

**NLWJC - Kagan**

**DPC - Box 014 - Folder 004**

**DPC [Domestic Policy Council] -  
Polls [2]**

**Child Care**

17. Did you hear anything about President Clinton proposing tax credits and incentives to help reduce the cost of child care? *subsidies*
- 1) yes
  - 2) no
  - 9) don't know
18. Does this make you much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable towards President Clinton?
- 1) Much more favorable
  - 2) Somewhat more favorable
  - 3) Somewhat less favorable
  - 4) Much less favorable
  - 9) Don't know
19. Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose these proposals?

**SPLIT NEXT TWO**

20. Some people say these proposals are just another costly big government program and it should be the responsibility of parent's to find child care; Other people say child care costs have ~~already~~ *already* risen dramatically for working families and these proposals will help ensure all families can afford care for their children. Which is closer to your view?
21. Some people say increasing tax credits for child care will encourage parents to work instead of staying home with their children, hurting children rather than helping them; Other people say parents are working because they have to and we need to make sure their children receive the best care while they are at work. Which is closer to your view?

**Medicare buy-in**

22. Did you hear anything about President Clinton proposing to allow retirees aged 62 to 64 to buy Medicare coverage?
- 1) yes
  - 2) no
  - 9) don't know
23. Does this make you much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable towards President Clinton?
- 1) Much more favorable
  - 2) Somewhat more favorable
  - 3) Somewhat less favorable
  - 4) Much less favorable
  - 9) Don't know

24. Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose allowing retirees aged 62 to 64 to buy Medicare coverage?
25. Some people say we shouldn't expand Medicare coverage to early retiree because it will be too costly and bust the Medicare budget because only the sickest early retirees will buy into it. Other people say since this will be paid for by the retirees, it will not cost the Medicare program and will provide care for this difficult to cover group. Which is closer to your view?
26. Some people say we should not expand Medicare coverage to early retirees because the Medicare system is falling anyway and bringing more people in is like buying seats on a sinking ship. We should work to change the Medicare system entirely instead of expanding it. Other people say the Medicare program is one of the most successful government programs and as the economy has changed, making those just under 65 more likely to be without health care coverage, expanding the Medicare program is the best way to meet the needs of early retirees. Which is closer to your view?
27. Some people say we should not expand Medicare coverage to early retirees according to this plan because since it is self-financed it will not help the poorest early retirees who cannot afford any other insurance. Other people say this is the best option available because private insurance coverage is much more expensive, and the poorest will still receive Medicaid. Which is closer to your view?
28. If you needed health care coverage before the age of 65, do you think you would buy into Medicare or would you find private insurance coverage?
29. If you needed health care coverage before the age of 65, do you think you would buy into the Medicare for \$300 a month or would you find private insurance coverage even if it would cost significantly more?
30. What is the likelihood that you or a family member will take advantage of being able to buy into Medicare early. Are you or a family member very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely or not at all likely to ever buy into Medicare early?

Following are some things President Clinton could talk about in his State of the Union address. For each one, please tell me if you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose this proposal, and if this would make you much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable towards President Clinton?

31. Requiring schools to end social promotions in order to receive federal funds. Social promotions refer to allowing students to move on to the next grade level to stay with their age group even if they haven't learned the necessary skills.
32. Challenging fathers to be more involved with their children's education
33. Expanding the Family and Medical leave act so victims of domestic violence can take up to 3 months of leave from work
34. Ensuring pay equity by improving data collection on pay levels of women and men
35. Ensuring pay equity by providing technical assistance to employers so they can be sure their policies don't discriminate against women

36. Increasing penalties for statutory rape by developing model legislation for states of tough, uniform, criminal penalties for these rapists
37. Increase emphasis on character education in schools by increasing federal funding to schools that teach responsibility, honesty, respect and hard work
38. Putting drug prevention coordinators or officers in middle schools across America

**END ROTATE**

39. Passing federal legislation that requires child sex offenders to be under parole even after their prison sentence with strict criminal penalties if they go near schools, playgrounds or anywhere children congregate
40. Passing federal legislation that requires child sex offenders to serve their full sentence without parole
41. Which do you think would be more effective- requiring child sex offenders to be on permanent parole after their sentence, or to serve their full sentence in all cases without parole?
42. Have you heard anything about President Clinton's proposal provide education funding to reduce class size to an average of 19 students per class?
43. Does this make you much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable towards President Clinton?
  - 1) Much more favorable
  - 2) Somewhat more favorable
  - 3) Somewhat less favorable
  - 4) Much less favorable
  - 9) Don't know
44. Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose this proposal?
  - 1) strongly support
  - 2) somewhat support
  - 3) somewhat oppose
  - 4) Strongly oppose
  - 9) Don't know
45. Some people say it is not the role of the federal government to mandate the student: teacher ratio in classrooms and rather than spending taxpayer money on a costly federal program, school improvement should be paid for locally. Other people say one of the biggest problems with education today is lack of qualified teachers and this investment would ensure that all students are getting the individual attention they need. Which is closer to your view?
46. Did you hear anything about the Patient's bill of rights proposed by President Clinton which would require HMOs to meet certain federal standards such as providing information to patients and guaranteed emergency care?

47. Does this make you much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable towards President Clinton?

- 1) Much more favorable
- 2) Somewhat more favorable
- 3) Somewhat less favorable
- 4) Much less favorable
- 9) Don't know

48. Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose passing a patient's bill of rights?

- 1) Strongly support
- 2) Somewhat support
- 3) Somewhat oppose
- 4) Strongly oppose
- 9) Don't know

49. HMO companies say they will voluntarily meet these requirements and no laws need to be passed in order to guarantee these standards. Do you think legislation should still be passed to make these standards legally required, or do you think these standards should be voluntary?

**Bilingual education**

50. Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose bilingual education programs?

51. Some people say students who do not speak English are spending too much time in bilingual education and are not learning English. Other people say bilingual education works and the best way for students who do not speak English to both learn the language and not fall behind in their studies. Which is closer to your view?

52. President Clinton has said that students should not be in bilingual classes for more than three years. Does this make you much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable towards President Clinton?

- 1) Much more favorable
- 2) Somewhat more favorable
- 3) Somewhat less favorable
- 4) Much less favorable
- 9) Don't know

53. Would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose legislation which would give consumers a choice of automobile insurance plans between a regular plan and a 'no-fault' plan which would cost less but not cover the driver for punitive damages?

**Education**

Public School Choice

77/22 support/oppose a national law to give parents the right to pick the public school their children attend.

77% support (61% strongly +16% somewhat)  
22% oppose (13% strongly +9% somewhat)

Arguments on Public School Choice

Given this, would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose a national law to give parents the right to pick the public school their children attend?	Strongly Support	Total Support	Total Oppose
Opponents say allowing parents to pick any school for their children to attend would flood best schools with students, overcrowding these schools and draining funds from other schools.	45	64	32
Some people say this would not be fair because people pay taxes to live in a certain community so their children can attend the public schools system in that community. Families not paying the same taxes should not be able to send their children to schools funded by these taxes.	47	68	29
Some people say the federal government should not have any say in how states determine how their public school system works.	45	68	28

Vouchers

Creating a system of public school vouchers which would allow parents who are unhappy with their current public school to get together to create a new public charter school for their children in their community

68% support (49% strongly +19% somewhat)  
25% oppose (18% strongly +7% somewhat)

34% say we should have vouchers that would contribute towards the tuition of to private school; 51% say private school vouchers will take money away from public schools and we should create a system that creates more competition within the public schools through vouchers that allow parents to send their kids to new public charter schools.

Right now its possible to set up new public schools outside of the regular school board by getting a special charter or license from the state and help from the federal government. Should these new schools be called charter schools or independent public schools?

**26% charter schools/ 50% independent public schools**

Which name, charter schools or independent public schools, appeals to you more?

**27% charter schools/ 57% independent public schools**

**80/16 support/oppose government established after school programs through which college students mentor inner city students with the goal of encouraging them to attend college.**

**80% support (64% strongly +16% somewhat)  
16% oppose (11% strongly +5% somewhat)**

**81/10% support/oppose a government promise to eliminate 100,000 bureaucrats from public school systems and hire 100,000 new teachers.**

**81% support (62% strongly +19% somewhat)  
10% oppose (6% strongly +4% somewhat)**

**49% we need more federal involvement, 44% less federal involvement in education.**

- Under 35: **71/24**; Over 35: **42/51**
- No College Degree: **60/35**; College Degree: **32/59**
- Dem: **63/26**; GOP: **34/65**; Ind: **48/44**

DPC-Polling

BRIEF -  
This is a 1/2 sample  
results on quality care &  
med. care.  
Tom

**Health Care Quality Bill of Rights**

**November 18, 1997**

**Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates, Inc.**

Unaided, **40%** are aware (58% unaware) of the President's Health Care Advisory Commission.

*The advisory commission was created by the President to find ways to ensure quality in health care. The Commission is creating a consumer's Bill of Rights to ensure that the rights of consumers are protected. Does this make you much more favorable to President Clinton, somewhat more favorable to him, somewhat less favorable to him, much less favorable to him?*

✓ **74/17%** more/less favorable to President Clinton

80/17 support/oppose federal legislation to guarantee consumer protection in health care.

✓ **80%** support (53% strongly +27% somewhat)  
**17%** oppose (8% strongly +9% somewhat)

*Ranked by strongly support*

<b>The President's Advisory Commission on Consumer Protection and Quality in health care has recommended various proposals to ensure quality health care. For each one please tell me if you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove of this proposal.</b>	<b>Strongly Support</b>	<b>Support/ Oppose</b>	<b>Very Effective</b>	<b>Effective/ Ineffective</b>
Requiring direct access to a specialist of their choice for people with complex or serious medical conditions.	78	93/5	57	92/8
Providing access to easily understood information about health plans, health care providers and health care facilities.	68	91/4	49	90/9
Guaranteeing the right to access emergency health services by requiring health plans to pay for emergency services in cases where the denial of them would place the person's health in jeopardy.	63	84/14	48	84/14
Creating an appeals process for consumers to resolve their differences with their health plans and health care providers.	55	87/9	37	84/14
Eliminating the gag clause, which restricts health care providers' ability to communicate with, and advise patients about medically necessary options.	47	72/22	30	75/19



<b>Which one of these proposals do you believe will be most effective in ensuring consumer protection and quality health care?</b>	
Guaranteeing emergency care	33%
Direct access to specialists	30%
Eliminating the gag clause	13%
A fair and efficient appeals process	9%
Access to information	9%

✓ If the President endorsed some or all of these proposals **83/11%** more/less favorable.

### Argumentation

#### Costs

**28%** think that these proposals are counterproductive and will hurt the consumer in the end because they will increase health care premiums causing more people to lose their coverage; **63%** say that these guarantees are necessary to protect consumers against only managed care programs that cut corners and skimp on standards.

#### Anti-Regulation

**31%** say that this is just another attempt of the government to take over the health care system. **64%** say that say that these proposals are standards of quality the industry should abide by that are necessary for consumer protection.

#### Free Market

**23%** say that this is just another example of unnecessary federal regulation and that the free market and will protect consumers and guarantee quality health care; **73%** say that these standards are necessary. They argue that we don't leave it to the free market to keep food safe – we have food safety standards – the same needs to be done for health care.

#### Argument for Endorsing Proposals

*Supporters say that these regulations are necessary to provide consistent quality care to all Americans - there must be some basic standards of care that everyone can count on.*

After this argument **84/15%** support/oppose the President endorsing some or all of these proposals.

✓ **84%** support (49% strongly +35% somewhat)  
**15%** oppose (9% strongly +6% somewhat)

Argument against Endorsing Proposals

*Some people say that this it is just another attempt of the government to take over the health care system. There should be no federal regulations, there should be voluntary compliance among the health plans to make these rights real.*

Even after this argument over two-thirds support (71/26% support/oppose) the President endorsing some or all of these proposals.

- ✓ 71% support (39% strongly +32% somewhat);  
26% oppose (14% strongly +12% somewhat).

**Medicare Reform****November 18, 1997****Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates, Inc.****Means Testing**

*Currently seniors of all income levels pay the same premium for Medicare. Would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose means testing Medicare which would raise the premiums for Medicare for seniors with over \$75,000 in income?*

- ✓ 61% support (45% strongly +16% somewhat)
- 35% oppose (26% strongly +9% somewhat)

One proposal would have all seniors with incomes over \$50,000 pay a higher premium. Currently all beneficiaries pay \$43.80 per month. This proposal would have those with annual incomes of greater than \$75,000 pay \$110 per month and those with incomes over \$100,00 would pay \$175 per month. The additional revenue would be used to strengthen the Medicare trust fund.

- ✓ 74% support (53% strongly +21% somewhat)
- 22% oppose (12% strongly +10% somewhat)

Some people say this will turn Medicare into a second class health care system. They argue that it will encourage some seniors to leave the program, which will decrease funds in the Medicare system overall. Given this do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose means testing for Medicare?

- ✓ 64% support (33% strongly +31% somewhat)
- 33% oppose (18% strongly +15% somewhat)

43% say that this is something simple, and legislation should be passed now to implement means testing to help keep the Medicare system financially stable. 48% say that means testing should be addressed by the Medicare Commission and that no proposal should be discussed until the commission releases its findings in 1999.

### **Buying into Medicare at 60**

Americans ages 60 to 65 are one of the hardest to insure populations. They often lose their health care coverage to layoffs from downsizing, health-related issues or by choice and often do not have sufficient health care. One proposal would allow 60-65 year olds to buy into the Medicare program, helping provide much needed coverage for this group. Do you do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose allowing uninsured 60-65 year olds to buy into Medicare?

- ✓ **85% support (57% strongly +28% somewhat)**  
**10% oppose (5% strongly +5% somewhat)**

**23%** say that this will attract the sickest most costly individuals from this age group, raising the costs of Medicare at a time when we are trying to devise ways to reduce the costs of this program. **75%** say that although these people are the most needy, allowing them to buy into Medicare is better than letting them to go without health care or forcing them into the Medicaid system.

### **Long Term Care/Chronic Prescription Coverage**

Currently Medicare does not cover long term care for chronically ill seniors. Would you do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly requiring Medicare managed care plans to cover **long term care/ chronic prescription drugs**?

- ✓ **Long Term Care**  
**84% support (53% strongly +31% somewhat)**  
**13% oppose (8% strongly +5% somewhat)**
- ✓ **Chronic Prescription Drugs**  
**82% support (52% strongly +30% somewhat)**  
**11% oppose (7% strongly +4% somewhat)**

**64%** say that coverage of long term care and prescription drugs for chronically ill seniors are necessary because of the skyrocketing costs of medicine and care. They argue that these benefits would only be required for the more expensive Medicare managed care plans and not the fee-for-service plans. **26%** say that this will be an unfair burden on managed care plans and that it will attract the sicker beneficiaries to enter managed care.

**The Second Term  
Strategy Session  
August 13, 1997**

**Purpose of the Meeting**

1. Review Last Week's Tracking
2. Review Media Coverage
3. Effect of Line-item veto and balanced budget
4. Review education strategy
5. Review fall strategy
6. Review President's schedule

**The Mood of the Country**

The other polls went out into the field too early (last week); word of the balanced budget is spreading and the result is a substantial improvement to record highs.

	<u>7/1</u>	<u>7/15</u>	<u>7/22</u>	<u>8/4</u>
• Country: right/wrong track	50/39	48/39	49/40	55/35
• Economy: right/wrong track	65/29	60/30	62/31	64/30
<b>Favorability</b>	<u>7/1</u>	<u>7/15</u>	<u>7/22</u>	<u>8/4</u>
• Clinton:	62/37	63/37	61/37	67/33
• Gore:	61/32	60/36	63/33	60/31
	<u>7/1</u>	<u>7/15</u>	<u>7/22</u>	<u>8/4</u>
• Clinton Job Approval:	64/34	64/35	64/35	69/28
Strongly Approve:	20	20	23	25
	<u>7/1</u>	<u>7/15</u>	<u>7/22</u>	<u>8/4</u>
• 2 <sup>nd</sup> term Satisfaction	60/38	60/39	60/38	69/29

**Most Important Issue**

- The economy/jobs remains the most important issue remains at 18%
- Then fighting crime with 10%
- Then education with 7%.
- Race issues, balancing the budget, and welfare reform all have 6%.

## Congress

Overall congressional approval has risen to 56. Republicans have shot up 10 percent since July 22, but Republican support is shallow (Democrats have a 12 point spread between approve/disapprove, compared to the Republican's 5 point spread).

*APPROVAL* – on a 2 point scale

	<u>7/1</u>	<u>7/15</u>	<u>7/22</u>	<u>8/4</u>
• Congress:	49/40	47/44	45/48	56/36
• Republicans:	42/49	44/47	38/57	48/43
• Democrats:	45/45	47/44	49/43	50/38

## **GENERIC HORSERACE:**

40% would vote for a Democrat in Congress, 35% for a Republican, a 5 point gap. Among absolutely certain voters, Democrats lead 41% - 36%. This is about the same with all voters and an improvement with the most likely voters.

41% would vote for a Democratic Governor, 36% would vote for a Republican Governor. But among absolutely certain voters, Democrats lead 39% - 37%.

Both public and private polls in New Jersey, for example, show Whitman with 7 points over McGreevy.

All of this is strong confirmation that the balanced budget did not hurt Democrats; rather the strong ratings of the president and the budget have kept them ahead.

## This Week's Front Page Headlines

Budget and taxes dominated the news.

**Domestic: 35**

Budget: 15; Line-Item Veto: 10; Economy: 2; Personnel Vacancies: 2;  
 UPS (Clinton in Banner): 2; Welfare: 1; Drug Testing: 1; Smoking: 1;  
 Race: 1

**International: 6**

Mid East: 3; Bosnia: 1; China: 1; Latin America: 1

**Other: 3**

Hearings: 3; DNC: 2

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
8/13	Wednesday	Washington Post	Welfare Rolls Continue Sharp Decline Percentage on Assistance is Lowest Since 1970; Many Factors Are Cited
8/13	Wednesday	New York Times	None
8/13	Wednesday	USA Today	Clinton to Seek More Tests on Drugs Given to Kids
8/12	Tuesday	Washington Post	Clinton Wields New Authority, Vetoing 3 Items President Strikes Down Tax & Spending Provisions Line Item Veto May Alter the Way Bills are Crafted
8/12	Tuesday	New York Times	President Makes First Use of New Veto Clinton Blocks Three Budget Measures Tax Breaks Denied to Billionaire Highlight 'Special Interest' Law
8/12	Tuesday	USA Today	Clinton Signs Historic Veto Provision Shifts Power, But It's Unclear How Much
8/11	Monday	Washington Post	President to Use New Veto White House Chooses Spending, Tax Items For First Test of Power
8/11	Monday	New York Times	Clinton Planning to Kill Some Items In New Legislation Debut of Line Item Veto But President is Constrained by Political Costs and by Deals in Budget Talks
8/11	Monday	USA Today	Economy's Been a Big Help, But Effort Is Just Beginning First Presidential Line-Item Veto Coming Today
8/10	Sunday	Washington Post	Clinton Has Bosnia On His Mind
8/10	Sunday	New York Times	None
8/9	Saturday	Washington Post	None
8/9	Saturday	New York Times	None
8/8	Friday	Washington Post	Senate Panel Probes DNC Files Delay Donation Call Sheets for First Lady Found
8/8	Friday	New York Times	None
8/8	Friday	USA Today	None
8/7	Thursday	Washington Post	US Steps Up Peace Effort for Mideast Clinton Sending Ross Back to Region, Offers 'Ideas' on Negotiations

8/7	Thursday	New York Times	Deficit to Drop to \$37 Billion, President Says 23-Year Low Cited in a Lively News Session US Shifts Stand on Mideast Talks, to Israeli Plan Netanyahu Plan Revived
8/7	Thursday	USA Today	Clinton: I'm Likely to Use Line Item Veto US Warns Arafat To Do More To Curb Violence
8/6	Wednesday	Washington Post	Bipartisanship Reigns at Budget Signing Clinton, Gingrich Extol Benefits of Split Government at Ceremony Beyond the Beltway, Many Unimpressed with 'Achievement' Reno Blames Senate for Judicial Vacancies
8/6	Wednesday	New York Times	Parties Talk of Reform, While Money Pours In President and His New Allies Celebrate A 'Milestone'
8/6	Wednesday	USA Today	Clinton Signs Budget, Tax Bills Into Law
8/5	Tuesday	Washington Post	Federal Ban on Smoking to Widen Clinton Plans Order for Tougher Rules at Government Sites Newfound Trust Held Budget Deal Together Talks Nearly 'Blew Up' at the Last Minute On Day 1 of UPS Strike, Headaches but No Panic Clinton Sees No Need for Intervention Now
8/5	Tuesday	New York Times	New Flexibility for Medicare, But at a Price
8/5	Tuesday	USA Today	UPS Strike Stifles Shippers Both Sides Stand Firm; Clinton Urged to Act Black-White Issue Crucial, Says Clinton
8/4	Monday	Washington Post	Budget Deal Creates Health Care Quandry States Must Scramble to Insure More Children
8/4	Monday	New York Times	Tax Break Dies on Home Sales By the Wealthy New Law to Take Toll on Accrued Profits US Officials Say China Not Ready For Trade Group Concessions are Sought Negotiators Decide Beijing is Unwilling to Open Doors to Foreign Competition
8/3	Sunday	New York Times	Bills on Spending Are Moving Easily Through Congress Few Partisan Disputes Budget Deal Has Helped, as Has Strong Economy, But Snags are Still Likely
8/2	Saturday	Washington Post	Top Regulatory Posts Remain Unfilled Dozens of Federal Jobs are Vacant as Politics Bog Down Appointment Process White House Considering Line-Item Veto of Tax Cuts DNC Donor With an Eye On Diamonds Tempelman Plan Got the Ear of U.S. Aides
8/2	Saturday	New York Times	Report Shows Robust Growth with New Jobs US Eases Curbs on Weapon Sales to Latin America 19-Year Old Ban is Lifted Region's Moves to Democracy are Cited, But Critics Voice Fears of an Arms Race
8/1	Friday	Washington Post	Outnumbered, Outvoted, Out of Clout on the Hill Generation X Virtually Ignored in Budget Plan
8/1	Friday	New York Times	Now, Special Tax Breaks Get Hidden In Plain Sight Benefits Are Vulnerable to the Line-Item Veto In Budget Bill, President Wins Welfare Battle
8/1	Friday	USA Today	Rates Fall to 17 Month Low Congress Sends Clinton Historic Tax, Budget Bill



7/31	Thursday	Washington Post	Senator Thompson to Subpoena Delayed White House Files
7/31	Thursday	New York Times	Budget Bill Passes, With Foes in House At Both Extremes
7/31	Thursday	USA Today	Angry Thompson Threatens Subpoenas

### Daily TV Coverage

Air Day	Date	Order	Network	Headline
Tuesday	8/12	5/16	CBS	Mideast Peace Process Looks Dead; Clinton Could Be Key
Tuesday	8/12	12/16	CBS	Clinton Administration to Require Drug Dosage Testing for Children
Tuesday	8/12	2/8	NBC	Pressure on Clinton to Intervene in Strike is Rising
Monday	8/11	4/12	ABC	Clinton Uses Line Item Veto Against 3 Items in Budget Bill
Monday	8/11	1/17	CBS	Clinton is First President to Use Line-Item Veto Power
Monday	8/11	2/17	CBS	High Court Expected To Review Line-Item Veto
Monday	8/11	2/9	NBC	Clinton Becomes First President Ever to Exercise Line-Item Veto
Thursday	8/7			None
Wednesday	8/6	8/12	ABC	President Clinton Lays Blame on Arafat, Almost Letting Israelis Off Hook
Wednesday	8/6	6/17	CBS	Clinton Says He Won't Intervene in UPS Strike Yet
Wednesday	8/6	10/17	CBS	Clinton Holds News Conference on Wide Range of Issues
Wednesday	8/6	11/17	CBS	Clinton Defends Raising Soft Money
Wednesday	8/6	5/10	NBC	Clinton Suggests He'll Use New Veto on Special Tax Breaks
Tuesday	8/5	6/15	ABC	President Clinton Signs Budget Deal Into Law
Tuesday	8/5	7/15	ABC	A Look at Some of the Tax Breaks In the Budget Deal
Tuesday	8/5	13/15	ABC	President Clinton To Sign Executive Order Banning Smoking in Federal Buildings
Tuesday	8/5	6/15	CBS	President Clinton, GOP Leaders Take Credit At Budget Deal Signing
Tuesday	8/5	5/9	NBC	President Clinton Signs Budget Bill; What do Tax Cuts Mean to Americans
Tuesday	8/5	6/9	NBC	New Tax Bill Will Make Tax Return Filing Even More Complicated
Tuesday	8/5	7/9	NBC	Clinton Will Ban Smoking In or Near Federal Buildings
Monday	8/4	3/13	ABC	UPS Management Wants Clinton to Step In, But He Rules It Out
Thursday	7/30	3/13	ABC	GOP Says White House is Playing Games in Wu Fundraising Probe
Thursday	7/30	7/13	ABC	Realty Sets In As Dems Criticize Confused, Changing Budget Deal
Thursday	7/30	2/14	CBS	Clinton Offers Condolences; US Diplomat's Trip Delayed
Thursday	7/30	6/14	CBS	Paula Jones Lawyers Subpoena White House Employee
Thursday	7/30	7/14	CBS	Campaign Probe Focuses on Charlie Trie, Chinese Businessman
Thursday	7/30	8/14	CBS	New Budget Deal Moving Through Congress at Warp Speed
Thursday	7/30	2/11	NBC	President Clinton Shares His Condolences With Israelis
Thursday	7/30	9/11	NBC	Buddhist Sect Linked to Clinton's Defense Fund

**Line-Item Veto**

No poll this week, but a question put in an on-going national poll showed that 68% had heard of the line item veto – it was more favorable to not by 40/28. Excellent publicity, showed strength, but no significant voter impact either way. (This was not about what people get, but about what others would not get).

