topic
02/15	NBC	2	Clinton in Mexico for drug smuggling talks
02/12	ABC	1	Clinton acquitted with most relieved its over
02/12	ABC	2	Clinton's resiliency amazes everyone
02/12	ABC	3	Ken Starr still has some work left; unlikely to indict Clinton
02/12	ABC	5	Clinton will focus on getting Gore elected
02/12	CBS	1	Clinton to remain in office as vote to remove him fails
02/12	CBS	2	Clinton's comments reacting to verdict
02/12	CBS	3	A look at white house atmosphere; Starr indictment unlikely
02/12	CBS	7	Clinton and congressional dems are more likely in sync than usual
02/12	NBC	1	Clinton acquitted, leaving weary senators happy its over
02/12	NBC	2	Contrite Clinton offers short, humble apology
02/12	NBC	3	Tripp says Lewinsky lied to protect president
02/12	NBC	3	Clinton scandal leaves many, including taxpayers, with big bills
02/11	ABC	8	Another GOP Senator, Snowe, won't vote to convict Clinton
02/11	ABC	9	Clinton said to be planning revenge against House Republicans
02/11	CBS	1	Majority for conviction at doubt as another GOPer defects
02/11	CBS	14	Clinton & advisors Carefully considering reaction to acquittal
02/11	NBC	1	Only question in trial is how many GOPers will vote to acquit
02/10	ABC	1	3 republican senators break ranks on impeachment
02/10	CBS	1	Several Republicans Break Ranks as Clinton Reprimand Fades
02/10	CBS	2	Clinton Advisors Planning very careful reaction to Clinton Acquittal
02/10	NBC	4	Three Republicans say they won't vote to convict Clinton

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In the news

There was little in the last week that appealed to independents – they typically are the most anti-Mexico voters, and that was the biggest news event of the last few days outside of the end of the trial.

Did you hear anything about...?	% aware	More/ Less Fav	D	R	I
President Clinton's visit to Mexico to discuss trade, immigration, and illegal drug trafficking with the Mexican President	74	56/ 30	86/ 10	33/ 35	43/ 46
President Clinton's decision to send 4,000 US troops into Kosovo as part of a NATO peacekeeping mission	58	42/ 36	60/ 20	28/ 38	31/ 52
President Clinton's plan to loan $4 billion to Mexico to boost trade and fight drug Trafficking	53	44/ 45	71/ 16	31/ 64	33/ 54
Clinton Administration announcing that students reading test scores are improving, reversing a downturn that occurred in the early 1990s	42	39/ 25	53/ 22	25/ 31	37/ 26
The Clinton Administration's pension reform package that would encourage small businesses to offer pension plans, and make it easier for workers to take pensions with them when they change jobs	39	**61**/ 18	91/ 0	55/ 15	45/ 31
President Clinton's plan to double volunteers in the Americorps National Service program from 40,000 today to 100,000 in 2002	22	38/ 20	65/ 7	18/ 36	28/ 21

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

President's agenda

First and foremost, people believe that the President has an agenda of big ideas for the country. Perhaps the first reaction of the press is to try to challenge us to not have a new set of "big" ideas or to suggest that we should return to wholesale reform of healthcare for example. This is just a typical press trap. The State of the Union provided an agenda that is as vigorous as that of any first term President in their first 100 days.

61% think that the President has an agenda of big ideas, **29%** do not.

D	R	I
71/19	55/38	58/30

31% think that if the President wins bills in Congress now it is because the Republicans have an agenda, **50%** because the Republicans are trying to recover from trying to impeach him.

D	R	I
21/68	42/28	34/47

The public has in mind no special "big idea" that they would like to see tackled outside of Social Security and educational improvements.

If you could add just one new important proposal to the President's agenda, what would it be?	All
Fix/secure Social security	8%
Education: Better education / Funding for education / Colleges	8%
Reduce taxes / Flat tax	5%
War / Iraq / Foreign Military Policy	4%
Economy/jobs: Keep the economy strong / Better jobs/paying jobs	4%
Foreign Trade	3%
Focus less on world, more on domestic issues	3%
US Military Issues	2%
Healthcare / Universal healthcare	2%
Fight crime/drugs	2%
Care for the elderly / Medicare	2%
Abortion / No partial birth abortions / Stronger abortion rules	2%
Surplus: Pay the national debt with the surplus	1%
Clean up his own act / Set a better example / Be honest	8%
Resign	8%

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

One of the first tasks it seems is to pass some piece of legislation that is identifiably Democratic and that shows that the President can be successful. All of these would be seen as a Democratic victory except for the Ed Flex bill, which would be seen as a muddying of the waters between the Democratic and Republican positions on education if passed now.

This suggests that getting **Kennedy/Jeffords** out of Congress and signing it would be a symbol of the strength of the President rather than a symbol of any sort of triangulation strategy, and this piece of legislation can be more easily separated from the tax and other issues that would surround the long-term care idea.

Here are some possible bills that could pass Congress. For each one, tell me if you support or oppose it and whether you would consider its passage a victory for the President or for the Republicans in Congress	Support	Oppose	President Clinton's Victory	Republicans Victory	President Clinton's Advantage
Long-term tax credit of $1000 for a family caring for an aged parent or relative	89	6	54	25	**29**
Kennedy Jeffords legislation to allow people coming off of disability to keep their healthcare coverage if they get a job	79	12	57	13	**44**
Chemical and Biological Weapons Treaty that would stop the production of Chemical and biological weapons	77	16	48	25	23
The Patients' Bill of Rights	72	8	43	23	20
Ed Flex bill that would allow states to spend federal aid as they want in their school system	70	25	43	35	8
Raising the Minimum Wage	75	21	N/A	N/A	N/A

Here are some possible bills that could pass Congress. For each one, tell me if you support or oppose it and whether you would consider its passage a victory for the President or for the Republicans in Congress	Support/ Oppose	President/ Republicans	Support/ Oppose			President/ Republicans		
			D	R	I	D	R	I
Long-term tax credit of $1000 for a family caring for an aged parent or relative	89/ 6	54/ 25	88/ 1	83/ 14	94/ 6	70/ 17	40/ 42	53/ 21
Kennedy Jeffords legislation to allow people coming off of disability to keep their healthcare coverage if they get a job	79/ 12	57/ 13	90/ 3	58/ 19	85/ 13	80/ 5	**47/ 18**	45/ 18
Chemical and Biological Weapons Treaty that would stop the production of Chemical and biological weapons	77/ 16	48/ 25	74/ 20	71/ 23	84/ 9	59/ 22	30/ 43	56/ 17
The Patients' Bill of Rights	72/ 8	43/ 23	85/ 4	65/ 16	69/ 6	67/ 13	26/ 37	37/ 22
Ed Flex bill that would allow states to spend federal aid as they want in their school system	70/ 25	43/ 35	77/ 19	77/ 21	60/ 33	76/ 9	14/ 71	36/ 35

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

GOALS

Perhaps the most frequently asked question is what will the President seek to do now and will he be successful at it if the Republicans block it.

This suggests several important findings:

1. The agenda we have articulated in the state of the union is a powerful one, and should not be cast aside for a new flavor.
2. We need to pursue other goals simultaneously that do not require the approval of a Republican Congress to succeed – and this again points to the essential goals of peacemaking and of weapons proliferation.
3. Waging more aggressive the battle against both tobacco and guns are also ways of creating efforts that go beyond just the boundaries of Congress.
4. If we were going to create any kind of endowment, it should be on the issue of medical research – there would be support for a bi-partisan proposal to create such a fund.

But fundamentally we have declared that this should be a moment of reconciliation and renewal, and this means taking the kinds of actions that reflect this moment.

Taking a bi-partisan trip that would include both Jesse Jackson and some Republicans (more than just Kemp) to the rural and urban areas of the country would certainly represent an attempt at both reconciliation and of renewal. It is important that this be done in a DLC kind of way – with the emphasis on empowerment or this would instead be seen as exactly the opposite.

We need to show progress on the tobacco front – as the announcement of the suit was one of the most important elements of the state of the union.

We have made a deliberate attempt now to clear the schedule of the issues that were "too small." But if we substitute the small issues for the same speech over and over on the big issues that no one will hear we will find ourselves off the page and out of the news cycle. Seat belts and air bags do matter to most people.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

There is also emerging a set of issues unique to the new century -- they are so new that the government is for the first time making policy on them. These are the new issues of the 21st Century, and policy initiatives in these areas serve as one of the ways in which we prepare America for the 21st Century. Each of these is far smaller than the big issues of trade and training or financing Social Security, but they can serve to fill the void between the larger initiatives that take time and the desire not to get involved in issues that are too small. Together, they represent an approach to new realities that people now deal with in this new age. Such issues include:

- **Medical record Privacy in the on-line age**
- **Voluntary cooperation for greater adoption of Internet ratings and screening**
- **Making the anti-trust laws relevant in the new global economy**
- **Consumer protection in the new financial world**
- **Declining voter participation in the Information age**
- **Curbing the hazards of bioengineering in food and in research**
- **The digital divide between not just rich and poor but men and women**

Here are some proposals that the president could make. For each one, tell me whether you think it is a major or minor initiative and whether you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this initiative.	Major Initiative	Minor Initiative	Support	Oppose
Launching a major initiative to reduce the proliferation of nuclear weapons and of chemical and biological weapons in the world today	86	12	82	15
Sticking to his current initiatives of Securing Social Security, Medicare expanding educational opportunities	84	12	84	15
Creating a series of goals for our children—improving their healthcare, their early schooling, and lifting more of them out of poverty	82	15	90	9
Putting aside $10 billion in an endowment that would be used to fund medical research to help cure the most dreaded diseases	75	22	86	12
Concentrating on disarming criminals through a vigorous all out campaign to stop guns from falling into the hands of criminals and devoting extraordinary resources against criminals who use guns	70	25	78	18
Using all available means including a possible suit to force the tobacco companies to stop marketing to kids and reimburse the federal government for the costs of treating tobacco related illnesses. The funds recovered could strengthen Medicare and possibly pay for prescription drugs as part of the program	63	33	67	31
Creating an Education Technology Corporation that would use government fees on things like microwave towers to finance up to $25 billion in immediate investment to bring a 21st Century education to our schools	56	35	57	35

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Mounting a campaign to create an new American Private Investment Corporation that would bring private sector capital to spur jobs in urban and rural areas of the country that are still economically distressed	55	41	**71**	27
Putting aside $10 billion in an endowment that would be used to purchase important pieces of land that would be held for the public trust rather than developed	35	59	55	40

Here are some proposals that the president could make. For each one, tell me whether you think it is a major or minor initiative and whether you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this initiative.	**Major/ Minor**	**Strongly Support**	**Support/ Oppose**	**Major/Minor**			**Support/ Oppose**		
				D	**R**	**I**	**D**	**R**	**I**
Creating a series of goals for our children—improving their healthcare, their early schooling, and lifting more of them out of poverty	82/ 15	76	90/ 9	**89/ 11**	67/ 22	86/ 14	97/ 3	79/ 17	91/ 8
Sticking to his current initiatives of Securing Social Security, Medicare expanding educational opportunities	84/ 12	70	84/ 15	94/ 6	76/ 12	81/ 17	94/ 3	74/ 24	81/ 19
Launching a major initiative to reduce the proliferation of nuclear weapons and of chemical and biological weapons in the world today	86/ 12	68	82/ 15	**94/ 6**	80/ 11	87/ 12	88/ 13	72/ 19	86/ 14
Putting aside $10 billion in an endowment that would be used to fund medical research to help cure the most dreaded diseases	75/ 22	62	86/ 12	85/ 12	58/ 35	78/ 21	97/ 1	70/ 23	86/ 14
Concentrating on disarming criminals through a vigorous all out campaign to stop guns from falling into the hands of criminals and devoting extraordinary resources against criminals who use guns	70/ 25	59	78/ 18	**77/ 18**	66/ 27	68/ 30	88/ 6	71/ 25	75/ 23
Using all available means including a possible suit to force the tobacco companies to stop marketing to kids and reimburse the federal government for the costs of treating tobacco related illnesses. The funds recovered could strengthen Medicare and possibly pay for prescription drugs as part of the program	63/ 33	46	67/ 31	**71/ 29**	59/ 32	59/ 39	76/ 24	61/ 37	63/ 35
Mounting a campaign to create an new American Private Investment Corporation that would bring private sector capital to spur jobs in urban and rural areas of the country that are still economically distressed	55/ 41	40	71/ 27	**62/ 37**	47/ 42	56/ 42	85/ 16	64/ 30	65/ 34
Creating an Education Technology Corporation that would use government fees on things like microwave towers to finance up to $25 billion in immediate investment to bring a 21st Century education to our schools	56/ 35	35	57/ 35	61/ 28	47/ 43	62/ 35	68/ 23	41/ 52	62/ 33
Putting aside $10 billion in an endowment that would be used to purchase important pieces of land that would be held for the public trust rather than developed	35/ 59	33	55/ 40	39/ 55	27/ 59	37/ 61	64/ 30	39/ 54	56/ 42

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The Message

The Trent Lott Message in the banner he displayed has no absolutely no relevance. It is simply overwhelmed by our banner.

21% think that "Listening to America...Tax Cuts for Everyone" is more in line with what they believe, **75% said** "Preparing America for the 21st Century, Saving Social Security and Medicare".

	D	R	I	
	7/91	38/61	21/72	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
9/91	21/71	24/69	24/76	26/74

Here is a paragraph that can represent our basic positioning.	Much more favorable	More/ Less Fav	D	R	I
(This is a time of reconciliation and renewal.) It is a time of great promise. Our future is riding on preparing our country for the 21st Century. We must be global leaders in technology, and in the new economy. We must modernize our schools, take advantage of the revolution in biotechnology that will keep us living longer and we must prepare for our aging population by securing Social Security and Medicare	44	77/ 17	94/ 6	51/ 38	82/ 10

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The Politics of Income: 1994-1998 -- Reprise

Just another reminder as we enter the tax debate. Class warfare language is not productive. 45% believe that they are the "wealthy" that the Democrats talk about. The income curve is moving rapidly among voters, and so this lesson is doubly important unless we want to fall back to the 1994 vote level.

We made a strategic decision that just going after downscale voters with economic populism would not work – those voters were now driven by values concerns and the right appeal to them was on values issues. At the same time the growing upper middle class is socially much more liberal, but concerned about class warfare economic that would see them more squeezed than successful. They saw the Democratic Party as leaving them behind not on social issues but on tax and spend policies. Thus, there is a broad and fundamental reason not to slip into class warfare language – and the reason keeps getting demographically bigger.

% of Total Vote			1994 Democratic Advantage	1998 Democratic Advantage	Change in Democratic Advantage
1994	1998				
10	8	Less $15K	+24	+18	-6
22	18	$15-$30K	+2	+9	+7
29	26	$30-$50K	-10	-2	+8
22	25	$50-$75K	-16	-8	+8
9	12	$75-$100K	-24	-6	+18
7	12	Over $100K	-28	-10	+18

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Tax Cuts

Most people do not believe that we have any kind of tax cut at all, targeted or otherwise.

57% think we should have a tax cut now, **37%** do not.

	D	R	I	
	51/47	74/23	53/40	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
39/56	71/18	53/42	68/32	53/39

Who has a Tax Cut Proposal?

	Have proposed tax cut	Have not proposed tax cut
President Clinton	34	45
Democrats in Congress	30	43
Republicans in Congress	47	26

34/45% think that President Clinton has/has not proposed a tax cut.

	D	R	I	
	47/35	29/61	27/45	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
29/37	53/35	32/47	**20/51**	29/62

30/43% think that the Democrats in Congress have/have not proposed a tax cut.

	D	R	I	
	29/39	30/55	31/41	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
19/47	27/32	29/56	37/43	49/40

47/26% think that the Republicans in Congress have/have not proposed a tax cut.

	D	R	I	
	41/31	61/12	43/33	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
23/29	44/24	54/26	41/34	71/15

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Using the Surplus

73/22% favor/oppose President Clinton's proposal to use 62% of the surplus to secure Social Security.

	D	R	I	
	90/8	58/38	72/23	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
69/25	78/20	69/28	84/11	71/29

76/20% favor/oppose President Clinton's proposal to use 15% of the surplus to help shore up Medicare—a move that would extend it a decade.

	D	R	I	
	91/7	64/33	74/22	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
82/14	80/15	73/24	78/18	68/32

Tax Cut Trade-offs

Respondents continue to overwhelmingly support priorities other than tax cuts, including saving Medicare, reducing the public debt, and school modernization. Republican support for a tax cut over any of these initiatives will make respondents less likely to vote for a Republican.

Medicare vs. Tax Cuts

The Republicans oppose using the surplus to help save Medicare, and would use that money for a tax cut instead, **75%** think that it should be used to save Medicare for 10 years, **18%** for a tax cut.

	D	R	I	
	90/8	60/35	74/16	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
88/12	69/17	75/19	76/20	68/32

If a Republican favored using the surplus for a tax cut over Medicare, **27/59%** would be more/less likely to vote for him.

	D	R	I	
	13/81	44/39	26/57	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
22/76	24/58	38/51	26/71	38/40

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Reducing the Debt vs. Tax Cuts

68% think reducing the public debt is a higher priority now, **28%** having a tax cut.

	D	R	I	
	79/17	50/45	71/26	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
72/18	69/29	69/30	76/24	51/49

If a Republican favored a tax cut over reducing the public debt, **33/59%** would be more/less likely to vote for him.

	D	R	I	
	15/82	56/36	34/55	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
21/69	29/63	45/52	36/59	49/31

Education vs. Tax Cuts

73% think is funding expanded educational programs such as school modernization is a higher priority now, **21%** having a tax cut.

	D	R	I	
	89/7	56/34	71/23	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
77/12	71/18	76/22	68/32	66/34

If a Republican favored a tax cut over expanded funding for school modernization **33/59%** would be more/less likely to vote for him.

	D	R	I	
	30/69	44/42	27/64	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
29/65	27/56	36/61	36/62	45/35

Riskiness of cuts

The 10% across the board proposal can be positioned as fiscally irresponsible – just as we did with the 30% cuts last year. A 5% cut on the other hand is seen as much more innocuous.

41% think that a tax cut of 10% now is too risky and might cause deficits to reappear, **42%** think that is not the case.

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	D	R	I	
	48/35	32/57	42/36	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
51/15	38/45	45/45	**39/49**	25/49

27% think that a tax cut of 5% now is too risky and might cause deficits to reappear, **58%** think that is not the case.

	D	R	I	
	29/57	30/62	22/56	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
29/37	23/58	28/66	31/56	7/64

Tax Cuts and Retirement Savings

Are USA accounts a Tax Cut?

Retirement accounts alone are not seen as a tax cut – but when grouped with the other tax credits in our budget USAs qualify as a tax cut to a majority across all income groups.

Given that President Clinton has proposed setting up retirement accounts that would give people up to $500 a year, depending upon their need, in help towards their retirement and allow people to save more tax free and invest this money, **43/41%** do/do not think that these Universal Savings Accounts qualify as a tax cut.

	D	R	I	
	50/38	30/52	45/39	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
35/28	52/33	44/49	47/51	38/39

Given that President Clinton has proposed setting up the Universal Savings Accounts, a $1000 tax credit for people who take care of their aging parents or relatives, a $250 tax credit for child care, and other tax relief for communities trying to modernize their schools or clean up the environment, **57/35%** do/do not think that these Universal Savings Accounts qualify as a tax cut.

	D	R	I	
	64/32	46/51	61/28	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
50/37	58/26	59/37	51/47	52/48

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The message of targeted tax cuts alone is stronger overall than any combination of cuts, - driven by Democrats and under 35K earners. The critical group of 35-60K earners in fact prefer a 5% across the board cut with the targeted tax cuts to the targeted tax cuts alone.

56% prefer the targeted tax cuts for retirement, long-term care, child care, education and the environment, **39%** prefer a 10% across the board income tax cut.

	D	R	I	
	81/13	27/67	51/43	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
66/23	60/29	56/41	56/44	27/73

Suppose the President added a 5% across the board tax cut to his targeted tax cut proposals, **53%** would prefer the targeted tax cuts for retirement, long-term care and the other areas along with a 5% cut in income taxes, and **40%** would prefer a 10% across the board income tax cut.

	D	R	I	
	75/18	26/69	51/43	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
73/23	40/54	**60/35**	61/39	32/**68**

Suppose the President added tax cuts for interest and dividends to encourage savings to his targeted tax cut proposals, **53%** would prefer the targeted tax cuts for retirement, long-term care and tax cuts for interest and dividends to encourage savings, and **40%** would prefer a 10% across the board income tax cut.

	D	R	I	
	73/22	35/60	48/41	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
77/19	52/38	50/42	54/46	27/73

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But Nancy Johnson's package of targeted tax cuts is much better crafted than the Lott 10% proposal. The marriage penalty issue is not really a winning one – the other two tax targeted tax cuts she has though are quite popular.

36% favor targeted tax cuts for retirement savings, for long-term care, and child care, and **47%** favor a targeted tax cut reducing the marriage penalty, making health insurance tax deductible for those who purchase it and raising the earnings limit on Social Security.

	D	R	I	
	40/42	37/48	32/51	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
36/42	20/63	40/45	44/53	45/33

Americans favor targeted tax cuts that will help them not only with reducing taxes on retirement savings and interest, but also with reducing income taxes.

58% see a reduction in income taxes as more important to them, **39%** a reduction in taxes on savings and interest.

	D	R	I	
	56/41	60/38	56/40	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
53/43	41/58	72/28	64/36	73/27

59/30% favor/oppose exempting the first $500 of interest and dividends from taxation, eliminating the taxes on the first $5000 of capital gains and raising the income threshold for the 15 and 28% brackets.

	D	R	I	
	61/30	67/24	53/34	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
44/41	67/23	72/23	60/39	58/30

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Including language on cuts for education and the environment pushes our plan to the top – while most Republicans choose an across the board cut.

