

NLWJC - Kagan

DPC - Box 014 - Folder 003

**DPC [Domestic Policy Council] -
Polls [1]**

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	T
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	T	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	T	M	F
93/6	82/13	84/14	86/13	86/10

What do you think is more important?	All	D	R	T	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.

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	Somewhat Support	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

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)

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	U	N	N
89/11	72/25	80/17	84/15	75/21

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)

S	D	F	O
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)

S	D	F	O
70/25	56/39	58/38	

Roundup of education polling

	Strongly Support	Slightly Support
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 3 rd 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 4 th grade reading and 8 th 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*

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	F	L
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	F	L
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	F	L
89/3	42/24	62/16

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

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

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

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

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 health 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: protecting patient's privacy, and guarantee of emergency care when and where you need it.

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

Which is the best reason to oppose the Republican plan? Which is the second best reason to oppose the Republican plan?	1st	1 st + 2 nd	D (1 st + 2 nd)	R (1 st + 2 nd)	I (1 st + 2 nd)
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)

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

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

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.

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

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

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%
<i>Generally strong economy</i>	17%
<i>Strong economic policy</i>	3%
<i>Created jobs/reduced unemployment</i>	3%
<i>Balanced budget</i>	3%
<i>Reduced national debt, lowered inflation, lowered interest rates, foreign trade</i>	2%
Social Issues-Total	16%
<i>Education</i>	5%
<i>Healthcare</i>	4%
<i>Welfare reform</i>	4%
<i>Abortion, FMLA, gay rights, race issues, low-income families, women's rights</i>	3%
<i>Crime/drug courts/drug use</i>	1%
<i>Social security</i>	1%

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.

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

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 essence 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

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.

Horseshoe: 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)

Horseshoe: 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)

Horseshoe: 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.

Horseshoe: 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

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)

Horseshoe: 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.

Horseshoe: 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)

Horseshoe: 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.

Horseshoe: 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.

Horseshoe: 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

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.

Horse race: 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.

Horse race: 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

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

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.

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 an 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 part 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)

Horse race: 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

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.

Given this, **72%** think we should maintain the 5-day waiting period, **27%** think we should go to the instant check system.

Horseshoe: 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.

Horseshoe: 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.

Horseshoe: 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.

Horseshoe: 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.

Horseshoe: 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

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

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

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)

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

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

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

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

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
Favorability⁹					
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

Approval by Party:

Democrats: 91/8; Republicans: 44/55; Independents: 69/28

Gore Job Approval	67/27	65/29	63/30	65/28	65/30
Strongly Approve	22	23	17	20	22

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%**

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.

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)

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

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)

Horseshoe: 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)

Horseshoe: 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.

Horseshoe: 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.

Horseshoe: Vote Dem: 22/65, Vote GOP: 51/37, Don't Know: 35/55

Men: 42/50, Women: 26/51, Prime Voters: 35/54

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.

Horseshoe: 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.

Horseshoe: 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.

Horseshoe: 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

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

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

Horseshoe: 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.

Horseshoe: Vote Dem: 26/0/73, Vote GOP: 7/9/81, Don't Know: 9/3/81

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

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

Horse race: 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

Horse race: 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)

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

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?	1 st	2 nd	1 st + 2 nd
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

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

Top Issues for Executive Action

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

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
<i>The federal government's role in solving the Year 2000 computer problem and a plan of action</i>	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

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

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

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 <i>Meeting with Polish Prime Minister Buzek</i>	
Saturday July 11	Live radio address – Success of Drug Courts 200 th 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	<i>Japanese official visit</i>	

cc EK, CR, CJ,
TF,
Jose

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						
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%**

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

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	Headline
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 & Tiananmen 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

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

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.

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 safeguards 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 importance 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**

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%

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.

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'll 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.

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 if 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)

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),

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

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.

Horseshoe: 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.

Horseshoe: 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.

Horseshoe: 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

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

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

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

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
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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.	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
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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 as 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

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%

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)

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

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)

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

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)

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

CC: Tom
CR
EK

+ return

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

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.

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 be 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:

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

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 policies 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.

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*

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.

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 tax break for people who take care of an aging parent

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

"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**

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

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

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

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,

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

The tobacco companies have been scoring points by portraying the McCain bill as a tax bill, rather than 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 health 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.