**Budget**

**Awareness for the budget plans has increased 16% in the last weeks.**

“Have you heard anything about the balanced budget and tax cut plans passed in the House and Senate?”

	7/1	7/15	7/22	8/4
Yes	22	45	52	68
No	77	54	44	28

And support for the deal among those who have heard about it has increased to 67%/14% on an unaided basis, a 10-point jump.

Unaided favorability to budget	6/8	6/18	7/1	7/15	8/4
Favor	50	57	63	57	67
Oppose	18	15	16	18	14

**But the balanced budget is still not seen as the balanced budget**  
54% do not believe the agreement will balance the budget, 26% do.

69% believe the reduction in spending is the most important part of the budget, 25% believe the tax cut is.

	Tot	Party			Education		Income				
		D	R	I	No Coll	Coll Deg	<\$20K	20-35K	35-60K	60-100K	100K+
Tax cut	25	28	18	28	29	18	36	23	27	17	5
Reduce spending	69	64	75	67	63	78	56	71	68	80	95

## Post-Budget Victory Lap

But we still need to have a victory lap of the budget. We cannot let the credit for this go to the Republicans over the Administration and the Democrats.

### Credit for Budget:

People believe the Republicans deserve most of the credit for passing the balanced budget, but the President receives 2% more credit than the Democratic Congress.

“Who do you think is more responsible for the passage of the balanced budget, President Clinton/Democrats in Congress or Republicans in Congress?”

President Clinton	GOP in Congress	Dems in Congress	GOP in Congress	Difference
31	54	29	47	2

*One-third of Democrats are giving credit on the budget to the Republicans; only one-tenth of Republicans are defecting to the Democrats.*

	Tot	Gender		Income		Party		
		M	F	<35K	35K+	D	R	I
GOP in Congress	54	60	48	40	66	33	84	56
President Clinton	31	28	35	44	22	51	10	25

Critical Issue: The balanced budget is the equivalent of 10 different major actions rolled into one and the public understands it primarily as a better budget with a tax cut. We need to continue to explain the key benefits of the initiatives contained in it on a single initiative basis.

We need to use the implementation as a series of message opportunities with the President and the VP – a “news you can use” approach rules for the states to extend healthcare, how to claim the education tax credit or the expanded home-office deduction, implementing the restoration of benefits to legal immigrants, brownfields implementation events.

## Tax Cut Plan

We achieved uniform, across the board support for the tax cut plan across all parties, all income groups.

Tax Cut Plan	Unaided	Aided
Favor	65	73
Oppose	21	19

Aided support for tax cut plan	Total	Party			Income		Education	
		D	R	I	<35K	35K+	No Coll	Coll Deg
Favor	73	73	75	74	69	78	70	79
Oppose	19	20	20	17	21	17	20	17

55% believe the tax cut plan will benefit them, 41% believe it will not. Everyone but the lowest income group believes that they will benefit from the tax cut, which makes sense since the lowest income group would pay the least in taxes. The Republicans did well for their 100+ constituency, but we also squarely hit the middle income households and particularly those with children.

Do you think the tax cut plan will benefit you or not?	Total	Party			Income					Children in Household	
		D	R	I	<20K	20-35K	35-60K	60-100K	100K+	No kids	Kids
Benefit	55	47	62	57	39	55	64	60	69	44	68
Not benefit	41	48	35	40	56	42	35	40	19	52	29

### Credit for the Tax Cut Plan:

Again, the Republicans get more credit than President Clinton for passage of the tax cut plan, but the President receives more credit for the tax plan than the balanced budget.

	Total	Party			Income					Gender	
		D	R	I	<20K	20-35K	35-60K	60-100K	100K+	M	F
GOP in Congress	47	32	67	47	42	36	50	70	61	53	42
President Clinton	37	55	19	33	38	46	38	18	23	30	43

## Tobacco Settlement

66% have heard about the proposed settlement, a 20% decrease since July 15.

Awareness	7/1	7/15	8/4
Heard	82	86	66
Haven't heard	15	11	34

Unaided support	7/1	7/15	8/4
Support	53	52	51
Oppose	31	33	35

Of a list of possible uses by the tobacco companies of the funds coming out of the settlement, two uses came to the top – extending Medicare to early retirees who left their jobs for medical reasons, and setting up a 21<sup>st</sup> Century Medical Research Fund to speed up the cures for cancer and other dreaded diseases.

As part of the settlement, tobacco companies would pay into a fund that would go towards health care. Here are some things that the fund could be dedicated to in whole or in part. Which would be your first [second] choice for this funding?	First Choice	% First or Second Choice
Providing health care for 55 to 65 year olds who had to retire for Medical reasons who are not eligible for Medicare	22	39
Setting up a 21 <sup>st</sup> century medical research fund to accelerate finding a cure for cancer and other dreaded diseases	19	39
Expanding the Medicaid program to cover children in families up to 133% above the poverty level	13	28
Creating a Children's investment fund for public health research, child care and adoptions	10	23
Funding smoking cessation programs	9	13
Providing affordable health insurance for workers who change jobs	8	22
Guaranteeing prenatal care for all who need it	6	18

**Education**

The issue is how to reinvigorate the educational agenda in early September: We have said it is the most important priority and yet it has fallen largely from public view. We currently have sign up for the program of 20-30% of students. Now that the balanced budget is done, we must come back to it.

Series of choices:

- threaten veto of Republican efforts to block tests ✓
- create an independent board that will be in charge of the tests ✓
- step up to making standards more of a requirement, not just voluntary
- Chakah Fattah Scholarships (still a great idea in the works – should be done in the Fall)
- Re-launch standards with event underscoring more support and its importance as we enter another school year ✓

**Suggest** introducing an Ed Reform Bill with Democratic support would be a way to work with Democrats and fight for the issue. ]?

Such a bill would set a list of requirements for a school district to meet to become a 21<sup>st</sup> Century School:

- a) Adopt Ed Standards and tests
- b) End Social Promotions
- c) Have in place procedures for bad teacher removal (NEA approved plan)
- d) Have a designated level of after schools programs

This is a) within the budget b) provides an ed reform bill that Democrats can introduce 3) is purely voluntary in nature 4) gives us a bill to counter their efforts.

The survey data: ?

50% think President Clinton is the 'Education President', 43% do not think so. Democrats and women believe this.

Do you think President Clinton is the Education President or not?	Tot	Gender		Party			Race		Children in House	
		M	F	D	R	I	Wh	Bl	No kids	Kids
Yes	50	45	56	72	23	49	45	92	53	45
No	43	46	38	25	74	36	50	4	36	52

- 1) NAT, NOT FEDERAL: Sept 8<sup>th</sup> - EO to make NAGB advisory comm. Awarding contract, meet w/ test publishers 2 states - DE, AK  
- NAGB legis. (Goodling dead)
- 2) EDUC. EZ's: 10-15 cities & to do what Chicago is doing - counter to Coverdell
- 3) TITLE I REFORM:

Social pri  
Public ch  
Bad tea  
Failing sch

There is clear support for requiring states to adopt national standards and tests. The issue of whether states should get incentives or penalties is secondary to the basic notion that they should just be required to do it. Consider having a requirement that the states must meet.

OTHER BACK TO SCHOOL

81/17 support/oppose national educational standards and tests.

- 1) Charter school & /SF - Cali
- 2) Comm. college / HOPE state

77/19 support/oppose a federal law requiring all states to adopt national educational standards and tests.

3) Sign

Dems: 86/9; GOP: 61/36; Inds: 80/19

Voters support incentives to encourage states to adopt standards, but oppose penalties.

"Would you support or oppose providing financial incentives to states that adopt national educational standards and tests?"

60% support / 32% oppose -- includes 75% of Ds, 67% of Independents.

"Would you support or oppose penalizing states by withholding some of their federal funds that do not adopt national educational standards and tests?"

47% support / 48% oppose

Providing financial incentive	Total	Party			Age		Region				Education	
		D	R	I	<35	35+	NE	MW	S	West	No Coll	Coll Deg
Support financial incentives	60	75	40	67	73	54	74	60	55	55	65	50
Support penalizing states	47	56	22	54	46	46	52	38	53	46	43	53
Difference	13	19	18	23	27	8	22	22	2	9	22	-3

If Democratic leaders made this a priority would you be much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable toward Democratic leaders?	More favorable			
	Tot	D	R	I
Giving principals greater authority to fire incompetent teachers.	85	81	89	85
Administering student tests to end "social promotions" and ensure that students have mastered the skills established by national educational standards before they can graduate to the next grade level	80	84	75	80
Improving the quality of schools by providing performance bonuses to public school teachers who exceed standards.	78	81	77	77

## Coverdell Amendment

This is at first strongly popular – with a 70/19% support.

By explaining that this would take needed resources from public schools, support drops to 45/41. As with vouchers, this receives support until people hear the consequences.

Essentially the theme of preserving the public schools, and by continuing to foster real choice and competition is still the best answer to vouchers/Coverdell.

Possible Alternatives: **Extend tax-free use of IRAs to pre-school** – and possibly child care or after school use. As an alternative this would extend the benefits of IRAs to educational expenses not covered by free public education. Problem: it does not deal with those who do not qualify for Head Start but do not earn enough for IRAs as it would not be refundable; however, it may be a real boost to pre-schools and could be one of a number of proposals for extending more free education for the first two years of schooling.

## Basic Fall Strategy

- A. What is it about?
- a) Is it about the hard choices that the President is deliberately making?
  - b) Is it a continuation of the basic themes of the presidency?

Should be about the continuation of the basic objectives of the administration in preparing us for the 21<sup>st</sup> century -- taking the spirit of cooperation evidenced in the budget and applying this to some of the other long-term challenges that we face in our nation -- now opening up new markets for our goods, protecting our environment, and strengthening the educational system while continuing to meet the challenges of the world stage.

Should portray ourselves as taking on the next logical set of challenges in more of the same – and should suggest we will be naming Medicare Commission and looking at a long-term process for entitlement reform rather than set it immediately on our plate. The press will push for it, but they want us to fall on it.



The biggest strategic question here is how partisan we want to become again now that we have the balanced budget agreement. We need the Republicans for Fast Track, which is the major immediate hurdle to a successful Fall, so it is important not to overdue the need for conflict prematurely. After Fast Track, we essentially then can open up more lines of conflict, though it is important to remember as we finish what could be the most uniformly successful year of the presidency could falter if the people believe that the fights are a signal that Washington is back at it again, and that gridlock is again approaching – and this takes down the mood of the country, the ratings of all of Congress and our chief strength of leadership. The time for turning political/confrontation is not really now, but as we turn the corner to next year.

Priorities for the fall:

1. Carry forward on the programs of the budget
  - a) Education – must step it up with back to school events that feature either the 7<sup>th</sup> grade Pell grant extension, a tougher standards initiative or an anti-drop out program. We cannot let the back to school opportunity pass without some additional focus on this.
  - b) Hold a series of implementation events by the President, VP, and cabinet members. As news you can use approach the to the budget deal to spread info on all of its provisions and kick it off.
  - c) The new deficit figures provide an opportunity to reinforce that the fiscal policies are, in fact, working.
  
2. Fast Track/Trade Agenda

This is organized and in place to begin a fight that should kick off with a speech that ties into the strong economy we have and the role that trade is playing in this economic expansion that makes Fast Track the key to continuing that expansion. The last weeks have seen a major increase in support for trade as unemployment has hit new lows.

There is some debate about the back and forth of the polls on fast track. It is a question of language.

If you ask people whether they want the president to have the authority to negotiate more free trade agreement and block Congress from making any amendments to them, the answer would be “no.”

If you ask people if they want to give the same authority that other presidents have had to negotiate trade agreements, the answer is yes.

There remains no question that voters support free trade, but that there are legitimate concerns expressed in the polls about the impact on wages and on the environment that need to be addressed.

But they also believe that the new economy has been a good economy, now marked by low inflation, high employment and changes that are creating better paying, education based jobs. There are concerns for those that are left behind, but the belief that free trade, on a reciprocal basis, is essential to our economic growth is well-entrenched now in the public mind.

So we win when the issue is expanding our exports to create jobs, win when people talk about being protectionist, lose on the issue of Mexico and jobs, but win on issue of Fast-Track itself when it is explained.

Just as we won on MFN when it was explained as normal trading relations, so Fast Track wins when this is the normal authority that Presidents have had in the last 20 years to negotiate trade agreements and then send them to Congress for approval.

### 3. Global Climate Change

Current objective is an educational campaign leading up to the policies that are being developed for Kyoto.

### 4. Race

Little Rock is the major opportunity to make a statement on the race initiative. Essentially this can be used to talk about the right way and the wrong way to handle race in America. 40 years ago Arkansas choose the wrong and divisive way – today Arkansas and the nation choose the right path in dealing with our racial differences – to pull everyone together for the challenges to come.

We were divided in that moment of change. Now we can be united in another moment of change and transition. And the speech becomes not a progress report on integration but about the moral choices we faced, and face today in dealing with race – how all of us need to make the right kinds of moral choices in dealing with coming diversity in this country – not turning back on the need for affirmative action before it is finished, on the

plight of legal immigrants, and also not turning back on the need for continued integration.

5. Entitlement Reform

The trick is not to take the bait too early. Certainly the Medicare Commission and its launch will be an important event.

And the DLC poll shows the strong desire for the younger generation to have both Social Security and Medicare Reform – the polls call for solutions that apply to different generations, with those who have worked and paid in to the programs wanting to get them and those who are starting out to be much more flexible. This can be part of the new agenda that is being developed.

6. Child Care Conference

This is a powerful issue to the suburban women voters and the dramatic increase in single mothers who are working, combined with the effects of the welfare bill. The child care conference can most easily focus on the safety issue (i.e. new regs on child care or allowing background checks), but we need a much larger initiative by the time of the State of the Union.

This can be a strong fall in which the President's leadership on these domestic and key international issues will continue to be displayed. However, we are missing real "winners" in this list – something as powerful as insuring 5 million children, etc.

The Tobacco settlement, if we play a role in setting all of the priorities for the distribution of the additional revenue, can be the area that we win – extending healthcare or setting up the 21<sup>st</sup> Century trust fund.

But it is also clear that we need to develop a new script over the next few months, as we have accomplished a large part of the agenda set out in the campaign and in the 1996 state of the union address. Some leftovers like the Family and Medical Leave Act extension and the Juvenile Justice bill remain, but these must be incorporated into a larger new agenda.

It is important that the starting point of any strategy is that it continues to meet both the policy and political goals of the administration. And that it begins with a purpose.

Clearly we have made preparing America for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century the focal point of the second term so far, and while we have cleared away much of the dead brush in America so far, we have opportunities to extend this into this next horizon.

But preparing this country for the next century is much more than a policy goal, and with the number of things that could be done in this country it is important to understand the larger goals of what we are trying to achieve.

Those goals have been expressed in the past as:

Preparing America for the 21<sup>st</sup> century in the face of global economic change and the emergence of the information age by:

Creating opportunity and demanding responsibility for people who have the tools to make the most of their own lives, while strengthening our sense of community as one nation.

The previous agenda was balanced to hit all of the key areas that are of political and personal concern:

Education – 1<sup>st</sup> two years of college, k-12 program

Taxes – modest tax relief for the middle class

Crime – Brady bill extension

Environment – toxic waste

Economy – balance the budget, education

Family and Work – FMLA

Welfare/Responsibility

Community – volunteerism, service and the reading tutors program

And if we look at the fall agenda we have a major new economy issue (Fast Track) and a major environmental issue (global warming) and two new family issues (Child care, Tobacco settlement).

And every one of the issues we ran on were home runs, which is one of the reasons for their success.

Now as we begin creating an extension of that agenda it will be important that 1) we establish a larger message and purpose behind that agenda 2) that it be balanced so that it touches upon all segments of the people and 3) that it contain a series of elements that are very much in line with the kinds of problems that Americans entering the 21<sup>st</sup> Century are facing.

## Judiciary

The fight over judges is a decent one, but it is not risk free – it enables the Republicans to respond with criticism of the Clinton administration that is easily believed – that the administration has named bad judges in the past. The case would have to be a strong one that competent, qualified crime fighters are being held up with some excellent examples of that type of judges waiting for confirmation. Janet Reno's speech now provides the opportunity, however, to follow up on this theme with broad credibility.

63/28 would be more/less favorable to the President if he called on the Republicans to confirm the vacancies on the federal bench.

“Suppose President Clinton said that he had named over 50 judges to the federal bench but that they were being held up for political reasons by the Republicans in Congress. Suppose he said that this lack of federal judges was slowing our courts and even hampering convicting drug dealers, and he called on the Republicans to stop holding them up now.”

63% more favorable (32% much more + 31% somewhat)  
28% less favorable (11% much less + 17% somewhat)

If the Republicans responded that they were not holding them up but carefully reviewing them since Clinton had named faulty judges in the past, 45% would side with the President and 42% would side with the Republicans.

39% would be more likely to vote for the Democrats in Congress if it appeared the Republicans were playing politics with the judges, 16% would be more likely to vote for the GOP.

## Corporate Control/the new consumer – a few early questions

There is considerable public sentiment for curbs on corporate power in the modern world – the new consumer does believe that he needs more help in the new kinds of transactions relating to, for example health or childcare, in protecting their privacy and in balancing family and work. This is one aspect of a theme about corporate power that is not class based (not about the money that corporate executives receive) but based on the structure of society changing that is concentrating the power of individual choices in the hands of a few large companies. It may make economic sense to allow larger, global enterprises to dominate markets, but that does not mean that there are not consequences that individuals face that need to be adjusted by an limited, but activist government. It is an issue that takes all the Democrats and all the Independents but leaves the Republicans behind.

Do you think large corporations have...	Too much	Too little	The right amount
Power in today's society	71	3	24
Involvement in daily lives	54	8	31

Do you think large corporations have too much...	All	Party		
		Dem	GOP	Ind
Power in today's society	71	81	53	72
Involvement in daily lives	54	62	36	58

Some people feel that large corporations today encroach on aspects of our lives, on our privacy, our ability to make choices, and our ability to balance family with work.	All	Party		
		Dem	GOP	Ind
Agree	72	79	48	83
Disagree	25	21	48	14

Consumers in the modern world have to deal with many things they never had to deal with before, and need information and guidance to make choices, and want more standards to guarantee what I will receive.	All	Party		
		Dem	GOP	Ind
Agree	81	82	72	88
Disagree	15	12	24	11

This theory about the new economy can carry over to a range of policies relating to healthcare, child care, privacy, and financial transactions that are dominated by a few companies.

## Social Security

1) Reiterate that premature launch of Social Security initiatives could create many problems, and we should wait until we have our major communications effort to propose a course.

Many suggestions may poll well initially but will need to be subjected to much additional scrutiny to pick the ones that hold up.

Follow-up to last week's overview – significant initial appeal for adding one or two per cent to employee contribution that goes into a private fund.

“Right now each employee contributes 6.2% from each paycheck that goes into the Social Security Trust Fund. One proposal is to add one or 2 percent onto this contribution which would be put into a private retirement fund.”

62% support (28% strongly + 34% somewhat)  
32% oppose (24% strongly + 8% somewhat)

**Misc.**

Sex offenders Legislation – good small issue missile

72/23 support/oppose requiring sex offenders to serve life-time probation after they have served their time in prison, enabling the state to re-test them every year.



**Presidential Message Schedule**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
<b>Thursday, August 14</b>	Religious Freedom Event
<b>Thursday, August 14</b>	Asian Pacific American Meeting
<b>Friday, August 15</b>	Millenium Event
<b>Monday, September 8</b>	Back to School Education Event
<b>Tuesday, September 9</b>	Ethnics Roundtable (T) ??
<b>Wednesday, September 10</b>	Fast Track Event (T)
<b>Thursday, September 11</b>	American Heritage Rivers Event (T)
<b>Monday, September 15</b>	Climate Change Meeting (T)
<b>Monday, September 15</b>	SEIU Legislative Conference
<b>Tuesday, September 16</b>	Congressional Hispanic Caucus Dinner
<b>Monday, September 22</b>	UN Opening Session
<b>Wednesday, September 24</b>	AFL-CIO Convention
<b>Thursday, September 25</b>	40 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Little Rock HS Desegregation
<b>Monday, September 29</b>	Arts & Humanities Ceremony
<b>Tuesday, September 30</b>	Race Advisory Board Meeting (T)

MEMORANDUM TO WOMEN'S MEETING PARTICIPANTS

DATE: August 11, 1997  
FROM: Kim Widdess  
SUBJECT: Background Materials

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The attached materials were distributed at the last Women's Meeting. These materials are NOT FOR EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION.

Thank you.

**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
**Office of the Press Secretary**

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**For Immediate Release**

**July 23, 1997**

**STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT**

Today, the First Lady and I are pleased to announce that on October 23, 1997, we will host the *White House Conference on Child Care*. The conference, which will take place at the White House, will examine the strengths and weaknesses of child care in America and explore how our nation can better respond to the needs of working families for affordable, high quality child care.

Over the past decade, the number of American families with working parents has expanded dramatically. Making high quality child care more affordable and accessible is critical to the strength of our families and to healthy child development and learning. It is also good for the economy and central to a productive American workforce.

This nation can and should do better. Each of us --from businesses to religious leaders to policy-makers and elected officials --has a responsibility and an important stake in making sure that children of all ages have the best possible care available to them. From infancy through adolescence, in child care settings and after-school programs, children can learn and thrive with the right care, attention, and education.

I hope that this conference will be the beginning of a national dialogue about how best to care for all of America's children and will make a valuable contribution to our effort to improve child care in this country.

-30-30-30-

# **The New Democratic Electorate**

*Democratic Leadership Council Survey*

**Executive Summary**

**August 6, 1997**

## Introduction

As the country makes the transition to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, the political landscape in America is changing to an electorate that is no longer focused on taking the country to the right or the left, but is adopting the principle that steady changes can best be made through the center. 63% (68% among Democrats) now look for the answers to the problems we face in the center, and not the left or the right.

President Clinton's victory in 1996, his accomplishments, and strong public approval for these achievements all underscore significant support for the actions he has taken to balance the budget in a way that protects our values, emphasize education, implement the welfare bill, expand healthcare benefits for poor children and renew American leadership around the world which have brought a new sense of optimism and confidence to the country.

This survey shows an electorate coalescing around 5 basic objectives:

1. The need for a limited role of government that creates opportunity for people to make the most of their own lives, and does not work either to provide a guarantee for people or seek to redistribute income.
2. The need for increased access to global markets. While voters may disagree about the best ways to implement trade policy, it is now a consensus view that America must have free and open trade, on a reciprocal basis with our trading partners.
3. The emergence of the need to protect and nurture traditional family values. This starts with the growth and protection of the nation's children as an issue of central importance to much of the electorate, particularly the millions of mothers of young children who are now in the workforce and whose concerns center around strengthening education, child care, and family-related issues.
4. The belief, particularly among the younger generation that entitlement reform is an important priority for their future. Their willingness to consider a range of new alternatives to secure their future puts them at odds with an older generation whose primary concern is to realize the benefits of the programs they have already worked towards.
5. Educational reform at the K through 12 level is strongly supported, encompassing national school standards and testing, greater teacher accountability, an end to social promotions, and the removal of disruptive students.

Additionally, the poll shows that while Americans remain uncertain on how to deal with some of the controversial aspects of the race issue in America, they are firmly committed to an empowerment approach – one that provides the incentives necessary to give people the tools they need to be successful in society – supplying the extra help, training and opportunity that minorities may need to make the most of the new opportunities available today.

And finally, this poll illustrates that the vital center is not the province just of Independents but that it reaches down deep into the Democratic party. Most Democrats are moderates and conservatives; most Democrats favor a limited role of government; most reject the politics of redistribution of income in favor of growth and opportunity; most favor free trade on a reciprocal basis. We have identified the basic segments of the Democrats today, and alongside the social and economic liberal Democrats sit two segments we call New Economy Democrats and Suburban Values Democrats – and those two segments make up the majority of the Democratic voters today.

Further evidence of these changes in the Democratic party is: 1) the firm, across the board support for the balanced budget deal that encompasses many of the principles of the vital center, and 2) the fundamental optimism that all Americans, including Democrats, now have about their own future.

## **Methodology**

This survey was conducted July 23-27, 1997, among a total 1009 registered voters across the United States including a national sample of 800 and an oversample of 200 self-identified Democrats combined to create a sample of 475 Democratic voters. In addition, a supplemental set of questions was asked to 400 new respondents, also registered voters across the U.S., on August 4, after the budget deal was announced.