Which one do you favor most	Most	Most + 2nd Most	Most							
			D	R	I	<20K	20-35	35-60	60-100	100+
Targeted tax cuts for long-term care, retirement savings, child care, education and the environment	35	**56**	50	22	29	30	40	40	42	22
10% across the board tax cut	26	**42**	14	39	30	7	26	34	28	67
Targeted tax cuts aimed at the marriage penalty, Social Security Earnings and healthcare	17	**43**	14	18	17	24	12	11	18	5
Targeted tax cuts aimed at increasing savings by eliminating taxes on the first interest, dividends and capital gains that people earn	13	**44**	11	19	11	16	17	10	13	7

But right now, the Democrats have an edge over the Republicans with our plan:

49% would vote for a Democrat who favored saving Social Security and Medicare with the surplus and favored targeted tax cuts **42%** for a Republican who favored saving Social Security with the surplus and an 10% across the board income tax cut.

D	R	I		
81/12	*16/80*	*44/41*		
<$20K	***$20-35K***	***$35-60K***	*$60-100K*	*$100+K*
69/26	*49/49*	*52/44*	*42/51*	*14/73*

Debt

Emphasizing that paying down the debt will also enable us to secure Social Security combines two very powerful goals in themselves to meet a broader goal of fiscal austerity.

31% think we have a budget deficit this year, **39%** a budget surplus, **21%** think the budget is balanced.

46% think the national debt is increasing, **26%** decreasing, **24%** staying the same.

D	R	I
37/35/23	*49/18/30*	*50/25/21*

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Which is the best reason to use the surplus to pay down the debt?	Best	Best + 2nd Best	Best							
			D	R	I	<20 K	20-35	35-60	60-100	100 +
To help us meet our obligation to secure Social Security for the next generation	50	**70**	68	42	40	55	49	59	51	7
To expand the economy by Increasing savings, Lowering interest rates and spurring investment	21	**54**	14	23	29	18	27	14	25	38
To reduce the amount we pay in interest significantly	21	**62**	15	23	25	16	21	22	22	40

Medicare

In the Medicare debate, as with Social Security, two dynamics hold true: 1) there is a wariness towards any major structural changes among the older generations, while support for change among younger voters and 2) using the surplus is seen as the best alternative.

The inclusion of prescription drug coverage in any reform plan increases support by 20%.

83/17% are concerned/not concerned about the future of Medicare for your future healthcare.

83% concerned (**60%** very + **23%** somewhat)
17% not concerned (**5%** not at all + **12%** not very)

	D	*R*	*I*	
	83/17	*73/27*	*88/11*	
<$20K	*$20-35K*	*$35-60K*	*$60-100K*	*$100+K*
92/8	*81/19*	*87/12*	*74/26*	*65/35*
18-24	*25-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
70/29	*83/17*	*88/12*	*86/13*	*76/23*

51/42% support/oppose a plan for reforming the structure of Medicare currently being proposed under which the government would no longer directly pay the medical bills of Medicare patients. Instead, Medicare would provide a financial contribution that would enable beneficiaries to choose among competing health plans.

51% support (**19%** strongly + **32%** somewhat)
42% oppose (**25%** strongly + **17%** somewhat)

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	D	R	I	
	53/39	57/40	47/47	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
90/9	55/39	56/40	**45/51**	**31/56**

Given that some people say this plan would increase competition and reduce the costs of healthcare, and other people say this plan would shift healthcare costs to low and moderate income retirees, **47/44%** support/oppose this plan.

47% support (**17%** strongly + **30%** somewhat)
44% oppose (**22%** strongly + **22%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	46/43	46/44	51/43	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
89/11	57/37	47/46	**41/47**	**26/57**

74/21% support/oppose the plan if it also included prescription drug coverage.

74% support (**38%** strongly + **36%** somewhat)
21% oppose (**9%** strongly + **12%** somewhat)

	D	R	I		
	76/19	62/25	78/22		
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K	
94/1	82/18	73/26	62/28	88/7	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+	
99/0	89/9	70/26	68/24	62/28	

14% think Medicare should cover prescription drugs for only low-income beneficiaries, **24%** for low-income and middle-income beneficiaries, **57%** for all beneficiaries.

	D	R	I	
	11/22/64	16/16/55	12/32/53	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
23/23/48	9/35/53	15/19/63	8/28/58	19/16/55

Given that some people say having Medicare cover the cost of prescription drugs for all retirees is too expensive, and under the plan, low-income beneficiaries would receive prescription drug coverage, while upper income beneficiaries would pay for drug coverage themselves, as they do today, **66/29%** support/oppose the plan

66% support (**31%** strongly + **35%** somewhat)
29% oppose (**15%** strongly + **14%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	64/32	57/33	72/25	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
85/15	57/43	80/20	58/37	61/26

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Given that some people say that a guarantee of drug coverage – even to only low and moderate income retirees - would increase Medicare's costs by 10 to 20 percent annually and only worsen Medicare's long-term financial problems, **56/35%** support/oppose the plan

56% support (**23%** strongly + **33%** somewhat)
35% oppose (**12%** strongly + **23%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	60/31	47/38	60/35	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
43/48	61/37	59/33	60/31	85/11
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
60/39	61/32	59/36	59/37	43/30

Using the Surplus

82/15% support/oppose President Clinton's proposal putting aside 15 percent of the budget surpluses over the next 15 years for the Medicare program.

82% support (**48%** strongly + **34%** somewhat)
15% oppose (**10%** strongly + **5%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	96/3	72/22	78/20	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
88/9	84/12	87/10	80/21	85/10
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
89/11	74/21	87/13	83/15	81/13

37% prefer having Medicare help patients purchase insurance plans to pay for medical bills, and **53%** prefer using the surplus to secure the solvency of Medicare.

	D	R	I	
	32/57	39/50	41/50	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
34/52	41/52	26/66	50/39	36/59
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
62/38	34/57	41/56	35/56	22/56

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Health insurance tax cut

82/11% support/oppose a proposal for a targeted tax cut that would allow people who purchase individual health insurance to get a tax deduction for its cost in the same way employers get a deduction

82% support (**48%** strongly + **34%** somewhat)
11% oppose (**6%** strongly + **5%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	87/8	77/12	84/11	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
80/6	95/5	79/14	95/6	88/7

31% think it is more important to spend money getting the uninsured health insurance, **60%** to make health insurance less expensive for those who pay for it.

	D	R	I	
	28/64	35/58	29/60	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
19/76	42/58	35/60	27/60	10/70

47% think this would help those who are not covered by health insurance, **31%** only those who currently pay for health insurance.

	D	R	I	
	45/32	44/30	52/29	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
57/22	53/37	34/44	48/24	40/25

34% think that if health care were tax deductible, more employers would refuse to pay for it, and **51%** think that such a tax break would not affect whether employers would pay for health insurance.

	D	R	I	
	32/55	31/57	39/44	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
46/41	43/46	34/51	34/57	40/47

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Upcoming Schedule

Date	Event	
Thursday February 18	***Long Term Care Event, Dover, NH***	**Long Term Care**
Friday February 19	*Official working visit of President Chirac of France* NAACP Anniversary Event	
Saturday February 20	Live Radio Address	
Sunday February 21	Address IA, UAW, USWA Unification Legislative conference	
Monday February 22	National Governors' Association Meeting Democratic Governors' Association Dinner	
Tuesday February 23	***Children's Health Event***	**Healthcare**
Wednesday February 24	*State Visit for President Rawlings of Ghana*	
Thursday February 25	***Social Security/Medicare Event, Arizona***	
Friday February 26	***Foreign Policy Speech, San Francisco*** Tape Radio Address	
Saturday February 27	***Child Safety Event, Los Angeles***	
Wednesday March 3	***Unity Message Event, DC (T)***	

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Strategy Session
Monday, March 15, 1999
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

Topics:

1. Review Tracking Numbers
2. Media Coverage
3. Strategy: Threading the needle, This Week
4. Medicare/Social Security Lock Box
5. USA Accounts
6. Education: Ed Flex, Special Ed
7. Other issues: Tobacco settlement, Comparable worth, Food safety
8. Review the President's Schedule

Mood of the Country

Job Approval has stabilized at 68% (also confirmed by recent Gallup poll), following the post-SOTU high of 72%.

	1/20	1/27	2/9	2/16	3/3	3/14
Country: right/wrong track	63/27	57/33	49/38	53/35	46/38	53/38
Economy: right/wrong track	83/12	81/16	78/16	79/18	73/19	75/20
Favorability						
Clinton	59/38	56/42	55/43	54/45	55/44	55/44
Gore	64/28	59/33	59/34	59/34	59/35	57/36
Clinton Job Approval	72/26	72/27	66/32	68/30	68/29	68/31
Strongly Approve	44	41	40	35	36	36
Gore Job Approval		64/29	64/28	65/28	64/28	63/29
Strongly Approve		22	21	23	26	21

Most Important Issue

We have to get our issues back in the news. Mention of Social Security down from 7% last week.

Morality/Family Values – 16%
Economy/Jobs – 11%
Education – 10%
Social Security – 4%

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Congress
Approval—on a 2 point scale

	1/20	1/27	2/9	2/16	3/3	3/14
Congress	48/39	50/44	45/49	46/47	42/53	47/49
Congressional Republicans	38/53	41/54	40/54	39/56	36/60	41/55
Congressional Democrats	49/40	50/44	50/45	50/43	48/46	53/43

Horserace

	1/20	1/27	2/9	2/16	3/3	3/14
Democrat	44	43	43	42	45	43
Republican	33	35	34	35	33	37

Foreign Policy Job Approval 65/34
Strongly Approve 28

A poll conducted by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations ranks President Clinton first on foreign policy success among postwar US presidents

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Newspaper Headlines

Kosovo: 2, China: 2, Lewinsky: 1, Surpluses: 1, Ed-Flex: 1, Guatemala: 1

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
3/11	Thursday	Washington Post	Clinton Regrets Support For Guatemala; US Backed Forces of Former Regime In 36-Year War
3/12	Friday	USA Today	GOP backs Clinton on Kosovo
3/12	Friday	New York Times	Both Houses Back Easing of Strings On Aid to Schools; But Clinton Idea Falters; Republicans Take Step Toward Forging Their Own Agenda in Field of Education
3/12	Friday	New York Times	In Vote Clinton Sought to Avoid, House Backs a Force for Kosovo
3/12	Friday	New York Times	President Denies Ignoring Evidence of Nuclear Spying; China Policy Defended; US's Interests Best Served With Engagement, He Says, As Inquiry is Pursued
3/15	Monday	New York Times	Clinton Wants to Strengthen US Whistle Blower Shield
3/5	Friday	Washington Post	Hill GOP Outlines Plans for Surpluses; Tax Cut Would Exceed Proposal by Clinton
3/6	Saturday	Washington Post	President Wishes Lewinsky Success; Clinton Hopes She Has 'a Good Life'

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Television Headlines

Central America: 3, Lewinsky: 2, China: 1

Date	Station	Order	Headline
3/11	NBC	3	Clinton Defends Administration's Handling Of China Spying
3/5	CBS	3	Clinton Faces Tough Qs On Gondola Pilot's Acquittal, Lewinsky
3/5	CBS	5	Gay Man Brutally Murdered; Clinton Will Seek Fedl Hate Crime Law
3/9	ABC	11	Clinton Visits Honduras, Tours Bridge Rebuilt By US Marines
3/9	CBS	3	Clinton Visits Honduras, Highlights US Military's Rebuilding Role
3/9	NBC	6	Clinton Thanks US Troops In Honduras
3/9	NBC	7	Lewinsky's Family Says Scandal Painful, Angry At President

In the news

President Clinton's trip to Central America was well publicized, as over ¾ were aware of the trip and the pledge of emergency aid to Nicaragua. Announcements on education policy continue to raise favorability the most.

Did you hear anything about...	% aware	More/ Less Fav	D	R	I
President Clinton's visit to Nicaragua in which he pledged $120 million dollars in aid to help in the aftermath of Hurricane Mitch	77	55/31	78/12	37/45	48/35
Congress voting to support President Clinton's plan to deploy US ground troops in Kosovo	54	40/36	61/15	17/52	35/44
President Clinton's Radio Address in which he called on Senators to add a provision to the Ed-Flex bill to fund 100,000 new teachers	43	56/22	77/6	34/38	51/24
President Clinton's apology to Guatemala for the US role in Guatemala's Civil War in the 1960s	34	40/28	59/14	18/41	37/32
President Clinton's radio address in which he called to fight racial profiling and proposed ways to restore trust between the public and law enforcement	24	50/21	64/10	31/36	52/18

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Threading the Needle

1. **We are in a stable position, and so are Democrats**
2. **We are seen as having the right proposals.**
3. **Voters see the President as working to get things done, and not the Republicans.**
4. **The press may be trying to write the lame duck story, but the people are a long way from that and their opinion of the Presidency has stabilized.**

Even a Republican poll (Market Strategies 2/26-28) **shows this:**

> In general, which party, the Republicans or the Democrats, are more likely to put getting things done ahead of partisan politics.
>
> **29%** say Republicans, **41%** Democrats.

The Republican majority in Congress is clearly on the hook for getting things done in Congress this year – 44% will blame the Republicans if nothing gets done, only 22% the Democrats. If Democrats are able to get Democratic initiatives - such as education, Social Security and helping the disabled - they will receive credit by a 2:1 margin.

We are threading a very careful needle here – the best scenario for the Democrats is if the President appears to be reaching out to the Republicans but the Republicans turn down the offer. This produces the greatest pressure for a Democratic Congress.

The next two best scenarios show progress on our issues, with credit going to the Democrats.

22% would blame the Democrats if nothing gets done in Congress this year, **44%** the Republicans.

D	R	I
6/73	*41/25*	*22/34*

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The current margin is 6 points in favor of the Democrats, which would be within one or two points either way when only the most likely voters are counted. So as we look at these scenarios they have to be discounted by about 6 points.

Would you vote for a Democrat or a Republican for Congress in the next election if...	Dem/ Rep	Dem Margin	D	R	I
If the President reached out and tried to get legislation done but the Republicans did not do anything	56/25	31	93/6	16/55	55/23
If the President accused the Republicans of partisanship and nothing got done in Congress	49/32	17	88/6	11/69	44/30
If funding for education, helping the disabled and using the surplus for Social Security are passed in Congress this year	48/32	16	85/5	8/75	45/28
If nothing gets done in Congress this year	47/33	14	86/5	6/74	40/29
if the President called on the Republicans to get some things done in Congress and they responded in a bipartisan way and get things done	46/36	10	84/10	7/76	44/32

Presidential Role

34% think the President has been attacking the Republicans for partisanship, **54%** reaching out to them to try to get legislation done.

D	*R*	*I*
17/73	*54/33*	*36/50*

The other aspect that works to Democrats' advantage is the overall Republican message of absent government is not where voters are today: Again, a Republican poll reveals the crux of Republican's difficulties:

32% think it is more important for the federal government to cut taxes and spending, **58%** for the federal government to provide more assistance such as health care and aid to education. (Market Strategies, 2/26-28)

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This week

In the week or so ahead, we have the following key points:

1. Need to respond to developments in Medicare.

Breaux Plan problems – if he gets one passed:

a) raising the eligibility age (70% oppose this)
b) weak or no prescription drug proposal
c) no use of the surplus for Medicare
d) an income-related premium that is still too low
e) a flawed premium support proposal

2. Need to outline a Medicare plan if Breaux fails – this would make major news if we just add some elements to our current plan beyond the 15% from the Surplus.
3. Support the surplus to Medicare plan along with the Democrats (Though the idea is to use it, not squander it on tax schemes rather than keep pitting us against tax cuts)
4. Hold a press conference. We need to re-establish normal press relations and this is the right time to hold such a conference to get their questions over with and move on. For example, our most successful budget strategy has always been to make small announcements in the briefing room and then the Republicans respond setting up real news of the day – we can't resume this until we get through a successful domestic press conference.
5. Announce a domestic proposal – the Consumer Bill of Rights, with its protections for today's financial transactions makes sense. Should include something on protections for internet trading along with the rest. Can't have a financial wild west as new kinds of transactions are developed.
6. Announce USA account details either late next week (Thursday or during the recess). Does not make sense to do it while Democrats are trying to do a Medicare message this week.

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Medicare is the fulcrum

Americans continue to value saving Social Security and Medicare over any kind of a tax cut. The message that BOTH Social Security and Medicare are in trouble is powerful – 60% are aware that Medicare will go bankrupt in less than 10 years, and 86% believe it is equally important to save Social Security and Medicare.

A Fox News poll released today (generally GOP-tilted) confirms the importance of Social Security and Medicare over tax cuts. As Republicans have become more inclined to take polls into consideration, they may find a way to fight the accusation that they are abandoning Medicare.

> Given that President Clinton wants to set aside 12 percent of the budget surplus to fund Medicare, and the Republicans want to use the money for tax cuts instead, **65%** prefer, funding Medicare, **25%** tax cuts. (Fox News 3/10-11)

While most (2/3) are not aware of the Republican lockbox proposal, when described with pro-arguments, the plan reaches a level as high as 78% support. The metaphor of "protecting" Social Security using a lockbox is a powerful one, although certain reasoning can knock support down substantially. Democratic arguments that the Republican plan is a sham, will not extend the life of Social Security, will not save Medicare, and will force cuts in education, health, and the environment, reduce support for the Republican plan by 28%.

Democratic adoption of the lockbox concept would garner similar - but not greater - support. 3 in 4 support a Democratic plan to set aside as much money as Republicans do for Social Security but also extend Social Security until 2050 and put $700 billion dollars towards Medicare to extend Medicare until 2020.

The critical element is what we put in our lockbox, and putting Medicare in the lockbox is what Americans want. They see the programs as part of a package of meeting the needs of seniors (i.e. what good is Social Security if you have to use it to pay for you medical care?)

34% think Republicans in Congress have a plan to save Social Security, **53%** not. **(33%/48% Feb. 9, 1999)**

	D	R	I	
	23/66	56/26	28/60	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
39/61	26/64	32/52	31/57	45/41

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56% think President Clinton has a plan to save Social Security, **34%** do not. (This is down, however, from a month ago :**69%/18% Feb. 9, 1999)**

	D	R	I	
	77/13	50/40	45/46	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
67/33	42/50	60/32	58/33	50/26

35% think Republicans in Congress have a plan to save Medicare, **55%** do not

	D	R	I	
	29/65	52/32	28/62	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
30/61	28/60	30/61	43/51	42/42

56% think President Clinton has a plan to save Medicare, **37%** do not

	D	R	I	
	83/12	39/46	44/52	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
69/31	46/50	59/33	59/36	52/39

10% think it is more important to secure Social Security for the future, **2%** more important to secure Medicare for the future, and **86%** think is it equally important to secure Social Security and Medicare.

	D	R	I	
	7/2/91	17/3/79	7/2/88	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
15/0/85	9/5/81	11/4/85	13/0/87	5/0/95

60% are aware that Medicare is scheduled to go bankrupt in the year 2008- only nine years from now, **38%** are not.

	D	R	I	
	52/48	68/29	64/35	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
49/51	59/41	51/46	74/26	68/30

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This is the critical question that makes Medicare so useful:
70% would rather use the surplus to save Social Security and Medicare, and **25%** would rather use it to save Social Security and have a tax cut.

	D	R	I	
	89/11	69/28	54/37	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
78/0	61/25	74/25	71/29	63/29

80% would rather use the surplus to save Social Security and Medicare and have targeted tax cuts, **11%** would rather use it to save Social Security and have a large tax cut but do nothing for Medicare

	D	R	I	
	93/5	75/18	72/13	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
95/0	89/7	75/17	95/5	56/19

29% have heard anything about proposals to take Social Security "off budget" so that Social Security taxes off-budget so that they are not calculated as part of the general federal budget and putting the funds in a lock box, **67%** have not.

	D	R	I	
	31/64	30/68	29/69	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
17/83	21/77	19/78	44/53	45/52

No one as yet really knows the Republican plan:

49%/29% support/oppose putting Social Security funds in a lock box off budget.
49% support (**31%** strongly, **18%** somewhat)
29% oppose (**13%** strongly, **16%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	49/18	51/34	49/33	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
62/38	45/32	54/29	45/16	42/40

But it could be very powerful for them:

72%/17% support/oppose the Republican plan of taking Social Security off budget and putting it in a "lock box" so they cannot be used for anything except Social Security payments or as part of Social Security reform.
72% support (**63%** strongly, **24%** somewhat)

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17% oppose (**9%** strongly, **8%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	63/24	78/12	79/13	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
89/11	66/23	75/14	63/32	83/9

Given that Republicans say their proposal to put Social Security Funds in a lock box is the best way to ensure that Social Security taxes are used for no other purpose than Social Security or debt reduction and will prevent the President and Democrats from using Social Security money for government spending, **78%/12%** support/oppose the Republican plan.

78% support (**52%** strongly, **26%** somewhat)
12% oppose (**8%** strongly, **4%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	64/22	89/2	84/9	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
98/3	79/11	78/13	68/22	86/3

Given that Democrats say the Republican proposal is a sham - it will not extend the life of Social Security a single day, and because all of the other surpluses are committed to tax cuts there wouldn't be any money for Medicare and it would probably force deep cuts in education, health and environment, **50%/37%** support/oppose the Republican plan.

50% support (**26%** strongly, **24%** somewhat)
37% oppose (**20%** strongly, **17%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	32/54	54/31	64/27	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
65/35	54/31	45/42	58/28	48/40

Given that under the Republican plan, funds can be taken out of their lock box only as part of a comprehensive Social Security plan that involves using individual accounts, and Democrats say that the Republican plan is just a scam to set aside Social Security funds so they can eventually radically restructure and privatize Social Security, **48%/40%** support/oppose the Republican plan.

48% support (**24%** strongly, **24%** somewhat)
40% oppose (**19%** strongly, **21%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	24/59	68/22	55/35	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
72/29	40/41	47/42	54/40	44/41

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Democratic Lock-Box Plan

If Democrats introduced a lock box plan to set aside as much money as Republicans do for Social Security but also extend Social Security until 2050, **73%/17%** would support/oppose the Democrat's plan.