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

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

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

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 wrap 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 it was a cooperative effort to bring everyone together and 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.

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)

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:

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

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

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:

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;

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

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.

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

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.

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

Candidate Positioning

A revised Republican positioning that includes money for Medicare is several points stronger for the Republicans and draws back some of the seniors we are trying to win over, cutting into the Social Security proposal. Imagine the Republicans are so concerned about the mid-terms they are now proposing putting more money into Medicare.

But they will have a problem making this an election issue of young against old if the tobacco situation is resolved and few will ever learn or believe that this is a **Republican** proposal.

If a Democrat said he would reform education by making class size 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; make Medicare available for early retirees to buy into while ensuring it is solvent for the future; he would propose targeted tax credits for child care, expand the Family and Medical Leave Act, and raise the minimum wage.

And if a Republican said he would reform education by giving parents vouchers for public or private schools and ending bilingual education; **reserve all new money from a tobacco settlement to secure Medicare, use the surplus for either a tax cut or to pay down the national debt and cut taxes by \$30 billion over the next 5 years by abolishing the marriage penalty and other tax burdens** and He would abolish affirmative action and support an all out ban on partial birth abortions.

Given these positions, who would you vote for, the Democrat or a Republican?

Democrat 50 Republican 39%

Which is the most important Democratic Proposal to you?	2/17	Chose Dem
Social security	27	19
Making class size smaller	20	26
School construction	14	15
Minimum wage	9	13
Medicare buy in	6	7
Child care tax credits	7	6
HMO bill of Rights	6	4
Tobacco companies	2	3
Expanding FMLA	1	1

Which is the most Important Republican Proposal to you?	2/17	Chose GOP
use tobacco money for Medicare	23	34
Ban partial birth abortion	17	10
use surplus for tax cuts or paying down the debt	16	12
cut taxes	15	17
Abolish affirmative action	7	7
Vouchers	6	6
Ending bilingual education	4	3
Abolish marriage penalty	3	3

Seniors

We need to package our senior proposals as senior proposals, and to sell them explicitly to have the maximum impact in the mid-terms. We should take a Florida/Pennsylvania trip and hit seniors with our powerful combined package of issues.

The Democrat does much more for seniors. The Democrat would ensure quality health care by passing an HMO bill of Rights; and would invest any budget surplus in Social Security and make Medicare available for early retirees to buy into.

Knowing this **61% would vote for the Democrat, Republican 27%**

Candidate Jones a Democrat understands the needs of elderly Americans. He knows that seniors cannot always get the medical help they need or deserve, and that is why he supports requiring Medicare to cover long term care and chronic prescription drug care. He believes that Medicare should be expanded to cover more older Americans, and so he has advocated allowing those under 65 to buy-in to the program. He also says that we must use any budget surplus to go toward protecting Social Security to make sure it still exists in the 21st century. .

79/16% more/less likely to vote for this candidate

38% much + 41% somewhat more likely

8% much + 8% somewhat less likely

Is this proposal very important, somewhat important, not very important or not at all important to you?	Very Important	Important/ Not Important
A 21 st century medical research fund to find the cure for dreaded diseases like cancer	75	94/6
Saving any surplus for Social Security	60	91/7
Require Medicare to cover long term care	62	88/9
Require Medicare to cover chronic prescriptions.	61	85/13
Expand the Family and Medical Leave Act to cover 24 hours of leave to care for an elderly parent's health care needs.	51	83/13
Reform Medicare to give recipients more variety in their health care options;	55	83/14
A tax credit for all children who take care of an elderly parent	54	82/17
Putting funds received from a tobacco settlement towards Medicare	40	75/20
Expanding Medicare to allow early retirees to buy into the program	42	73/25
An HMO bill of Rights	45	71/14

Education

We have done Social Security and will do it again with the first town meeting. But we have not done enough to sell the education proposals. We need an event – possibly one of the State Legislature meetings that worked the first time last year.