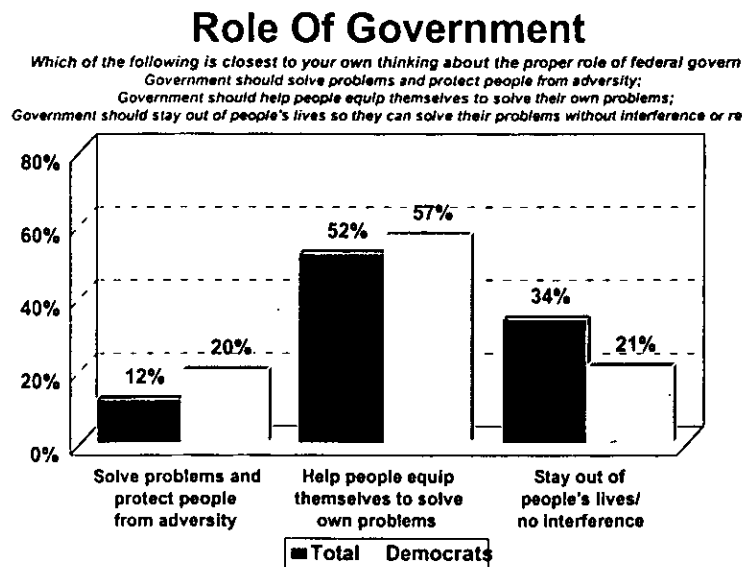
The margin of error for the total sample is +/- 3.1%. Portions of the survey were split sampled.

## 1. ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

The government should play a limited role in American's lives, helping create opportunity for people rather than solving people's problems for them.

This poll confirms that the most voters reject both a 'big' government and a 'no' government approach to problems and instead favor a limited government which equips people to solve their own problems.

Democrats, even more than all voters, believe government's role is to "help people equip themselves to solve their own problems" (57% of Democrats vs. 52% total)



Peter, Schmitt and Bertrand Associates, Inc

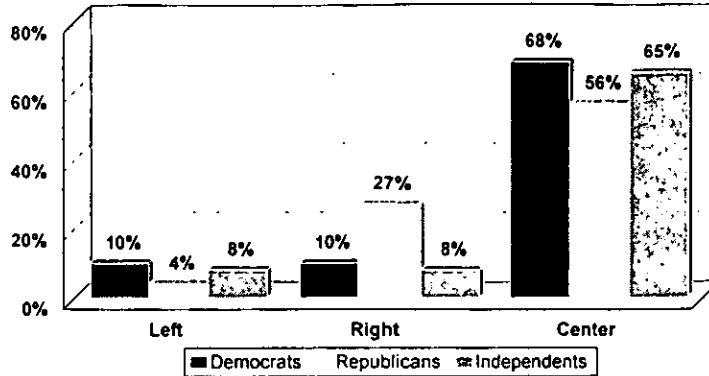
⇒ And when asked about what the party should stand for, 30% overall (41% of Democrats) think the Democratic Party should stand for helping people through government programs, 64% overall (and 55% of Democrats) think the party should stand for a less bureaucratic government that equips people to solve their own problems

In economic terms, 60% of Democrats today think the proper role of government is to "focus on economic growth and opportunity," while only 24% adhere to the view that the proper role is to "spend on social programs where necessary."

Overall, only 7% say we will find solutions to problems we face as a nation among the political left, 14% among the political right, and 63% the political center.

## Solutions For America's Problems

*As we look for answers to the problems we face as a nation, where do you think we will find the most solutions, among the political left, the political right, or the political center?*



Penn. Schoen and Berland Associates, Inc. T87

And Americans reject the politics of income redistribution and prefer a government that creates opportunity. By 22 to 71, Americans say that the role of government is not to redistribute existing wealth but to foster conditions that enable everyone to have a chance to make a higher income. Among Democrats, the answers were 20/74%. Only 4% named income inequality as a top problem from a list (7% of Democrats).

When asked whether government should redistribute income to close the gap between the wealthy and the poor or should work to create opportunity but not redistribute wealth, 33% said redistribute (40% among Democrats); 64% opportunity (57% among Democrats).



## 2. TRADE

### **Support for expanding trade is strong among all voters, including Democrats.**

76% overall support free trade, 86% support fair trade, and 78% favor expanding trade with other countries as long as it is done on a reciprocal basis. Among Democrats, 77% support free trade, 87% fair trade, and 82% expanding trade on a reciprocal basis.

#### More than two-thirds of all voters see global integration as a necessary and positive action:

- ◆ 67% think it is better trade policy to be aggressive at opening up markets, while only 22% think it is better to limit our trade and be protectionist. Among Democrats, 57% favor open markets, while 30% favor limiting trade.
- ◆ 67% believe America's continuing integration in the global marketplace is a positive trend, only 22% believe it is a negative. Among Democrats, the trend is the same, with 64% believing it is positive, and 26% a negative.

While very supportive of free trade and reject becoming protectionist, Americans have some concerns about the effect of trade on American jobs and working families, and feel corporations may benefit more than the average American.

#### ***Which of the following is closer to your view?:***

America's integration in global markets creates exciting new economic opportunities for both U.S. producers and workers (51% Total; 49% Democrats)

OR

America's integration in global markets mainly benefits multinational corporations at the expense of average working families (41% Total; 41% Democrats)

#### ***Which of the following is closer to your view?:***

America's integration in global markets spurs U.S. companies to develop new technologies and products, hone their competitive edge and create high-wage jobs at home, (40% Total; 43% Democrats)

OR

It encourages U.S. companies to move overseas to take advantage of low-wage labor in developing countries: (50% Total; 49% Democrats)

While Democrats express no more concern than other voters about the possibility of trade hurting workers, they are somewhat more likely to expect the government to play a role in protecting American jobs from possible adverse effects of trade: (46% Democrats, 37% total)

**Which of the following is the best policy for the U.S. government to take to ensure that the U.S. businesses and workers benefit from international trade?**

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Dems</u>
--	--------------	-------------

-The government should stay out of efforts to ensure that businesses and workers benefit from trade and leave that role to business.	17%	12%
--	-----	-----

-The government should protect American workers, and in some cases American industries, from foreign competition.	37%	46%
---	-----	-----

-The government should not protect businesses or workers, but it should help companies and workers to compete by helping them develop the skills they will need to benefit from international trade.	40%	37%
--	-----	-----

**There is support for renewal of the President's Fast Track Authority:**

"Presidents since 1974 have had trade negotiating authority known as Fast Track, which means the trade agreements the President negotiated are considered in Congress within 90 days and put to a simple yes or no vote without any additions that could upset the agreement. The authority to do this expired in 1994, and President Clinton no longer has such authority."

Democrats will support the President in his request for renewed Fast Track authority, even more strongly than voters overall. (Democrats: 67% support, 27% oppose, Total: 53% support, 39% oppose)

### 3. FAMILY VALUES AGENDA

Americans today are most concerned with issues surrounding the raising of a family, including the weakening of “traditional family values”, crime, and education. These family values issues generally take precedence even over economic issues.

Typically, voters concerned about these issues favor expanded educational programs, protections for children such as the curbs on smoking advertising or limiting violent TV, and added crime protection.

When asked to choose from among a number of concerns, Americans are more concerned about “the weakening of traditional family values” than about their personal economic situation, taxes, environmental issues, America’s competitiveness in the world economy, or the problem of income inequality.

57% of Democrats too are more concerned about weakening of family values, the need for better and safer schools, crime and violence -- values issues impacting raising a family -- than about economic issues.

#### Greatest Concern To Voters

*I am going to read you a list of some concerns that some people have expressed about aspects of life in America. Please tell me which of these is of greatest concern to you*

	All	Democrats
Weakening of Family Values	26	20
Better and safer schools	14	19
Crime and Violence	15	18
Findings jobs and opportunity	11	11
Taxes and Spending	12	9
Address income inequality	4	7
Influence of special interests	5	5
Need for cleaner environment	4	3
U.S. competitiveness in world economy	3	3

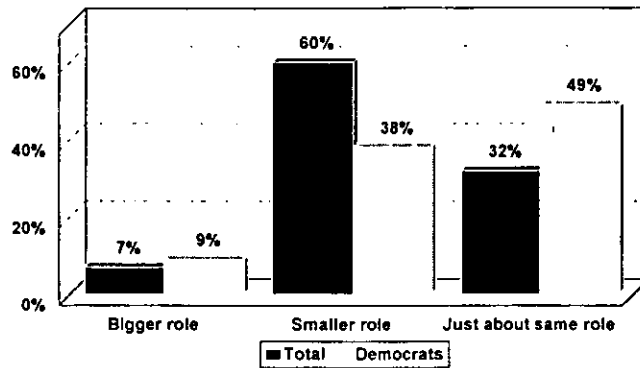
Penn. Schoen & Berland Associates

**And while the public desires a government that is generally less intrusive, Americans want the government involved in the protection of our children.**

In general, 60% think the government should play a smaller role in our lives, 32% just about the same role as it has been playing, and 7% say a bigger role. Even among Democrats, 38% think the government should play a smaller role in our lives and 49% just about the same role. *Only 9% of Democrats say a bigger role.*

### Role Of The Federal Government - General

*Do you think the federal government should play a bigger role in our lives, a smaller role in our lives, or continue to play just about the same role it has been playing?*

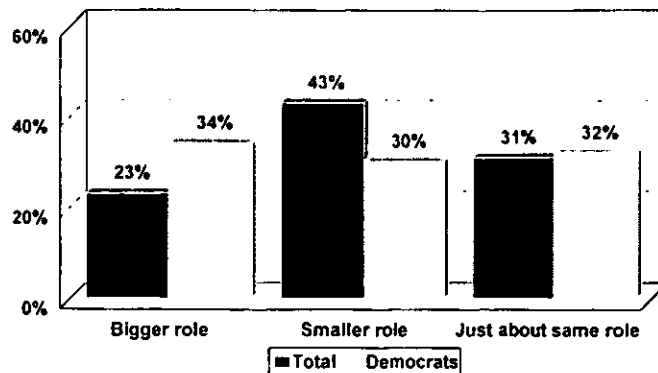


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Yet, when asked about the role the government should play in regulating matters that affect the lives of our children, the margin is much smaller; 43% of all respondents say a smaller role, 31% just about the same role, and 23% a bigger role. Democrats are even more supportive of government action with respect to children, with 1 in 3 (34%) saying the government should be playing a bigger role in regulating matters that affect the lives of our children, and another 49% just about the same role.

### Role Of The Federal Government - Children

*Do you think the government should play a bigger role regulating matters that affect the lives of our children a smaller role, or continue to play just about the same role it has been playing?*



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In fact, voters overall, and Democrats in particular, express strong support for several pro-family initiatives:

**Family Values proposals which Democratic Leaders could make their priority: (% saying they would be more favorable)**

◆ Changing divorce law to adopt a “child first” principle that would ensure that children’s needs are considered first in divorce proceedings	All 86%	Dem 89%
◆ Helping working families by making it easier for them to take unpaid leave from work for children’s educational needs or doctor’s visits	82%	89%
◆ Using federal money to expand community policing programs	66%	76%

In addition to their support for various programs, virtually all Democrats (97%) and voters overall (97%) perceive a link between crime and television violence.

#### 4. ENTITLEMENT REFORM

While concern about the stability of entitlements is broad-based, it is most significant among younger voters who want to see change in order to ensure the stability of programs into the future.

Worry over the stability of these program and support for change cuts across party lines, though Democrats are somewhat more hesitant than voters overall to look to the private sector for assistance.

##### Medicare

Overall, 56% have little or no confidence in the long term financial stability of Medicare. Seniors have more confidence in the system, and are therefore less willing than younger voters to undertake serious reform.

*How much confidence do you have in the long-term financial stability of Medicare?- by age*

	Tot	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Great deal/some	43	45	27	36	44	72
Not very much/none	56	55	70	64	53	26

Voters generally recognize the need for large changes to the Medicare system. Nearly three-quarters (73% overall, 69% of Democrats) said Medicare will soon face a crisis requiring serious reform, while only 23% said it is basically sound and should not be tampered with. Fully 80% (76% of Democrats) believe it is more important to reform Medicare than to protect it from budget cuts.

In thinking about reforming Medicare to ensure its long-term financial security, 31% overall (41% of Democrats) think it would be better to make *smaller changes* such as raising premiums and cutting benefits if necessary, but essentially retain Medicare as we know it, while 57% of voters (48% of Democrats) think it would be better to make *larger changes* in the system, such as allowing the marketplace to determine the price and level of health care provided instead of the government setting the price and scope of Medicare coverage.

Again, the desire for broader change is strongest among younger voters:

	Tot	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Smaller changes	31	26	29	27	36	42
Larger changes	57	63	59	59	55	48

As a possibility for change, 75% of voters (74% of Democrats) would support raising Medicare premiums for the wealthy. There is support for this change across age and income groups.

## **Social Security**

Only 44% have a great deal or some confidence in the long-term financial stability of Social Security, while 55% have not very much or no confidence at all. As with Medicare, the 25-50 age group has the least confidence

	Tot	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Great deal / some	44	43	26	27	59	84
Not very much/ none	55	55	74	73	40	16

More than 3 in 4 (77% overall, 75% of Democrats) agreed that the Social Security system is running out of money and changes will be necessary or it will go bankrupt in 30-40 years, and 72% (68% of Democrats) believed that Social Security will soon face a crisis requiring us to undertake serious reform. 25% believed the programs are basically sound and should not be tampered with.

A slim majority (51%) said it would be better to repair Social Security rather than move toward structural changes that depend more on private savings (42%). Democrats are more likely than others to favor repairing the current system, with 62% saying it would be better to repair Social Security rather than move toward structural changes that depend more on private savings (31%).

More than half (57%) said Social Security should be provided to all seniors, 39% said it should go only to those who have a financial need.

There is support for a variety of proposed changes to the Social Security system:

	Support			
	Tot	D	R	I
Right now, each employee contributes 6.2% from each paycheck that goes into the Social Security trust fund. One proposal is to take about one third or 2% of this contribution and allow the employee to put it in a private retirement fund instead.	75	73	80	71
Change the Social Security system to create a two-tier system which would provide a basic retirement plan for all low and middle income retired Americans and would be supplemented by individually-controlled private savings.	72	71	67	78
Adjusting the Consumer price index to more accurately measure the rate of inflation, which may lower cost of living adjustments for all retirees.	71	67	74	73
Because the Social Security system caps the amount of benefits any retiree can receive, it also caps the amount of money any individual can pay into the system. While the Social Security system taxes everyone's wages the same amount up to \$65,000, any income above that does not have to pay Social Security tax. Given this, some people say we should lift the Social Security cap, so all income is taxed for Social Security regardless how much a person makes, but maintain the cap on benefits.	68	73	58	69
Gradually ending the social security system and replacing it by requiring Americans to save for their retirement. This would be done by shifting the social security payroll tax into individually controlled personal savings account.	55	48	64	56
Raise the cap on how much income is taxed for Social Security, but exempt people who earn only a modest income from paying any Social Security tax on their earnings	53	62	41	53
Reducing the Cost of living adjustment, which increases benefits as the cost of living rises, for wealthy retirees	47	52	42	46



## 5. EDUCATIONAL REFORM

**There is widespread concern about the nation's public school system, and widespread support for a variety of proposals to improve the system.**

43% give the nation's public school system a "failing" grade of a 4 or 5 on a scale of 1-5, and another 42% an average grade of 3. Democrats give the educational system similar ratings, with 40% giving the school system a "failing" grade and 49% giving it a grade of 3.

53% (49% of Democrats) believe that more choice and competition is the way to improve the nation's public schools, while 39% (45% of Democrats) believe spending more money and resources is necessary for improvement.

National education standards receive strong approval, with 70% of all voters and 76% of Democrats in favor of this idea. Furthermore, 41% believe educational goals should be set on the national level, while 27% say this should fall at the state and 29% at the local level. Democrats are slightly more inclined to support national educational goals than the total sample (45% set on national level, 28% at the state level, and 24% local level).

Other proposals which receive strong support include:

- ◆ 67% support the expansion of the charter school program in which independently managed schools receive public funds if they meet state standards for student achievement to encourage competition within the public school system. Among Democrats, 63% support expansion.
- ◆ 82% support requiring school districts to distribute educational progress reports, similar to the way governments and corporations have to issue annual reports, so taxpayers can measure the quality of schools. Similarly, 80% of Democrats support educational progress reports.

Additional initiatives for educational reform which receive strong support include: greater teacher accountability, strengthening the ability to remove disruptive students, and stricter requirements to ensure that students are adequately prepared to move on to the next grade level.

If Democratic leaders made this a priority would you be much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable toward Democratic leaders?	More favorable			
	Tot	D	R	I
Giving principals greater authority to fire incompetent teachers.	85	81	89	85
Giving teachers and administrators greater authority to expel disruptive students.	85	81	90	84
Administering student tests to end "social promotions" and ensure that students have mastered the skills established by national educational standards before they can graduate to the next grade level	80	84	75	80
Improving the quality of schools by providing performance bonuses to public school teachers who exceed standards.	78	81	77	77
Spending \$1 billion to mobilize one million adults to mentor and tutor disadvantaged youths	67	71	57	71
Providing public funding for scholarships or vouchers to allow disadvantaged students to attend private or parochial schools.	69	68	75	62
Using federal education funds to reward states that adopt high curriculum standards and standardized tests and penalize those that fail to do so.	51	54	46	50

## ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS

### RACE IN AMERICA

**Americans see empowerment as the most effective approach to promoting racial equality.**

Affirmative action is not seen by most Americans as the primary vehicle for promoting racial equality – instead Americans see the long-term answer in programs that create work, the opportunity to open a small business, or build up savings, alongside improvement of the inner-city schools. In addition Americans see as a primary goal the moving of 1 million people from welfare to work (95%) as a primary national goal and creating a new employment system to accomplish the job (68%) as more important than just enforcing time limits.

**Which do you believe is the best way for the United States to promote racial equality today:**

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
By expanding affirmative action programs	12%	14%
By improving inner-city schools	26%	25%
Reducing crime through more and better policing.	13%	12%
By empowering low-income minorities to work, build up savings accounts, and start small businesses	39%	39%

Also, voters believe affirmative action programs for business should be targeted towards the place, not race independently.

**Should affirmative action preferences be targeted to companies owned by minorities or to companies that operate in poor and inner city communities, regardless of who owns them?**

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
Companies owned to minorities	16%	15%
Companies that operate in poor and inner city communities	65%	69%

**But while Americans are split on affirmative action in the abstract, they strongly support its retention when the dropping of affirmative action means drastic reductions in enrollment for minorities in legal or other professional schools, for example. 43% overall support affirmative action, 50% say that they are no longer necessary while Democrats say they are necessary by 55% to 37%. But 57% support overall (67% among Democrats) affirmative action when told about the effects on minority enrollment of removing it.**

## **FISCAL DISCIPLINE**

**At the center of the debate between the “old” Democrats and the “new” Democrats is the fight over the balanced budget.**

**Voters express their support for the balanced budget agreement explicitly, with 67% saying they support the budget deal while 14% oppose it, making this deal essentially a consensus issue in the country in supplemental polling conducted after the deal.**

**Among Democrats, the deal is supported by 67/17  
Among Republicans, the deal is favored 68/16  
Among Independents, the support level is 69/9**

**A majority of all groups support the deal, including blacks who gave the deal 65% support.**

85% of voters would be more favorable to Democratic Leaders if they made “finishing the job of implementing the balanced budget agreement” a top priority.

## **THE NEW OPTIMISM**

Optimism is pervasive in the strong economy: 67% of voters see the economy as on the right track, and nearly as many think the U.S. economy will be stronger in the next 12 months. By 68/28 Democrats see the economy as on the right track.

3 in 4 voters – and 80% of Democrats - expect that their personal economic situation will be better in the next 12 months than it is today. This optimism cuts across race, party and income.

By 48/39, most Americans now see the country itself as on the right track, and among Democrats the figures are 55/31.

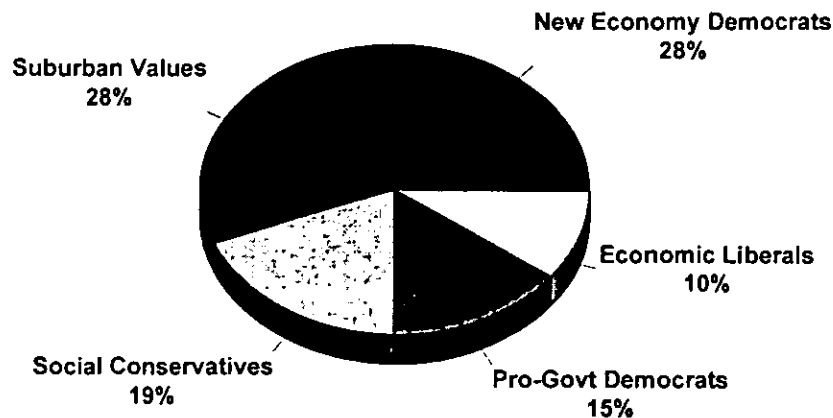
## THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY -- A CLOSER LOOK

In order to better understand the Democratic Party today, we conducted an extensive examination of the different groups which make up the Democratic Party. In total, we found five distinct groups -- New Economy Democrats, Suburban Values Democrats, Pro-Government Democrats, Economic Liberals and Social Conservatives.

Each segment is defined by their views on a number of key issues, including the proper role of government, economic redistribution, trade, social issues and defense, among others.

**We found a majority of Democrats (56%) hold the view that the proper role of government is limited to providing opportunity, rather than protecting people from adversity.** Of this 56%, half (28%) are what we call New Economy Democrats-- who welcome integration into the global economy, and half are Suburban Values voters -- whose main concerns are not economic, but related to family oriented values.

## Composition of the Democratic Party



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### ***New Economy Democrats (28% of Democrats)***

**New Economy Democrats are defined in terms of their view that the role of government should be limited to providing opportunity, their strong support of free trade and globalization, and their view that America's integration into the global marketplace is a positive trend.** In demographic terms, these voters tend to be drawn from a cross-section of Democratic voters, with a higher representation of all age groups except seniors. Nearly half use the internet compared to a third of most Democrats, and the group is slightly more male than most Democrats.

But surprisingly, this group is also the most pro-choice of any Democratic group, and is highly committed to voting for a Democratic candidate for Congress next year.

### ***Suburban Values (28%)***

**Suburban Values voters are characterized their views that better, safer schools, safer streets, and the need for strengthening traditional family values are paramount among their concerns. They are twice as concerned about education and safety as most Democrats.** For instance, they are the least likely group to feel that crime is sometimes justified by social circumstances. They are overwhelmingly pro-choice. They are more likely to favor diplomacy over military strength, but they generally support American leadership in resolving international conflicts.

A majority of Suburban Values Democrats are women, and they tend to be younger, have children, are middle to upper income earners.

### ***Economic Liberals (10%)***

**Ten percent of Democrats are characterized by their view that the proper role of government is to redistribute wealth and close the income gap between the wealthy and the poor.** They are the only group in which a majority believe that attacking urban poverty is chiefly a federal, rather than local responsibility.

These voters tend to be older (including a higher proportion of seniors), relatively lower education attainers and lower income earners. They are the most likely of any segment to describe themselves liberal, and they are less optimistic about the economy than Suburban Values or New Economy Democrats.

### ***Pro-Government Democrats (15%)***

Pro-government Democrats, simply put, are much more likely to support government involvement in solving problems. They are the only Democratic group that is evenly divided in its support and opposition to balancing the Federal budget as opposed to running a deficit if needed, to fund social programs – in all other segments, a majority support balancing the budget no matter what. These voters tend to be older, and low to middle income earners.

The pro-government Democrats typically also are seen as more liberal on social issues. They support for gay marriages, spousal health and other benefits for gay couples, abortion, and environmental issues.