73% support (**41%** strongly, **32%** somewhat)
17% oppose (**12%** strongly, **5%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	79/6	67/25	69/24	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
100/0	69/13	76/21	58/26	75/15

Give that the Democrat's lock box plan would also put $700 billion dollars towards Medicare to extend Medicare until 2020, **74%/18%** support/oppose the Democrats' plan.

74% support (**33%** strongly, **41%** somewhat)
18% oppose (**14%** strongly, **4%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	84/9	73/14	66/28	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
100/0	72/15	77/19	62/33	79/11

Social Security and Medicare Lock Box

If Democrats introduced a Social Security and Medicare lock box to set aside as much money as Republicans do for Social Security but also extend Social Security until 2050 and put $700 billion dollars towards Medicare to extend Medicare until 2020, **76%/12%** support/oppose the Democrat's plan.

76% support (**39%** strongly, **37%** somewhat)
12% oppose (**4%** strongly, **8%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	80/8	57/34	89/3	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
100/0	81/8	80/11	73/18	73/18

If Republicans criticized this plan saying it raids the Social Security fund to bail out Medicare, **55%/31%** support/oppose the Democrat's plan.

55% support (**22%** strongly, **33%** somewhat)
31% oppose (**14%** strongly, **17%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	54/28	48/38	58/34	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
95/5	43/42	63/28	53/31	40/51

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If Democrats responded by saying that over 15 years, their plan would give Social Security every penny it is owed, extend Social Security until 2050 and also extend Medicare until 2020, **72%/16%** support/oppose the Democrat's plan.

72% support (**39%** strongly, **33%** somewhat)

16% oppose (**9%** strongly, **7%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	75/12	57/26	81/11	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
95/5	66/21	79/12	67/21	71/17

Given what you have heard, **24%** prefer the Republican's proposal for a Social Security lock box that uses any other surplus for tax cuts and none for Medicare **60%** the Democrat's Social Security lock box that extends Social Security until 2050 and Medicare until 2020.

Americans are wary of touching Social Security funds for any reason, but a narrow majority support using Social Security funds to address the more pressing problem of impending Medicare bankruptcy, provided the Social Security fund is paid back.

	D	R	I	
	11/76	50/31	18/70	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
0/100	32/55	27/62	26/65	26/51

36% believe that money from the Social Security System should not be used for anything except Social Security, not even Medicare, and **53%** believe that a small fraction of Social Security's surplus should be loaned to Medicare for a few years as long as Social Security is paid back immediately because as is, Medicare will go bankrupt in eight years.

	D	R	I	
	24/64	42/46	39/53	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
26/74	47/41	36/58	38/53	34/57

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38% agree with Republicans in Congress that money from the Social Security System should not be used for anything except Social Security, not even Medicare, and **51%** agree with Democrats that a small portion of Social Security's surplus should be used to extend Medicare because as is, Medicare will go bankrupt in eight years and in the long run, their plan will pay back Social Security every penny it is owed.

	D	R	I	
	26/63	46/39	42/51	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
18/74	51/42	36/56	43/48	42/52

Given that putting Social Security funds in a lock box would pay down the debt which would reduce the amount of interest we have to pay on the debt, **52%** agree with Democrats that we should give the benefit of the lower interest payments to Social Security to extend Social Security until 2050, **31%** agree with Republicans that while we should pay down the debt we should not use any accounting devices to benefit Social Security.

	D	R	I	
	68/18	33/46	53/33	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
58/42	47/41	62/26	52/38	47/27

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USA Accounts

USA Accounts enjoy a reasonably high level of support among Americans – between 60% and 70% support the idea when presented with arguments both for and against. As is to be expected for a policy that will not benefit them as much, older Americans are more hesitant to support USA Accounts.

It is important to note that USA accounts are not a program for the elderly – they are really a program for the next generations – and they have their greatest support among young people as a new way to save for the future.

USA Accounts must be introduced as a retirement savings program. If it is presented as a tax cut, most would pick a more direct tax cut. This is a way to help Americans save for retirement and to help them save by lighten their tax load. When given a choice, 56% say help saving for retirement is the best reason to set up these accounts. That they will provide a tax cut receives only 13%.

Furthermore the USA account as tax cut argument in itself is not as strong: most Americans believe that a 10% tax cut will benefit them more than USA Accounts, even those with lower incomes, and Americans are split over whether USA Accounts are actually a tax cut.

This does not hurt the case for USA accounts in general - arguments against the accounts that 'this is not really a tax cut' do not diminish support for the proposal. The proposal is stronger than that.

49% heard about President Clinton's proposal to set up Universal Savings Accounts, or USA Accounts, that give Americans tax credits to help them save for their retirement, **48%** did not.

	D	R	I	
	42/55	48/49	55/42	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
0/100	47/52	48/50	58/37	62/32
<20K	**20-34K**	**35-59K**	60-99K	100+
40/60	56/39	48/48	52/48	54/46

51%/24% support/oppose President Clinton's plan to establish USA accounts (Among those aware of the proposal, **66%/12%** support/oppose).

	D	R	I	
	66/7	43/36	44/30	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
53/12	80/3	57/23	40/33	31/36
<20K	**20-34K**	**35-59K**	60-99K	100+

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38/26	61/33	53/23	54/19	52/14

Given that under the USA Accounts, the government will give all working Americans a savings accounts for their retirement, and the government will provide tax credits to match a portion of their savings, and provide extra help for those least able to save, **67%/24%** support/oppose USA Accounts.

67% support (**35%** strongly, **32%** somewhat)
24% oppose (**12%** strongly, **12%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	84/6	58/34	59/34	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
72/15	90/10	68/25	60/29	54/33
<20K	20-34K	35-59K	60-99K	100+
73/17	61/32	65/27	72/18	75/19

Given that under the USA Accounts, if they invest fully, a couple earning $40,000 per year could receive a $1300 tax credit, a couple earning $60,000 per year could receive a $1000 tax credit, and a couple earning $80,000 per year could earn a $700 tax credit, **62%/31%** support/oppose USA Accounts.

62% support (**31%** strongly, **31%** somewhat)
31% oppose (**17%** strongly, **14%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	76/12	56/42	55/37	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
63/23	74/14	71/24	54/44	42/44
<20K	20-34K	35-59K	60-99K	100+
60/29	53/40	71/27	59/35	62/23

Given that supporters argue that a couple making $40,000 would get at least $600, and up to $1300 if they invest the maximum amount the government would match under the President's USA account proposal, and this is much better than the $315 tax cut this couple would receive under a 10% tax cut plan, **61%/28%** support/oppose USA accounts.

61% support (**31%** strongly, **30%** somewhat)
28% oppose (**14%** strongly, **14%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	73/17	52/39	56/26	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
67/25	82/16	73/24	42/38	45/26
<20K	20-34K	35-59K	60-99K	100+
64/15	55/43	68/24	56/31	50/24

Given that opponents say that the USA account proposal is not even a real tax cut that you can spend anyway you want, since you can only spend this money for retirement, **68%/26%** support/oppose USA accounts.

68% support (**33%** strongly, **35%** somewhat)

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26% oppose (**13%** strongly, **13%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	81/10	69/27	53/40	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
70/19	81/19	71/27	54/36	50/31
<20K	**20-34K**	**35-59K**	60-99K	100+
71/25	73/26	75/20	64/30	52/38

Given that opponents say that the USA account proposal only benefit those who actually save - and many couples have a hard time saving, **64%/29%** support/oppose USA accounts.

64% support (**21%** strongly, **43%** somewhat)
29% oppose (**13%** strongly, **16%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	70/21	55/40	68/26	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
61/38	89/6	79/20	50/44	62/19
<20K	**20-34K**	**35-59K**	60-99K	100+
67/16	68/25	64/32	59/44	74/15

42% think these USA Accounts qualify as a tax cut, **43%** not.

	D	R	I	
	52/37	37/51	35/43	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
47/51	50/34	48/50	38/46	25/32
<20K	**20-34K**	**35-59K**	60-99K	100+
36/39	34/47	48/39	42/58	33/52

30% think a USA account under this proposal would benefit you more, **53%** a 10% tax cut.

	D	R	I	
	41/43	24/64	23/54	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
26/70	43/52	45/52	20/53	6/45
<20K	**20-34K**	**35-59K**	60-99K	100+
22/41	26/51	38/50	29/64	21/79

Best reason for USA accounts:

56% think the fact that they will help Americans save for retirement is the best reason to set up USA accounts; **19%** that they will benefit the middle class, and **13%** that they will provide a tax cut.

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	D	R	I	
	59/28/5	53/15/22	56/15/14	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
45/7/43	66/26/6	65/17/13	55/15/8	45/27/10
<20K	**20-34K**	**35-59K**	60-99K	100+
34/35/12	55/23/17	62/16/9	62/10/20	68/16/4

Distribution of USA accounts for couples:

They favor giving an equal amount to each spouse based on combined incomes – but will there be a marriage penalty for two wage earners compared to one?

One aspect of this proposal is that when a married couple sets up a USA account, each spouse will receive an equal amount in their own retirement account based on their combined incomes. Given this, **70%/19%** support/oppose this proposal.

D	R	I	M	F
83/8	63/32	65/17	69/21	71/17
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
82/12	83/10	75/23	63/22	60/13
<20K	**20-34K**	**35-59K**	60-99K	100+
70/9	66/18	74/20	72/25	67/27

Some people say that equally distributing USA account funds for a couple is too heavy handed; other people say that women should receive the same amount for their USA account as their spouse otherwise they will end up without adequate retirement savings. Given this, **76%/16%** support/oppose giving married couples an equal amount in their USA accounts.

D	R	I	M	F
82/11	68/27	77/12	78/17	74/15
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	50-64	65+
76/16	82/16	85/12	63/24	79/8
<20K	**20-34K**	**35-59K**	60-99K	100+
66/17	86/7	72/20	77/16	73/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Education: Block Grants and Ed-Flex

More Americans credit President Clinton and the Democrats for the passage of Ed-Flex than the Republicans, reflecting the perception of the Democrats as being more effective on education policy, as well as the aggressive publicity behind President Clinton's education agenda.

The Republican vote against adding funding for teachers was an unpopular one (62% less favorable towards Republicans as a result), and as we did last fall, these voters must be reminded of this vote as Republicans attempt to gain credibility on education. Remember, while 68% support ed-flex, 78% support 100,000 teachers. In the absence of advertising by teachers' organizations on this issue, however, this is not a current issue but a set-up for the campaign.

There continues to be support for accountability control over state education money – nearly half supported a mix of 50% block grants, and 50% funding that must be tied to federal priorities such as teacher hiring and training.

51% have heard about the Education Flexibility bill, called Ed-Flex, passed this week in Congress that will give states more flexibility in how they spend federal education dollars, **48%** have not.

D	R	I
48/52	52/45	52/47

68%/8% support/oppose this Ed-Flex legislation.
68% support (**35%** strongly, **33%** somewhat)
8% oppose (**3%** strongly, **5%** somewhat)

D	R	I
66/8	75/4	62/11

11% think Republicans in Congress supported the Ed-Flex legislation, **12%** Democrats in Congress, **48%** both Democrats and Republicans.

D	R	I
9/18/47	16/9/47	10/10/51

36% give credit to President Clinton for Ed-Flex passing, **30%** to Republicans in Congress (Among those who were aware of Ed-Flex, **39%/37%**)

D	R	I
50/20	17/43	35/33

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

33% give credit to Democrats in Congress for Ed-Flex passing, **26%** to Republicans in Congress (Among those who were aware of Ed-Flex, **36%/34%**)

D	R	I
45/24	16/44	34/18

78%/16% support/oppose including funding to hire 100,000 more teachers to reduce class size in the Ed-Flex bill.

78% support (**52%** strongly, **26%** somewhat)
16% oppose (**7%** strongly, **9%** somewhat)

D	R	I
92/5	69/25	74/21

Given that Republicans in Congress voted against including funding to hire more teachers to reduce class size in this bill, **26%/62%** are more/less favorable towards the Republicans in Congress.

D	R	I
17/78	37/44	26/61

What is the best way for the federal government to allocate education funding to states?	All	D	R	I
Giving 50% of its funding in block grants, 50% to be used for specific purposes such as teacher hiring and training or school construction	46	48	52	43
Giving 100% to the states to be used for specific purposes such as teacher hiring and training or school construction	25	32	15	25
Giving 100% of federal funding to states in block grants for states to use as they choose	20	12	22	24

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Special Education

Americans think that we should increase federal government funding to states for special education, but strongly believe that President Clinton's other education priorities (hiring 100,000 teachers, re-building crumbling schools) are more important. When the issue is not politicized, Republicans agree with this assertion as well, but when framed in terms of President Clinton vs. the Republicans, Republican voters swing the other way.

75% think the federal government should increase funding to states for special education programs for students with learning disabilities, **17%** do not.

D	R	I
80/11	67/25	79/16

49%/40% support/oppose increasing funding for special education programs if it forced a reduction in spending on other programs such as school construction, teacher training, and technology in the classroom.

D	R	I
54/37	41/50	51/36

What is the most important use of funding for education?	All	D	R	I
Teacher training	28	21	39	28
Re-building crumbling schools	21	20	18	22
Special Education	9	5	13	11
Hiring new teachers to reduce class size	37	54	24	32

21% believe that we should spend more on special education programs because federal mandates impose burdens on local districts, and **68%** believe we should reduce class size by hiring 100,000 new teachers to give students more personalized attention, better discipline and a better chance to succeed.

D	R	I
5/80	20/73	35/53

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

26% agree more with Republicans in Congress that we should spend more on special education programs because federal mandates impose burdens on local districts, and **62%** agree more with President Clinton that we should reduce class size by hiring 100,000 new teachers to give students more personalized attention, better discipline and a better chance to succeed.

D	R	I
12/83	53/33	21/66

Tobacco state settlement

Fighting the states and Congress on the use of tobacco settlement funds is a battle that a majority of Americans support. 54% think that President Clinton should veto a bill that gave the states the ability to use tobacco funds however they saw fit, and 62% would be more favorable to President Clinton if he did so.

54% think money paid to states by the tobacco companies should be spent for programs related to tobacco control such as reducing teen smoking, **39%** think this money should be used for other programs

D	R	I
65/33	52/41	47/42

41%/52% agree/disagree with the Republicans in Congress that each state should make all decisions regarding the money that tobacco companies have paid the states in the settlement, so not a penny would necessarily have to go towards youth smoking.

D	R	I
40/57	51/42	35/55

73%/24% agree/disagree with President Clinton says that some of the money the states receive should be specified for tobacco control programs to reduce smoking, particularly among teenagers.

D	R	I
84/16	60/36	60/36

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

If Congress passes a bill that gives the states the ability to use this money however they want, **40%** think President Clinton should sign this bill, **54%** think he should veto it and ask for a bill that earmarks funds for tobacco control

D	R	I
30/62	51/46	41/53

62%/30% would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton if he vetoed a bill that gave the tobacco settlement money to states to use however they want saying he would only sign a bill that ensure that at least a portion of the money from the tobacco companies it used to fight the problem it has caused and not for other purposes.

62% more favorable (**28%** much, **34%** somewhat)
30% less favorable (**12%** much, **18%** somewhat)

D	R	I
77/19	51/39	54/35

Comparable Worth

While a strong majority of nearly ¾ believe that wages should be determined through the market, when equal pay for men and women is considered, 40% favor government wage setting to ensure equality.

The concept of comparable worth divides the American public - 43% say the only way to eliminate the wage gap is through applying comparable worth, despite the argument that it will lead to a costly, complicated, and unnecessary intrusion of government interference in the market. In fact, when aided with a pro-comparable worth argument, a majority (54%) support applying the principles of pay equity towards federal jobs.

74% think wages for jobs should be determined through the forces of the market, **17%** think the government should determine wages for jobs.

D	R	I	M	F
62/26	88/9	74/16	72/22	76/13

If it is determined that the forces of the market do not bring about equal wages for men and women, **51%** think wages for jobs should still be determined through the forces of the market, **40%** think the government should determine wages for jobs.

D	R	I	M	F
42/47	67/27	48/43	55/38	49/41

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

40% think that the government should mandate equal pay for all jobs that are deemed comparable in skill, effort, responsibility and working conditions, even if they are completely different jobs in completely different industries, **51%** do not.

D	R	I	M	F
52/38	30/61	39/52	32/63	47/39

43% say that the only way to eliminate the wage gap between men and women is to mandate equal pay for jobs that are deemed comparable, **47%** say that this will lead to a costly, complicated, and unnecessary intrusion of government interference in the market.

D	R	I	M	F
55/39	26/66	46/42	40/51	45/44

Given that the federal government is about to go through a major reexamination of its pay scales for different jobs, **77%/15%** favor/oppose the President saying he would apply the principle of pay equity to make sure that the jobs that women predominantly do get the same pay than men predominantly do.

D	R	I	M	F
89/6	71/21	71/17	74/18	80/11

Given that some people say the government should not be trying to determine the pay scales for jobs that would go as far as figuring out if a secretary should be paid the same as a janitor, **41%/42%** favor/oppose applying the principles of pay equity towards federal jobs

D	R	I	M	F
44/37	32/56	47/37	40/49	43/36

Food Safety

Given that right now there are several different agencies that do food safety regulation, including the FDA, USDA and other agencies, **57%/34%** favor/oppose the creation of a single food regulation agency.

D	R	I
62/31	50/39	57/34

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Computer ID Numbers

9% think that the makers of computer software are entitled to collect any information from their customers about their computer or computer usage, without the customer's approval, **84%** do not.

D	R	I
9/79	14/80	6/91

62%/30% support/oppose legislation that prohibited computer programs from sending any unique ID numbers or information not approved by he customer to the manufacturer as part of registration or communication

62% support (**54%** strongly, **8%** somewhat)
30% oppose (**7%** strongly, **23%** somewhat)

D	R	I
67/25	63/28	56/34

Speeches

The major legislative issues -- Social Security, Medicare, tax cuts -- will not see immediate conflict or resolution with the Congress. At the same time, the smaller event-of-the-day policy announcements are failing to break through. (In any event, the conveyor belt, of policies is not particularly full right now.)

This suggests a series of larger speeches -- some unveiling bunches of policy initiatives, such as the Financial Consumers Bill of Rights; others expounding the rationale for policies -- that break from the mold of event-a-day.

For example, you should give a speech explaining the ideas underlying your successful economic strategy. This would capitalize on a moment when the Republicans are particularly vulnerable to the perception that they lack an economic strategy rooted in reality. The structure of this speech could be myths and realities -- your policies grounded in new realities, the GOP, based on old myths. This speech could argue that security and opportunity must be joined together to advance prosperity and make the economy work as efficiently as possible. Dividing security from opportunity is a prescription for an economy increasingly closed, inflexible and headed for long-term difficulty, if not crisis.

Other topics for speeches (as opposed to Roosevelt Room statements) include consumer protection in the modern economy, privacy, and antitrust enforcement. In addition, it makes sense to do a major Third Way speech as one of your commencement addresses.

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Upcoming Schedule

Date	Event	
The next two weeks...		
Tuesday March 16	*Address Conf. On US-Africa Partnership for 21st century*	
Wednesday March 17	Speaker's Lunch Ahern Mtg/Shamrock Presentation St. Patrick's Day Reception	
Thursday March 18	*USA Account event* Rabin Center Event Radio & TV Correspondents Dinner	**USA Accounts**
Saturday, March 20	Live Radio Address Gridiron Dinner	
Monday March 22	NATO Host Committee Dinner	
Tuesday March 23	*Unity Message Event* Photo-Op with VFW Commander	
Wednesday March 24	Ron Brown Awards Ceremony Mtg. With PM Primakov of Russia	
Thursday March 25	*Consumer Financial Right to Know Event*	**Consumers**
Saturday, March 27	Speech, Sacramento, CA	
Upcoming Events		
Tuesday, March 30	Military Aide Departure Photo Release 1998 Social Security Trustees Report Address the Electronic Industries Alliance Dinner	
Wednesday, March 31	*21st Century Crime Bill*	**Crime**
Thurday, April 8	Official Visit with Premier of China	

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. entire folder	Strategy Session, Penn Schoen & Berland Associates (28 pages)	July 14, 1999	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14477

FOLDER TITLE:
Polling - '99

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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
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b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Strategy Session
Wednesday, July 14, 1999
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

The mood of the country has improved considerably. 50/38% say the country is on the right/wrong track, a reversal from results on April 21, during the Kosovo fighting and just after Columbine, when people said the country was on the right/wrong track 34/49%. This is a sharply better week for the President, and for the Democrats.

One central challenge going forward is to defeat the Republican tax cut proposals which, on the surface, seem particularly popular. Over, three quarters say they support the Roth and Archer plans, and even when voters are informed about the cost of both programs, clear majorities still support them.

Still, the polling provides clear guidance as to how to defeat the Republican plans. When voters are given the choice between the Republican plans, which cost $800 billion, and the Democratic plan, that would preserve the surplus as well as protecting Medicare and Social Security, they opt for our option by almost 2-1 with Independents aligning themselves closely with the Democrats.

Thus, we must frame the issue as "What do we do with the budget surplus," rather than," Which tax cut proposal do we prefer. " If the choice is framed in terms of use of the budget surplus, protecting Social Security and protecting Medicare win out. If the choice is framed in terms of which tax cut you prefer, the 10% tax cut was the first choice, followed by lowering the 15% bracket.

By focusing on Social Security and Medicare first, we can then transition, as the President has been doing, into advocacy of our more affordable tax cuts which will not jeopardize the surplus. This also allows us to pivot the discussion back to the issues of long term care, retirement savings, education, and job creation—issues on which we have a significant advantage.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Mood of the Country

	5/12	5/27	6/2	6/28	7/14
Country: Right/Wrong Track	41/45	36/52	38/48	42/45	50/38
Economy: Right/Wrong Track	74/17	72/21	70/23	72/22	74/21
Favorability					
Clinton	57/41	52/46	54/44	53/46	52/45
Gore	57/36	54/40	54/40	53/39	59/36
Clinton Job Approval	63/33	62/36	63/37	63/35	67/31
Strongly Approve	24	23	23	24	30

This poll has a huge foreign policy approval.