Which of the following education proposals do you think will most improve our educational system?		D	R	I	M	F
Reducing class size to 18 students per class	42	30	68	35	33	50
Hiring 100,000 new teachers	23	34	15	20	29	18
Increasing the funding for school construction	20	35	3	18	27	14

Tobacco

The immunity concept consistently falls out of the polling as the hot potato that no one wants to end up with. Even though they say that they think that banning advertising is more important than raising the price of cigarettes, they seem to be unwilling to accept immunity (vs. settlement of the state and federal suits which they do accept) in the packages.

Tobacco has the capability to be the key domestic accomplishment of the first six months of the year and it will be seen as a Democratic accomplishment. And this means pushing this forward to create a separate process or summit to hammer out the details with the leadership this spring.

The other major bill signing could be the IRS reform package, which would be seen as Republican – but would take away the best issue they have long before the election.

Which is the most effective way to reduce teen smoking:		D	R	I
Banning tobacco advertising that targets minors	52	55	47	53
Raising the price of a pack of cigarettes \$1.50 a pack	31	37	35	24

The President supports legislation that would regulate nicotine as a drug; impose stiff penalties on tobacco companies if teen smoking doesn't decrease; develop counter marketing to teach children the dangers of smoking; increase enforcement, and raise the cost of cigarettes to \$1.50 more per pack — something health experts say is critical in order to dissuade teens from smoking.

69/28% support/oppose the President's Plan

40% strongly + 29% somewhat support
15% strongly + 13% somewhat oppose

Republicans say the President's plan would mean billions in legal fees to lawyers and would just raise taxes on smokers while letting tobacco companies off the hook. The Republicans propose a comprehensive plan that would do everything in the President's plan plus, in exchange for granting tobacco companies limited liability from future lawsuits tobacco companies would be forced to ban all marketing and advertising aimed at children, ban all billboard ads and impose strict penalties if teen smoking rates do not go down, including the removal of liability protection. The Republican bill would also limit legal fees and would instead use the money to help children hooked on nicotine quit.

Given this, 42% support President Clinton's Plan 43% the Republicans.

Democrats: 59/30, Republicans: 21/69, Independents: 44/40

The President says it's wrong to give tobacco companies immunity. Health groups such as the American Cancer Society and the American Lung Association says it is critical to raise the price of cigarettes by a \$1.50 a pack and oppose granting blanket immunity to tobacco companies.

Given this, **49%** support President Clinton's Plan **34%** the Republicans.

Democrats: 74/15, Republicans: 23/63, Independents: 46/34

The Republicans say President Clinton's approach has one major loophole – it fails to stop ads that target our children. In order to end the marketing of cigarettes and ban ads that target children we need the tobacco companies' agreement. Otherwise, they will challenge restrictions in the courts based on the first amendment *and* the ads will never be banned. That's why in order to ban ads that target our children the Republicans propose giving tobacco companies limited liability from future lawsuits, something that can be automatically taken away if teen smoking rates don't decrease.

Given this, **41%** support President Clinton's Plan **44%** the Republicans.

Democrats: 62/25, Republicans: 23/67, Independents: 34/48

Commencement Address

Last year's were successful, hitting a range of new topics such as science and the AIDS Vaccine, indicating that we can use them to talk about new topics highlight policy proposals.

Some major topics that have not been addressed:

- a) The role of too much corporate power in America in the new economy. (regulation of the global economy).
- b) The Opportunity Gap
- c) Reform of the justice system in America
- d) Electoral reform
- e) Right to Privacy in the modern world

Some that Waldman suggested include:

The following is a list of topics President Clinton could speak about in a commencement address. For each one please tell me if it makes you much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable towards President Clinton?	Much More Fav	More/ Less Fav
Race and Service – announcing a new national initiative to get people in communities to do community service in a way that brings them together with people of different races, using churches and community organizations.	50	86/9
The role of education in the new economy and lifetime learning. The new economy offers great new opportunity for people but demands that people get new training throughout a lifetime.	47	84/13
The importance of learning American History and Civics, because our future success depends on a greater understanding of our accomplishments in the past and how our nation developed	45	77/15
A new government for the 21 st century. What we have done to create a new government that gives people the opportunity to make the most of their own lives.	34	71/13
The new information based economy raises new questions about the role of corporations including issues of privacy, and anti - corporate practices. Society has to find new ways to protect consumers.	27	70/17
Ways to enhance our Democracy -- such as electoral reform. As we approach the 21 st century, voting is at the 2 nd lowest level in history. Beyond campaign finance reform there are things we can do to enhance our Democracy such as voting by mail, and finding new technology to give average citizens a greater voice in politics.	34	69/34
Curbing the proliferation of weapons. There exists a continuing challenge of weapons proliferation in the wake of the end of the cold war and the US need to take steps to end this danger.	37	68/27
Immigration, the new melting pot and a call for new tolerant attitudes towards legal immigration as we crack down on illegal immigrants.	34	61/34
International Trade - a serious look at international trade as it affects our future opportunities as well as labor and environmental issues.	25	64/26