### ***Social Conservatives (19%)***

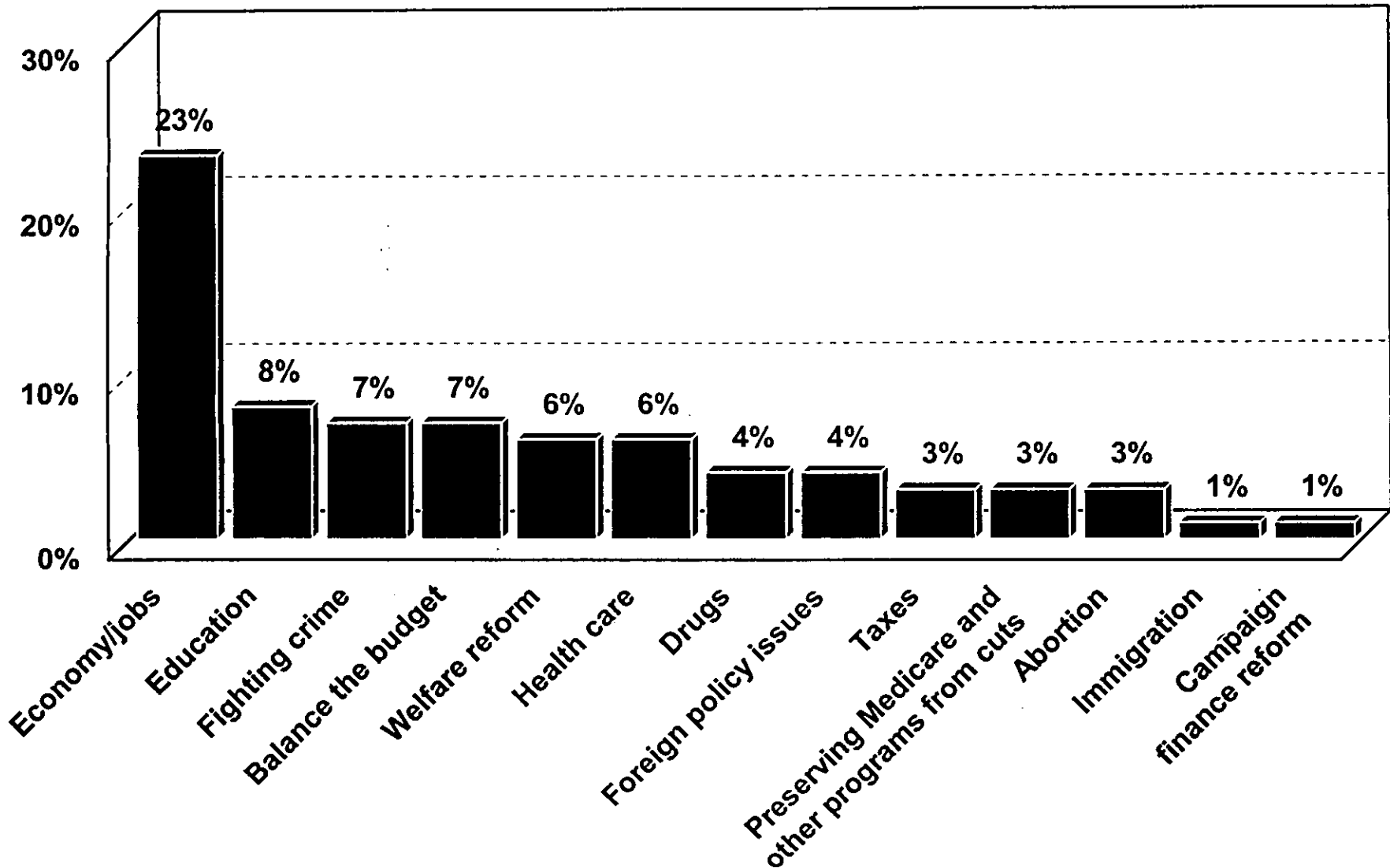
**Nearly two in ten Democrats are socially conservative on issues such as gay rights (which they strongly oppose), and the issue of restricting pornography (which a 60% majority favors).** They are the most likely to support restricting limits on trade in order to protect American jobs. They are generally pro-military, but opposed to American intervention abroad. They are the least likely to support gun control.

They tend to favor limiting the size of the government safety net and to oppose changing the Social Security system, and a slight plurality of these voters believe affirmative action is no longer needed. They are also the only Democratic segment that is more likely to oppose environmental regulations as potentially harmful than to support them.

Social conservatives are among the lowest income and education attainment groups. They tend to be older, married, have children at home, and to regularly attend religious services.

Although they are the most heavily unionized segment of the Democratic party (32% are union members) they are the least likely to have voted for Clinton-Gore in 1996 and they are less committed to voting for a Democratic congressional candidate than are the other four segments of the Democratic party electorate – just four in ten (41%) say they will definitely vote for a Democratic candidate in next year's election.

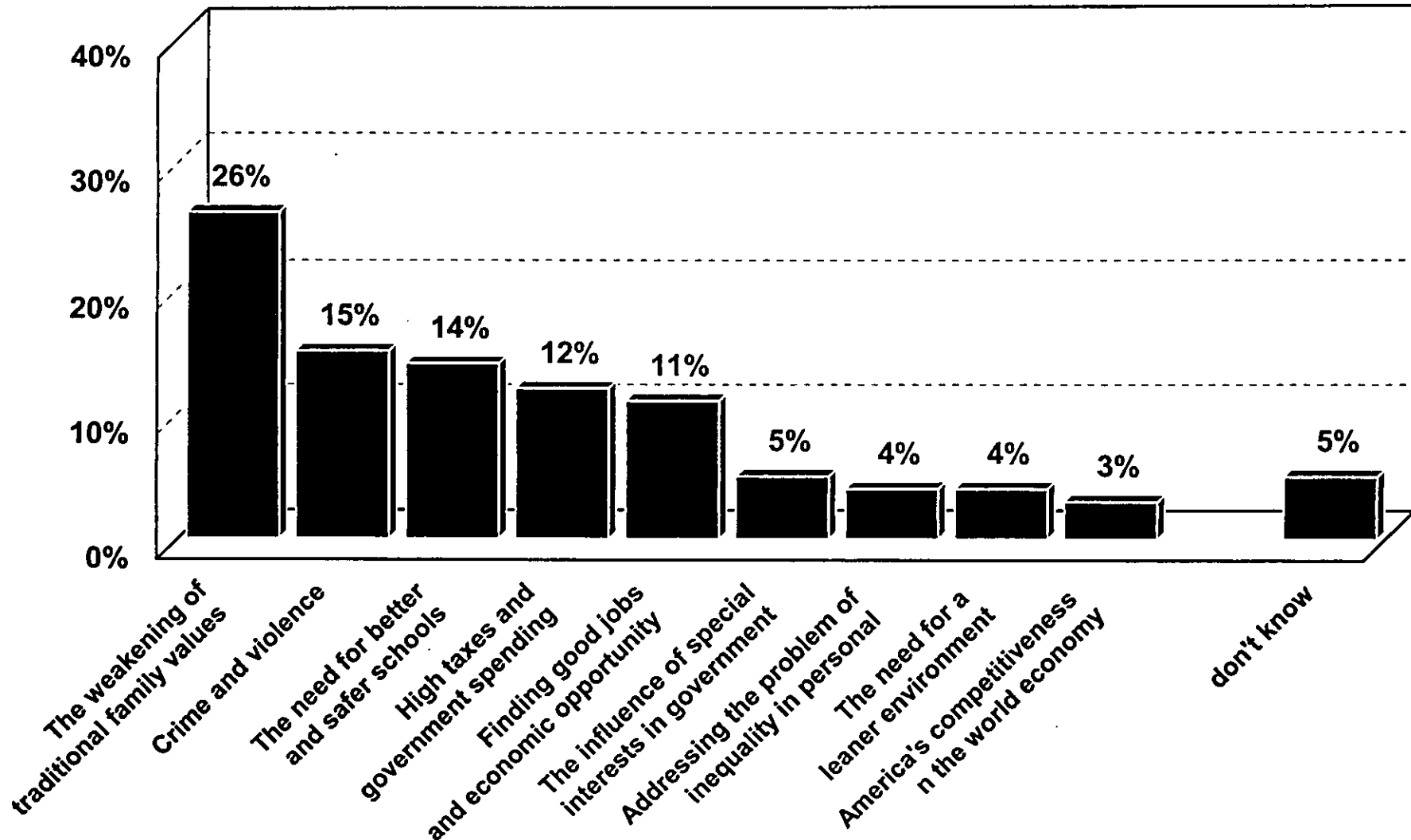
# What is the most important issue facing the country?





# Concerns About American Life

*I am going to read you a list of some concerns that some people have expressed about aspects of life in America. Please tell me which of these is of greatest concern to you.*



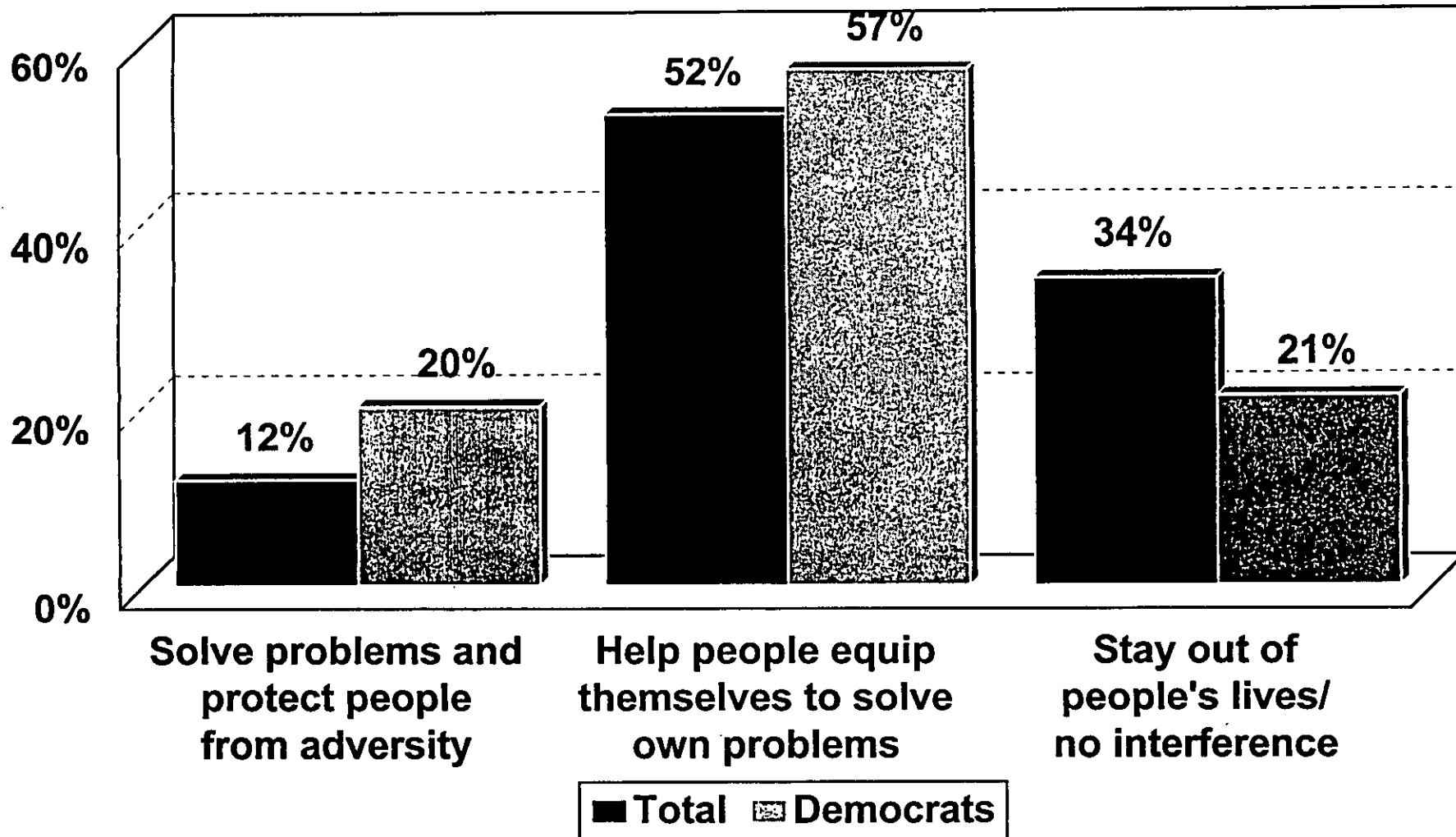
# Role Of Government

*Which of the following is closest to your own thinking about the proper role of federal government?*

*Government should solve problems and protect people from adversity;*

*Government should help people equip themselves to solve their own problems;*

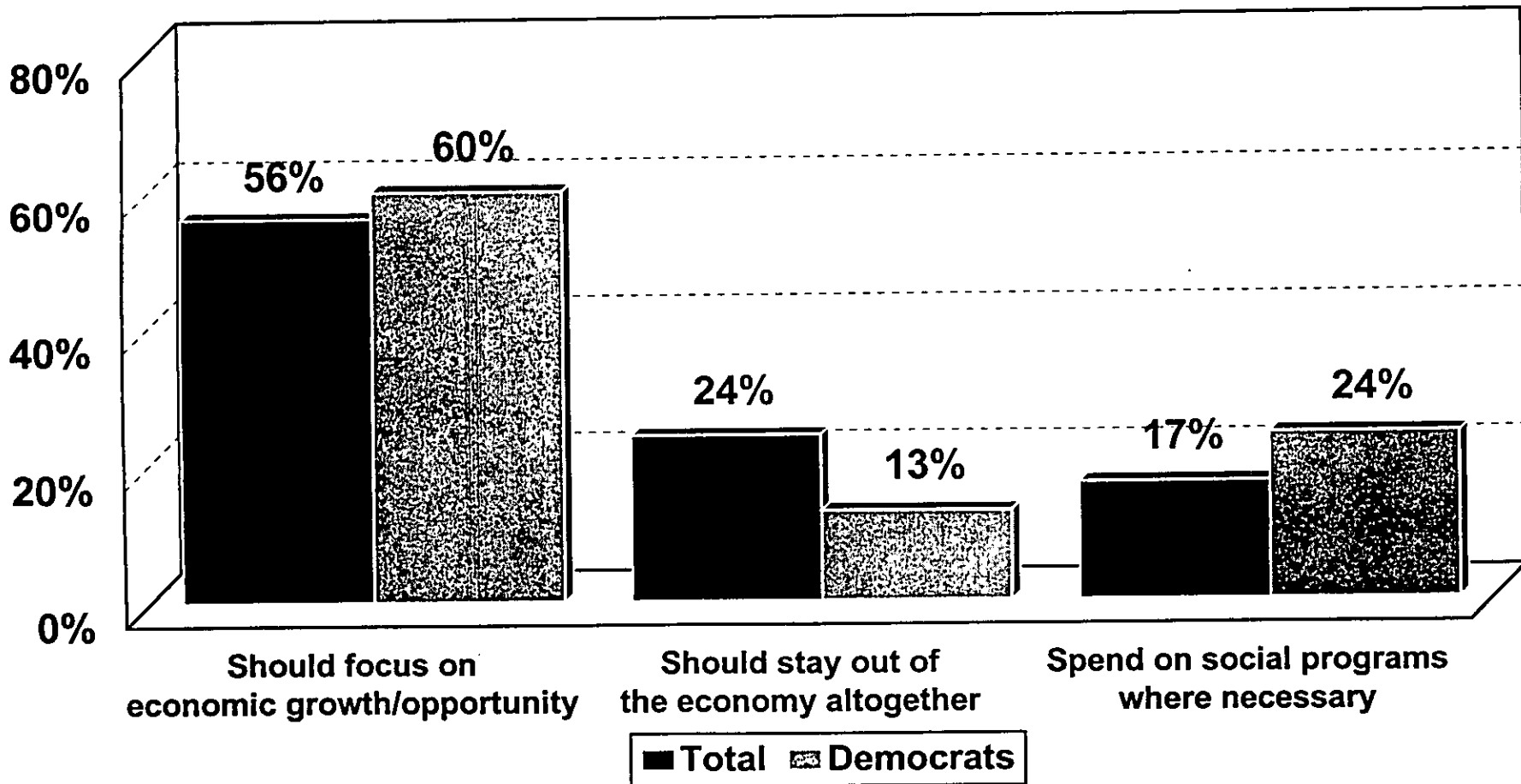
*Government should stay out of people's lives so they can solve their problems without interference or regulation.*



# Economic Role Of Government

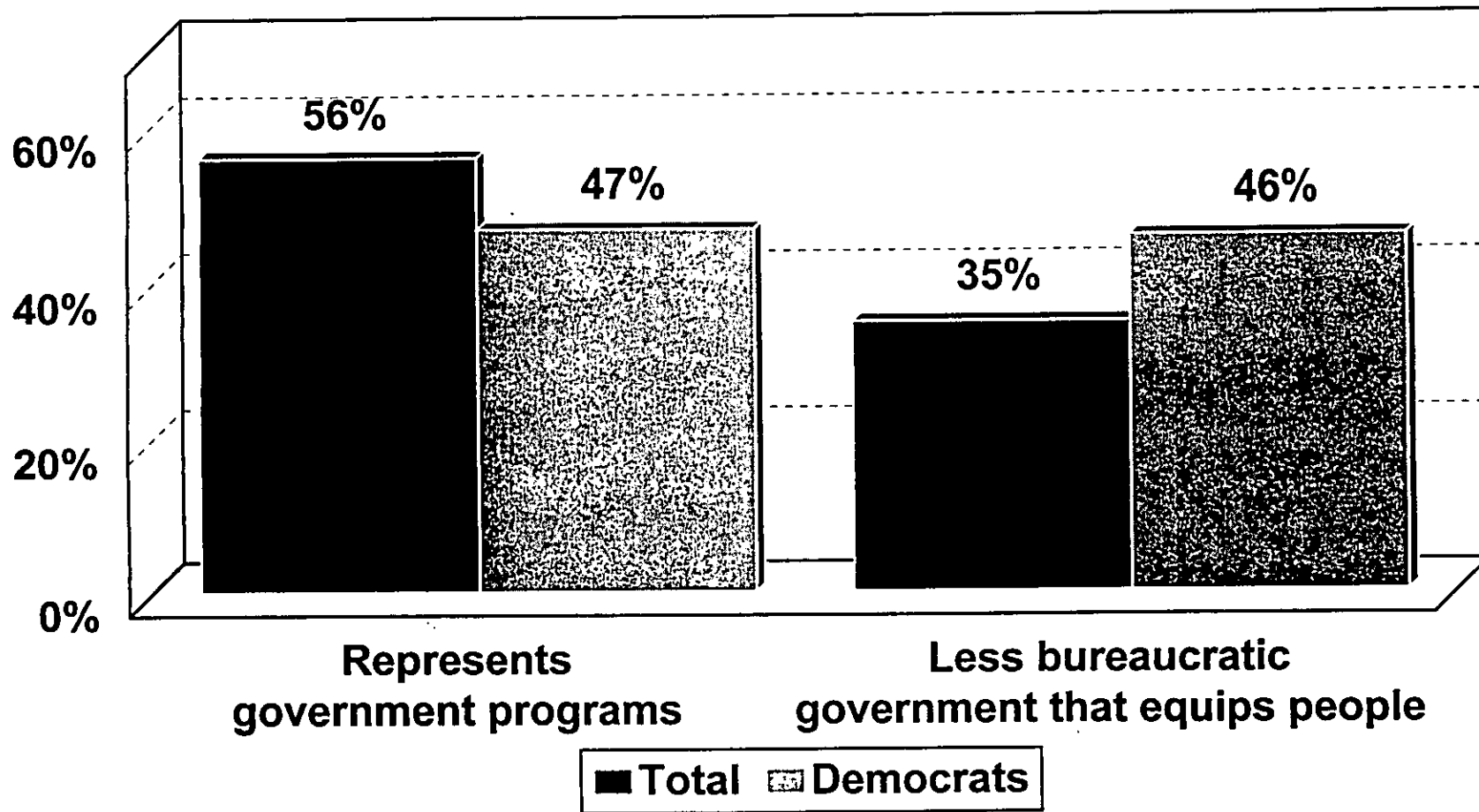
*Which of the following is closest to your own thinking about the proper role of the government in terms of economics?  
Government should spend on social programs where necessary, because America is not about leaving everyone to fend for himself;*

*Government should focus on spurring economic growth and creating opportunity for all Americans;  
Government should stay out of the economy altogether so private forces can compete and create jobs*



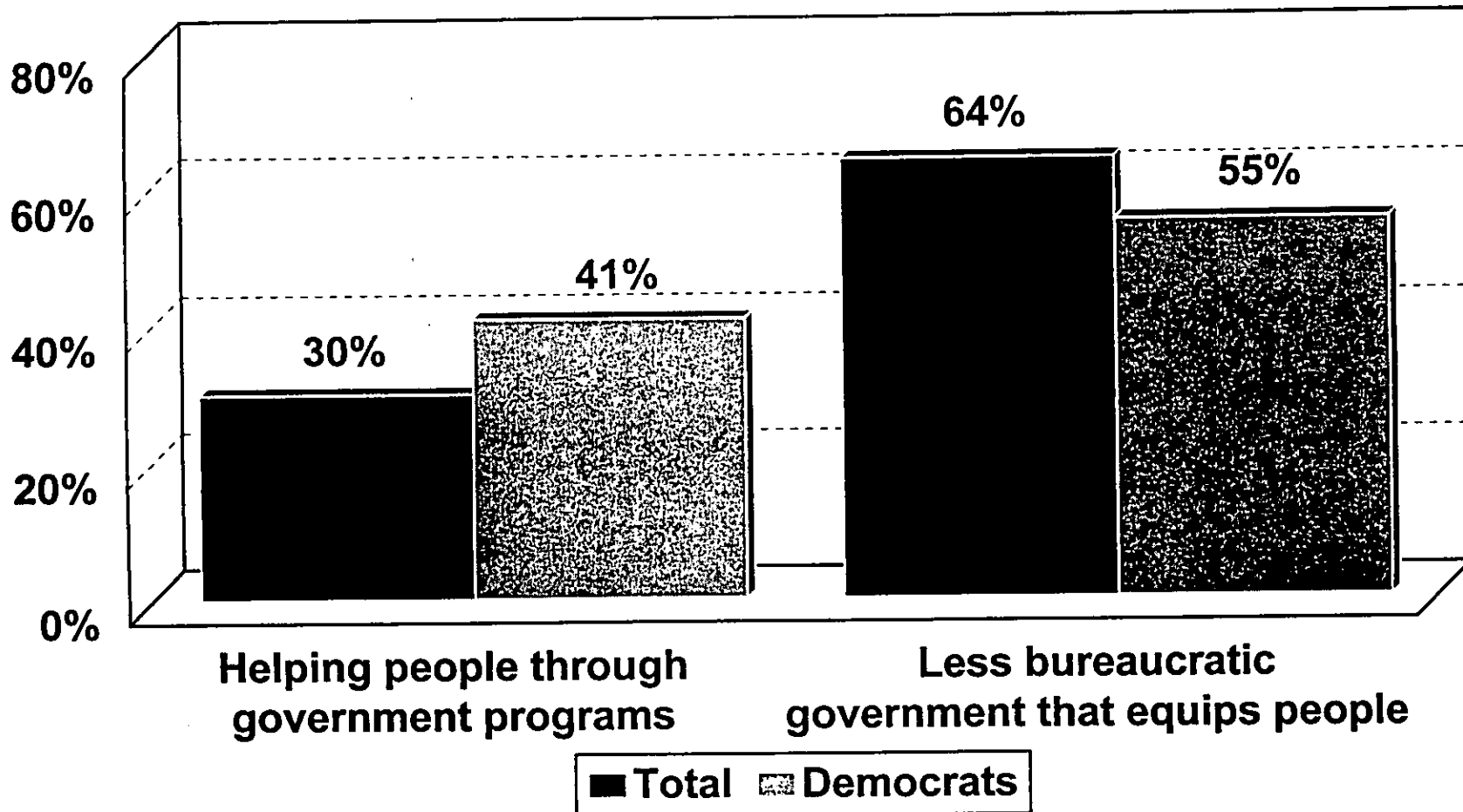
# Perception Of Democratic Party

*Some people say the Democratic party primarily helps people through government programs. Other people says the Democratic party today stands more for a less bureaucratic government that equips people to solve their own problems. Which is closer to your view of the Democratic party?*



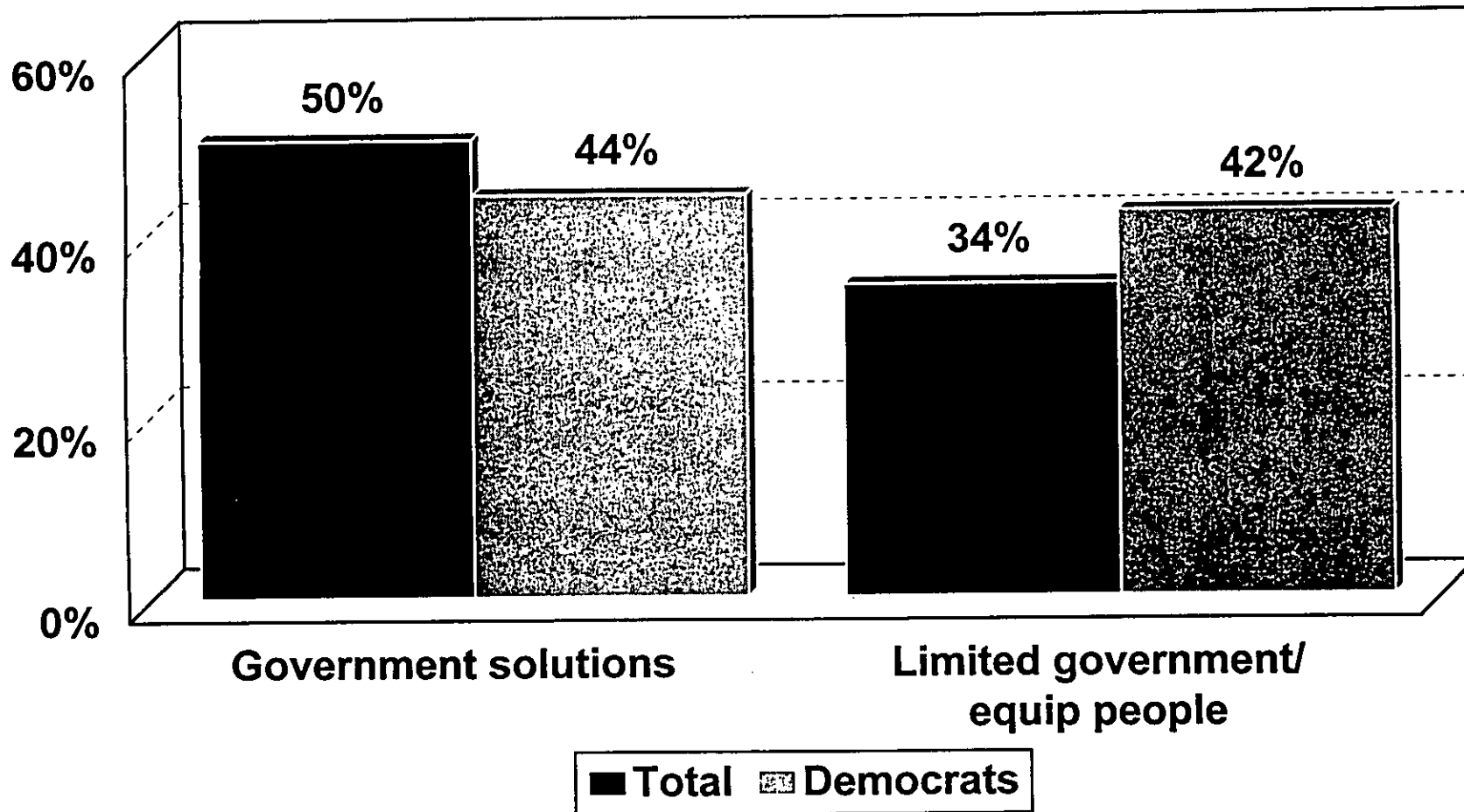
# What The Democratic Party Should Stand For