	5/12	5/27	6/2	6/28	7/14
Foreign Policy Job Approval	52/44	48/49	49/48	52/46	61/36
Strongly Approve	19	17	14	21	22

Most Important Issue (Open End)

Morality/Family Values – 11%
Education - 8%
Economy/Jobs – 8%
Fighting Crime –6%
Juvenile Violence/Shootings – 5%
Foreign Policy/Kosovo – 2%

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Most Important Issue (Among following choices)

Democrats need to flip the voters who are concerned about families and children – they are the key persuasion target, while they are surging ahead on those concerned about youth violence and guns.

Which of the following issues is the most important issue?	*All*	*Among those who think that each is the most important issue*
		Congr HR (D/R)
Concern for families and children	19	36/48
Youth Violence and Guns	17	57/22
Education	15	51/30
Healthcare	17	53/25
Crime	10	41/33
Economy	5	55/28
National Defense	8	28/57
Taxes	4	17/54

Congress

Approval – on a 2 point scale

	5/12	**5/27**	**6/2**	**6/23**	**6/28**	**7/14**
Congress	47/42	45/50	45/50	46/46	40/51	42/49
Congressional Republicans	37/53	36/56	35/58	38/52	39/53	**35/56**
Congressional Democrats	52/39	50/43	48/45	47/44	46/45	49/43

Horserace

	5/12	**5/27**	**6/2**	**6/28**	**7/14**
Democrat	42	42	41	41	44
Republican	38	35	34	36	36

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Newspaper Headlines

Medicare: 2; Year 2000 Bill: 1; Poverty Tour: 1; Digital Divide: 1; Tax Cuts: 1; Budget: 1

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
7/13	Tuesday	The Washington Post	Clinton, Hill Agree On Budget Goals: Differences Remain on Use of Surplus
7/12	Monday	USA Today	Clinton, GOP meet today on tax cuts
7/9	Friday	The Washington Post	U.S. Cites Race Gap In Use of Internet: Clinton Bemoans 'Digital Divide'
7/9	Friday	The New York Times	Clinton Poverty Tour Gets Mixed Reaction
6/30	Wednesday	The New York Times	Clinton Lays Out Plan to Overhaul Medicare System: New Coverage for Drugs: Proposal Would Make Program Solvent 12 Years Longer Than Currently Seen
6/30	Wednesday	The New York Times	Vexing Party, Clinton Backs Year 2000 Bill: Law Would Put Limits on Punitive Damages
6/30	Wednesday	The Washington Post	Clinton Details Overhaul Plan For Medicare: HMO Price Competition, Drug Affordability Sought

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Television Headlines

Medicare: 5; Bush: 1; Poverty Tour: 7; Bin Laden: 1; Taliban: 1; HMO Reform: 1

Date	Station	Order	Headline
7/9	ABC	3	Clinton Prepares For Legislative Battle Over HMO Reform
7/8	ABC	1	Clinton Poverty Tour Visits Watts Ghetto In LA
7/7	ABC	7	Clinton Visits Indian Reservation To Call Attention To Their Poverty
7/7	ABC	8	Indians Experience Loan Discrimination, Hope Clinton Helps
7/7	CBS	9	Clinton Visits Poor Indian Country, Offering Help
7/6	ABC	6	Clinton Imposes Sanctions Against Afghanistan's Taliban
7/6	ABC	13	Clinton Visits Mississippi Delta To Focus On Poverty
7/6	CBS	3	Clinton Puts Sanctions On Afghanistan To Squeeze Bin Laden
7/6	CBS	8	Clinton In Miss. To Encourage Inner City Investment
7/6	NBC	7	Clinton Visits Mississippi Delta In Tour To Focus On Poverty
7/1	CBS	3	Bush Campaigns Deep In Clinton Turf: California
6/29	ABC	1	Clinton Issues Medicare Reform Plan
6/29	ABC	3	Seniors Across US Welcome Clinton Plan, Say More Is Needed
6/29	CBS	1	Clinton Announces Medicare Overhaul Plan
6/29	CBS	2	Both Dems & GOP Have Concerns About Clinton's Medicare Plan
6/29	NBC	1	Clinton Proposes Medicare Overhaul

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In the News

About two-thirds heard about the New Markets Initiative, and it was viewed favorably by a majority of Americans.

Did you hear anything about... ***Ranked by Aware***	**% Aware**	**More/ Less Fav**
President Clinton's New Markets Initiative, in which he traveled the country visiting poor and underdeveloped neighborhoods and announced economic growth incentives aimed at developing these areas	66	56/26
President Clinton's attacks on the Republican Health plan, in which he called their version of the patient's bill of rights far too limited in its protections and in the number of people it would include	61	48/28
President Clinton's New Markets Initiative, in which he traveled the country to help direct the flow of opportunity and investment into some of the most stubborn pockets of poverty in our nation	59	54/22
President Clinton's bipartisan meeting with the Congressional Leadership to discuss what to do with the budget surplus	53	50/29

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Republican Control of Congress and Presidency

Challenge: What are the simple concerns of voters that can turn into an electoral victory for the Democrats – this polling takes the concerns we learned in the last poll and applies them into a single sentence of worry about the Republicans. And these worries can be very effective at reducing independent support for the Republicans in 2000.

If there was a Republican Congress and a Republican President, the Republicans would probably pass a one trillion dollar tax cut instead of using much of the money to strengthen Medicare, would vote protections for gun manufacturers from liability suits and loosen restrictions on background checks for gun purchases, would weaken environmental protections, and would approve a partial privatization of Social Security.

If all of these things were likely to happen if the Republicans controlled both Congress and the Presidency, **25%/58%** would be more likely to vote for a Republican/Democratic candidate for President in the next election.

D	R	I
8/87	57/26	19/56

If all of these things were likely to happen if the Republicans controlled both Congress and the Presidency, **25%/58%** would be more likely to vote for a Republican candidate/Democratic candidate for Congress in the next election.

D	R	I
8/85	60/24	19/57

Which of these things concerns you the most? *Among those who would vote Democratic for Congress if all these things were likely to happen*	All	D	R	I
Passing a one trillion dollar tax cut instead of using much of the money to strengthen Medicare,	31	26	37	32
Voting protections for gun manufacturers from liability suits and loosening restrictions on background checks for gun purchases,	27	29	33	22
Weakening environmental protections,	11	7	8	17
Approving a partial privatization of Social Security.	24	26	18	25

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Medicare

We need to keep driving publicity of this plan --- studies on the problem of drug expenses, maybe a town hall meeting w/AARP or similar groups, a meeting w/healthcare reporters, and unity events.

Awareness of the Medicare proposal is high, with close to seven in ten Americans familiar with the plan. Support also remains in the 80 percent range, with majorities of Democrats, Republicans, and Independents and strong support among those of retirement age.

69% are aware of President Clinton's Medicare reform plan, **27%** are not.

D	R	I	<50 y/o	>50 y/o
79/16	62/34	72/24	67/27	81/19

Given this, **56/22%** are more/less favorable towards President Clinton.
56% more favorable (**23%** much + **31%** somewhat)
22% less favorable (**10%** much + **12%** somewhat)

D	R	I	<50 y/o	>50 y/o
75/13	30/41	63/17	53/21	47/32

- **Aided Awareness – this includes mention of the word prescription drugs**

74% are aware of President Clinton's Medicare reform plan, which will extend the life of Medicare until 2025 and provide a modest prescription drug benefit for all Medicare recipients, **21%** are not.

D	R	I	<50 y/o	>50 y/o
79/14	74/24	68/28	78/17	78/18

Given this, **69/19%** are more/less favorable towards President Clinton.
69% more favorable (**35%** much + **34%** somewhat)
19% less favorable (**9%** much + **10%** somewhat)

D	R	I	<50 y/o	>50 y/o
89/8	42/42	71/15	71/19	68/26

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

- **Medicare Plan**

82/11% support/oppose this plan. (80/10%--6/28/99)

The plan increases price and quality competition among Medicare plans to reduce premiums while increasing quality; adds a new optional prescription drug benefit that covers 50% of drug costs and provides for discounted drug purchases; provides an affordable buy-in insurance option for retirees age 55-65 who are too young to qualify for Medicare; eliminates all patient charges for preventative services such as cancer screenings; and ensures that the program is financially secure until at least 2025 without radical cuts or restructuring.

82% support (**39%** strongly + **43%** somewhat)
11% oppose (**5%** strongly + **6%** somewhat)

D	R	I	<50 y/o	>50 y/o
94/4	66/27	81/8	84/10	79/14

Following a series of attacks, support remained in the 70s for the plan.

Arguments that cite the number of seniors with no coverage at all, and the equality of the Medicare system are effective responses to Republican attacks that the universal coverage is excessive. Eight in ten agree that it is a serious problem that 1/3 of seniors have no drug coverage (53% strongly). Additionally, 55% say that since everyone pays in to Medicare, it is only fair for the drug benefit to include all seniors.

Following are some reasons people have given for why they oppose the Medicare plan, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree. Ranked by strongly agree	Strongly Agree	Agree/ Dis-agree	D	R	I	<50 y/o	>50 y/o
Adding more benefits to Medicare without really reforming it is like putting more gas in an old car – it is still an old car. This plan dodges questions of how best to fundamentally reform an ailing program.	25	52/42	55/51	60/31	50/43	54/45	55/29
This drug benefit is irresponsible. We should provide a more limited drug benefit that will allow us to fund a major tax cut in addition to a prescription drug benefit.	20	45/46	38/57	61/33	38/48	36/59	35/50
This plan gives additional drug benefits to wealthy seniors who already have coverage, and prevents us from giving a tax cut to middle class taxpayers who really need tax relief.	17	50/43	48/47	49/38	53/41	57/39	47/42

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Given what you have heard, **72/23%** support/oppose the Medicare plan.

72% support **(30%** strongly + **42%** somewhat)
23% oppose (**7%** strongly + **16%** somewhat)

D	R	I	<50 y/o	>50 y/o
86/9	47/47	80/19	80/19	66/26

Here are some arguments in favor of the plan. For each, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree. Ranked by strongly agree	Strongly Agree	Agree/ Dis-agree	D	R	I	<50 y/o	>50 y/o
This is a serious problem. One third of seniors have no coverage at all and many have inadequate coverage	53	81/11	85/11	75/17	85/10	87/10	65/18
All seniors pay into Medicare, so all should be able to participate in its benefits.	53	79/16	81/15	75/21	78/14	78/19	73/19
All seniors need help with prescription drugs, even if some have coverage, and they can use the money they now use for drug coverage for other purposes.	37	64/30	78/20	61/38	58/33	67/29	60/37
The AARP supports this plan and believes it will help seniors	34	69/15	78/9	53/30	72/10	69/15	64/20
This program is purely voluntary – no one has to participate or pay the premiums unless they want to.	33	67/24	73/21	66/24	62/25	69/22	56/33
A comparable private plan would cost $90 a month rather than $38 a month, so seniors who sign up for the plan are really getting a tax cut worth $600 a year.	19	50/38	58/32	49/32	43/45	57/32	33/51

Given what you have heard, **75/18%** support/oppose the Medicare plan.

75% support **(36%** strongly + **39%** somewhat)
18% oppose (**8%** strongly + **10%** somewhat)

D	R	I	<50 y/o	>50 y/o
91/7	56/32	75/18	81/14	63/30

46% think that the prescription drug plan should be limited to seniors earning less that $50,000 a year in income, **52%** think it should be open to enrollment by all seniors.

D	R	I	<50 y/o	>50 y/o
52/47	47/51	44/55	41/58	56/42

39% say that we should not be providing a prescription drug benefit for all seniors – why should we provide wealthy millionaires with drug coverage? **55%** say that since everyone pays in to Medicare, it is only fair for the drug benefit to include all seniors.

D	R	I	<50 y/o	>50 y/o
33/65	46/50	43/46	40/52	46/48

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35% say that we should not be providing a prescription drug benefit for all seniors – why should we provide wealthy millionaires with drug coverage? **58%** say that we should **keep the drug benefit simple and universal.**

D	R	I	<50 y/o	>50 y/o
36/62	36/57	33/56	40/57	38/56

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Patient's Bill of Rights

People strongly favor the Democratic version of the Patients Bill of Rights, and the more they hear about the details of the Democratic version, the more they like it. Before any aspects of either the Democratic or Republican plans were discussed, people favored the Democratic/Republican plan 43/22%. After discussion of the plans, people favored the Democratic/Republican plan 62/28%, and nine in ten support the Democratic plan.

In match-ups of the separate components of the Democratic and Republican proposals, people strongly favored the provisions in the Democratic plan. The Democratic proposal to allow patients in HMOs access to any medical specialist for care was especially popular (83/11% over Republican proposal to grant that access only for patients in certain HMOs), as was the Democratic proposal to require HMOs to pay for emergency room treatment whenever patients have a medical emergency (82/11% over Republican proposal to allow HMOs to require approval during a medical emergency).

54% trust President Clinton to provide more rights for HMO patients -- **28%** the Republicans in Congress.

D	R	I
82/6	19/65	55/23

54% trust the Democrats in Congress to provide more rights for HMO patients – **24%** the Republicans in Congress.

D	R	I
84/8	18/65	53/13

- **Democratic vs Republican Plans**

Both the Republicans and the Democrats have proposals for a patient's bill of rights – **43%** favor the Democrat bill, **22%** the Republican bill.

D	R	I
76/3	6/61	36/14

52% prefer the plan that would forbid health plans from unfairly overruling doctors' decisions about what kind of treatment a patient needs, while **36%** would prefer to leave the current situation as it is.

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D	R	I	<$35K	>$35K
55/32	49/39	51/38	40/42	59/30

70% would prefer the plan that would allow patients to sue an HMO for malpractice, while **23%** would prefer the plan that would not grant the right to sue.

D	R	I	<$35K	>$35K
76/11	50/44	78/20	77/19	67/27

83% would prefer the plan that would allow patients in all HMOs to have access to any medical specialist for the care they need, **11%** would prefer the plan that would only allow patients in certain HMOs access to limited types of medical specialists.

D	R	I	<$35K	>$35K
89/3	80/19	77/14	77/17	90/8

82% would prefer the plan that would require all HMOs to pay for hospital emergency room treatment whenever patients have a medical emergency; **11%** would prefer the plan that could require patients to get approval during a medical emergency and leave them at risk of excessive costs.

D	R	I	<$35K	>$35K
80/5	73/24	89/7	81/10	88/9

70% would prefer the plan that would allow all patients who have been denied care to appeal to an internal review board, **20%** would prefer the plan that allow a similar internal review process, but give HMOs the right to decide whether a decision qualifies for an appeal.

D	R	I	<$35K	>$35K
75/14	67/27	67/23	67/23	79/16

78% would prefer the plan that would protect all Americans who belong to HMOs, currently 160 million people, **13%** would prefer the plan that would apply some protections to all Americans in HMOs, but other protections to patients only in certain kinds of HMOs, approximately 48 to 123 million Americans, depending on the provision.

D	R	I	<$35K	>$35K
91/0	72/21	68/20	74/17	85/6

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- **Democratic Plan**

The Democratic patient's bill of rights would give patients the right to sue their HMOs if care is denied, set up an internal appeal process if care is denied, force insurance companies to cover care that doctors believe is medically necessary, allow patients easier access to emergency rooms and specialized doctors, and it would apply to all Americans who belong to HMOs. **90/9%** support/oppose this plan.

90% support (**48%** strongly + **42%** somewhat)
9% oppose (**5%** strongly + **4%** somewhat)

D	*R*	*I*	*<$35K*	*>$35K*
97/1	*79/18*	*89/10*	*91/7*	*96/3*

66% think that this bill provides adequate patient protections, **18%** not.

D	*R*	*I*	*<$35K*	*>$35K*
74/11	*51/24*	*69/21*	*76/13*	*62/22*

Which aspect of this plan do you like the best?	**All**	**D**	**R**	**I**	**<$35 K**	**>$35 K**
Right to sue HMOs for malpractice or if care is denied	16	28	12	11	25	14
Set up an internal appeal process if care is denied	12	11	19	10	7	12
Force insurance companies to cover care that doctors believe is medically necessary	37	29	23	52	34	38
Allow patients easier access to emergency rooms and specialized doctors	16	16	23	10	14	14
It will apply to all Americans who belong to HMOs	16	11	18	17	18	18

Americans agree that 1) this bill will not raise costs dramatically, 2) any increased costs are manageable and acceptable, and 3) increased costs will not cause people to drop their coverage as a result.

64% think that the plan will lead to somewhat higher but not unacceptably higher costs or that it won't have much effect on the cost of health insurance. Additionally, 56% agree that the bill will only increase premiums slightly and not cause people to drop coverage as a result.

The big government argument does not hold much water with voters when it is positioned against the patient protections that the Democratic plan would provide.

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28% think that this plan will drive up the cost of health insurance too much, **40%** think lead to somewhat higher but not unacceptably higher health costs, while **24%** think it won't have much effect on the cost of health insurance.

D	R	I	<$35K	>$35K
17/32/39	41/33/17	27/53/18	23/41/27	29/40/23

30% say that this bill would cause health care costs to skyrocket and people would drop their coverage as a result. **56%** say that the bill will only increase premiums by the cost of a Big Mac – about $2 a month, and will not cause people to drop their coverage.

D	R	I	<$35K	>$35K
24/61	37/49	30/59	26/58	33/54

28% say that this bill would cause health care costs to skyrocket and people would drop their coverage as a result. **61%** say that similar protections for federal workers have only increased premiums by one dollar a month, and that making such rights available to all Americans in HMOs would only increase costs slightly.

D	R	I	<$35K	>$35K
17/78	44/45	27/59	18/67	32/58

24% say that this bill will lead to more government, more lawyers, more rules, more uninsured, and more government control without providing more freedom. **71%** say that this bill will give patients and doctors more control over their medical treatment, and give patients much needed rights including the right to sue an HMO.

D	R	I
5/88	50/44	22/76

- **Republican Plan**

The Republican patient's bill of rights plan would allow patients access to only certain types of medical specialists, require authorization for many emergency room treatments, make it easier for Americans to create medical savings accounts, set up an internal appeal process for patients whose care has been denied, allowing HMOs to decide what can be appealed, and would apply only to patients in certain kind of HMOs, from 48 to 123 million people depending on the provision.

48/45% support/oppose this plan.

48% support (**6%** strongly + **42%** somewhat)
45% oppose (**26%** strongly + **19%** somewhat)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

D	R	I	<$35K	>$35K
33/60	67/28	52/41	35/58	54/41

40% think that this bill provides adequate patient protections, **51%** not.

D	R	I
35/56	53/31	38/57

28% think that this plan will drive up the cost of health insurance too much, **40%** think lead to somewhat higher but not unacceptably higher health costs, **28%** think it will not have much effect on the cost of health insurance.

D	R	I	<$35K	>$35K
31/32/29	23/40/36	28/47/24	42/33/21	15/49/34

45% say that this plan is a profit-protection plan for the insurance industry, and is far too limited in the protections it provides and the number of people it would include. **48%** say that it provides basic protections that will improve the quality of care and keep costs from rising.

D	R	I
62/35	23/72	45/45

40% say that this plan will protect patient's rights while keeping health care affordable. **50%** say that by not including the right to sue an HMO and limiting the number of Americans who will receive these rights, this plan is a minimalist plan that only the insurance industry could love.

D	R	I
39/51	54/37	34/55

46% say that this plan is insufficient since it excludes 113 million Americans, extending limited coverage to only 30% of Americans with private insurance plans. **42%** say that the remaining Americans should be protected by individual state regulations, not federal regulations.

D	R	I
51/29	39/53	46/47

62% prefer the Democratic plan, **28%** the Republican plan.

D	R	I
95/2	23/61	56/31

69% think the Democratic plan does more to guarantee patient's rights, **20%** the Republican plan.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

D	R	I
89/4	37/44	72/18

If the Republican plan passes Congress, **41%** think that President Clinton should sign it into law, **54%** veto it.

D	R	I
13/78	76/19	40/56

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Tax Cuts

While Americans traditionally trust Republicans more to cut taxes, when it comes to cutting taxes responsibly, nearly six in ten trust President Clinton over the Republicans. Americans are split over whether we should use the extra surplus for a major tax cut, as 47% say we should, and 49% that we shouldn't.

58% trust President Clinton more to come up with a responsible tax cut plan that balances cutting taxes with our commitment to save Social Security and protect Medicare, **34%** the Republicans in Congress.

	D	R	I	
	95/3	9/78	56/34	
<$20K	$20-34K	$35-59K	$60-99K	$100+K
70/27	82/14	49/41	56/33	31/58

46% trust the Democrats in Congress more to come up with a responsible tax cut plan that balances cutting taxes with our commitment to save Social Security and protect Medicare, **26%** the Republicans in Congress.

	D	R	I	
	85/14	16/58	33/16	
<$20K	$20-34K	$35-59K	$60-99K	$100+K
34/19	63/20	55/17	45/34	25/63

56% are aware that the Office of Management and Budget said that there was now an additional unexpected surplus in the next 10 years of between $350 and $500 billion.

	D	R	I	
	53	52	58	
<$20K	$20-34K	$35-59K	$60-99K	$100+K
56	46	51	61	79

47% think that we should use the surplus for a major tax cut, **49%** not.

	D	R	I	
	35/54	62/34	48/44	
<$20K	$20-34K	$35-59K	$60-99K	$100+K
53/44	54/32	38/54	48/48	42/56

47% think that a $250 billion tax cut over 10 years is a responsible tax cut, **35%** not.

	D	R	I	
	41/32	53/27	51/40	
<$20K	$20-34K	$35-59K	$60-99K	$100+K
58/22	57/19	40/41	42/49	50/38

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

41% think that a $800 billion tax cut over 10 years is a responsible tax cut, **41%** not.