NA

Which is the most important Republican Proposal to you?	2/10	Chose GOP
Decrease power of IRS	25	31
Ban partial birth abortion	28	23
Vouchers	9	8
Use surplus for tax cuts	8	17
Abolish affirmative action	6	13
Abolish marriage penalty	3	2
Ending bilingual education	5	1

67/25% agree/disagree with the following statement: President Clinton's programs such as the Family and Medical Leave act, expanding Medicare to early retirees, targeted tax cuts for child care and education and investment in Social Security are giving you more control over your life.

34% strongly + 33% somewhat agree
 15% strongly + 10% somewhat disagree

Tobacco Agreement

The Republicans have several successful strategies for changing/dragging down support for a tobacco settlement:

- 1) all the polling shows opposition to immunity
- 2) a tax cut and a Medicare fund is about as popular as our programs
- 3) Republican response that its just a tax increase in disguise also cuts down the margin.

This is something we want accomplished by election day, not fought over.

But the skinny bill is easy to defeat as inadequate

One possible solution to immunity – its availability only if targets for teen smoking are met. This is the kind of trade off that the public would accept.

Awareness and current perceptions

82% are aware of proposals in Congress to impose restrictions tobacco marketing and other penalties in an effort to reduce teen smoking.

53% think President Clinton is more in favor of passing tobacco legislation, 26% the Republicans in Congress. (in October: 56%)

Democrats: 70/19, Republicans: 49/28, Independents: 42/30

55% think Congress will pass legislation that includes a settlement with the tobacco companies, (33% not).

If no legislation is passed, who will you hold more responsible, [Clinton/Democrats in Congress] or the Republicans in Congress?

	Tot	D	R	I
Clinton	18	18	23	13
Republicans	57	63	54	55
Democrats	21	20	27	18
Republicans	45	55	45	35

If no legislation is passed, 22% think it is more because the President is just playing politics 60% because the Republicans are influenced by money they receive from tobacco companies.

Republican Skinny bill vs. tough bill

Republicans say we should pass legislation that imposes real restrictions on advertising, puts clearer warnings on cigarette labels, limits children's access to cigarettes in stores and vending machines, and a cracks down on drugs in schools, but gives no liability protections for tobacco companies.

President Clinton says we can do everything the Republicans want to do and more. President Clinton says the Republican bill would not be strong enough and we must place stiff penalties on tobacco companies if teen smoking is not cut in half in five years, impose restrictions that force tobacco companies to stop marketing to kids, raise the price of cigarettes, and give the FDA broader authority over nicotine.

32% agree with, the Republican's plan; 54% President Clinton's.

Democrats: 13/78, Republicans: 61/30, Independents: 26/50

Republican response

If Republicans said President Clinton is just being political and his proposal is just a tax on Americans that will give too much money to lawyers, and the way to cut teen smoking isn't by raising cigarette prices, but by helping parents keep their children away from cigarettes.

Whose plan do you agree with, the Republicans' or President Clinton's?
 42% Republican's plan; 45% President Clinton's.

Democrats: 23/68, Republicans: 63/23, Independents: 45/40

Internal Industry documents showing that the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company targeted teenagers with its marketing efforts have recently been found. Knowing this, which of the following do you think would best address this issue:	All	D	R	I
Tobacco companies should be forced to pay more in fines	36	50	24	32
Tobacco companies should have no immunity from future lawsuits	27	22	35	25
There should be no settlement with the tobacco companies	26	20	22	34

42% say even if it means giving tobacco companies limited liability - we must pass tobacco legislation to ensure that tobacco marketing is restricted, nicotine is regulated and smokers and their families receive compensation for damages due to smoking.
 41% say that even if it means no restrictions or regulations over the practices of tobacco companies, we should not pass legislation that gives tobacco companies limited liability from future lawsuits.