*Which is closer to your view of what the Democratic Party should stand for? It should represent helping people through government programs or It should represent less bureaucratic government that equips people.*

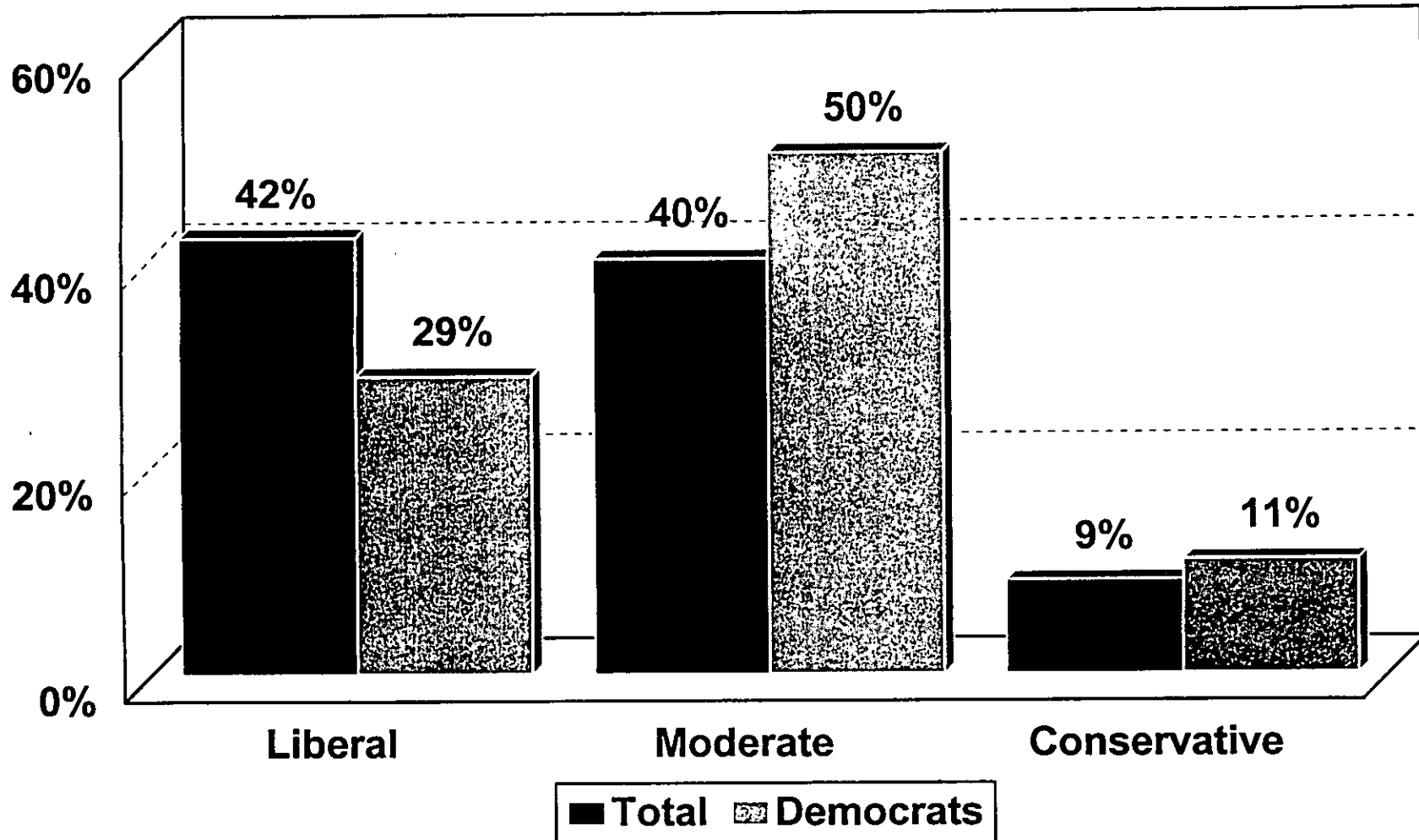


# Perception Of Congressional Democrats

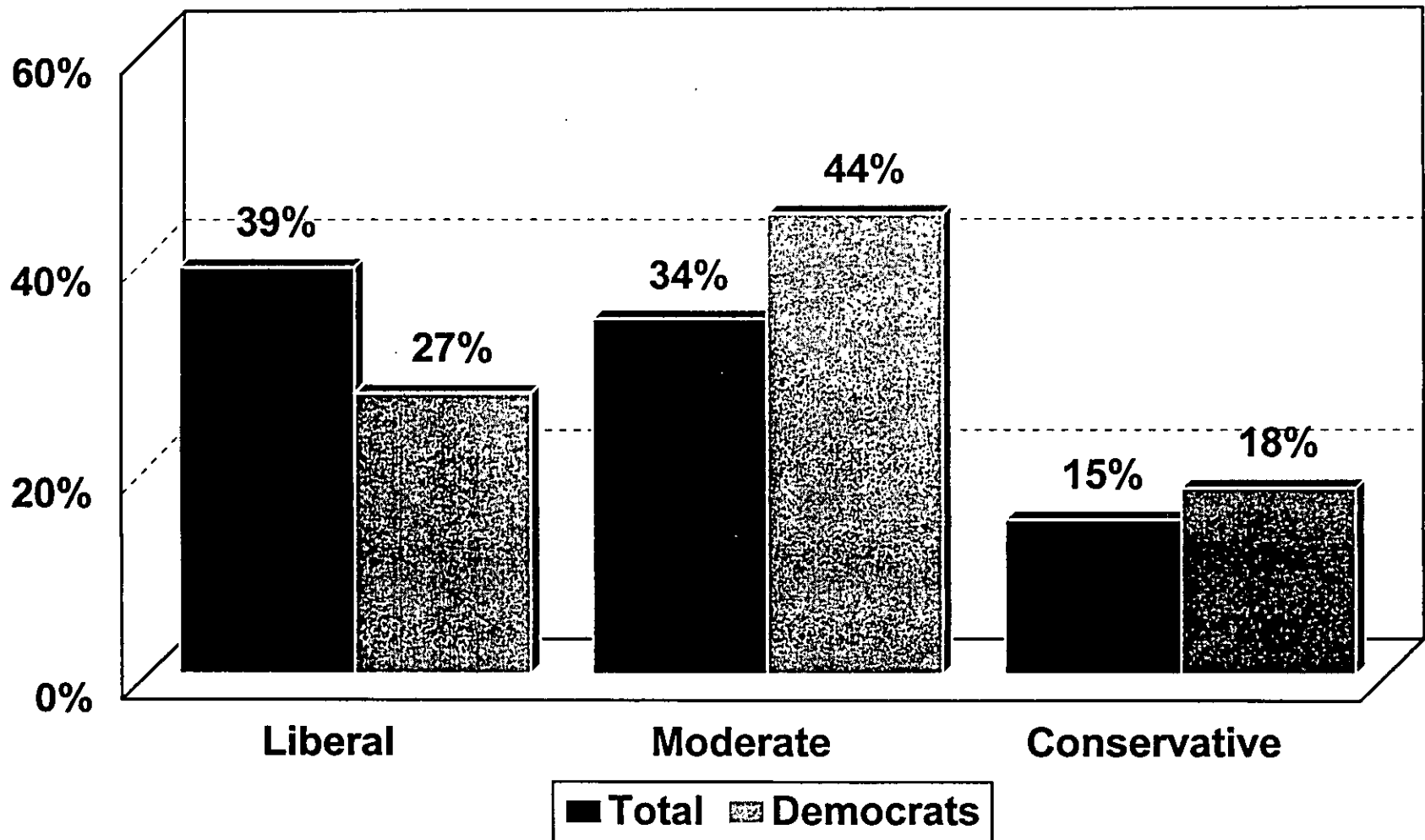
*Given the distinction between Democrats who primarily help people through government programs, and those who prefer a limited role of government, which kind of Democrat do you think most of the Democrats in Congress are?*



# Generally speaking, do you consider President Clinton to be liberal, moderate or conservative?



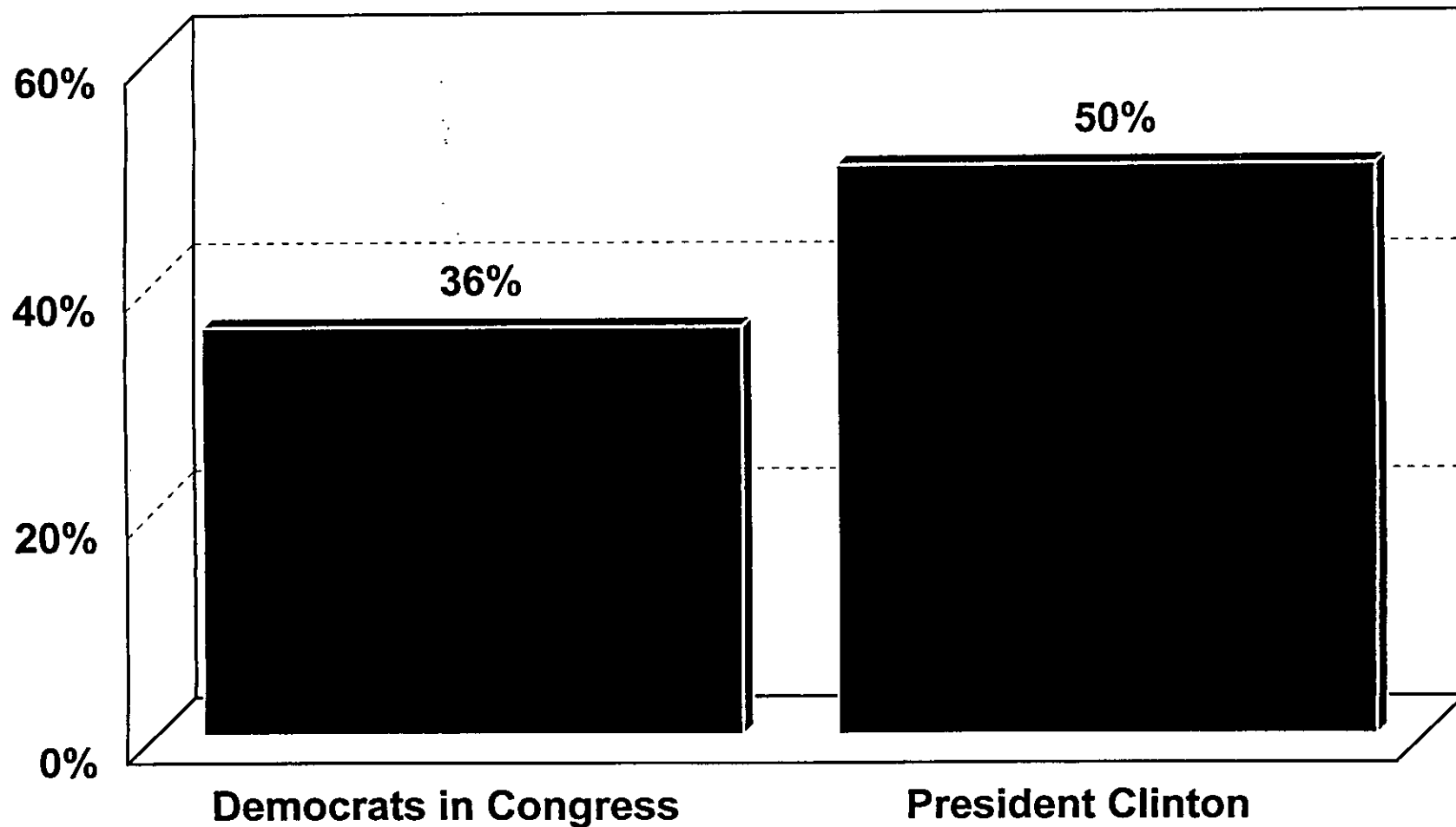
# Generally speaking, do you consider the Democrats in Congress to be liberal, moderate or conservative?





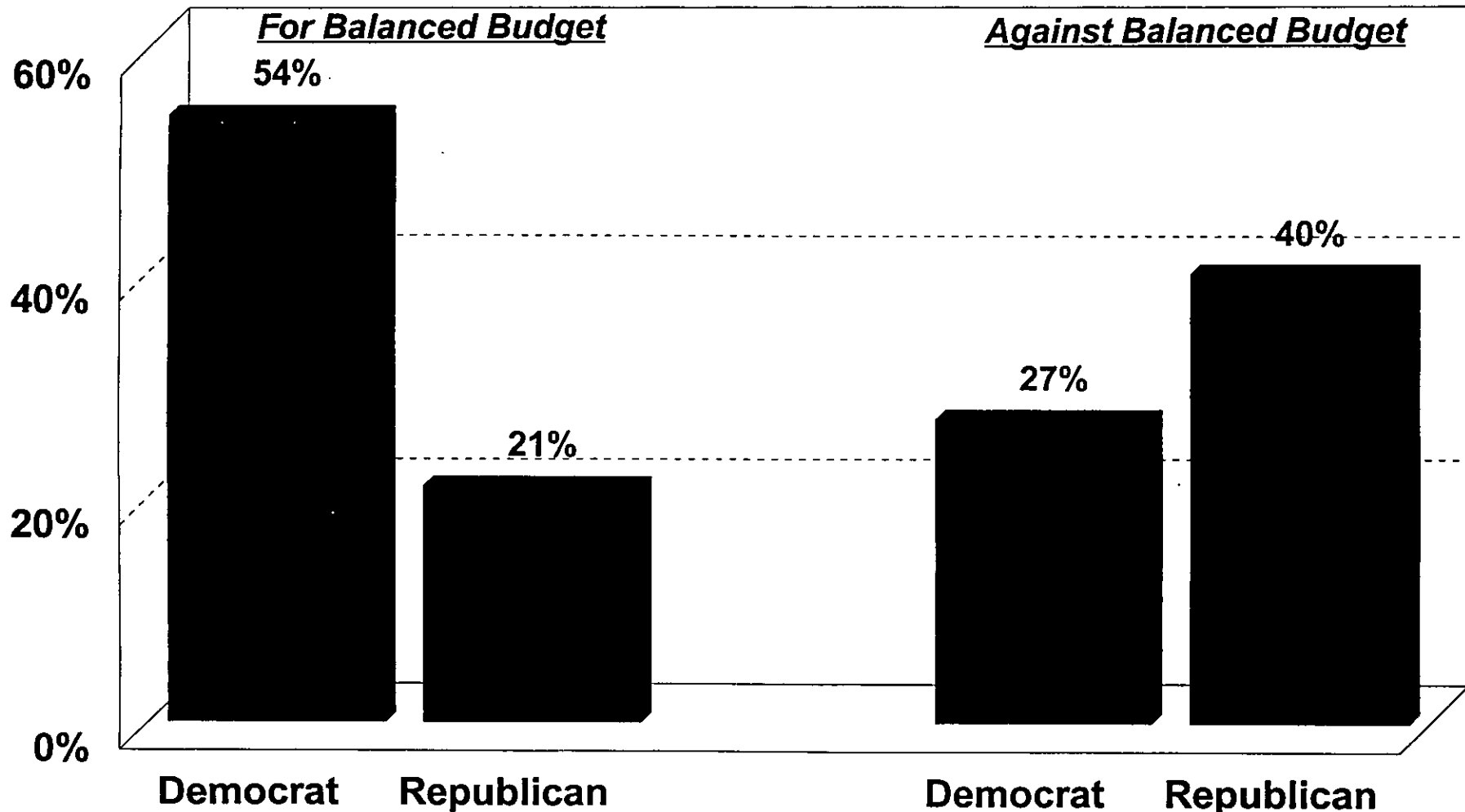
# Who do you think best represents your viewpoint on the issues, the Democrats in Congress or President Clinton?

*Among Democrats Only*



# Budget: Influence On Congressional Vote

*If a Democrat represented you and he or she voted [for/against] the balanced budget deal, who would you vote for in Congress next year, the Democrat or a Republican?*



# Attributes

Now I'd like to read you a list of words and phrases and for each one, I'd like you to tell me if you think it applies more to [President Clinton/Democrats in Congress] or the Republicans in Congress.

	Clinton	GOP	Dems	GOP	Clinton advtg
Reforming Medicare and Social Security.	48	35	40	42	15
Working to improve our economy.	48	33	41	39	13
Reforming government.	37	47	28	51	13
Tied to special interests.	47	33	37	36	13
Reforming welfare.	46	43	37	47	13
Protecting traditional American values.	38	44	33	49	10
Working to enter into tough trade agreements.	42	37	39	43	9
Tough on crime.	37	45	32	48	8
Balancing the federal budget.	37	42	33	46	8
Encouraging high moral standards.	35	43	30	45	7
Making America competitive in the world economy.	42	41	36	41	6
Easing racial tensions.	56	19	52	20	5
Working to improve our educational system.	58	28	55	29	4
Making wise decisions about the country's defense policies.	37	46	31	44	4
Protecting children.	53	26	52	25	0
Increasing access to health care.	59	22	60	21	-2
Helping working families.	58	28	60	26	-4
Protecting the clean air and clean water.	59	22	62	20	-5
Protecting Medicare and Social Security.	53	28	58	27	-6
Is in touch with my values.	39	41	43	39	-6
Creating opportunity for people to make the most out of their own lives.	43	39	46	35	-7
Maintaining abortion rights.	58	23	65	17	-13

The "Clinton advtg" is the advantage the President has in public perception over Democrats in Congress when compared to Republicans, and is determined by comparing the difference between the President and the Republicans in Congress to the difference between Democrats in Congress and Republicans in Congress.

# New Democratic Proposals – By Party

*Ranked by Total More Favorable*

	More favorable				Less favorable			
	Tot	D	R	I	Tot	D	R	I
Expand federal efforts to move a million more people from welfare to work.	93	95	92	93	4	3	6	4
Requiring business that get a tax break for training high-level employees to offer training to all employees.	88	88	84	89	9	7	12	8
Changing divorce law to adopt a “child first” principle that would ensure that children’s needs are considered first in divorce proceedings.	86	89	83	83	8	4	11	9
Finishing the job of implementing the balanced budget agreement.	85	84	86	87	8	10	9	6
Giving principals greater authority to fire incompetent teachers.	85	81	89	85	13	18	8	12
Giving teachers and administrators greater authority to expel disruptive students.	85	81	90	84	11	15	4	14
Restructuring government agencies so they are run like private corporations. By giving managers the flexibility they need to improve their agencies’ performance and then holding them accountable for the results and replace them if they are not performing efficiently.	82	80	87	81	14	18	9	14
Helping working families by making it easier for them to take unpaid leave from work for children’s educational needs or doctor’s visits.	82	89	73	84	15	6	24	14
Protecting the environment by giving businesses an incentive to protect it and making it expensive for businesses to pollute it.	81	86	73	82	16	12	22	15
Consolidating the federal job program funding so workers can receive skill vouchers to purchase employment training and job skills.	81	85	71	85	13	7	21	12
Allowing Americans to open a tax-deductible account for job training that could only be used to pay for job training.	80	83	71	85	13	10	18	10
Ensuring the long-term preservation of Social Security by changing the system so people receive benefits from both public pensions and private investments.	80	79	81	79	14	16	12	12
Administering student tests to end “social promotions” and ensure that students have mastered the skills established by national educational standards before they can graduate to the next grade level	80	84	75	80	16	14	21	13

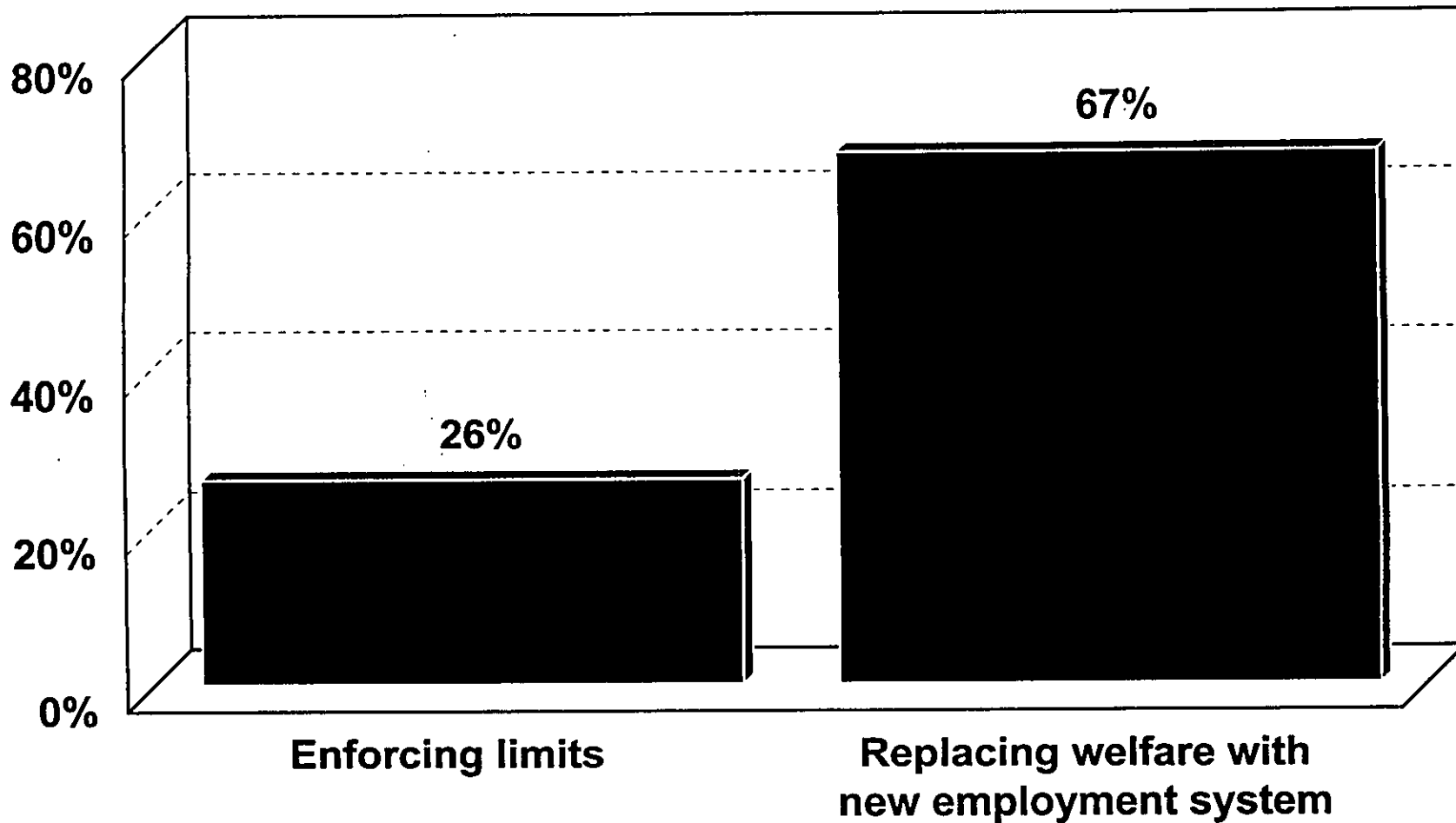
# New Democratic Proposals – By Party

*Ranked by Total More Favorable*

	More favorable				Less favorable			
	Tot	D	R	I	Tot	D	R	I
Improving the quality of schools by providing performance bonuses to public school teachers who exceed standards.	78	81	77	77	18	15	21	19
Providing public funding for scholarships or vouchers to allow disadvantaged students to attend private or parochial schools.	69	68	75	62	28	27	22	34
Cut federal subsidies for specific industries, such as agriculture and the airline industry, to pay for public investments such as worker training and basic research and development that will benefit the entire economy.	68	76	68	62	24	16	26	28
Spending \$1 billion to mobilize one million adults to mentor and tutor disadvantaged youths	67	71	57	71	28	22	36	27
Using federal money to expand community policing programs.	66	76	52	68	28	20	43	24
Repealing the parts of the new welfare law to deny aid to legal immigrants and to cut money for food stamps.	57	54	62	57	34	38	28	36
Using federal education funds to reward states that adopt high curriculum standards and standardized tests and penalize those that fail to do so.	51	54	46	50	45	40	48	47
Requiring all high school seniors to perform community service in order to graduate.	41	45	38	38	56	53	58	58