	D	R	I	
	37/40	49/31	39/49	
<$20K	$20-34K	$35-59K	$60-99K	$100+K
41/39	52/30	36/42	44/49	47/39

49% think that it is possible to save Social Security, protect Medicare and create a prescription drug benefit, expand defense and education spending, and have a major tax cut, **43%** not.

	D	R	I	
	53/38	57/37	43/51	
<$20K	$20-34K	$35-59K	$60-99K	$100+K
61/33	65/25	41/54	38/62	49/42

The 10% across the board cut, perhaps by virtue of its simplicity, is the top choice for a tax cut. This tax cut has been moving steadily up the ladder in importance over time. Roth's proposal to cut the lowest tax bracket is second, followed by more targeted cuts for healthcare, college tuition, the marriage penalty, and education expenses.

Which kind of tax cut would you prefer? *Ranked by 1st overall*	Overall		1st+2nd Choices		
	1st	1st+2nd	D	R	I
10% across the board tax cut	17	31	25	42	27
Lower the 15% tax bracket that serves as the baseline for all taxpayers	16	28	28	28	29
Make healthcare expenses tax deductible	12	19	25	15	20
Make college tuition tax deductible	10	24	25	17	27
Eliminate the marriage tax penalty	8	14	10	12	20
Make education expenses tax deductible	7	14	23	18	16
Capital gains tax cut	6	13	10	14	13
Create universal savings accounts, supplemental retirement savings accounts that allow tax-free income growth	6	11	11	14	9
Eliminate the estate tax	6	12	8	14	7
Expand individual retirement accounts	3	9	12	10	6

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Which kind of tax cut would you prefer?	1st+2nd Choices				
	<$20K	$20-34K	$35-59K	$60-99K	$100+K
10% across the board tax cut	28	18	39	36	27
Lower the 15% tax bracket that serves as the baseline for all taxpayers	34	31	27	18	24
Make healthcare expenses tax deductible	14	21	24	11	19
Make college tuition tax deductible	20	36	17	27	27
Eliminate the marriage tax penalty	2	17	19	21	13
Make education expenses tax deductible	25	27	23	13	9
Capital gains tax cut	8	11	9	15	21
Create universal savings accounts, supplemental retirement savings accounts that allow tax-free income growth	7	12	17	7	22
Eliminate the estate tax	13	6	6	13	10
Expand individual retirement accounts	9	3	9	11	12

48% would prefer a 10% across the board tax cut, **48%** targeted tax cuts for healthcare and education.

	D	R	I		
	38/60	68/30	44/49		
<$20K	$20-34K	$35-59K	$60-99K	$100+K	
44/56	47/49	51/46	58/39	66/30	

When it comes to looking at all of our budget priorities, Social Security, Medicare, and Education continue to trump tax cuts.

What do you think is the most important thing we should do with the budget surplus?	Overall		1st+2nd Choices		
	1st	1st+2nd	D	R	I
Secure social security	37	60	71	43	64
Increase spending for education	16	27	27	25	30
10% across the board tax cut	11	24	14	36	26
Protect Medicare and add a prescription drug benefit	10	34	43	24	31
Targeted tax cuts for healthcare and education	7	17	13	18	17
Create universal savings accounts, supplemental retirement savings Accounts that allow tax-free income growth	7	13	12	14	15
Increase spending for defense	6	11	6	27	5

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

What do you think is the most important thing we should do with the budget surplus?	1st+2nd Choices				
	<$20 K	$20-34K	$35-59K	$60-99K	$100+K
Secure Social Security	63	58	62	57	51
Increase spending for education	20	26	27	36	26
10% across the board tax cut	23	22	27	29	28
Protect Medicare and add a prescription drug benefit	51	23	37	21	14
Targeted tax cuts for healthcare and education	16	25	15	17	20
Create universal savings accounts, supplemental retirement savings Accounts that allow tax-free income growth	3	16	18	13	27
Increase spending for defense	1	12	9	16	22

Tax Cut Plans

The Archer and Roth plans enjoy support, although that support drops when the price tag is revealed. In fact, our plan for a $250 billion tax cut, which enjoys the least support of the three plans initially, is the most popular when the cost of each is identified. Once the cost is provided, support for the Roth plan drops 20 points, from 84 to 64, for the Archer plan from 78 to 58, and for the Clinton plan only from 72 to 64.

Roth Plan

One plan would lower the 15% tax bracket that serves as the baseline for all taxpayers, eliminate the marriage penalty, expand individual retirement accounts, raise the IRA contribution level from $2000 to $5000, enhance the tax deductibility of health insurance, and strengthen education savings accounts.

84/13% support/oppose this tax cut plan.

84% support (**38%** strongly + **46%** somewhat)
13% oppose (**4%** strongly + **9%** somewhat)

D	*R*	*I*
79/19	*92/6*	*82/12*

<$20K	*$20-34K*	*$35-59K*	*$60-99K*	*$100+K*
83/13	*84/13*	*86/14*	*87/9*	*92/8*

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This plan would cost $800 billion over ten years.

64/31% support/oppose this tax cut plan.

64% support (**21%** strongly + **43%** somewhat)
31% oppose (**9%** strongly + **22%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	57/38	62/31	72/27	
<$20K	**$20-34K**	**$35-59K**	**$60-99K**	**$100+K**
68/26	63/37	66/31	60/37	71/22

Archer Plan

One plan would phase in a 10 percent tax cut over 10 years, reduce the capital gains tax, eliminate the marriage penalty couples pay for filing taxes jointly, and phase out the estate tax.

78/18% support/oppose this tax cut plan.

78% support (**33%** strongly + **45%** somewhat)
18% oppose (**7%** strongly + **11%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	75/20	83/13	76/19	
<$20K	**$20-34K**	**$35-59K**	**$60-99K**	**$100+K**
74/21	89/10	82/14	84/13	76/25

This plan would cost $864 billion over ten years.

55/40% support/oppose this tax cut plan.

55% support (**18%** strongly + **37%** somewhat)
40% oppose (**16%** strongly + **24%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	54/42	55/38	56/39	
<$20K	**$20-34K**	**$35-59K**	**$60-99K**	**$100+K**
50/40	59/42	49/45	65/33	45/55

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Clinton Plan

One plan would establish Universal Savings Accounts, supplemental retirement savings accounts that allow tax-free income growth, provide targeted tax cuts for long term care for the elderly, child care, set up an education trust fund, and establish tax incentives for job creation in disadvantaged markets.

72/24% support/oppose this tax cut plan.

72% support (**32%** strongly + **40%** somewhat)
24% oppose (**8%** strongly + **16%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	73/23	66/31	74/23	
<$20K	**$20-34K**	**$35-59K**	**$60-99K**	**$100+K**
76/17	78/20	68/31	75/25	75/25

This plan would cost $250 billion over ten years.

64/31% support/oppose this tax cut plan.

64% support (**26%** strongly + **38%** somewhat)
31% oppose (**10%** strongly + **21%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	69/27	53/42	66/29	
<$20K	**$20-34K**	**$35-59K**	**$60-99K**	**$100+K**
74/21	73/26	56/42	68/29	56/27

30% think that an $800 billion tax cut will return us to an era of deficits, **51%** not.

	D	R	I	
	37/50	17/53	31/50	
<$20K	**$20-34K**	**$35-59K**	**$60-99K**	**$100+K**
21/67	31/47	36/40	31/48	45/55

When the issue is framed as giving $800 billion tax cut vs. saving Social Security and protecting Medicare, the clear consensus continues to be for the latter. Nearly 80% agree that saving Social Security and Medicare and improving education and the military should come first, and we should use what we have left for a tax cut.

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36% say that an $800 billion tax cut is justified given the size of the surplus, and that we should return as much of the surplus as possible to the taxpayers. **58%** say that this large of a tax cut is risky, would blow the surplus, and would jeopardize the opportunity we have to protect Social Security and Medicare.

	D	R	I	
	28/67	53/42	33/58	
<$20K	$20-34K	$35-59K	$60-99K	$100+K
41/52	43/57	28/70	40/48	33/63

37% say that given the uncertainties in making budget projections, an $800 billion tax cut is too much and may cause a return to an era of deficits. **54%** say that given the size of the surplus, such a tax cut is justified, and that if extra funds stay in Washington the government will end up spending them.

	D	R	I	
	57/35	19/70	31/60	
<$20K	$20-34K	$35-59K	$60-99K	$100+K
38/51	49/47	32/63	39/58	25/65

50/36% think that a large tax cut will help/hurt the economy.

	D	R	I	
	46/42	68/19	43/42	
<$20K	$20-34K	$35-59K	$60-99K	$100+K
46/46	65/17	49/36	54/39	47/39

56% say that a large tax cut will stimulate more jobs and growth. **36%** say that a large tax cut would cause deficits and that would weaken our economy.

	D	R	I	
	50/44	74/16	50/41	
<$20K	$20-34K	$35-59K	$60-99K	$100+K
53/47	63/25	54/39	58/39	63/37

19% say that tax cuts should be our top priority; **78%** say that saving Social Security, Medicare and improving education and the military should come first, and we should use what we have left for a tax cut.

	D	R	I	
	16/82	34/61	11/86	
<$20K	$20-34K	$35-59K	$60-99K	$100+K
17/83	22/76	14/84	13/78	34/66

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30% would prefer an $800 billion tax cut, **58%** a $250 billion targeted tax cut.

	D	R	I	
	26/59	43/40	24/68	
<$20K	**$20-34K**	**$35-59K**	**$60-99K**	**$100+K**
36/44	38/51	28/65	28/60	24/57

If Congress passes an $800 billion tax cut plan, **40%** think President Clinton should sign it into law, **45%** veto it.

	D	R	I	
	26/53	60/25	38/53	
<$20K	**$20-34K**	**$35-59K**	**$60-99K**	**$100+K**
47/31	38/47	40/45	43/49	41/52

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Retirement

52% would say that they are financially prepared for their retirement, **43%** not.

	D	R	I	
	47/47	66/31	47/46	
18-24	***25-34***	***35-49***	***50-64***	***65+***
15/85	41/56	62/38	48/52	61/33
<$20K	***$20-34K***	***$35-59K***	***$60-99K***	***$100+K***
38/62	36/49	68/32	57/39	66/34

What are you relying on most to fund your retirement?	**Overall**	
	1st	**1st+2nd**
savings and investments	33	54
company pension plans	23	40
Social Security income	16	36
IRAs	11	26
part time work	4	10
support of children or grandchildren	3	6
Inheritance	1	5

What are you relying on most to fund your retirement?	**1st+2nd Choices**				
	18-24	***25-34***	***35-49***	***50-64***	***65+***
Savings and investments	41	78	37	47	35
Company pension plans	45	48	77	37	40
Social Security income	15	12	11	48	85
IRAs	0	17	48	36	15
Part time work	25	19	0	3	2
Support of children or grandchildren	40	0	0	4	0
Inheritance	7	0	7	10	0

What are you relying on most to fund your retirement?	**1st+2nd Choices**				
	<$20K	***$20-34K***	***$35-59K***	***$60-99K***	***$100+K***
Savings and investments	28	63	56	61	79
Company pension plans	23	30	49	37	37
Social Security income	64	46	35	15	18
IRAs	9	24	26	38	53
Part time work	13	15	11	10	0
Support of children or grandchildren	10	4	1	9	0
Inheritance	9	3	7	2	12

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What are your biggest concerns about your retirement?	All
Having enough money / Financial security	26
Social Security / Whether or not it will still be there	11
Health / Having good health	9
Economy / Inflation / Stock market crashing	7
Healthcare/coverage	7
I'm able to retire/live long enough to retire	5
What to do / Boredom	3
None / No concerns	10
Other/Don't Know	24

Environment and Toyota Lawsuit

Yesterday, the Justice Department filed suit against Toyota for violating the clean air act in the design of its cars. **72%/13%** favor/oppose this action.

<35y/o	>35y/o	City	Suburb	Rural
91/4	68/14	79/8	75/12	60/20

There is room for even more aggressive enforcement of environmental regulations:

43% think that the government is enforcing the environmental laws aggressively enough, **48%** not.

<35y/o	>35y/o	City	Suburb	Rural
40/60	47/43	36/54	46/46	48/42

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Schedule

Date	Event	Message
The next two weeks...		
Wednesday July 14	DLC National Conversation, MD	
Thursday July 15	Meeting and Statement with S.A.F.E. Colorado Students	
	Meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Barak	
	Photo-op with Crown Prince of U.A.E.	
Friday July 16	Education Event, IA	
	Tape Radio Address, IA	
Sunday July 18	**White House Dinner for Israeli Prime Minister Barak**	
Monday July 19	**Event with Women's World Cup Soccer Champion U.S. Team**	
	DNC Labor Dinner, DC	
Tuesday July 20	**National Bar Association Call to Action Event**	
	Photo-op with Apollo 11 Astronauts	
Wednesday July 21	**Possible Press Conference**	
Thursday July 22	**Message Event**	
Friday July 23	**Tape Radio Address**	
	DNC Retreat, Aspen, CO	
Saturday July 24	**DNC Retreat, Aspen, CO**	
Sunday July 25	**DNC Retreat, Aspen, CO**	
Monday July 26	**Boys and Girls Nation Event**	
	Make-a-Wish Photo-op	
	Anniversary of ADA	
Tuesday July 27	**Message Event**	
	Meeting with Russian Prime Minister Stepashin	
Wednesday July 28	**Message Event**	
	Outreach Meeting	
Coming up...		
Monday August 2	**Message Event**	
Tuesday August 3	**Welfare-to-Work Event, Chicago, IL**	
Wednesday August 4	**Message Event**	
Thursday August 5	**Meeting with Ukrainian President Kuchma**	
	Message Event	
Friday August 6	**Tape Radio Address**	

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates Re: Strategy Session (25 pages)	March 4, 1999	P5
002. report	Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates Re: Strategy Session (16 pages)	April 29, 1999	P5
003. report	Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates Re: Strategy Session (14 pages)	May 13, 1999	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14461

FOLDER TITLE:
Polls [1]

2006-0469-F
sb84

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(I) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

1. Accomplishments

With the impeachment drama over, most Americans believe that President Clinton can still get things done in the remainder of his term. Due to President Clinton's aggressiveness at pursuing his agenda, nearly 20% more think he is trying to accomplish things than the Republicans in Congress.

Republicans cannot deny that either the President or the Democrats in Congress are working to accomplish things - whereas Democratic respondents are more skeptical of GOP efforts.

68%/30% think President Clinton can/can not still accomplish things in the remainder of his term.

D	R	I
84/14	43/57	69/27

Is...trying to accomplish things, or not?	Yes	No
President Clinton	87	12
Democrats in Congress	79	17
Republicans in Congress	69	25

87%/12% think President Clinton is/is not trying to accomplish things.

D	R	I
95/5	73/24	87/12

79%/17% think that the Democrats in Congress are trying to accomplish things.

D	R	I
87/9	71/26	77/17

69%/25% think that the Republicans in Congress are trying to accomplish things.

D	R	I
56/36	86/10	74/22

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Re-Cap of What is happening

2. Ratings have remained stable. The fall that the pundits predicted has not occurred, even though the press has continued to go after the President in the post-impeachment world.
3. The county wants to get things done – and is increasingly frustrated with the Republican majority in Congress. Rather than push for immediate action the Republicans have waffled over tax cuts and the budget. It is the Republicans in Congress who are tanking after impeachment. It is impeachment that was both sinking them and giving them something to fight for—what do the Republicans have now to keep them up with their own base? Nothing.
4. It is a difficult period to break through with domestic news, as there is no action in Congress, and the reporters will not cover the same Social Security and Medicare events without a new twist.

We have several big things that we can do domestically: (and foreign policy will just clearly be a large part of:

1. Save the Surplus for Social Security and Medicare/Restructure Retirement
2. Finish setting the course for the strengthening of education in this country. Essentially we have led the way in a movement towards standards, and in federal help to 1) open up the doors of college and 2) improve the integration of technology into education and 3) establish choice through charter schools. The Republicans are now trying to turn the federal role in helping education to nothing more than a revenue conduit, as though all the schools needed was more tax dollars. And this helps Republican governors keep down local tax rates. They are coming perilously close to winning this debate. The schools need much more to make it in the 21st Century – and the government has a role in uplifting the schools. The system was not failing for lack of money.
3. End the marketing of tobacco to kids. This is not a small accomplishment. The failure to agree on the settlement last year has balkanized the issue, moving it to the states. The suit can bring this back to the federal level and lead to a global solution to this problem.
4. Force the gun manufacturers to adopt the right kind of safety measures.

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5. Use the Race Report to make a statement that moves the country into the 21st Century united behind using our diversity.

But each of these will move slowly until there is a budget, and that typically hasn't really happened until October, leaving us a very long slow period to make these accomplishments.

This means that we can:

1) have a continuing fight on Social Security and Medicare by reacting to the day to day programs of the Republicans. The daily developments can be added to the speeches, regardless of the topic.
2) Create more distance on education by firmly opposing the block grant concept as ineffective beyond a certain limit (say 50%) of Federal monies to education. And standing firm on school construction and class size initiatives.
3) Look for small pieces of legislation to pass to show some progress on the Democratic agenda. The Kennedy Jeffords bill, possible along with the long-term care tax credit are the best candidates.
4) Create news on guns and tobacco as areas now subject to significant administrative as well as legislative action.
5) Roll out the crime bill
6) Roll out the tax cut plan (and include getting rid of the ss earnings limit as a tax cut)

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Kennedy/Jeffords – Eldercare Tax Credit

Clearly this legislation is popular. The idea would be to suggest to the leadership that such an initiative for the disabled is something we can all agree upon and pass now.

Democrats and Independents on the other hand see the long term care tax credit as a Presidential initiative and victory if passed.

	Support/ Oppose	Victory for...	
		President Clinton	Republicans
Legislation to allow people coming off of disability to keep their healthcare coverage if they get a job	72/20	45	17
Long-term tax credit of $1000 for a family caring for an aged parent or relative	86/9	52	17
Both bills together	82/13	47	17

72%/20% support/oppose legislation to allow people coming off of disability to keep their healthcare coverage if they get a job

72% support (**45%** strongly + **27%** somewhat)
20% oppose (**10%** strongly + **10%** somewhat)

D	R	I
78/18	67/27	70/20

If this passed, **45%** think it would be a victory for President Clinton **17%** for the Republicans.

D	R	I
44/15	43/17	47/22

86%/9% support/oppose the long-term tax credit of $1000 for a family caring for an aged parent or relative.

86% support (**63%** strongly + **23%** somewhat)
9% oppose (**5%** strongly + **4%** somewhat)

D	R	I
90/4	82/13	86/10

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If this passed, **52%** would see it as a victory for President Clinton, **17%** for the Republicans.

D	R	I
60/7	**32/34**	54/17

82%/13% would support/oppose passing both pieces of legislation together - to allow people coming off disability to keep their healthcare coverage if they get a job and a long-term tax credit of $1000 for a family caring for an aged parent or relative, passing together.

82% support (**47%** strongly + **35%** somewhat)
13% oppose (**6%** strongly + **7%** somewhat)

D	R	I
80/10	80/18	86/8

If this passed, **47%** would see it as a victory for President Clinton **17%** the Republicans.

D	R	I
58/9	33/25	50/21

Social Security

The so-called "lockbox" proposal the Republicans are promoting garners only moderate support, and Americans would prefer the Clinton plan to spend 62% of the surplus to save Social Security over any "lockbox" plan. Arguing that the "lockbox" is a Republican ploy to fund a tax cut knocks support below 40% (and independents close to 30%).

Social Security revenues are counted in with general tax receipts to calculate the federal budget, and this is called 'on budget", **53%** believe that we should change the budget calculation to not include Social Security receipts, making it "off budget," **37%** think we should keep it on budget.

D	R	I
50/41	51/37	60/33

54% prefer spending 62% of the surplus to secure Social Security, **38%** taking Social Security off budget.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

D	R	I
67/26	43/49	52/41

45%/42% support/oppose a proposal that would gradually take Social Security off-budget over the next three years.

45% support (**31%** strongly + **14%** somewhat)
42% oppose (**30%** strongly + **12%** somewhat)

D	R	I
34/53	61/29	46/44

Given that some people say that this is just a Republican ploy to fund a tax cut over the next few years without looking like they are raiding Social Security- because it would allow them to use a reduction in interest payments to fund a tax cut, **38%/52%** support/oppose a proposal that would gradually take Social Security off-budget over the next three years.

38% support (**24%** strongly + **14%** somewhat)
52% oppose (**36%** strongly + **16%** somewhat)

D	R	I
26/67	57/37	31/53

56% agree with President Clinton that we should preserve 62% of the surplus to secure Social Security for the future, **32%** with the Republicans in Congress who said Social Security surpluses should be taken off budget.

D	R	I
78/20	24/57	59/28

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Tax Cuts

Everyone still consider

Which income bracket would you describe yourself as being in?	All	D	R	I
Upper Class	4	4	5	3
Upper Middle Class	16	11	24	18
Middle Class	**48**	**47**	**49**	**50**
Lower Middle Class	19	26	11	15
Lower Class	8	9	4	8

Which income bracket would you describe yourself as being in?	<20K	20-34K	35-59K	60-99K	100K+
Upper Class	5	4	0	0	17
Upper Middle Class	0	4	14	36	63
Middle Class	**24**	**48**	**69**	**61**	**12**
Lower Middle Class	33	38	16	2	0
Lower Class	36	7	1	1	5

Who has a Tax Cut Proposal?

	Have proposed tax cut	Have not proposed tax cut	*Have/Have Not (2/16)*
President Clinton	34	53	*34/45*
Democrats in Congress	28	59	*30/43*
Republicans in Congress	*51*	36	*47/26*

34%/53% think that President Clinton has/has not proposed a tax cut.

	D	*R*	*I*	
	45/41	*32/62*	*30/56*	
<$20K	*$20-35K*	*$35-60K*	*$60-100K*	*$100+K*
21/54	*43/41*	*34/56*	***33/61***	*2/76*

28%/59% think that the Democrats in Congress have/have not proposed a tax cut.