Democrats: 51/36, Republicans: 36/41, Independents: 39/46

Goals of legislation

Which of the following goals is most important in reaching an agreement with the tobacco companies?	All	D	R	I
Restricting tobacco advertising to children	26	28	24	26
Attacking the drug problem in America	19	14	24	20
Cut rates of youth smoking	17	22	16	14
Expand the authority of the FDA to regulate nicotine	14	9	16	17
Ensure that lawyers don't make too much money in litigation against tobacco companies	8	8	8	8
Ensure that the government receives the funding it needs to implement the proposals of President Clinton's budget	7	14	0	6

If President Clinton recommended that in any settlement, tobacco companies would only get limited liability if they **meet targets of reducing teen smoking**, 64/29% support/oppose a settlement with the tobacco companies.

23% strongly + 41% somewhat support
 18% strongly + 11% somewhat oppose

Democrats: 81/10, Republicans: 44/45, Independents: 62/35

Americans want to protect Medicare as much as Social Security, and the Republicans have caught onto the appeal of dedicating funds to save these programs. The same debate could arise as did with the surplus – investment in new programs or stabilizing these existing entitlements.

Still, voters and Independents in particular want to see the country meet the goal of improving education

If a settlement is reached with tobacco companies, which of the following do you think would be the best use for the additional revenue		D	R	I
Education	30	29	23	38
Protecting Medicare	23	29	26	14
Tax cut	13	4	25	11
Smoking cessation programs	10	11	7	12
Child care	9	10	5	10

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

Cloning

Cloning is not a partisan issue – it is a generation and income issue. Those over age 50 and earning under \$35,000 are most likely to support a permanent ban when it is not politicized. Yet these groups soften their opposition to cloning when they hear President Clinton endorses a temporary, partial ban.

53% say we should permanently ban research on human cloning forever because of the moral implications of human cloning that will always exist; 41% say we should place a ban on human cloning but limit it to 5 years, because we don't know enough about the science now to ban it forever.

Democrat: 53/40, Republican: 55/42, Independent: 51/41
Male: 46/46, Female: 60/36
Age: 18-24: 54/40, 25-34: 43/55, 35-49: 42/50, 50-64: 58/36, 65+ 72/22
Income: <20: 66/30, 20-35: 62/36, 35-60: 47/44, 60-100: 34/58, 100+: 41/54

38% say we should ban ALL research on human cloning because of the moral implications of human cloning; 59% say we should place a ban on human cloning but still allow cloning techniques to be used in some research for important areas such as cancer and spinal cord injuries.

Democrat: 42/55, Republican: 39/59, Independent: 33/64
Male: 32/65, Female: 43/54
Age: 18-24: 39/50, 25-34: 33/65, 35-49: 29/69, 50-64: 40/56, 65+ 55/41
Income: <20: 47/48, 20-35: 41/57, 35-60: 37/58, 60-100: 23/77, 100+: 26/74

33% support a Republican bill that would permanently ban all human cloning research – making it a felony for any scientist to conduct research using the cloning procedure that worked to clone Dolly the sheep. 62% support President Clinton's bill that would ban human cloning for 5 years, but still permit limited research for important areas such as cancer and spinal cord injuries.

Democrat: 31/66, Republican: 40/57, Independent: 31/63
Male: 27/67, Female: 39/57
Age: 18-24: 33/62, 25-34: 27/68, 35-49: 30/65, 50-64: 34/62, 65+ 43/52
Income: <20: 42/57, 20-35: 36/59, 35-60: 28/63, 60-100: 31/68, 100+: 31/62

	All	D	R	I
Cloning techniques should not be completely banned because they may lead to new ways to prevent and cure dreaded diseases and bring recovery to those suffering devastating injuries	44	43	47	43
The idea of cloning a human in whole or in part is morally dangerous and we should outlaw the use of any cloning techniques	33	32	35	32
Cloning is just another step in the progression of science that will lead to new, useful discoveries, so there should be few limits on this research	16	16	15	18

Auto-Choice

Auto choice is an appealing concept to voter, and 2 in 3 support an auto choice bill when told of the advantages. Yet the negative arguments including a rise in cost for regular plans, pollution and accidents drop support to under 50%.