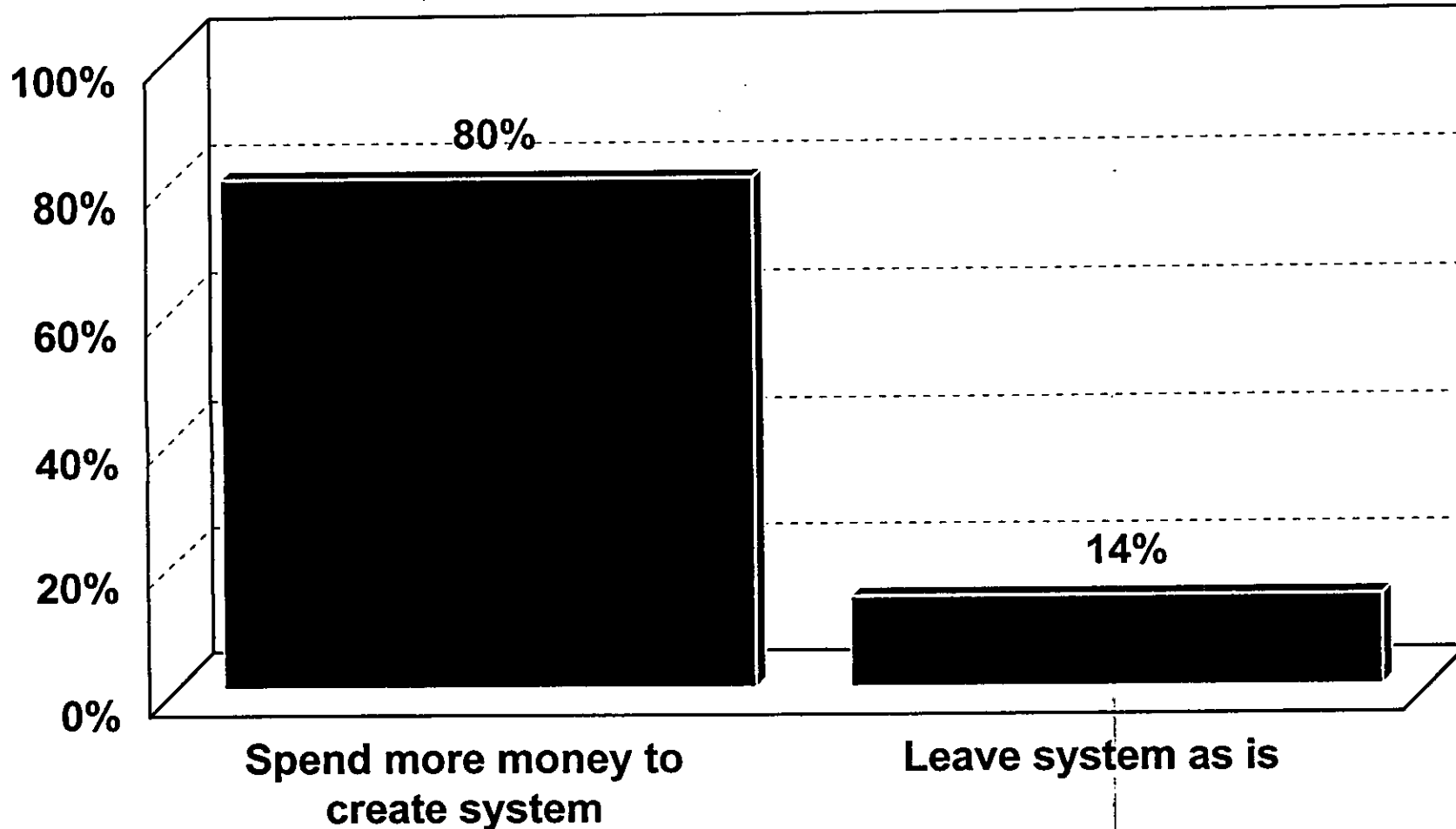
# Welfare Reform

*In your view, which is more important to the success of welfare reform, strictly enforcing time limits to move families off welfare, or replacing welfare with a new employment system that connects welfare recipients to private sector jobs?*



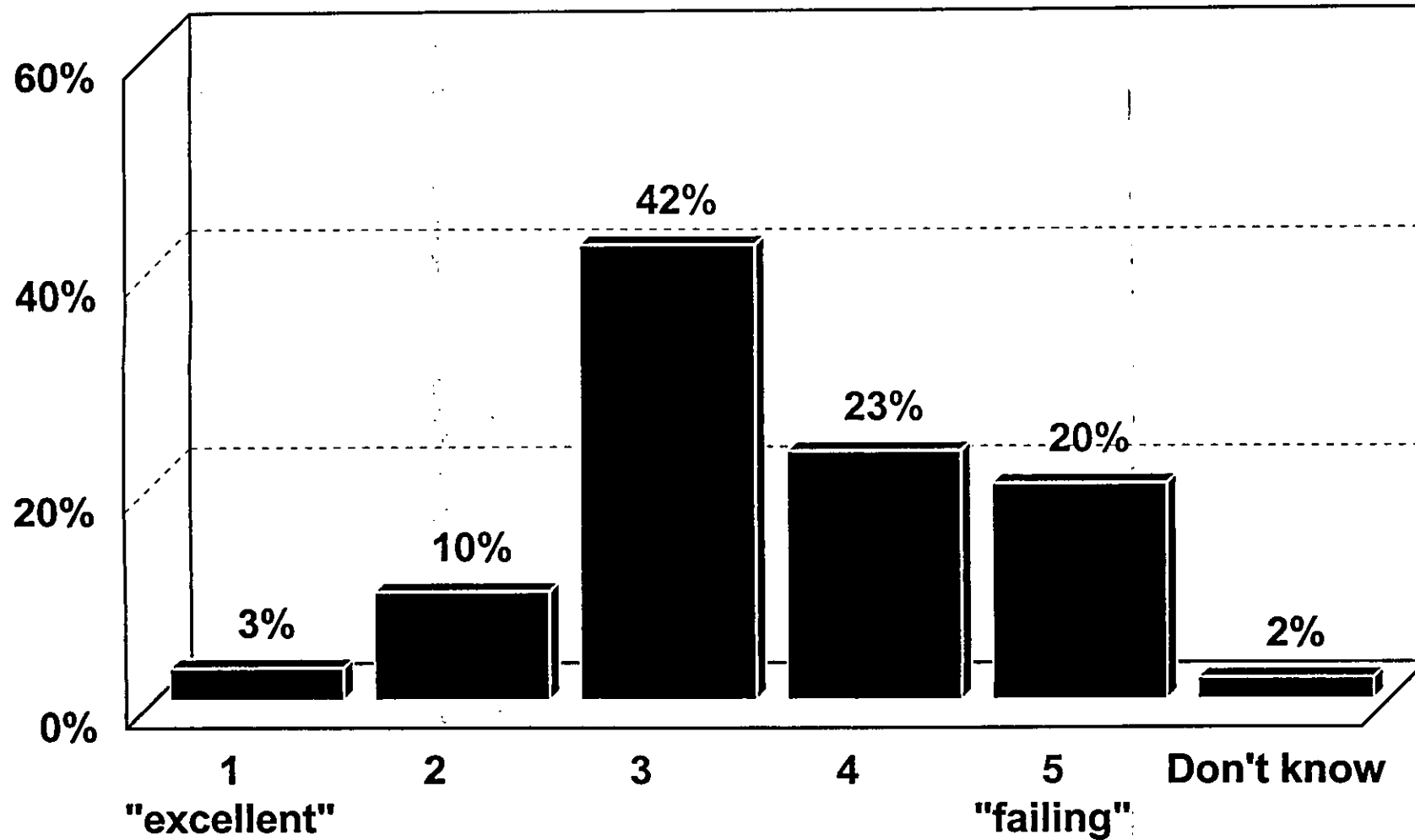
# Welfare Reform

*Should the government spend more money to create such a system if that's what it takes to give welfare recipients a real opportunity to work, or should the government leave the welfare system as it is?*



# Public School System

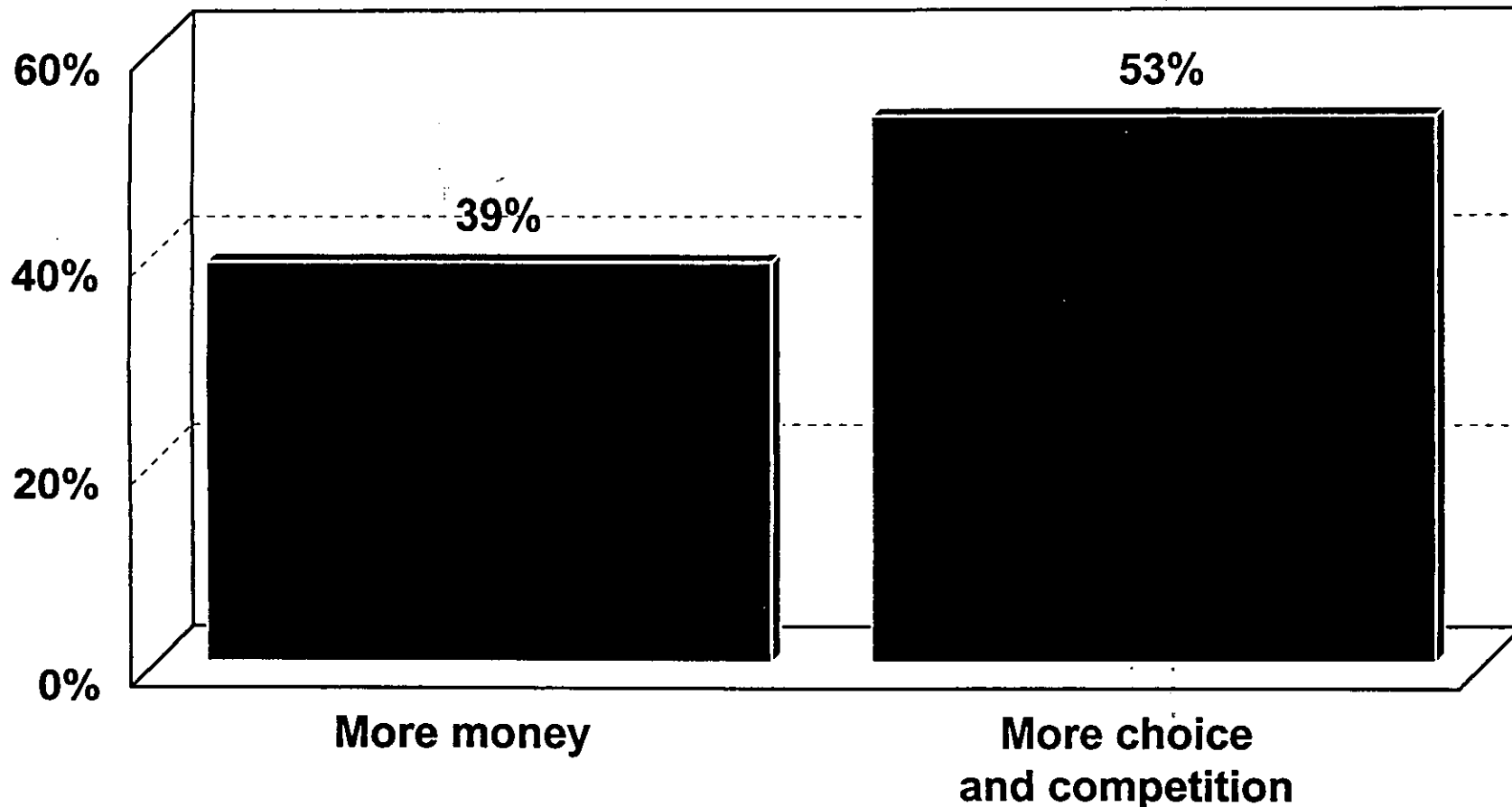
*On a scale of 1-5, with one being excellent and five being failing, how would you rate the nation's public school system?*



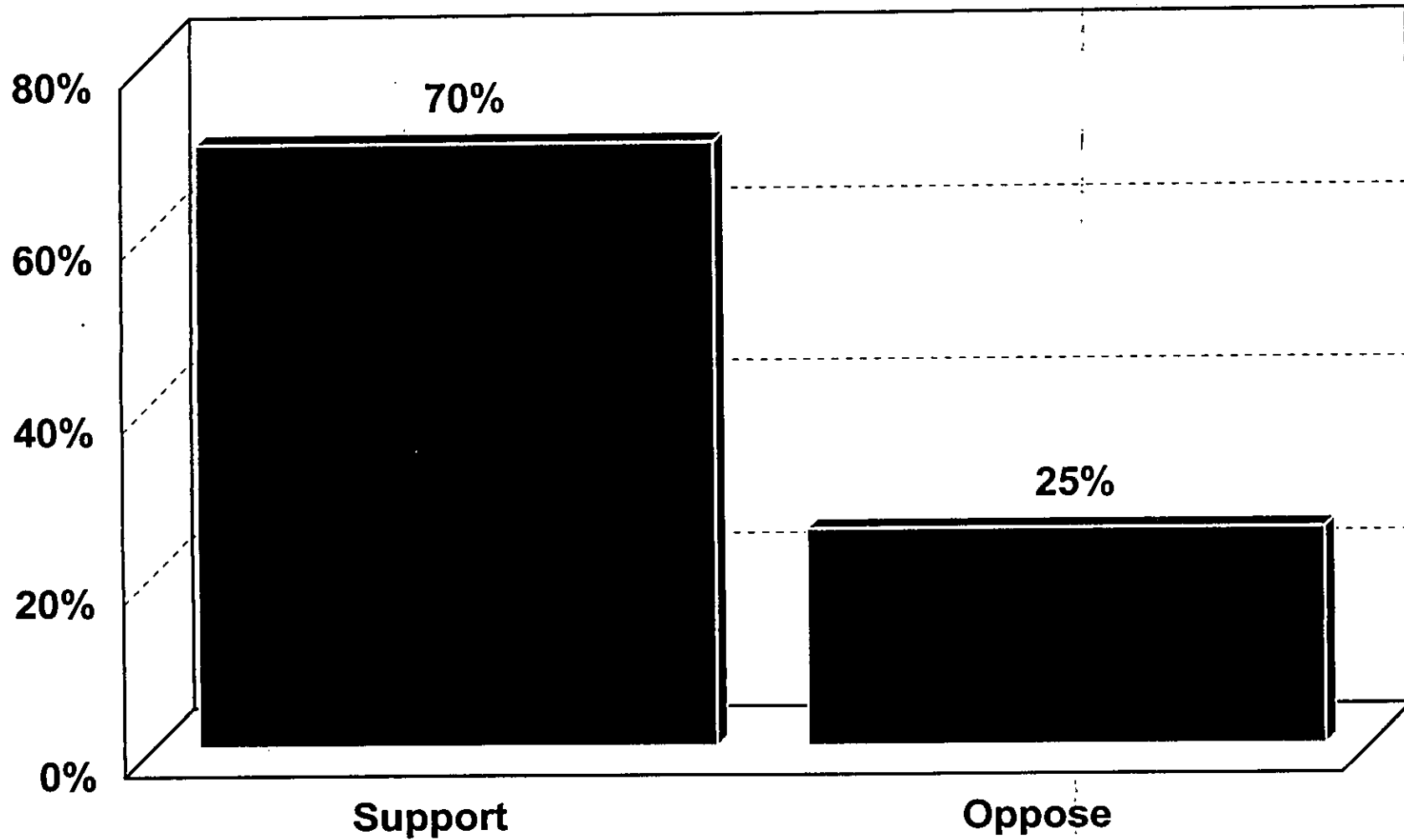


# Improving Schools: Money or Choice

*Some people say to improve our educational system, we must spend more money and resources. Others say our educational system will only improve through more choice and competition among schools. Which is closer to your view?*

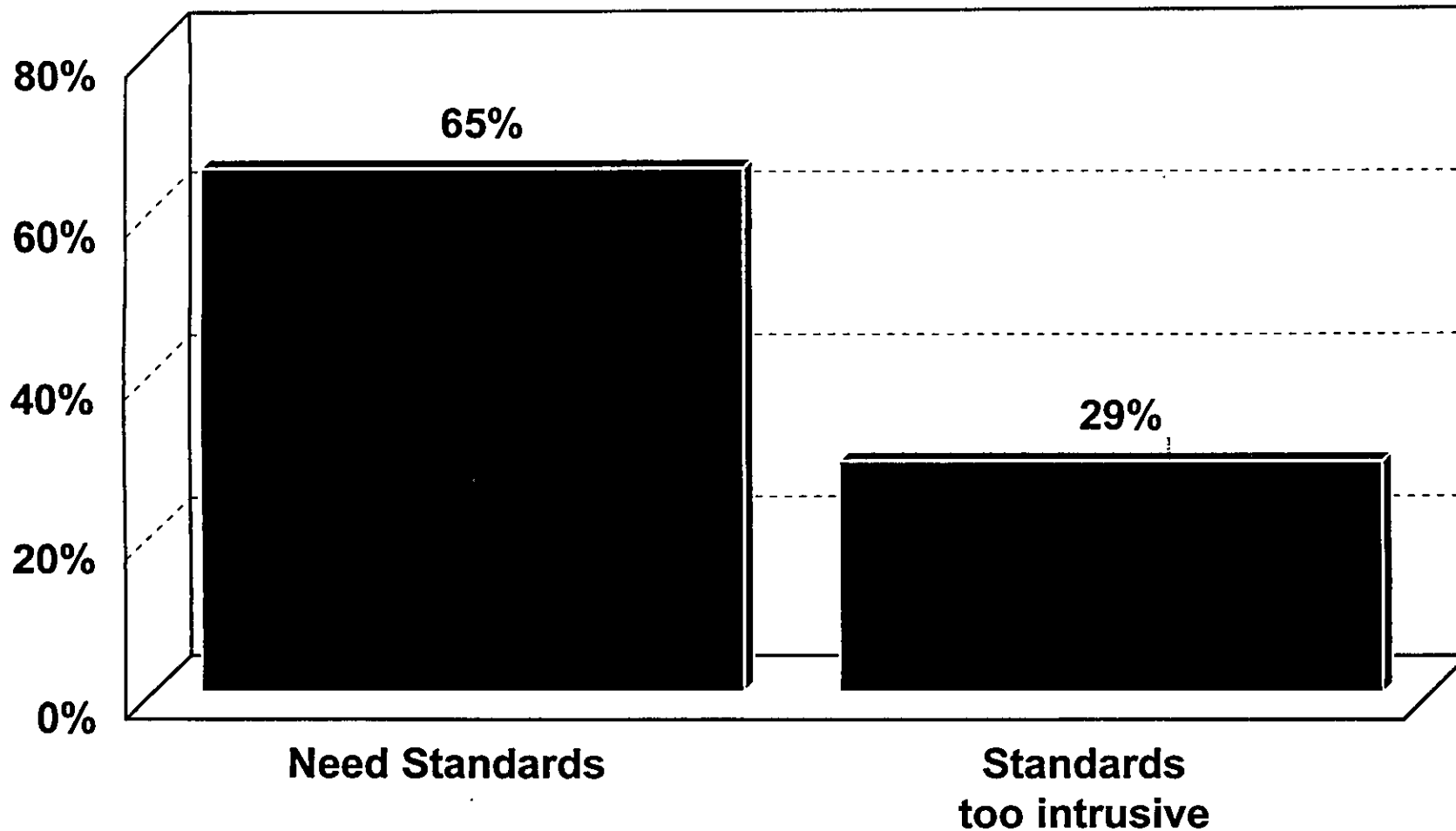


# Do you support or oppose national education standards?



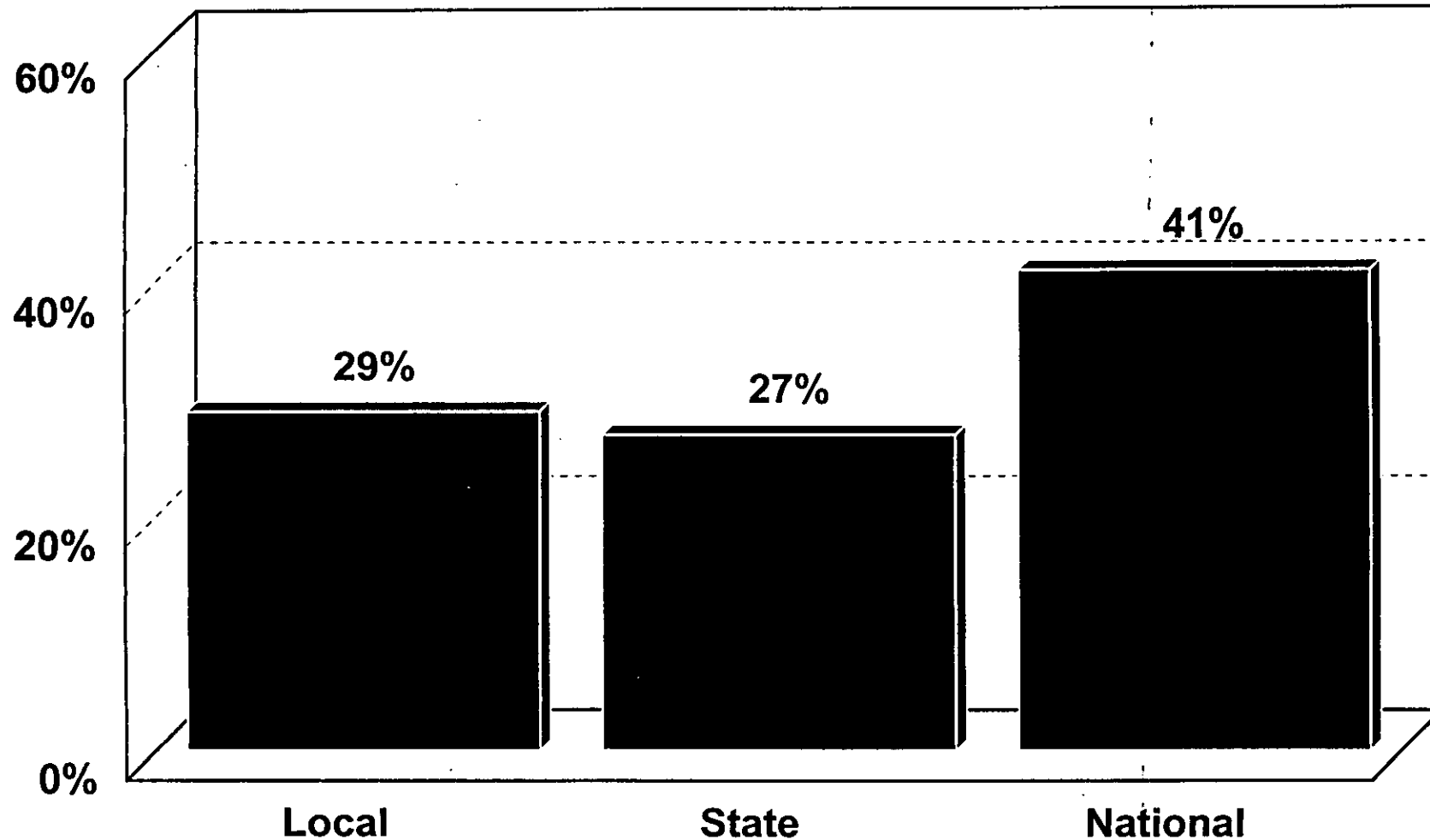
# National Standards: Argumentation

*Some people say we need national educational standards so parents can know that the learning expectations for their kids stack up well against what kids in other states and communities are learning and what colleges, universities, and employers will demand. Other people say that national standards cannot be implemented successfully without imposing them in an intrusive way on states and local school districts. Which is closer to your view?*



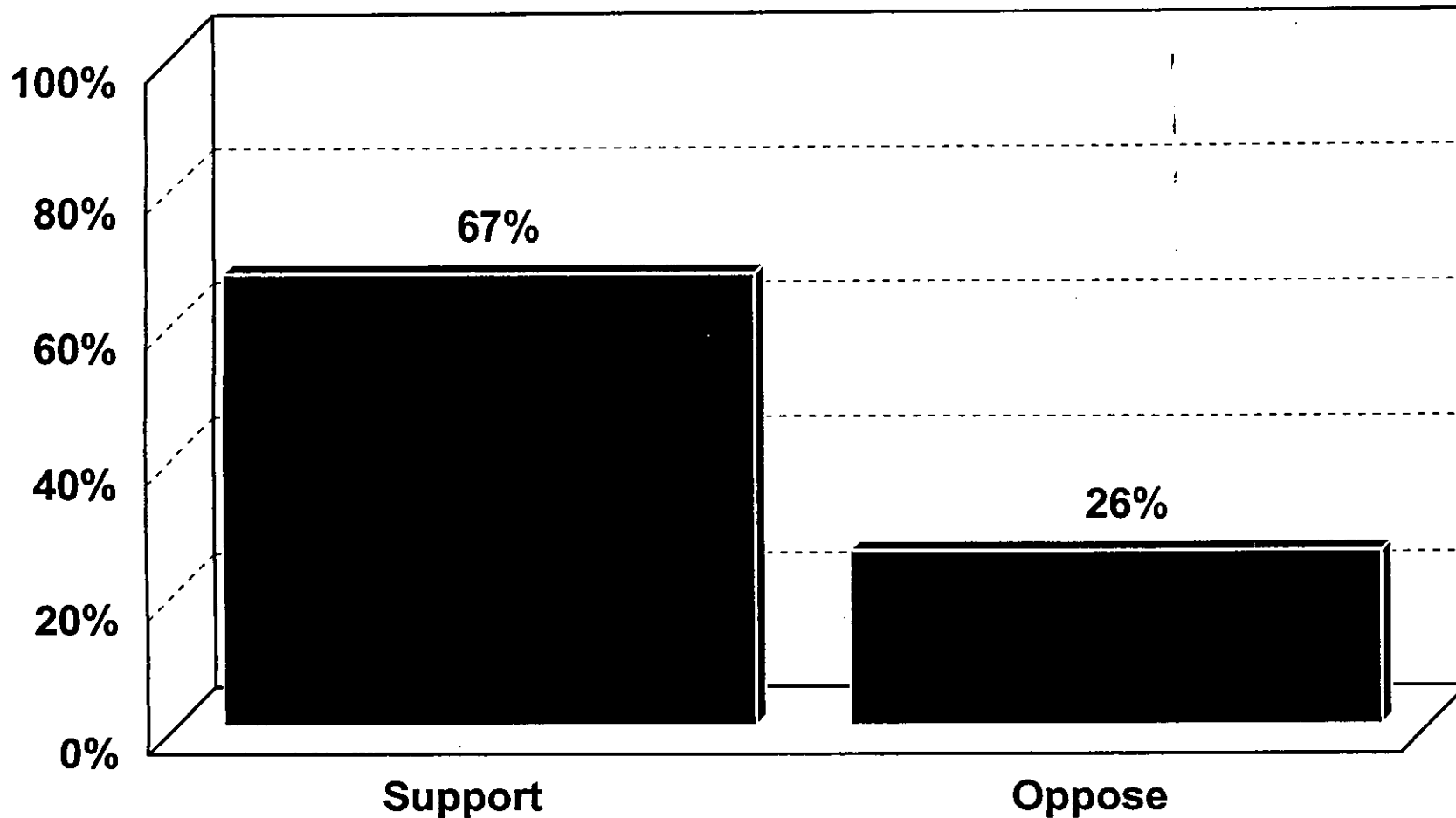
# National Education Standards

*Should educational goals for grades and schools be set on the local, state, or national level?*