	D	*R*	*I*	
	34/57	*24/64*	*29/59*	
<$20K	*$20-35K*	*$35-60K*	*$60-100K*	*$100+K*
17/78	*34/47*	*42/50*	*21/64*	*33/53*

51%/36% think that the Republicans in Congress have/have not proposed a tax cut.

	D	*R*	*I*	
	49/38	*71/19*	*41/44*	
<$20K	*$20-35K*	*$35-60K*	*$60-100K*	*$100+K*
35/62	*63/29*	*53/29*	*59/27*	*50/34*

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The Nancy Johnson targeted tax cut plan continues to have a much greater appeal than the across the board tax cuts did, and paired with the plan to reserve 60% of the surplus for Social Security, it narrowly beats the Democratic plan. Including education in the Democratic targeted tax cut plan, however, defeats the Johnson plan.

There is a difference when education tax credits are included on our side.

33% prefer targeted tax cuts for retirement savings, long-term care and child care, **49%** targeted tax cuts to reduce the marriage penalty, making health insurance tax deductible for those who purchase it, and raising the earnings limit on Social Security.

	D	R	I	
	37/48	40/49	27/48	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
30/61	25/58	40/41	41/43	13/61

45% prefer targeted tax cuts for retirement savings, long-term care, child care and **education**, **44%** targeted tax cuts to reduce the marriage penalty, making health insurance tax deductible for those who purchase it, and raising the earnings limit on Social Security.

	D	R	I	
	53/40	39/41	47/47	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
8/78	59/41	63/37	46/48	65/35

41% prefer using 62% of the surplus to secure Social Security, 15 % to extend Medicare for an additional 10 years, along with targeted tax cuts for retirement savings, for long-term care, and child care, **44%** using 62% of the surplus to secure Social Security along and using the rest for targeted tax cuts to reduce the marriage penalty, make health insurance tax deductible for individuals who purchase it and raising the earnings limit on Social Security.

	D	R	I	
	51/36	35/57	41/42	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
47/30	39/48	47/41	23/65	31/38

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Medicare

Voters prefer spending the surplus to save Medicare over any reforms to the program.

The Breaux Medicare reform plan enjoys modest support, driven mostly by younger voters who are more willing to accept change. Of the four components of the plan, two were largely unpopular (income-related premiums, and raising the eligibility age), while two enjoyed some acceptance (prescription drug coverage and competition/privatization).

But this reform has the most salience for baby boomers, and they do not like these changes – any of them. So this is a plan that is attractive to the young, and not the old. It is DOA electorally.

And rather than become the administration that cut Medicare because of the budget deficit, we can be the administration that kept the program solvent through fiscal management and an economic recovery.

We have shifted from the politics of deficit in which this would have made sense to the politics of surplus in which health care for the elderly appears to be the number one priority of the electorate above all others. We can be the administration that kept millions of elderly with healthcare, not the opposite.

Instead we have a message that can win the House and preserve Medicare the right way – and we could couple the 15% with a series of Medicare Fraud initiatives.

46%/42% support/oppose a plan to reform Medicare to ensure the program can get savings by promoting competition and encouraging people to go into HMOs. The plan would include a prescription drug benefit for those who belong to an HMO, raise the eligibility age to 67, and scale premiums based on income.

46% support (**19%** strongly + **27%** somewhat)
42% oppose (**23%** strongly + **19%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	49/41	55/35	42/48	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
28/58	60/38	48/42	42/44	73/21
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
68/25	48/47	52/47	36/48	39/36

33% prefer a plan that would institute these reforms to extend the Medicare program, **55%** a plan that would include no significant changes, but invest 15% of the surplus in Medicare to ensure its solvency until the year 2020

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	D	R	I	
	39/52	34/52	27/62	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
40/47	25/67	34/58	33/64	37/38
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
67/33	50/46	21/63	18/67	40/48

41%/49 support/oppose an income related premium, under which individuals would pay more for their Medicare premium as their income rose. In this plan, recipients with income of $24,000 per year and higher would be subject to additional premiums.

	D	R	I	
	54/39	35/63	40/43	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
46/26	46/54	38/49	34/50	54/46
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
41/59	57/28	38/51	32/58	46/48

45% believe that an income related premium will ensure fairness to all Medicare recipients, regardless of their income, and that it will secure the financial stability of the program, and **47%** believe that the premiums will hit the middle class harder - an individual that made $30K a year would see a 50% rise in their premiums.

	D	R	I	
	49/46	44/56	43/43	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
46/42	53/41	40/58	44/56	70/30
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
31/53	66/34	39/54	46/50	30/60

Premium at $50,000

59%/35% support/oppose a plan with an income related premium that increased the cost of Medicare premiums for those earning $50,000 per year or more.

	D	R	I	
	61/35	59/31	57/39	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
59/33	77/23	54/39	63/37	37/63
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
54/46	48/48	63/34	68/27	59/22

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Premium at $90,000
63%/30% support/oppose a plan that included an income related premium that increased the cost of Medicare premiums for those earning $90,000 per year or more.

	D	R	I	
	57/36	60/30	69/24	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
50/42	61/23	63/33	86/14	45/55
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
41/59	50/50	72/22	75/13	50/34

Raising the age

27%/70% support/oppose raising the eligibility age for Medicare recipients from 65 to 67.

	D	R	I	
	27/70	40/58	20/77	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
26/66	29/71	26/73	14/86	39/53
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
21/79	23/77	29/69	26/72	29/61

29% believe that people are living longer and the minimum age must be raised to keep the Medicare program financially viable, and **68%** believe that the eligibility age should not be raised, since it will leave too many seniors between 65 and 67 without insurance.

	D	R	I	
	30/67	34/66	26/71	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
36/64	36/58	35/65	3/97	64/36
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
31/69	38/55	32/68	27/71	23/72

Drug benefit

67%/27% support/oppose including some prescription drug coverage, but only for recipients that are enrolled in an HMO or low income beneficiaries.

	D	R	I	
	69/25	63/32	69/23	
<$20K	$20-35K	$35-60K	$60-100K	$100+K
76/24	65/27	66/28	78/22	81/19
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
75/19	68/27	74/26	66/19	52/48

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

41% believe that prescription drug coverage provides a real added benefit for the most vulnerable beneficiaries without being too expensive, and that full drug coverage for all beneficiaries would be a difficult financial burden, and **50%** believe that providing drug coverage for only those Medicare recipients would make Medicare more of a welfare program, that millions of beneficiaries living in rural areas not covered by HMOs could not access these benefits, and that prescription drug coverage should extend to all Medicare beneficiaries.

D	R	I		
44/46	43/53	42/47		
<$20K	**$20-35K**	**$35-60K**	**$60-100K**	**$100+K**
71/21	42/51	29/60	22/71	49/51
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	**50-64**	**65+**
52/42	42/36	41/58	33/57	48/38

50%/36% support/oppose saving money for the program by promoting competition between health plans and encouraging seniors to enroll in HMOs.

D	R	I		
39/45	50/47	56/25		
<$20K	**$20-35K**	**$35-60K**	**$60-100K**	**$100+K**
68/25	46/42	52/42	31/38	71/29
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	**50-64**	**65+**
82/11	66/34	42/42	39/35	43/45

48% believe that private competition should be introduced to give seniors the advantage of choosing the plan that suits them from among private HMO and government plans, and that it would be more cost effective, and **39%** believe that the new program would hurt seniors because traditional government fee-for-service plan premiums would rise 10-20%, and would be particularly harmful for rural beneficiaries who have no access to these plans.

D	R	I		
42/41	58/33	43/44		
<$20K	**$20-35K**	**$35-60K**	**$60-100K**	**$100+K**
59/29	43/45	41/54	74/16	59/41
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	**50-64**	**65+**
63/37	75/25	38/58	45/21	38/42

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Supplemental Appropriations

Voters can get angrier about what the Republicans want to cut than they are enthusiastic about the supplemental. And that means that we could throw this at them as another example of continued gridlock on their part if they are trying to sink it.

44%/45% support/oppose a supplemental appropriations bill that has been proposed to help American farmers, give aid to central America, and provide help to Jordan in the Mid-east peace accords.

D	R	I
55/34	43/45	39/55

Republicans in congress want to cut spending for drug enforcement and the Y2K problem to fund this supplemental appropriations bill. If the bill passes with the cuts in spending for drug enforcement and Y2K, **32%** think President Clinton should sign it, **56%** veto it.

D	R	I	M	F
25/64	27/53	40/54	33/55	30/56

Patients Bill of Rights

Doing the Patient's Bill of Rights in Pieces only gives the Democrats more victories and leaves things on the table to fight about. This is a good idea.

27% would prefer Patients Bill of Rights legislation that would give Americans more rights for their healthcare and make HMOs accountable to be passed as single comprehensive bill, **56%** believe that individual bills for specific purposes such as emergency room care should be passed one at a time to speed up the process.

D	R	I	M	F
28/56	23/63	32/53	29/55	26/57

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Education

These questions are perilously close – Ed Flex is basically well received, as is the block grants. Democrats strongly oppose the block grants.

But this is a dangerous philosophy. Once the strings are removed, then the federal role in education is simply moving money from the federal income tax to keep local property and state taxes down. Clearly the argument needs to be amplified or we risk losing much of the difference between Republicans and Democrats on the issue of education. We might also come up with a formula that block grants 50%, but makes sure that the other 50% is used to meet the national priorities of more teachers, ending social promotion, etc.

Block Grants

44% think the government should give block grants to states to allow them to use the funds as they please, and **48%** think that they should direct the funds to the states for specific purposes such as teacher hiring and training or school construction.

D	R	I	M	F	Child at Home	No Child at Home
37/63	69/30	36/48	43/46	45/51	50/48	45/43

55% believe that states should be allowed to use their federal education funding however they think their state needs it most, and **44%** believe federal funding should go towards programs that the government knows will improve education of American children.

D	R	I	M	F	Child at Home	No Child at Home
39/60	76/24	50/48	52/47	57/42	56/44	56/43

43% believe that states should be allowed to use their federal education funding however they think their state needs it most, and **52%** believe that local schools should be moving in the same direction towards national priorities and holding schools accountable for these things is the only way to ensure that is happening.

D	R	I	M	F	Child at Home	No Child at Home
27/64	48/52	51/47	49/46	37/57	49/48	41/52

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Ed-Flex

68%/25% support/oppose a proposal to increase the amount of flexibility local schools have in spending federal education dollars as they see fit.

68% support (**43%** strongly + **25%** somewhat)
25% oppose (**14%** strongly + **11%** somewhat)

D	R	I	M	F	Child at Home	No Child at Home
61/32	83/15	66/23	69/23	68/26	70/22	66/26

Given that Democrats are adding an amendment to this bill to also hire 100,000 more teachers to reduce class size, **73%/23%** support/oppose this proposal.

73% support (**51%** strongly + **22%** somewhat)
23% oppose (**15%** strongly + **8%** somewhat)

D	R	I	M	F	Child at Home	No Child at Home
89/10	62/34	70/24	65/30	81/18	85/12	63/32

If President Clinton said he would veto Ed-Flex legislation that did not include funding to hire 100,000 teachers to reduce class size, **37%/48%** would be more/less favorable to President Clinton.

37% more favorable (**17%** much + **20%** somewhat)
48% less favorable (**19%** much + **29%** somewhat)

D	R	I	M	F	Child at Home	No Child at Home
50/39	31/62	30/46	39/46	35/50	38/42	34/51

If the Republicans refused to add 100,000 teachers to the Ed-Flex bill, **41%** think President Clinton should sign it, **47%** veto it.

D	R	I	M	F	Child at Home	No Child at Home
26/63	64/33	44/43	49/37	34/56	47/42	41/48

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Single Sex Public Schools

There is surprising support for endorsement of single sex schools. Even with the argument of possible inequality, there is widespread support for single sex public schools.

69%/27% think/do not think single sex schools should be allowed to receive federal funding, given that currently all federally funded public schools must be co-ed.

D	R	I	M	F	Child at Home	No Child at Home
67/30	81/19	67/29	69/28	70/26	62/36	73/23

66%/25% support/oppose a plan by Republicans in Congress allowing public schools to receive federal funding even if they are boys or girls only,.

D	R	I	M	F	Child at Home	No Child at Home
77/22	95/5	44/44	56/31	75/19	72/27	62/25

51%/39% support/oppose given that some people say this will result in inequality in public education, depending on a child's sex.

D	R	I	M	F	Child at Home	No Child at Home
56/34	73/24	40/52	39/57	62/23	56/34	53/36

Racial Stereotyping

The use of racial stereotyping is an issue that is of concern – 73% believe it is a problem.

73%/20% think/do not think that racial stereotyping by police - in which police single out people of specific races is a problem in the US.

D	R	I	White	Black	Hispanic
75/13	59/32	82/16	68/24	100/0	88/12

71% think the federal government should crack down on racial stereotyping, **20%** not.

D	R	I	White	Black	Hispanic
81/10	58/36	74/16	67/23	100/0	67/24

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The following are proposals that are aimed at reducing racial stereotyping and abuse of minorities by police officers. Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose each proposal as a way of reducing racial stereotyping and abuse of minorities by police officers?	Strongly support	Support/ oppose	D	R	I
Expanding training and community policing	63	93/4	96/0	94/6	92/5
Expanding youth academies to interest more young people in going into policing	57	89/8	91/4	86/11	91/7
Recruiting more minorities into policing	53	84/12	85/9	79/17	86/12
Increasing funding for internal police investigations of racial abuse allegations	49	83/13	92/2	66/30	88/10

Guns

Nearly two thirds oppose legislation that prevents lawsuits against gun manufacturers, including over half of Republicans. There is no support for initiating a federal suit – but support for using the suits that have been filed to get the gun manufacturers to act.

Yet, 3 in 4 believe gun manufactures should be required to ensure the safety of their product - showing an opening to crack down on guns via the manufactures, through means other than lawsuits. The gap widens for those with children living at home, further demonstrating that gun legislation can be made into a pro-family issue.

76% think that gun manufacturers should be required to do all that they can to see that their guns are used properly, to provide all safety devices possible to prevent their misuse, and organize distribution systems that make it difficult for them to fall into criminal hands, **22%** not.

D	R	I	Child at Home	No Child at Home
81/19	*81/19*	*70/27*	*81/19*	*72/25*

If gun manufacturers fail to do these things, **45%** think they should be sued by states and local governments, **51%** not.

D	R	I	Child at Home	No Child at Home
46/53	*38/59*	*47/47*	*52/46*	*43/52*

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63%/33% think President Clinton should support/oppose these suits to force gun manufacturers to implement tougher regulations

D	R	I	Child at Home	No Child at Home
76/22	48/46	61/36	74/24	57/39

Republicans in Congress are proposing legislation that would make it a felony to sue gun manufacturers. **30%/65%** support/oppose this legislation.

D	R	I	Child at Home	No Child at Home
20/74	45/53	30/66	35/63	28/67

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Crime

There is strong support for raising the penalties on environmental and gun related crimes.

75%/20% support/oppose expanding to all states a federal law that "exiles" any convicted felon that is apprehended possessing a gun to federal prison for a minimum of 5 years.

75% support (**61%** strongly + **14%** somewhat)
20% oppose (**8%** strongly + **12%** somewhat)

D	R	I	Child at Home	No Child at Home
80/18	79/17	67/25	79/19	73/21

51% say that in addition to expanding the "exile" law, aggressive legislation on handgun control should be passed. **40%** say that expanding the "exile" law will have enough of an effect on crime, and that no other gun control legislation should be passed.

D	R	I	Child at Home	No Child at Home
57/38	50/46	48/40	55/38	51/44

The following are some proposals that have been suggested for fighting non-traditional and 21st century crime. For each one, please tell me if you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose the proposal.	Strongly support	Support/ oppose	D	R	I
Enhancing penalties for environmental crimes that result in serious bodily injury or death to any person, including police, firefighters, paramedics, or health personnel who are often first on the scene of an environmental crime.	75	88/8	87/9	88/9	87/7
Establishing a 10 year penalty for any person that knowingly possesses a biological weapon, and making the use of a biological weapon that results in death an offense punishable by death	72	80/ 13	90/8	82/ 15	72/ 16
Requiring that the possession of certain biological agents and toxins be reported to the government within a specified time period, and establishing penalties for failure to report or comply with regulations on transfer and possession of these agents	71	87/6	91/3	89/5	84/9

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Extending the statute of limitations up to 3 more years, to a total of 8 years for environmental criminals who act to conceal their crimes	69	83/ 12	89/9	86/ 10	76/ 16
Authorizing federal law enforcement authorities to block or terminate telephone service to anyone engaged in telemarketing fraud	67	76/ 17	74/ 18	72/ 22	81/ 14
Making it a crime to falsely report that someone possesses a biological weapon	67	82/ 13	79/ 20	90/4	81/ 13
Cracking down on illegal kickback schemes in the health care industry by extending the current penalties that apply to federally funded health plans to all private health insurance providers	66	85/8	90/6	88/9	80/ 10
Authorizing federal courts to order convicted criminals to reimburse states and localities for the costs of prosecuting environmental crimes	66	84/ 11	89/5	76/ 23	85/7
Increasing from 5 to 10 years the maximum penalty for obstructing a health care fraud investigation or providing false statements in relation to health care matters	65	84/1 2	80/ 17	89/ 11	85/9
Strengthening the ability of federal prosecutors to investigate and bring civil health care fraud cases	65	87/9	88/ 10	90/9	86/6
Guaranteeing that victims of environmental crimes – including, in some instances, whole communities – are eligible for restitution	53	81/ 15	83/ 13	80/ 18	80/ 16
Limiting gun purchases to one gun per person per month	37	50/ 42	51/ 48	49/ 46	57/ 33

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Tobacco Lawsuits

Voters support President Clinton's decision to allow states to keep tobacco lawsuit money, and agree that the money should be used to fight teenage smoking.

60% are aware of President Clinton allowing the states to keep all of the money they received though the tobacco lawsuits, and encouraging the states to use this money to reduce teen smoking.

D	R	I
59	55	65

Given this,

54/23% are more/less favorable towards President Clinton.
54% more favorable (**23%** much + **31%** somewhat)
23% less favorable (**11%** much + **12%** somewhat)

D	R	I
63/11	42/35	55/27

30% think the states should be allowed to used the money they received from the tobacco lawsuits in any way they choose; **60%** think they should use this money on programs to reduce teen smoking.

D	R	I
17/76	42/48	35/58

Offshore Oil Royalties

The federal government will collect $4 billion in offshore oil-drilling royalties this year. Congress wants to allocate 25% of the money to states that border oceans and the Great Lakes to fight erosion and improve water quality, 25% to a conservation fund and for urban parks and recreation, and the rest to the Treasury Department for the general budget. **70%/22%** support/oppose allocating the funds in this way.

70% support (**36%** strongly + **34%** somewhat)
22% oppose (**10%** strongly + **12%** somewhat)

D	R	I
71/27	78/14	64/25

What if all of the money were allocated for environmental issues? **59%/32%** would support/oppose allocating the funds in this way.

59% support (**33%** strongly + **26%** somewhat)

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32% oppose (**17%** strongly + **15%** somewhat)

D	R	I
62/34	51/42	64/27

59% would prefer using half for environmental issues and half for the general budget, **33%** using all of the royalties for environmental needs.

D	R	I
58/40	66/26	61/31

Miscellaneous

Second Chance Homes

70%/23% support/oppose expanding second chance maternity homes for unwed teenage mothers where young women would live with their children under strict adult supervision and have the support necessary to become productive members of society.

70% support (**41%** strongly + **29%** somewhat)
23% oppose (**9%** strongly + **14%** somewhat)

D	R	I
76/18	67/28	64/25

Seizure of vehicles of drunk drivers—NYC

68% are aware of a new policy in New York City which allows police to seize the vehicles of drunk drivers.

D	R	I
65	60	76

61%/35% would support/oppose allowing police to seize the vehicles of drunk drivers.

D	R	I
58/38	67/32	61/31

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No Frills Insurance

Some health insurance companies are currently offering no-frills health insurance that would provide just basic care to the uninsured. **69%/23%** support/oppose this.

D	R	I
68/22	67/24	68/26

If President Clinton proposed efforts to help expand awareness of this insurance to get more of those with out coverage on this, **67%/19%** more/less favorable towards President Clinton.

67% more favorable (**29%** much + **38%** somewhat)
19% less favorable (**5%** much + **14%** somewhat)

D	R	I
78/3	43/47	72/20

Consumers

Currently, there are a number of government agencies that deal with different consumer issues. **61%/26%** would support/oppose creating a council that would meet with the White House to coordinate consumer policy for the 21st century.

61% support (**30%** strongly + **31%** somewhat)
26% oppose (**13%** strongly + **13%** somewhat)

D	R	I
60/21	53/39	68/23

Hate Crimes

63%/21% would be more/less favorable towards President Clinton if he met with the parents of Matthew Shephard—the homosexual student murdered in Wyoming—and the family of James Byrd, Jr—the African-American man who was dragged to death behind a truck in Texas, to encourage the passage of tougher hate crime legislation.

63% more favorable (**45%** much + **18%** somewhat)
21% less favorable (**11%** much + **10%** somewhat)

D	R	I
76/12	43/39	69/17

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Upcoming Schedule

Date	Event	
The next two weeks...		
Friday, March 5	Official Working visit of Italian PM D'Alema Tape Radio Address Diplomatic Corps Reception	
Monday March 8	*Central America*	
Tuesday March 9	Central America	
Wednesday March 10	Central America	
Thursday March 11	Central America	
Friday March 12	Boyhood Home Dedication, Hope AR Tape Radio Address Sandlin Dinner, Texarkana, TX	
Monday March 15	Mtg w/ NATO SYG Javier Solona 17th Annual Legislative Conf. Of the Int'l Assoc. of Firefighters Millennium Lecture Series Event	
Tuesday March 16	*Address Conf. On US-Africa Partnership for 21st century*	
Wednesday March 17	Speaker's Lunch Ahern Mtg/Shamrock Presentation St. Patrick's Day Reception	
Thursday March 18	Rabin Center Event Radio & TV Correspondents Dinner	
Friday March 19	Women's Group Mtg Tape Radio Address	
Future Events		
Monday March 22	NATO Host Committee Dinner	
Tuesday March 23	Meeting with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat	
Wednesday March 24	Ron Brown Awards Ceremony	

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President Clinton's letter to Palestinian Leader Arafat (AIR-UH-FAHT) urging him to delay a Palestinian declaration of independence and calling for a three way summit meeting by the end of the year	30	34/25	50/16	15/45	33/21
President Clinton's call for legislation that would ban workplace discrimination against parents	29	53/25	71/9	33/42	51/25

Strategic questions

Ultimately we are involved in areas that are most successful when we have national unity. When we make guns the focus of our efforts as a result of Littleton, then we are driving a message that divides rather than unites the country.