Other potential challenges to supporting auto-choice:

- Only 40% of voters say they would choose 'no-fault' insurance even if it cost \$250 less per year (49% would stay with the current policy) – Americans like to have the option of suing for punitive damages
- There is a strong argument that car insurance regulation should remain with the states and not be federally mandated

Support for Auto-Choice Bill

Some members of Congress have proposed an auto-choice bill which would require insurance companies to offer drivers a choice between the current comprehensive insurance coverage and a new type of no fault car insurance. This no-fault insurance would allow people to recover for property damage and medical bills but it would limit suits for punitive damages like pain and suffering

59/29% support/oppose a federal Auto-choice law requiring insurance companies to offer no-fault car insurance.

30% strongly + 29% somewhat support
16% strongly + 13% somewhat oppose

Supporters of Auto-Choice have said that for those who choose no-fault insurance, premiums would fall by about \$250 per year for the average driver, speed up processing of insurance claims, and could reduce the number of uninsured drivers on the road.

Knowing this, **68/22%** support/oppose.

34% strongly + 34% somewhat support
12% strongly + 10% somewhat oppose

Opponents of Auto Choice say offering no-fault insurance say will benefit bad drivers more than good drivers, and for those who maintain their current comprehensive policies costs will rise. No-fault insurance will put more drivers on the road, leading to more accidents, pollution and congestion.

Knowing this, **46/46%** support/oppose.
20% strongly + 26% somewhat support
25% strongly + 21% somewhat oppose

Democrats: 48/45, Republicans: 45/48, Independent: 43/46

Regular vs. No-fault

Given a choice **49%** prefer the current comprehensive plan, under which you could sue for punitive damages **40%** prefer a 'no-fault' plan which would cost \$250 dollars less per year, but you could not sue for punitive damages.

Democrats: 59/31, Republicans: 46/44, Independent: 46/43

Federal Government role

19% think that car insurance regulation is something the federal government should get involved in **76%** this should be left to the states.

Up until now, regulation of car insurance has been left to the states. **66%** say that car insurance is a local issue that should not be mandated by the federal government; **26%** say the potential benefits of lower insurance rates and fewer lawsuits are more important, and the federal government should pass a law requiring insurance companies to offer no-fault insurance.

HMO Bill of Rights

A proposal to require the coverage of mammograms as part of health plans outscored every proposal in the State of the Union. It is one of those small things that does extremely well. But it also illustrates that we are not tapping into the full power of the HMO Bill of Rights if we do not get down to a few specifics like this one that make a difference.

90/8% support/oppose requiring managed care health plans to cover yearly mammograms for women over 40. (71% strongly support).

26% say that this is an intrusion of the federal government into the intimate relationship between a woman and her doctor that the federal government has no place mandating what may not be medically necessary. **68%** say that yearly mammograms are essential

for women over 40 and the government has a responsibility to make sure that women are not denied this coverage.

But there are a list of rights that the Health Care Commission did not endorse not reject that could be added to our bill of rights that would make it much more salient, starting with issues related to women's health care. The bills that are being formulated in Congress are much tougher than our proposals – and there is nothing preventing us from using the commission's report as a jumping off point.

The wonky stuff that is included now is diluting the power of this issue that is in including a) emergency care b) mammograms c) drive-by mastectomies d) prostate cancer tests. Mandating adequate preventive key is a critical health right for Americans afraid of cancer.

Gun Running

81/16% support/oppose legislation that will increase the penalties for moving guns and selling them across state lines (69% strongly support).

Currently states with stringent gun laws are being overrun by gun traffickers who buy guns in states with lenient gun laws and sell them illegally in states with tougher gun laws -- leading to an increase in crime.

Given this, **81/14%** support/oppose.

Alcohol Advertising

79/17% support/oppose banning the advertising of alcohol within range of schools.

Religion in the Workplace

64/30% support/oppose making it easier to practice religion in the workplace by requiring employers to allow people to take time off or switch responsibilities with a co-worker for religious observances.

82% support eliminating religious discrimination in the workplace by allowing all employees to practice their religion as long as it does not disturb others (10/10/97).