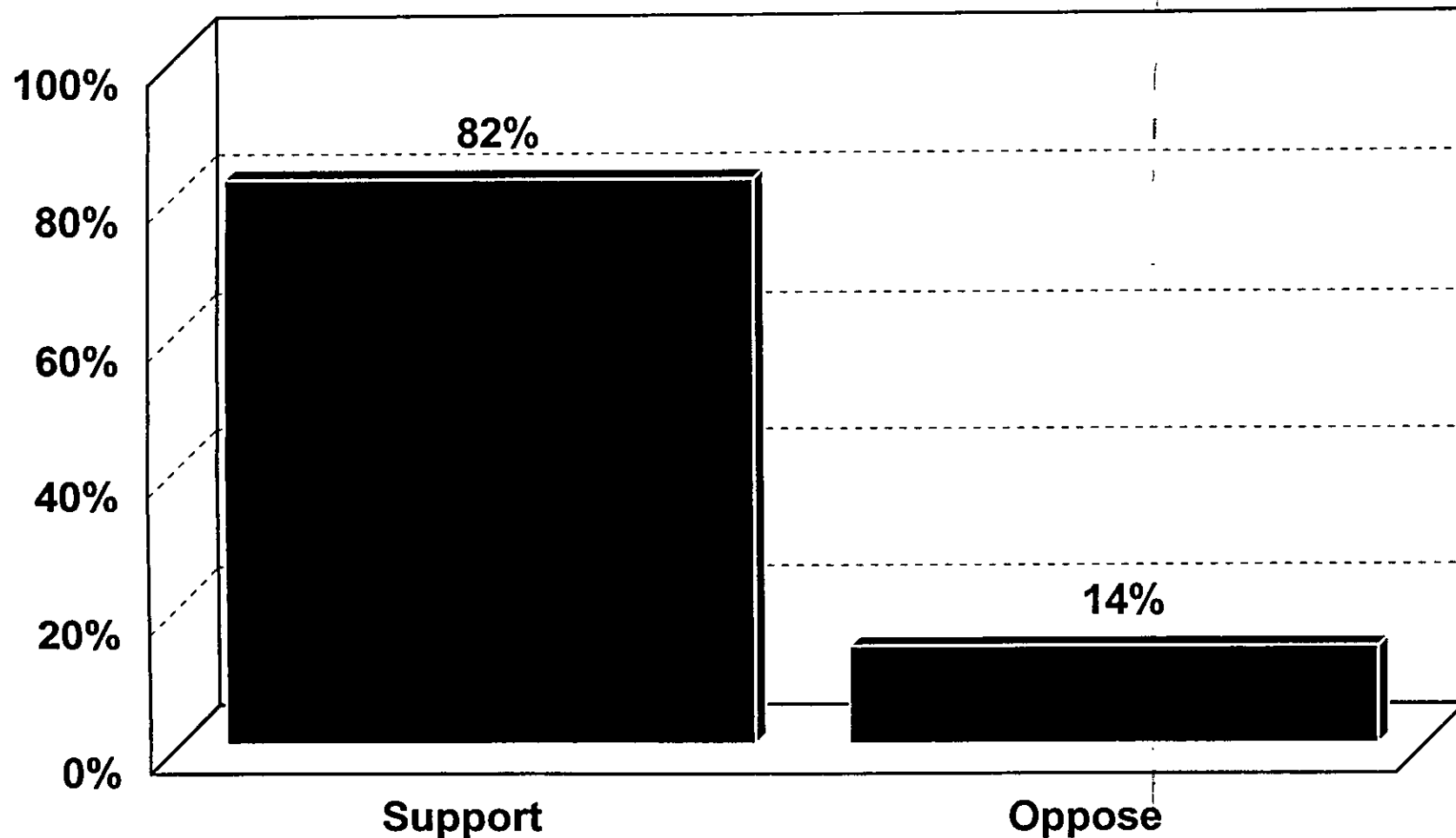
# Expanding Charter Schools

*Would you support or oppose the expansion of the charter school program in which independently managed schools receive public funds if they meet state standards for student achievement to encourage competition within the public school system?*



# Educational Progress Reports

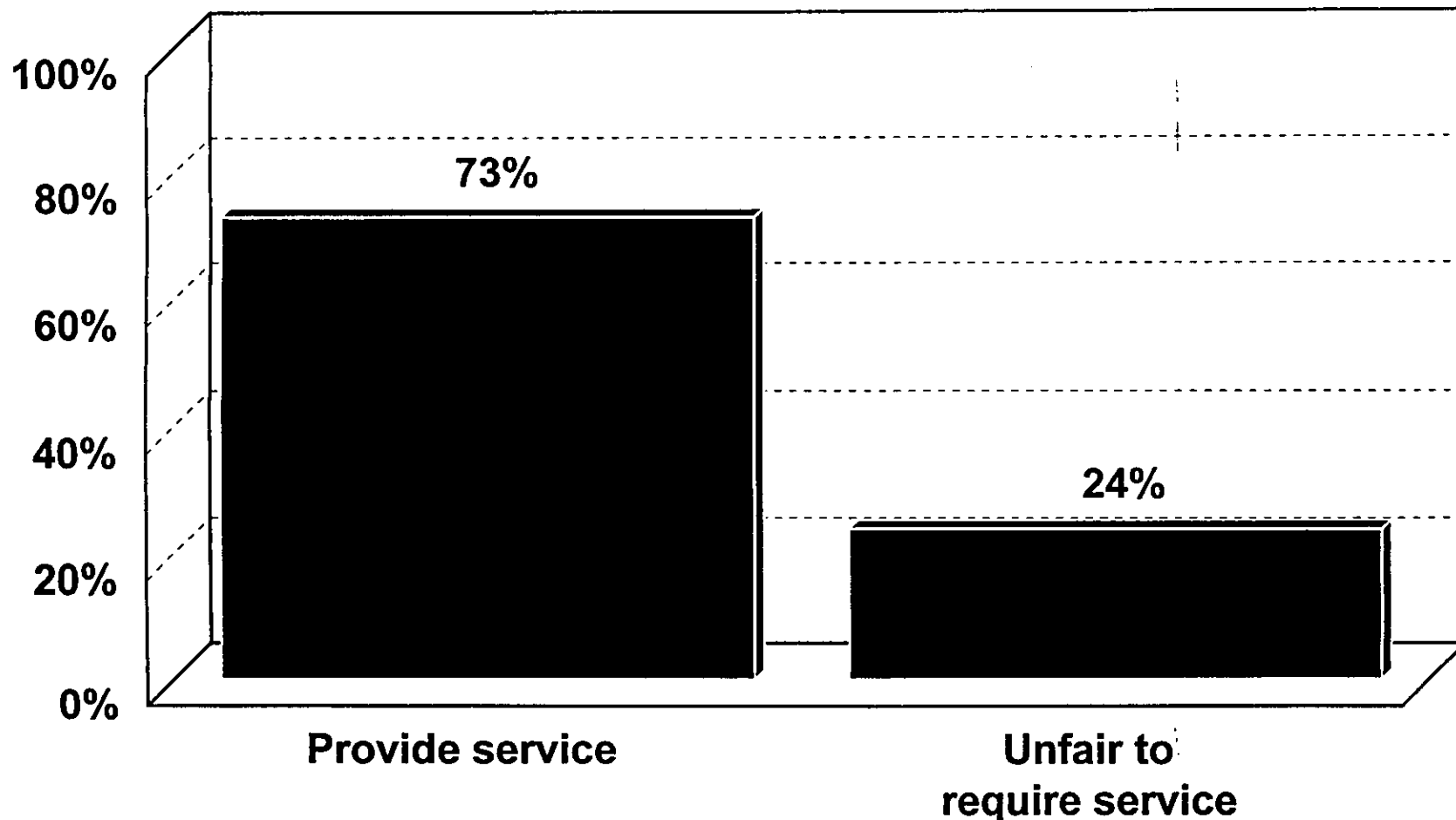
*Would you support or oppose requiring school districts to distribute educational progress reports, similar to the way governments and corporations have to issue annual reports, so taxpayers can measure the quality of schools?*



# Federal Aid For College: Community Service

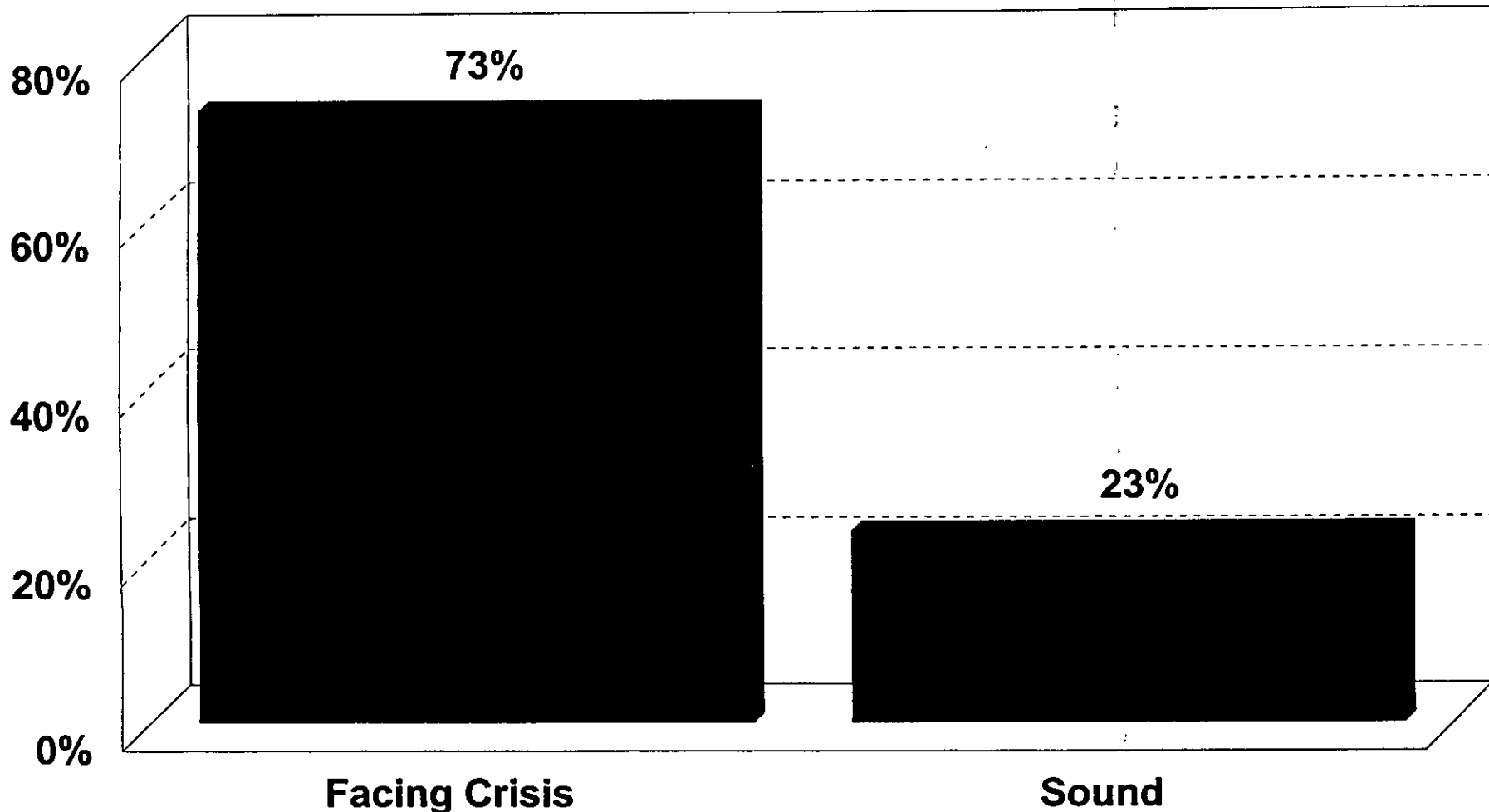
*Some people say people who receive federal aid for college should be expected to provide something in return, such as community service. Others say students should be able to receive federal aid for college without having to do community service.*

*Which is closer to your view?*



# Medicare: Facing Crisis Vs. Sound

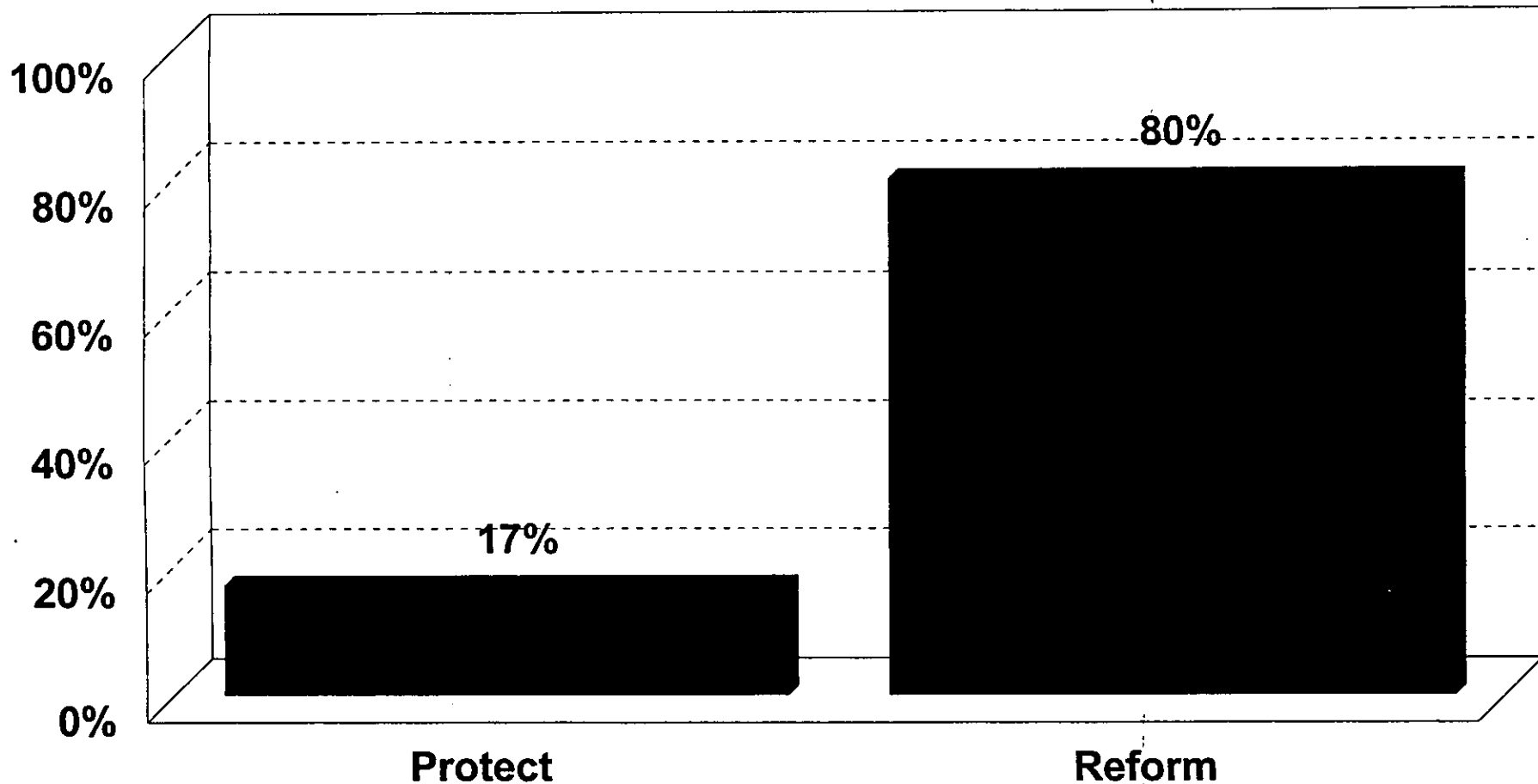
*Do you think that Medicare will soon face a crisis requiring us to undertake serious reform, or do you think these programs are basically sound and should not be tampered with or altered?*





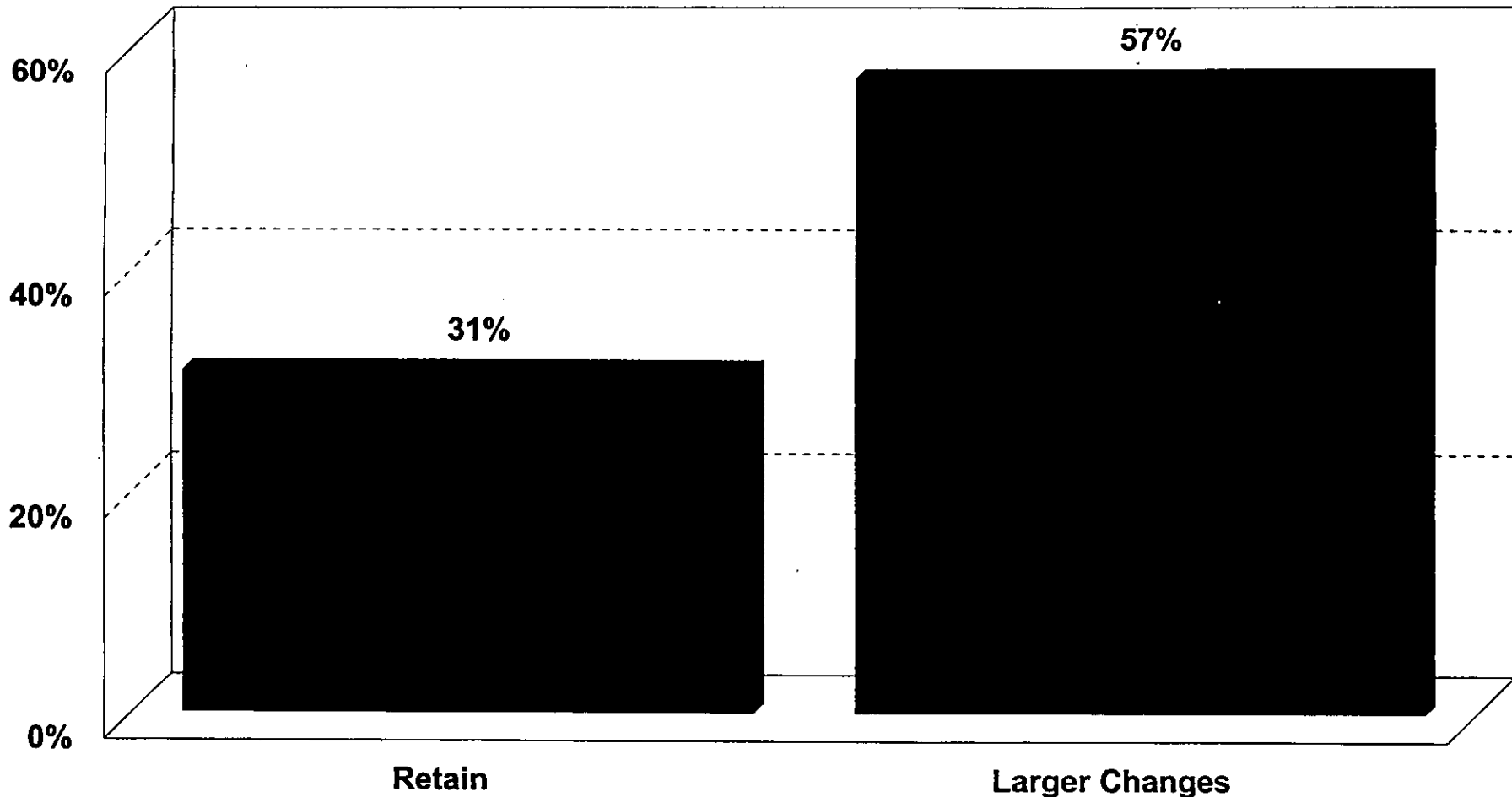
# Medicare Priority: Protect Vs. Reform

*Which do you think is a bigger priority: protecting Medicare from budget cuts, or reforming Medicare to ensure its long-term financial stability?*



# Medicare: Retain As Is Vs. Larger Changes

*In thinking about reforming Medicare to ensure its long-term financial security, do you think it would be better to raise premiums and cut benefits if necessary, but essentially retain Medicare as we know it, or would it be better to make larger changes in the system, such as allowing the marketplace to determine the price and level of health care provided instead of the government setting the price and scope of Medicare coverage?*



# Medicare: Retain As Is Vs. Larger Changes

*In thinking about reforming Medicare to ensure its long-term financial security, do you think it would be better to raise premiums and cut benefits if necessary, but essentially retain Medicare as we know it, or would it be better to make larger changes in the system, such as allowing the marketplace to determine the price and level of health care provided instead of the government setting the price and scope of Medicare coverage.*

## By Party

	Tot	D	R	I
Retain Medicare	31	41	22	29
Larger changes	57	48	68	57

## By Age

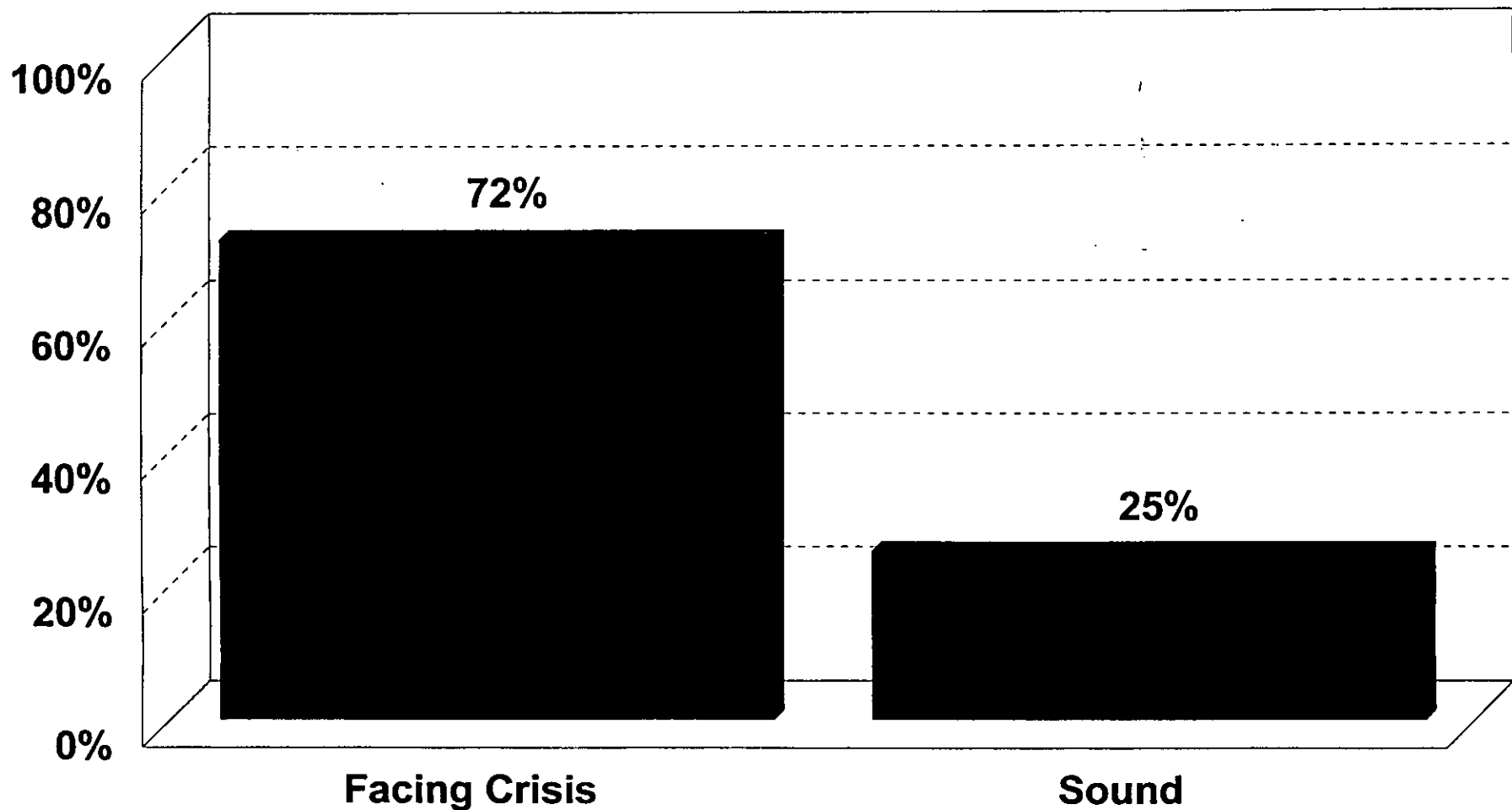
	Tot	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Retain Medicare	31	26	29	27	36	42
Larger changes	57	63	59	59	55	48