On the other side, when the Republicans fail to support a simple resolution of support for our on-going military operation, then they are dividing the country on the way along partisan lines in a deliberate way.

Our goal has always been to unite the country and to stand for that unity in the face of raw partisanship. That has worked best for the President and establishing his leadership through a wide range of issues.

We are also being driven to talking about downers in essentially negative ways.

So the basic question is whether we should lean into these two major stories or start to lean away from them. We have no choice in the current news cycle, but this will change in another week.

And we are talking about them in such negative terms – a culture of violence that exists in America, not in terms of an American spirit that can work to overcome. These problems are so closely tied to the information age that the information and technology that means most our students are getting ahead can be used by a few students to turn to the dark side of life. We cannot let these kids stand for the rest of America. And the focus of our response cannot be only about guns and government.

It's got to be about parents and responsibility. It's got to be about the balance of family and work and kids. About giving parents tools to exercise that responsibility better in this new age.

We all know that a few more laws would not have made the difference – parents who knew what their kids were up to would have made the central difference here. Further, we have a record of promoting mentoring and other programs that

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enhance the connection of kids to their parents and to other adults and this should be a central focus of what we are talking about.

Denver Shootings

Voters believe that guns are not the only thing to blame for the school shootings in Colorado – in fact, a majority believe that the lack of tough gun control laws in Colorado did not contribute to the shooting. The top factor in the shootings was a lack of parents participating in education. 80% say that this played an important role in the shootings, and it scored as the top factor for those both with and without kids at home.

Two other critical factors - the influence of media and culture, and the influence of gun control laws, were seen as having an important role as well, but were the bottom two factors.

The most helpful way to reduce juvenile violence, according to 40% of voters, is by training teachers to know and react to the early warning signs of violence in troubled students

99% heard about the shootings in a high school outside of Denver, Colorado, in which 13 students were killed by two student gunmen, **1%** not.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
98/2	99/1	99/1	99/1	98/2

Root Causes of the School Shootings

59% think that this incident was the result of a moral decline in our country, **26%** because these kids were mentally ill.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
51/34	72/18	58/24	65/21	55/30

Now I have some questions about the shooting this week at a Colorado high school. In general, what do you think us the main reason why kids commit such violence: genetic or biological tendencies toward violence, poor upbringing from parents, violence in the media they are exposed to, or peer pressure from other kids? *Newsweek* Poll conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates. April 21-22, 1999. N=757 adults nationwide.	**%**
Poor upbringing	36
Violence in the Media	34
Peer Pressure	15
Genetics or Biology	5

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36% think that the lack of tough gun control laws in Colorado contributed to this, **57%** not.

D	*R*	*I*	*Kids*	*No Kids*
46/44	*22/77*	*38/57*	*36/57*	*37/57*

Do you think each of the following played an important or unimportant role in the school shootings in Denver, Colorado? (Important/Unimportant)	**Total**	**D**	**R**	**I**	**Kids**	**No Kids**
Lack of parents participating in education	81/14	80/15	85/10	83/14	81/14	82/15
Allowing Nazi-style **hatred** to remain unchecked	79/13	84/8	77/18	78/15	80/14	79/13
Inadequate attention to the mental health of our children	78/18	91/8	67/28	75/21	77/20	80/16
Lack of discipline in schools	73/22	70/30	83/13	71/22	76/20	73/22
The media and music culture that the kids grew up in	69/24	70/23	72/22	68/26	69/22	70/24
Lack of gun control laws to keep guns out of the hands of kids	61/35	75/23	49/51	58/37	58/37	64/34

Preventing Future Tragedies

In the long term, what do you think will be the most important way to protect schools and communities from tragedies like the one that occurred in Denver?	**Total**	**D**	**R**	**I**	**Kids**	**No Kids**
Intervene at the first warning signs to give troubled children help	37	31	34	41	41	35
Start early to help children grow up healthy and well-adjusted	28	29	27	29	29	26
Keep children from getting unlawful access to guns	13	21	11	9	6	18
Prosecute more juveniles as adults	9	9	14	6	9	8

Which one of the following do you think is the most effective way to prevent such violent incidents from happening again? *Newsweek* Poll conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates. April 21-22, 1999. N=757 adults nationwide.	**Total**
Attitudes/Behaviors	49
School security	21
Entertainment	14
Gun control laws	11

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Which of the following do you think would be most helpful in reducing juvenile violence?	Tot.	D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
Training teachers to detect signs of violence and how to proceed	40	42	36	41	38	41
Placing police officers in schools who are trained in the detection of signs of violence	19	17	15	22	13	22
Enacting stricter laws to prevent minors from owning guns	18	23	21	14	18	19
Increasing the number of guidance counselors in schools to help deal with the troubled children	16	16	20	14	21	12

CBS got a different result, with more support for increased security measures:

Do you favor or oppose the following? CBS News Poll. April 22, 1999. N=450 adults nationwide.	All	Parents
Having police officers permanently stationed in all schools	60/33	59/36
All schools installing metal detectors	71/23	69/25
All schools conducting random searches of student lockers	68/29	66/32

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Despite the belief that gun control laws did not play the central role in last week's school shootings in Colorado, there is support for a variety of gun control measures. Democrats and Independents are solidly more favorable to most of the potential Clinton initiatives, although Republicans are much less favorable.

If President Clinton announced the following proposal to fight juvenile violence, would you be much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable, or much less favorable to President Clinton?	Much More Fav	More/ Less Fav	D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
Background checks for people buying explosives, similar to those for people buying guns.	53	79/17	92/5	61/34	83/14	82/16	80/17
Pass a 72 - hour observation period for students caught with weapons in schools	51	74/21	82/11	54/40	78/17	71/25	76/18
A national ban preventing children from being allowed to purchase any kind of guns until they are 21. Currently, children over 18 can buy rifles.	44	66/30	92/7	44/55	58/36	64/35	69/29
Encouraging psychologists and social workers to adopt a school to help work with troubled students	44	71/23	75/21	61/31	74/19	62/36	78/14
Passing a law to hold parents responsible if they recklessly allow children access to their guns.	43	72/25	82/14	64/34	69/25	72/24	73/24
Allowing schools to use federal school construction funds to buy needed safety equipment such as metal detectors and video cameras	43	69/26	74/22	65/27	66/27	61/36	72/19
Creating a national a day of tolerance early in the school year to teach about tolerance towards other students	40	62/29	68/23	63/32	56/31	54/41	67/19
Requiring insurance companies to offer mental health parity for children under 18 so that benefits for mental illnesses are comparable to benefits for other physical illnesses.	40	70/21	82/13	69/23	62/26	70/25	68/20
Increased gun education and safety curriculum in schools	38	69/27	81/16	54/42	68/25	65/33	74/23
A national teach in day for teacher training on identifying early warning signs of juvenile violence and dealing with mentally ill students.	38	70/19	72/15	59/36	77/7	64/28	75/13
Work with gun clubs that train youth in the safe handling of weapons to get their help in the effort to identify children who are experiencing potentially serious emotional problems	36	67/28	69/28	59/37	67/24	67/31	69/27
Appointing a national commission on juvenile violence	34	68/19	69/23	58/28	76/12	61/28	74/13

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The Role of the Internet

A majority believe that the Internet did play an important role in the Colorado school shootings. An initiative that would allow parents to monitor the web sites their children visit was very popular – 95% support it, and 83% think that it would help fulfill their responsibilities as parents (87% of those with kids at home).

54/29% think that the Internet played an important/unimportant role in the school shootings in Denver, Colorado.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
61/28	52/34	49/28	48/36	59/25

11/78% think we are doing enough/not enough to keep hate and violence off of the internet.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
8/82	13/75	12/77	7/82	14/76

8/81% think we are doing enough/not enough to protect kids from hate and violence on the internet.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
5/89	7/83	10/71	6/83	9/79

59% think that parents have the ability to limit what their kids can access on the internet, **36%** not.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
64/34	66/31	50/44	61/34	58/37

78% worry about what kids can access on the internet now, **20%** say this not much of a worry.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
83/17	75/22	75/21	81/18	76/21

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Here are some things that can be done regarding the Internet. Please tell me if you support it strongly, somewhat, somewhat oppose it or strongly oppose them?	Strongly Support	Support/ Oppose	D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
Allowing parents to check what their kids have been doing on the internet	85	95/3	94/ 6	98/ 0	94/ 2	97/2	95/3
Bringing together the private sector to begin a massive educational campaign on how parents can restrict what kids can access on the internet to what's appropriate for them.	71	88/9	96/ 3	84/ 10	84/ 14	91/7	86/9
Banning sites that show people how to make weapons	64	70/28	73/ 25	58/ 39	76/ 24	76/ 22	66/ 32

Suppose software could be given to parents that would allow them to check the sites that their kids have been accessing. **93/6%** would support/oppose allowing parents to review where their kids have viewed on the internet.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
95/5	*93/3*	*91/7*	*97/3*	*91/6*

13% say that such software would be unwarranted snooping into the lives of their children; while **83%** say such software that allowed them to review what their kids accessed would be essential in helping parents exercise their parental responsibilities.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
14/81	*10/85*	*15/83*	*11/87*	*15/82*

39% think that parents should be given this ability by law, **48%** through a voluntary industry program, **7%** think that they should not be given any such ability.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
43/44/8	*40/44/6*	*37/54/6*	*40/51/6*	*38/46/7*

Mental Health

In the wake of the Colorado school shootings, voters overwhelmingly agree that 1) mental health is an important problem, 2) it is a problem that the government does not pay enough attention to, and 3) it is a problem that can be addressed effectively by focusing more attention and resources on it.

33% have a friend or a family member who has suffered from mental illness, **67%** not.

D	R	I
29/71	*35/65*	*32/66*

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3% think the federal government gives too much attention to mental health issues, **58%** not enough, **25%** about the right amount.

D	R	I	Mentally Ill Family/Friend	
			Yes	No
2/71/17	5/46/31	4/56/30	5/65/24	3/56/26

95/4% think mental health is an important/not important problem.

95% important (**64%** very + **31%** somewhat)
4% not important (**1%** not at all + **3%** not very)

D	R	I	Mentally Ill Family/Friend	
			Yes	No
99/0	89/9	96/4	99/2	94/5

Given that 1 in 5 families deal with a mental health issue, and it is a leading cause of workplace absences, **93/5%** think mental illness is an important/not important problem.

93% important (**60%** very + **33%** somewhat)
5% not important (**1%** not at all + **4%** not very)

D	R	I	Mentally Ill Family/Friend	
			Yes	No
94/10	88/10	96/4	96/3	92/6

16% say the individual bears the responsibility for dealing with mental illness, **62%** families, and **15%** say the government.

D	R	I	Mentally Ill Family/Friend	
			Yes	No
10/57/22	10/76/11	23/57/14	16/62/16	16/62/16

18% say mental illness is a personal weakness that can't be fully resolved, while **73%** say focusing more resources and attention on mental health issues can effectively address the problem.

D	R	I	Mentally Ill Family/Friend	
			Yes	No
19/76	21/73	14/71	13/83	20/69

83% think that mental health is an overall part of good health, **15%** not.

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D	R	I	Mentally Ill Family/Friend	
			Yes	No
81/18	84/16	87/11	84/15	83/15

Two of the most popular mental health initiatives are centered around providing more resources, information, and support to help people deal with mental health issues. Additionally, the initiatives that provide more funding for and help to school guidance counselors scored particularly well. People just don't know what to do and how to handle it.

While mental health parity requirements for insurance companies were not among the top scoring proposals, they still make a majority more favorable to President Clinton. When asked about mental health parity separately, 73% supported mental health parity requirements for private insurers, and 60% agreed that it would be carefully managed, effective, and save money in the long run.

If President Clinton announced the following initiatives at a White House conference on mental health, would you be much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable, or much less favorable towards President Clinton?	Much More Fav	Total More/ Less Fav	D	R	I	Mentally Ill Family/ Friend	
						Yes	No
Announcement of a new national 800 number that provides information for finding counseling and support for dealing with mental health issues	45	80/17	90/3	67/32	80/20	77/21	82/16
Publication of a resource guide on mental health for school guidance counselors, and increasing resources for mental health testing in schools	39	80/18	92/4	61/37	81/19	77/22	82/15
Hiring more guidance counselors in schools	39	77/20	94/2	55/43	76/21	70/24	80/17
A new public awareness program to fight the stigma, negative stereotypes and discrimination associated with mental illness	38	77/18	90/5	57/39	81/15	76/20	79/16
Formation of US Attorney's working groups on mental health in all 50 states, that will include meetings with medical, legal, and law enforcement professionals on mental health issues	35	75/22	87/6	59/40	71/26	71/27	76/19
A public awareness campaign to let people know about new prevention and treatments available for mental illness	33	69/25	88/4	46/52	69/23	72/25	68/25
Increased funding to address mental	30	62/34	91/2	33/65	58/39	70/28	59/35

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health issues							
Requiring the federal health employees benefit plan, one of the nation's largest health plans, to offer mental health parity so that benefits for mental illnesses are comparable to benefits for other physical illnesses	29	65/27	90/4	43/51	59/31	74/24	61/29
Requiring private insurers to offer mental health parity so that benefits for mental illnesses are comparable to benefits for other physical illnesses, even if it means the premiums go up 2-3%	27	56/39	79/17	31/66	52/38	62/37	52/40

73/21% support/oppose requiring private insurers to offer mental health parity so that benefits for mental illnesses are comparable to benefits for other physical illnesses, even if it means that the premiums go up 2-3%.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
82/14	*62/30*	*70/22*	*64/28*	*80/17*

27% people say that this would be an expensive and frequently abused benefit; **60%** others say that it could be carefully managed, effective, and save money in the long run because people would be able to work more and take care of their families.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
29/61	*21/71*	*27/54*	*19/67*	*34/56*

Americans are roughly split over which is the best path for the government to take in addressing mental health. Republicans and Independents are slightly less supportive of increased government funding for research, and slightly more supportive of increasing education and public awareness. Based on their reactions to the list of mental health initiatives, however, voters react more favorably to education and public awareness initiatives than to funding initiatives.

Which do you think is the best path for the government to take in addressing mental health?	Total	D	R	I	Mentally Ill Family/Friend	
					Yes	No
Increased Education and Public Awareness on issues such as prevention, treatment, and discrimination	33	30	35	34	33	32
Increasing funding for research on mental health treatments and prevention	31	37	30	27	24	34
Passing legislation that enables more Americans suffering from mental illness to receive health care coverage	30	31	26	32	36	27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Congress and the war

When Tom Delay takes the floor to whip a simple motion already passed by the Senate to support our troops, then we should call them on it.

This is a return to partisanship. How else can you explain support for $13 billion of funding but whipping against the motion of support.

The president should not directly challenge them on it, but other Democrats should definitely question the Republicans for playing politics here

Social Security

While Trent Lott and the Republicans play the blame game on Social Security, a majority think that President Clinton has shown more leadership on the issue. Standing around blaming President Clinton for a lack of action on this issue in Congress will damage Republican chances in the next election -- 52% are less likely to vote Republican as a result of Trent Lott's statement that he doesn't expect Congressional action this year on Social Security.

51% think that President Clinton has shown more leadership on Social Security, **23%** the Republicans in Congress.

	D	R	I	
	81/7	17/47	50/19	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
49/11	61/16	59/22	42/26	42/27

36% heard about Republican Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott's statement that he does not expect Congress to act this year to revitalize Social Security, **62%** did not.

	D	R	I	
	38/62	43/55	32/65	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
10/90	19/81	40/57	45/51	43/53

24% are more likely, **52%** are less likely to vote for a Republican for Congress in the next election as a result.

24% more likely (**13%** much, **11%** somewhat)
52% less likely (**27%** much, **25%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	7/78	50/22	23/49	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
18/51	29/42	19/62	26/50	25/55

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44%/46% support/oppose investing Social Security funds in stocks and bonds.

	D	R	I	
	49/47	38/50	43/44	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	**50-64**	**65+**
76/19	58/40	52/35	23/64	25/62

The Archer Plan has limited support:

One plan to reform Social Security would use the surplus to pay for a tax credit of 2 percent of every individual's earnings that would be put into a personal retirement investment account. At the time of retirement, the private account would be turned over to the government which would pay a monthly benefit and would make up the difference if someone's private investments ended up earning less that ordinary Social Security benefits would have earned.

43%/46% support/oppose this proposal

43% support (**16%** strongly, **27%** somewhat)
46% oppose (**27%** strongly, **19%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	39/49	43/50	48/43	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	**50-64**	**65+**
40/56	59/41	41/46	38/56	36/43

33% agree that this proposal will save Social Security and enable all Americans to have more money for their retirement, while **50%** agree that this proposal will end Social Security as we know it, and open the door towards ending government guaranteed benefits.

	D	R	I	
	33/53	28/50	33/48	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	**50-64**	**65+**
32/60	50/43	36/46	27/53	20/55

25% think that this proposal will save Social Security in the long run, **38%** endanger it, **25%** have little effect on Social Security.

	D	R	I	
	20/39/35	23/39/23	32/37/17	
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	**50-64**	**65+**
13/42/35	25/47/22	35/32/24	20/44/25	20/31/27

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Medicare

Americans prefer, by a small margin, to have a prescription drug benefit under Medicare that would provide some coverage for high drug costs in the case of an emergency, even if it means paying slightly higher premiums or paying a higher percentage of their drug costs. Those who preferred a higher benefit ceiling also were slightly more likely to believe that the option was worth adding to Medicare as a new benefit. Overall, regardless of which option they preferred, nearly three in four thought that the option they chose was worth adding to Medicare as a new benefit.

Currently, there are several options being considered for a voluntary, Medicare prescription drug benefit. All of these options cost the government about the same amount. In addition to receiving a prescription drug benefit, beneficiaries would have the advantage of a 10% Medicare price discount on drugs, even if insurance no longer pays any of the costs.

If copayments to doctors were held constant, **45%** would prefer paying a premium of about 30 dollars a month, having no deductible, and having coverage for half of all their prescription drug expenses up to 10,000 dollars, and **39%** would prefer paying a premium of about 15 dollars a month, having no deductible, and having the plan pay half of your prescription drug expenses, up to 2,000 dollars.

	D	R	I	
	45/45	48/32	46/40	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
53/38	24/55	48/32	57/36	29/35

Regardless of which option they prefer, **73%** think that the option they chose is worth adding to the Medicare program as a new benefit, **11%** not.

D	R	I	$30 prem.	$15 prem.
79/7	59/16	82/9	86/5	73/14
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
74/1	74/10	76/9	72/19	65/15

If premiums were held constant, **42%** would prefer paying a premium of about 30 dollars a month, having no deductible, and having coverage for half of all your prescription drug expenses up to $10,000, and **38%** would prefer paying a premium of about 30 dollars a month and having 80 percent of your drug costs covered up to 1,800 dollars, after a 100 dollar deductible.

	D	R	I	
	49/35	44/29	37/48	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
65/19	39/45	48/32	40/48	33/35

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Regardless of which option they prefer, **74%** think that the option they chose is worth adding to the Medicare program as a new benefit, **12%** not.

D	R	I	No Ded.	$100 ded.
82/12	60/15	80/11	85/7	79/17
18-24	**25-34**	**35-49**	**50-64**	**65+**
83/7	75/10	78/8	75/20	70/16

Kosovo Funding

A majority supports emergency funding for the Kosovo crisis, while there is less support for the additional military spending that will come from the surplus. 47% agree that this would be using a national crisis to add military pork barrel spending, and 59% think that President Clinton should veto a bill from Congress that authorizes $13 billion in emergency spending, $7 billion more than he requested, with all of the funding coming from the surplus.

75/17% favor/oppose humanitarian and military funding for the Kosovo operation.

D	R	I
82/11	68/25	75/16

56%/37% favor/oppose President Clinton's request for $6 billion in emergency funding for the military operation in Kosovo.

D	R	I
65/29	50/46	54/39

51/38% favor/oppose using this funding as an opportunity to spend an additional $4 billion for a military pay raise and modernizing our equipment.

D	R	I
51/40	57/31	48/41

30% say that we should allocate even more than $10 billion now to enhance our military; **57%** say we should stop at $10 billion because anything over that would cut into our domestic spending needs.

D	R	I
19/69	41/48	31/54

36% say that adding extra funds onto the emergency Kosovo bill is just piling on spending increases, and that we should only fund the amount needed, while **49%** say

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that we need to spend more on defense to increase military pay, enhance military benefits.

D	R	I
40/48	29/55	37/50

44% agree that we need military equipment improvements and pay increases, and that we should add extra funds through this emergency spending bill, while **47%** say that this would be using a national crisis as an excuse to increase military pork barrel spending.

D	R	I
60/45	47/46	37/51

If Congress passes a bill authorizing $13 billion in emergency spending, $7 billion more than President Clinton requested, with all of the funding coming from the surplus, **30%** think that President Clinton should sign it, **59%** veto it.

D	R	I
27/67	38/50	28/58

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Schedule

Date	Event	Message
The next two weeks...		
Thursday April 29	**Ed Flex Bill Signing**	
Monday May 3	**Visit of Prime Minister Obuchi of Japan**	
Tuesday May 4	**Travel to Germany; Meet with Chancellor Schroeder**	
Friday May 7	**Message Event; DNC Lunch**	
Saturday May 8	**White House Photographers' Dinner**	
Tuesday May 11	**New Markets Initiative Kick-Off Event**	
Wednesday May 12	**Crime Event**	
Thursday May 13	**Message Event**	

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Medicare

This Medicare proposal was supported by three in four respondents, and strongly supported by over half. We have been searching for a proposal with wide acceptance and this proposal – if financially feasible – appears to fill that need.

Stories of Social Security deals swirled around the Hill this week. Announcing a Medicare plan as soon as possible, before the next recess would serve many purposes – it would shift the focus back to a winning issue for us with a plan that had significant benefits. This would be a major piece of news that we can create, and can re-ignite the debate around this important issue. We can also again try to isolate the Republicans for failing to use some of the surplus for Medicare.

89/6% favor/oppose including prescription drugs in Medicare.

	D	R	I	
	91/3	90/6	87/10	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
96/4	93/3	91/6	87/7	86/11

75/15% support/oppose a plan for Medicare drug coverage that would **cost $20 a month, and cover 50% of drug costs up to $10,000 a year, with no deductible.**

75% support (**51%** strongly, **24%** somewhat)
15% oppose (**6%** strongly, **9%** somewhat)

	D	R	I	
	77/14	67/20	79/12	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
83/12	81/14	75/15	75/10	69/24

77% say this option is worth adding to the Medicare program as a new benefit, **12%** not.

	D	R	I	
	81/12	71/12	81/12	
18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
91/7	78/16	78/10	80/12	68/16

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Previous Medicare Plans (4/5)

52%/39% support/oppose the following plan: One plan that has been proposed for prescription drug coverage for Medicare is a voluntary plan that would cost seniors $40 per month. It would have a $500 deductible, and would cover 75% of drug costs after the deductible was met with **no limit**.

52% support (**19%** strongly + **33%** somewhat)
39% oppose (**17%** strongly + **22%** somewhat)

D	R	I
64/33	47/47	50/36

18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
64/26	53/40	**30/61**	34/46	59/37

46%/40% support/oppose another plan that would also be voluntary with a premium of $40 per month, would have no deductible, cover 75% of drug costs, and have a $2000 limit on the benefit.

D	R	I
53/37	51/43	41/41

<35	35-64	65+
64/31	44/45	37/45

The Present Plan for Grambling

Outline: HUMAN FACE of dom intl
NEW ECON.

The same new economy that offers so much opportunity is also exacting a heavy price on the bedrock institution of American life: the family. New technologies, from email in offices to computers on the assembly line, have sped up the pace of work. Employees feel greater stress, and they bring that stress home with them at night. Children are being bombarded with negative cultural influences coming over the tv, the radio, the Internet. And parents are finding it harder and harder to find the time to shield them from these influences and pass on their values. I want to talk about how we as a nation harness the new economy in ways that strengthen rather than undermine the American family.

There are those who offer a very narrow range of solutions. Tax cuts. School vouchers. Attacks on Hollywood. But the challenge of strengthening families demands a broader response. When America moved from an agricultural to an industrial economy and the American family suffered, the nation acted in a host of ways. From the rise of labor unions and settlement houses to the banning of child labor and the requirement that all children attend school, America made the industrial age safe for families. Today, we must make the information age safe for families.

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There are four broad ways to do this.

First, we must make it easier for parents to spend more time with their families. In 1993, passed the Family and Medical Leave Act, now we must expand it to allow more parents to take time off work to care for their children. We must offer workers more **flex-time**. And we must give a tax credits to parents who choose to stay home.

Second, we create more opportunities to bring the home and the workplace closer together. And as a father, I have had the privilege of living, as it were, "above the store," first in the Governor's Mansion, then in the White House. More Americans must have the opportunity to work at home through telecommuting, or to have their children closer to them at work, with work-site day care and public schools at the work place.

Third, we must make sure that when parents are at work and can't be with their children, they know that their children are being well-cared for. We must give more parents child care they can afford and trust. And we must expand after school programs to keep children in school and off the streets during the hours parents work and juvenile crime soars.

Finally, we must empower parents with new technology to shield their children from the worst influences of the Information age. Soon, half of all TV sets sold in America will come with V-chips. And soon, 95 percent of all Internet users will be one mouse click away from tools to make their computers safe for children.

Government must not dam the currents of economic and social change --nor must they leave our citizens to sink or swim alone. Government's responsibility is to give individuals the tools to balance work and family. But individuals must take the responsibility of using those tools to put their children and families first. If we all take responsibility, we can reshape the workplace and strengthen the American family for the 21st Century.

We will do the speech with the family report, but the issue is which new policies, if any should be highlighted

We will be issuing along with the speech the family report – an update of the role of the family in America, and this document will be filled with new statistics that people have been talking about, but have not really been documented before. We can stop there, and really talk in terms of exhortation of some of the changes we need to see in the workplace and simply use the report

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to stress the need to adopt the agenda we have already laid out. If the report is substantial, this will be sufficient as the report will be the news of the speech on the state of the working American family and how it has changed.

The basic statistic is that we have gone from 38% working mothers to 68% working mothers, so more parents have less time with their children. There has been a 300% increase in the number of children raised by single parents.

In addition, we can consider:

Possibilities:

1) **Parental Discrimination. This received very little notice**
2) **Flex-time. We used it in 1996, but have dropped it since**
3) **Some kind of expanded paid maternity leave benefit, either as a mandate with tax breaks to employers or just as an exhortation**
4) **Help with telecommuting**

More and more companies these days are allowing their employees to telecommute--that is, work from home using a computer and the internet. Telecommuting allows working parents to spend more time at home with their children, and it reduces traffic congestion on our nation's roads. **64%** say the federal government should encourage more telecommuting by giving corporations a tax break they can use to purchase extra phone lines and high-speed internet service in their employees homes, **31%** not.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids	<$35K	$35K	M	F
72/19	*58/39*	*61/35*	*67/28*	*61/33*	*74/20*	*59/37*	*58/35*	*69/27*

In 1993, the President signed the Family and Medical Leave Act into law. This law allows workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to care for a new baby or a sick family member. Millions of Americans have been able to take time off to meet serious family obligations without fear of losing their jobs. But studies are showing that there are still millions of low-income Americans who do not take advantage of this law because they cannot afford to take unpaid leave. Recognizing the importance of family life, many industrialized countries provide paid family and medical leave for workers. **67%** say the government should extend the Family and Medical Leave act to include some form of paid leave, **27%** not.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids	<$35K	$35K	M	F
88/8	*41/54*	*67/26*	*70/27*	*66/27*	*81/14*	*61/36*	*60/34*	*74/20*

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Paid Maternity Leave (4/21)

72/22% support/oppose requiring employers to pay for one month of maternity leave for women who have children.

72% support (**46%** strongly + **26%** somewhat)
22% oppose (**11%** strongly + **11%** somewhat)

D	R	I
85/9	56/39	74/21

38% say that requiring employers to pay for maternity leave puts too much of a burden on employers and is unfair government interference in the economy; **57%** say that women are now such a part of the workforce that this change is long overdue.

D	R	I
29/70	57/40	35/60

69/25% would support/oppose it if employers were required to provide one month of paid maternity leave but they received a tax credit reimbursing them for half the cost of it.

69% support (**37%** strongly + **32%** somewhat)
25% oppose (**9%** strongly + **16%** somewhat)

D	R	I
91/6	45/52	68/24

School Violence

President Clinton's response to the Littleton, Colorado school shootings has been more effective than the Republicans, particularly among women. 43% of women think that President Clinton's response was more effective than the Republicans, compared with 34% of men.

The lack of an effective Republican response will be compounded by Republican votes against modest gun control measures. 52% of voters will be less likely to vote for a Republican for Congress if a Republican voted against instant background checks for explosives purchases, and against criminal liability for parents who allow their children access to guns.

We can keep pushing forward here – we are going to Hollywood and we need to have a clear message before we leave. The concept would be to focus on one area – not the content of the movies themselves, but the marketing of the movies, TV shows and video games using violence and guns in those advertisements.

For many movies, the marketing budget is now as great as the production budget. For video games, far more is spent selling the games than making them These billions of dollars in marketing often go to selling guns and violence to our

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children. And we can condemn this marketing of violence and guns to our kids, calling for an investigation of the marketing practices by the FTC and for voluntary cooperation in taking the guns and violence out of the ads to our kids.

39% think President Clinton has had a more effective response to the Littleton, Colorado school shootings, **15%** think the Republicans in Congress, **47%** don't know.

D	R	I	M	F
59/5/36	16/25/59	35/16/48	34/19/47	43/11/47

26% think Democrats in Congress have had a more effective response to the Littleton, Colorado school shootings **16%** think the Republicans in Congress, **58%** don't know.

D	R	I	M	F
48/3/48	5/33/62	21/17/62	25/18/57	27/14/59

If Republicans in Congress opposed gun control legislation that called for instant background checks for people buying explosives and criminal liability for adults who allow children access to guns, **38/52%** would be more/less likely to vote for a Republican for Congress in the next election.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
27/62	46/44	41/49	40/52	36/51

In the wake of the Littleton school shootings, **27%** think that it is more important to focus on creating new gun control measures **62%** say enforcing existing gun control measures.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
34/53	25/66	23/66	27/59	27/63

69% think that the Surgeon General should conduct a study on the impact of media violence on juveniles, **26%** not.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
77/17	66/30	65/32	69/28	69/26

If the Surgeon General announced such a study, **53/23%** would be more/less favorable to President Clinton.

D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
74/7	35/34	49/29	55/26	54/22

Movies are not the central concern of parents – kids see movies in the theatre occasionally, but everyday they are surrounded by video games, TV and the internet – and these are the mediums that concern parents the most.

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Which of the following has the largest impact on juvenile violence?

	Total	D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
Video games	21	27	20	17	20	23
TV	26	25	26	29	**30**	24
Movies	16	12	21	16	15	14
Internet	23	28	19	20	24	22
Don't know	14	8	14	19	12	16

*For each of the following, please say whether you think the federal government should do more to regulate violence in that area, whether it should do less, or if it is doing the right amount? (***Gallup Poll April 30-May 2, 1999)**	More	Less	Right amount	No opinion
A. On TV	56	15	28	1
B. In the Movies	49	15	34	2
C. In Popular Music	48	17	31	4
D. On the Internet	**65**	12	17	6
E. In Video Games	58	15	22	5

But drugs, gangs and guns, along with the breakdown of the American family still get more blame than the media according to CNN:

There has been an increase in violence in the nation's public schools over the last decade. How important do you consider each of the following as a cause for this increased violence? (CNN / GALLUP/USA TODAY, 5/12, Moe = +/1 3%)	Very Imp	Quite Imp	Not Very Imp	Not At All Imp
Increased use of drugs and alcohol among school-age youth	74	16	8	1
Growth of youth gangs	71	19	7	1
Easy availability of weapons	72	11	12	5
Breakdown in the American family	76	16	5	2
Schools do not have the authority to discipline once they once had	69	18	10	2
Increased portrayal of violence in the media	62	19	13	5
Inability of school staff to resolve conflicts between students	64	25	8	1
Shortages in school personal	55	22	17	4
Trying to deal with troubled or emotionally disturbed students in regular classroom instead of in special classes or schools.	61	23	12	2
A school curriculum that is out of touch with the needs of today's students	50	22	19	6
Cutbacks in many school support programs	54	20	18	6
Increased poverty among parents	39	26	27	6
Increased cultural, racial, and ethnic diversity among the public school student population	41	17	28	11

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Every proposal in this area scored well. But many of these are small and would be drowned out. The concept would be to pick those that go after the selling of these

Ranked by Much More Favorable

I am going to read you a list of proposals and challenges that President Clinton could make to address violence in Hollywood and the media. For each one, please tell me if this would make you much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable, or much less favorable to President Clinton.	Much More Fav	More/ Less Fav	D	R	I	Kids	No Kids
Congratulate theater owners that issue new guidelines to keep kids of theaters showing R rated films.	43	82/ 13	89/9	75/ 20	82/ 11	83/ 12	80/ 14
Ask Hollywood to re-evaluate its ratings system by looking at what qualifies as a PG and PG-13 rated movie, to make sure movies at this level don't include explicit violence.	42	80/ 15	88/ 10	68/ 25	82/ 12	82/ 13	77/ 19
Challenge the networks to reduce their use of violence in TV programs and movies.	38	75/ 19	82/ 16	69/ 26	75/ 16	77/ 21	73/ 18
Challenge Hollywood not to use guns and violence in ads and previews that lure kids to violent movies.	37	76/ 20	85/ 14	70/ 25	72/ 22	79/ 17	72/ 24
Ask executives to better enforce the ratings system to keep kids out of R movies.	37	81/15	86/ 12	78/ 19	80/1 4	83/ 14	78/ 16
Challenge the conscience of the Hollywood community, acknowledging that while the first amendment means that the government will not regulate them, they should act on their conscience to do what is best for kids.	35	74/20	80/ 18	71/ 23	70/ 20	74/ 23	72/ 18
Request a voluntary rating system for video games	34	75/18	80/ 13	72/ 22	75/ 21	78/ 16	72/ 21
Order an investigation of Hollywood marketing technology to see if studios deliberately make violent ads that appeal to children.	30	69/25	79/ 17	59/ 32	66/ 27	70/ 26	67/ 25
Announce support for a Republican amendment to offer an antitrust exemption to film studios so that they can work together to offer a code of conduct for violent movies.	28	70/22	77/ 15	77/ 23	63/ 26	77/ 18	63/ 25

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Emergency Spending Legislation

The public has called the Republicans on their partisan behavior throughout the Kosovo funding debate – 40% say they acted in a partisan fashion. Nearly half of respondents also call on the Republicans to act in a more nonpartisan fashion on issues relating to Kosovo.

Voters support President Clinton's request for $6 billion in emergency funding, as well as for the hurricane relief funds. A majority agree that this emergency funding should come from the surplus, and not from cuts in other programs.

The public also finds several arguments for a veto of the funding bill convincing – two in three finds the fact that the bill contains hundreds of millions in unrelated pork barrel riders and amendments a convincing reason for President Clinton to veto the bill. A majority find four other reasons convincing. After a list of reasons why Clinton should veto the bill, a majority (54%) think that he should veto it.

40% think that Republicans acted in a partisan or nonpartisan way when it comes to supporting and funding the way in Kosovo, **24%** not, **36%** don't know

D	R	I
38/23/40	42/22/36	43/25/32

31% want the Republicans to act in a partisan fashion on Kosovo, **47%** don't, **22%** don't know

D	R	I
28/50/23	36/46/18	28/46/25

Favor/Oppose	Total	D	R	I
President Clinton's request for $6 billion in emergency funding for the military operation in Kosovo	53/40	71/23	40/49	46/49
President Clinton's request for $1 billion in emergency disaster relief for people in Central America and the Caribbean that were left homeless by last year's hurricanes	60/34	74/23	53/40	51/41

Congress is considering a bill containing funding for each of these programs - $6 billion to pay for Kosovo, $1 billion in emergency relief, and $7 billion in additional defense spending. If passed, **59%** think that the money for this bill should come out of the surplus, **27%** say out of cuts in other programs.

D	R	I
76/13	44/38	54/34

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Ranked by Very Convincing

I am going to read you some reasons that President Clinton might give for vetoing an emergency appropriations bill. For each, please tell me if it is a very convincing reason to veto the bill, a somewhat convincing reason, not a very convincing reason, or not at all convincing reason for President Clinton to veto the bill.	**Very Convincing**	**Total Convincing/ Total Not Convincing**	**D**	**R**	**I**
This bill contains hundreds of millions of dollars in unrelated amendments and riders. This unnecessary pork barrel spending would come out of our Social Security surplus if passed in this bill.	44	66/31	72/25	73/24	60/37
Special interest lobbyists have seized this opportunity to pile on completely unrelated and unnecessary provisions that would harm the environment and remove restrictions on endangered wildlife species.	33	60/35	65/28	53/42	64/33
This bill contains $7 billion in additional defense spending that is not required to fight the battle in Kosovo. Additional defense spending should be brought up when we discuss the federal budget – not when we are discussing emergency funding.	32	62/33	77/22	47/44	60/35
Some members of Congress are trying to squeeze things into this bill that have nothing to do with emergency funding. One such provision will prevent the government from using tobacco settlement funds to fight juvenile smoking.	26	57/39	60/35	52/43	57/39
This bill makes deep and damaging cuts in anti-terrorism and anti-drug programs to pay for increases in defense spending.	22	53/38	58/32	47/46	56/38

Given this, **36/54%** think that President Clinton should sign/veto the emergency spending bill.

D	*R*	*I*
45/50	*30/55*	*33/60*

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Y2K Liability

While public opinion is mixed on whether or not businesses should be held liable for damages resulting from the Y2K problem, there is support for legislation that would limit damages and give companies 90 days to fix faulty computers. After argumentation, a majority think that President Clinton should sign Y2K liability legislation. Upper income voters are more receptive to arguments for Y2K liability legislation, and more likely to oppose a veto.

43% think that businesses should be held liable for damages caused by their products resulting from the year 2000, or Y2K, software bug, **44%** not.

D	R	I	<$35K	35K+
51/30	30/61	45/46	59/26	40/56

63% think that the damages businesses have to pay from lawsuits should be limited for damages caused by their products resulting from the Y2K problem, **29%** not.

D	R	I	<$35K	35K+
60/32	64/30	68/25	68/23	65/32

59/34% support/oppose legislation that would limit people from suing companies for damages caused by their products resulting from the Y2K problem.

D	R	I	<$35K	35K+
55/36	68/29	59/34	61/28	60/40

One proposal would allow companies 90 days to fix faulty computers before lawsuits could go forward, and would put a $250,000 cap on damages. **66/26%** support/oppose this proposal.

D	R	I	<$35K	35K+
61/32	72/21	69/23	70/20	63/33

44% people say that such legislation is necessary, since the Y2K problem could cost businesses billions of dollars in frivolous lawsuits. **33%** say that this legislation would suspend a basic protection, the right to sue, that consumers and businesses have long enjoyed.

D	R	I	<$35K	35K+
41/36	42/33	49/29	37/36	53/33

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

38% say that Y2K related lawsuits have the potential to drag down the market and the economy, and that liability protection must be passed to prevent this. **46%** say that such legislation would provide a dis-incentive for businesses to plan for the Y2K problem, and that individuals and small businesses would be harmed by it.

D	R	I	<$35K	35K+
29/56	50/35	39/45	32/52	44/43

If Congress passed legislation limiting the liability of companies Y2K lawsuits, **54/27%** think that President Clinton should sign/veto it.

D	R	I	<$35K	35K+
47/36	60/19	59/23	48/33	62/24

Bankruptcy Reform Legislation

A majority support tightening personal bankruptcy laws, and nearly half (47%) think that current laws are too loose.

7% think that personal bankruptcy laws are too strict, **47%** too loose, **30%** just about right.

D	R	I	<$35K	35K+
10/41/30	4/57/19	8/47/35	6/47/33	6/53/32

55/33% favor/oppose making it harder for people to file for personal bankruptcy.

D	R	I	<$35K	35K+
36/47	72/20	60/30	40/44	64/31

50% say that with a record number of Americans filing for bankruptcy last year, we need to make it more difficult for people to erase their debts. **36%** say that such laws will create hardships for many single parents and children, and provide unfair advantages to credit card companies.

D	R	I	<$35K	35K+
35/50	62/27	55/29	43/43	58/34

If Congress passed legislation making it harder for people to file for bankruptcy, giving creditors the ability to challenge bankruptcy filings and allowing creditors to have an equal priority with those claiming child support, **52/36%** think that President Clinton should sign/veto it.

D	R	I	<$35K	35K+
34/51	61/28	61/27	46/40	54/38

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Education

Americans do not want year-round school or longer days. They do want more summer school for those who are falling behind.

The idea of adding 10 days to the school year was favored by more than half (56%) the population and support was consistent across subgroups.

The majority (59%) opposed the idea of year - round schooling. Younger adults were more opposed to year round schooling than were their older counterparts.

Additionally, 49% opposed a proposal to lengthen the school day. Opposition to longer school days was significantly high among those with kids at home, a key target group. Older individuals and those without a college degree oppose the idea of lengthening school day more than younger adults and those with a degree.

Ranked By Favor

Favor/Oppose	Total	D	R	I	Kids at Home	Coll Deg	No Coll Deg	<35 yrs	35 yrs+
Increasing the availability of summer school to students having problems in school	92/5	94/4	93/5	92/6	93/5	94/5	91/5	96/3	92/6
Adding 10 days to the school year	56/38	54/40	59/34	57/36	56/40	60/36	54/39	59/39	55/37
Lengthening the school day	39/49	38/50	41/46	40/50	35/57	46/45	35/51	46/48	37/49
All year round school – with school lasting through the year without a long summer vacation	36/59	36/61	41/55	33/61	35/63	42/54	33/63	**29/71**	**40/55**

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Schedule

Date	Event	Message
The next two weeks...		
Thursday May 13	**Message Event**	
	Foreign Policy Speech	
	Photo-Op	
Friday May 14	**DNC Dinner**	
	Tape Radio Address	
Saturday May 15	**DSCC/DCCC Dinner, Los Angeles, CA**	
Sunday May 16	**DNC Lunch**	
Monday May 17	**Las Vegas, NV**	
Tuesday May 18	**Meeting with King Abdullah of Jordan**	
	Military Aid Photo-Op	
Wednesday May 19	**Farley Building Dedication, NY**	
Thursday May 20	**Littleton, CO**	
Friday May 21	**Tape Radio Address**	
Saturday May 22	**Senate Democratic Issue Conference, VA**	
Sunday May 23	**Grambling State University Commencement, LA**	
Monday May 24 – Thursday May 27	**Empowerment Zones Conference, TX**	
Coming up...		
Wednesday June 2	**US Air Force Academy Commencement, CO**	
Monday June 7	**Mental Health Conference**	
Saturday June 12	**University of Chicago Commencement, IL**	

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