## By Income

	Tot	<20	20K-35K	35K-60K	60K-100K	100K+
Retain Medicare	31	38	29	27	29	28
Larger changes	57	53	62	58	59	50

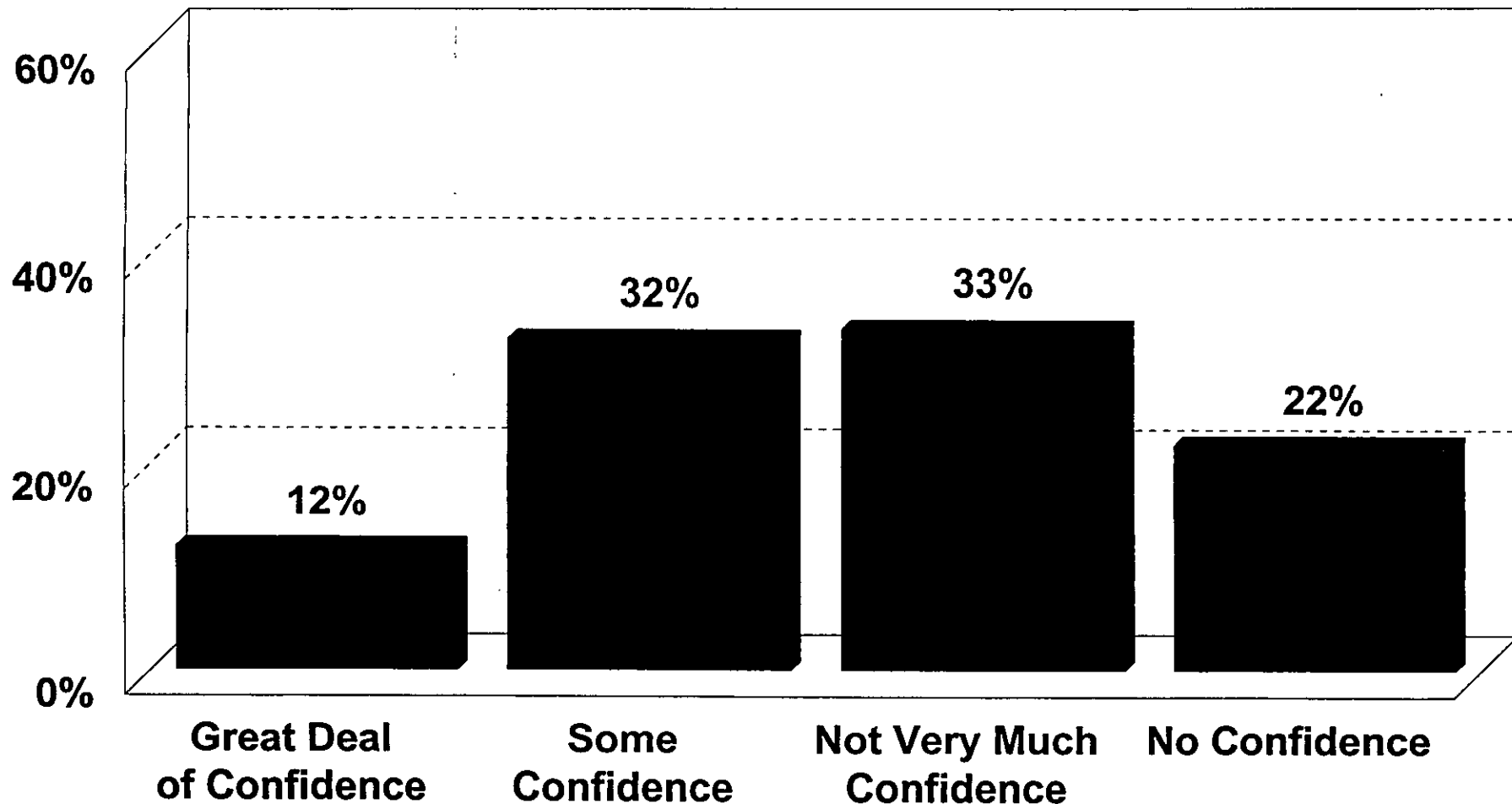
# Social Security: Facing Crisis Vs. Sound

*Do you think that Social Security will soon face a crisis requiring us to undertake serious reform, or do you think these programs are basically sound and should not be tampered with or altered?*



# Confidence in Social Security

*How much confidence do you have in the long-term financial stability of the Social Security program, a great deal of confidence, some confidence, not very much confidence, or no confidence at all?*



# Confidence in Social Security

*How much confidence do you have in the long-term financial stability of the Social Security program, a great deal of confidence, some confidence, not very much confidence, or no confidence at all?*

## By Party

	Tot	D	R	I
Great deal or some	44	52	40	41
Not very much or none	55	47	60	58

## By Age

	Tot	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Great deal or some	44	43	26	27	59	84
Not very much or none	55	55	74	73	40	16

# Social Security Proposals

Would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose this proposal?	Strongly Support	Support	Oppose
Right now each employee contributes 6.2% from each paycheck that goes into the Social Security Trust Fund. One proposal is to take about one – third, or 2% of this contribution and allow the employee to put it in a private retirement fund instead.	44	75	21
Change the Social Security system to create a two-tier system which would provide a basic retirement plan for all low and middle income retired Americans as well as individually-controlled private savings.	33	72	19
Adjusting the Consumer price index to more accurately measure the rate of inflation, which may lower cost of living adjustments for all retirees.	30	71	20
Because the Social Security system caps the amount of benefits any retiree can receive, it also caps the amount of money any individual can pay into the system. While the Social Security system taxes everyone's wages the same amount up to \$65,000, any income above that does not have to pay Social Security tax. Given this, some people say we should lift the Social Security cap, so all income is taxed for Social Security regardless how much a person makes, but maintain the cap on benefits.	37	68	28
Raise the cap on how much income is taxed for Social Security, but exempt people who earn only a modest income from paying any Social Security tax on their earnings.	25	53	44
Gradually ending the social security system and replacing it by requiring Americans to save for their retirement. This would be done by shifting the social security payroll tax into mandatory personal savings account which would be controlled by the contributor.	29	51	38
Reducing the Cost of living adjustment, which increases benefits as the cost of living rises, for wealthy retirees.	23	47	41

# Possible Changes to Social Security – By Party

*Ranked by Total Support*

	Support				Oppose			
	Tot	D	R	L	T	D	R	I
Change the Social Security system to create a two-tier system which would provide a basic retirement plan for all low and middle income retired Americans as well as individually-controlled private savings.	72	71	67	78	19	19	21	17
Adjusting the Consumer price index to more accurately measure the rate of inflation, which may lower cost of living adjustments for all retirees.	71	67	74	73	20	25	18	18
Because the Social Security system caps the amount of benefits any retiree can receive, it also caps the amount of money any individual can pay into the system. While the Social Security system taxes everyone's wages the same amount up to \$65,000, any income above that does not have to pay Social Security tax. Given this, some people say we should lift the Social Security cap, so all income is taxed for Social Security regardless how much a person makes, but maintain the cap on benefits.	68	73	58	69	28	23	40	25
Gradually ending the social security system and replacing it by requiring Americans to save for their retirement. This would be done by shifting the social security payroll tax into mandatory personal savings account which would be controlled by the contributor.	55	48	64	56	38	43	30	40
Raise the cap on how much income is taxed for Social Security, but exempt people who earn only a modest income from paying any Social Security tax on their earnings	53	62	41	53	44	33	56	41
Reducing the Cost of living adjustment, which increases benefits as the cost of living rises, for wealthy retirees	47	52	42	46	41	38	45	40



# Possible Changes to Social Security – By Age

*Ranked by Total Support*

	Support						Oppose					
	T	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+	T	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Change the Social Security system to create a two-tier system which would provide a basic retirement plan for all low and middle income retired Americans as well as individually-controlled private savings.	72	72	84	69	79	57	19	21	12	23	12	23
Adjusting the Consumer price index to more accurately measure the rate of inflation, which may lower cost of living adjustments for all retirees.	71	76	69	74	73	59	20	19	24	19	16	29
Because the Social Security system caps the amount of benefits any retiree can receive, it also caps the amount of money any individual can pay into the system. While the Social Security system taxes everyone's wages the same amount up to \$65,000, any income above that does not have to pay Social Security tax. Given this, some people say we should lift the Social Security cap, so all income is taxed for Social Security regardless how much a person makes, but maintain the cap on benefits.	68	52	71	74	59	72	28	45	28	25	34	20
Gradually ending the social security system and replacing it by requiring Americans to save for their retirement. This would be done by shifting the social security payroll tax into mandatory personal savings account which would be controlled by the contributor.	55	56	63	58	59	38	38	39	30	38	37	45
Raise the cap on how much income is taxed for Social Security, but exempt people who earn only a modest income from paying any Social Security tax on their earnings	53	47	50	59	44	55	44	51	44	39	49	41
Reducing the Cost of living adjustment, which increases benefits as the cost of living rises, for wealthy retirees	47	48	49	51	41	41	41	45	36	41	42	39

# Possible Changes to Social Security – By Income

*Ranked by Total Support*

By Income	Support			Oppose		
	Tot.	Under \$35K	Over \$35K	Tot.	Under \$35K	Over \$35K
Change the Social Security system to create a two-tier system which would provide a basic retirement plan for all low and middle income retired Americans as well as individually-controlled private savings.	72	74	74	19	17	18
Adjusting the Consumer price index to more accurately measure the rate of inflation, which may lower cost of living adjustments for all retirees.	71	68	75	20	21	20
Because the Social Security system caps the amount of benefits any retiree can receive, it also caps the amount of money any individual can pay into the system. While the Social Security system taxes everyone's wages the same amount up to \$65,000, any income above that does not have to pay Social Security tax. Given this, some people say we should lift the Social Security cap, so all income is taxed for Social Security regardless how much a person makes, but maintain the cap on benefits.	68	67	72	28	32	27
Gradually ending the social security system and replacing it by requiring Americans to save for their retirement. This would be done by shifting the social security payroll tax into mandatory personal savings account which would be controlled by the contributor.	55	53	62	38	41	33
Raise the cap on how much income is taxed for Social Security, but exempt people who earn only a modest income from paying any Social Security tax on their earnings	53	51	52	44	45	45
Reducing the Cost of living adjustment, which increases benefits as the cost of living rises, for wealthy retirees	47	44	50	41	43	39

**Strategy Session  
July 30, 1997**

**Purpose of the Meeting**

1. Review polling and outside polls
2. Review basic strategy
3. Review Message schedule and calendar

**The Mood of the Country**

We have no poll this week, but the DLC did a poll with some ratings before the budget deal

	<u>7/1</u>	<u>7/15</u>	<u>7/22</u>	<u>7/27</u> (DLC)
• Country:right/wrong track	50/39	48/39	49/40	48/39
• Economy:right/wrong track	65/29	60/30	62/31	67/28

	<u>7/1</u>	<u>7/15</u>	<u>7/22</u>	<u>7/27</u>
• Clinton Job Approval:	64/34	64/35	64/35	62/37
Strongly Approve:	20	20	23	18

Congress

Congressional approval and Congressional Democrats have risen slightly, but Republican approval has gained seven points in approval, as the flap over Gingrich receded

APPROVAL – on a 2 point scale

	<u>7/1</u>	<u>7/15</u>	<u>7/22</u>	<u>7/27</u>
• Congress:	49/40	47/44	45/48	46/51
• Republicans:	42/49	44/47	38/57	45/52
• Democrats:	45/45	47/44	49/43	51/45

**Outside Polls:**

Public polls continue to find the President's favorables over 60 percent, while they still have a strong dislike for Congress.

**Favorability:**

(CNN/USA Today 7/25-7/27/97)

	<u>April 97</u>	<u>June 97</u>	<u>July 25-27, 1997</u>
• Bill Clinton	60/38	59/37	62/35
• Newt Gingrich	24/62	25/61	26/64

(CNN/USA Today 7/25-7/27/97)

	<u>April 97</u>	<u>June 97</u>	<u>July 25-27, 1997</u>
• Clinton Job Approval	54/37	55/36	58/34
• Congress Job Approval	30/59	n/a	34/57

**Congressional Horserace:**

The latest CNN/USA Today survey found Democrats leading Republicans in the Congressional horserace, 49% (Dem) to 43% (GOP). Among "regular voters," however, the margin drops to 48% (Dem) to 45% (GOP).

"Do you think the country would be better off if the Republicans controlled Congress, or if the Democrats controlled Congress?"

	Republicans	Democrats
July 25-27, 1997	37	39
June 26-29, 1997	34	40

**Gingrich:**

(CNN/USA Today 7/25-7/27/97)

A majority of people want Gingrich replaced as Speaker, including half of the Republicans.

	Keep Gingrich				Replace Gingrich			
	Tot	Dem	GOP	Ind	Tot	Dem	GOP	Ind
July 25-27, 1997	29	19	47	23	63	72	46	67
June 26-29, 1997	30	16	49	29	61	74	43	61

## This Week's Front Page Headlines

The news out of Washington was dominated by positive headlines on the budget. Not one of the dozen articles about the budget this week mentioned Congressional Democrats, they only referred to the White House and GOP.

The budget outweighed hearings by a wide margin.

**Domestic: 15**  
Budget: 14, Environment: 1

**International: 1**  
Mexico: 1

**Others: 8**  
Campaign finance hearings: 8 (4 against GOP + 4 against Democrats)

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headlines
7/30	Wednesday	Washington Post	Clinton, GOP Both Claim Budget Victories Interpretations of the Agreement Differ At Opposite Ends of Pennsylvania Ave Tax Reduction Targets Specific Groups, Behaviors Benefits for Parents, Savers, Home Sellers Conduits for DNC Cash Testify Two Wrote Checks But 'Know Nothing'
7/30	Wednesday	New York Times	Clinton and GOP Celebrate Balancing of Budget The Pact Aims to Insure Children, Cut Taxes and Erase Deficit Taxes Cut, Credit Taken Eager to Bask in Glory of Budget Proposal, Rivals Put Words in One Another's Mouths FBI Says Donor Got \$1.4 Million From Foreigners Laundering is Alleged
7/30	Wednesday	USA Today	Praise Flows for Budget Late Night Haggling Settles Key Details Budget Bill Skirts Some Hard Decisions
7/29	Tuesday	Washington Post	White House and GOP Reach Budget Deal
7/29	Tuesday	New York Times	White House and the GOP Announce Deal to Balance Budget & to Trim Taxes Passage is Likely Plan Includes Tax Credit for Children and Cuts to Capital Gains
7/29	Tuesday	USA Today	Dream Budget Deal OK'd Pact Has \$90B Tax Cut Eliminates Red Ink by 2002
7/28	Monday	Washington Post	Compromise on Taxes Put Budget Pact Close Child Credit Broadened; Capital Gains Rate Cut
7/28	Monday	New York Times	Budget Deal Down to Small Issues, Gingrich Declares White House in Dispute Spokesman for President Says Assessment is Premature – Meetings Continue
7/28	Monday	USA Today	Clinton, GOP Inch Closer To Budget Deal

7/27	Sunday	Washington Post	None
7/27	Sunday	New York Times	Both Sides Say Accord is Near On the Budget Proposals on Medicare Off the Table for Now
7/26	Saturday	Washington Post	None
7/26	Saturday	New York Times	Talks on Budget Yield an Accord on Disability Aid Progress on Final Bills GOP Chiefs Bow to Demand for Help to Many Children & Legal Immigrants Former Leaders of GOP Vary on Donations
7/25	Friday	Washington Post	GOP's Barbour Comes Out Firing, Denounces Outright False Claims
7/25	Friday	New York Times	Ex Chairman of GOP Defends His Fundraising
7/25	Friday	USA Today	None
7/24	Thursday	Washington Post	Clinton Taps Weld for Post Despite Helms House, Clinton at Loggerheads on Deal to Save Redwood Grove
7/24	Thursday	New York Times	Clinton Sought Role of Fundraiser, Memo Says In a Rebuff to Justice Dept., Panel Immunizes 5 Witnesses
7/24	Thursday	USA Today	Democrats Hit GOP 2.1 Million Loan Deal

### Daily TV Coverage

Only TV headlines from Monday, Tuesday and last Wednesday were available.

**Domestic: 14**  
Budget: 14

**International: 2**  
Mexico: 1, Lebanon: 1

**Others: 5**  
Campaign Finance Hearings: 4 (1 against GOP + 3 against Democrats)  
Fundraising: 1

Air Day	Date	Order	Network	Headline
Tuesday	7/29	1/13	ABC	President Clinton, GOP Reach budget Deal; Who Wins, Who Loses?
Tuesday	7/29	2/13	ABC	Middle Class Americans Happy with the Capital Gains Tax Cut
Tuesday	7/29	3/13	ABC	Tax Breaks Aimed at Families with Kids; A Look At One Family
Tuesday	7/29	4/13	ABC	Analysis of Budget Deal & Tax Cuts
Tuesday	7/29	10/13	ABC	Charlie Trie's DNC Gifts May Have Been Funneled From Chinese
Tuesday	7/29	12/13	ABC	Clinton Administration to Release Lebanon Travel Ban
Tuesday	7/29	1/12	CBS	Budget Deal Reached; A Look at Winners & Losers
Tuesday	7/29	2/12	CBS	Budget Plan Evades Many Tough Choices
Tuesday	7/29	3/12	CBS	President Clinton and GOP Leaders Both Praise Budget Plan 'Victory'

Tuesday	7/29	4/12	CBS	Budget Plan Contains \$12 Billion for Legal Immigrant Health Care
Tuesday	7/29	7/12	CBS	Senate Investigations Find Evidence of Asian Money Funneling
Tuesday	7/29	1/8	NBC	Both Parties Celebrate Budget Deal; Contains Huge Tax Cuts
Monday	7/28	4/9	ABC	President Clinton, GOP Very Close to Budget Deal
Monday	7/28	1/15	CBS	A Look At Budget Deal Now Shaping Up in Washington
Monday	7/28	3/15	CBS	Senate Panel Has Strong Evidence of Foreign Money Funneling
Monday	7/28	1/10	NBC	Huge Tax Cut Looks Like Done Deal
Monday	7/28	2/10	NBC	Clinton Assumes Bragging Rights for Tax Cut
Monday	7/28	3/10	NBC	Booming American Economy Makes Tax Cut Possible
Monday	7/28	8/10	NBC	Money Helps in Earning Ambassadorships
Wednesday	7/23	6/13	ABC	Clinton Nominates Weld as Mexican Ambassador
Wednesday	7/23	2/11	CBS	Senate Fundraising Hearings Shift to GOP Abuses; Developments

## Environment

From the CNN/USA Today survey, 7/25-7/27/97

“Here are 2 statements which people sometimes make when discussing the environment and economic growth. Which of these statements comes closer to your own point of view: 1) Protection of the environment should be given priority even at the risk of curbing economic growth, or 2) Economic growth should be given priority, even if the environment suffers to some extent.”

66% protect the environment / 27% economic growth

## President Clinton and Democrats in Congress

Does this apply more to [President Clinton/ Democrats in Congress] or the Republicans in Congress?	Clinton	GOP in Congress	Dems in Congress	GOP in Congress	Clinton advantage over Democrats
Reforming Medicare and Social Security.	48	35	40	42	15
Working to improve our economy.	48	33	41	39	13
Reforming welfare.	46	43	37	47	13
Reforming government.	37	47	28	51	13
Tied to special interests.	47	33	37	36	13
Protecting traditional American values.	38	44	33	49	10
Working to enter into tough trade agreements.	42	37	39	43	9
Tough on crime.	37	45	32	48	8
Balancing the federal budget.	37	42	33	46	8
Encouraging high moral standards.	35	43	30	45	7
Making America competitive in the world economy.	42	41	36	41	6
Easing racial tensions.	56	19	52	20	5
Working to improve our educational system.	58	28	55	29	4
Making wise decisions about the country's defense policies.	37	46	31	44	4
Protecting children.	53	26	52	25	0
Increasing access to health care.	59	22	60	21	-2
Helping working families.	58	28	60	26	-4
Cares about people like me.	46	34	47	30	-5
Protecting the clean air and clean water.	59	22	62	20	-5
Protecting Medicare and Social Security.	53	28	58	27	-6
Is in touch with my values.	39	41	43	39	-6
Maintaining abortion rights.	58	23	65	17	-13



## Opportunity

The Democratic party has the perception of helping people through government programs rather than equipping people to solve their own problems.

Some people say the Democratic party primarily helps people through government programs. Other people says the Democratic party today stands more for a less bureaucratic government that equips people to solve their own problems:	Tot	D	R	I
Represents government programs	56	47	75	50
Less bureaucratic government that equips people	35	46	20	36

Which is closer to your view of what the Democratic party should stand for?	Tot	D	R	I
It should represent government programs	30	41	16	29
It should represent less bureaucratic government that equips people	64	55	78	61

Which of the following is closest to your own thinking about the proper role of government?	Tot	D	R	I
Government should solve problems and protect people from adversity.	12	20	5	12
Government should help people equip themselves to solve their own problems.	52	57	44	52
Government should stay out of people's lives so they can solve their problems without interference or regulation.	34	21	51	34

Which of the following is closest to your own thinking about the proper role of government in terms of economics.	Tot	D	R	I
Government should spend on social programs where necessary, because America is not about leaving everyone to fend for himself	17	24	11	15
Government should focus on spurring economic growth and creating opportunity for all Americans	56	60	54	55
Government should stay out of the economy altogether so private forces can compete and create jobs	24	13	35	26

## **Basic Strategy**

### **A) The land-mark accomplishment:**

First and foremost, this is a balanced budget that invests in education – providing for the most significant increase in education funding in the last 30 years to open wider the doors of college to more Americans.

A balanced budget that protects our values by extending healthcare to 5 million children, and that will help move millions from welfare to work while restoring needed benefits to legal immigrants.

A balanced budget that provides modest tax relief to the middle class, helping working families in America to raise a child, buy and sell a home, save for their retirement with expanded IRAs, and send their children to college.

A balanced budget that protects the Medicare Trust fund for the next ten years and that also protects our environment for generations to come from toxic waste.

A balanced budget that will keep our economy strong and growing by putting our fiscal house in order while protecting our values.

### **But this agreement has other, larger significance:**

Did not just balance a budget, but established that the vital and dynamic center is the way to govern and move this country forward into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Showed that Washington did not have to be a place of partisan bickering and one sided wins and losses – a view that was holding America back from its potential as the government lurched from one extreme to the other, and people became increasingly disenchanted with government and the country

Showed how the vital center is consistent with a budget that reaffirms the values of America – combining their belief in fiscal restraint with protecting the elderly, helping struggling legal immigrants, offering every parent the opportunity to send their child to college and providing healthcare for the children living in poor households. Every urban America received help in the form of welfare to work transportation programs, empowerment zones and inner-city toxic waste cleanup. (Brownfields)

Showed that Democrats can cut taxes for the middle class, and all classes – with the child credit, educational credit, capital gains cut with a 10% capital

gains rate for the middle class, expanded IRAs. Tax relief that will benefit the middle class without sending deficits soaring.

Showed the President's ability to be a great reconciler of the social and political forces in this country by bringing Democrats and Republicans together around so many issues at once.

And did all this after having spent four years reversing the fiscal, economic and social trends that were threatening to sunset America going into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century – unemployment, deficits, inner city crime, etc, America's isolation in the world.

Rekindled of faith in America to be a world leader, to meet the new challenges of the global economy and technological change – and to enter the 21<sup>st</sup> century truly prepared for what lies ahead

**B) The most frequently asked refrain now is – So, what is the President going to do – his agenda is now done. So what's next?**

**Now the time to take on the next set of new challenges – challenges that could not be tackled until the immediate task of putting our fiscal house in order was complete, challenges that are more long-term in nature.**

And these problems will require the same kind of national and legislative consensus building that are now the trademark of the success of this administration.

- 1) Trade/Global Economy (fast track)
- 2) Environment (Global Warming)
- 3) Entitlement Reform (Medicare Commission/Social Security Reform)

And perhaps the most important international problem the world still faces after the cold war: the integration of China into the world community. (the state visit).

The major strands of work we have started that must be given continued attention are:

- 4) The Educational Initiative
- 5) The Race Initiative
- 6) The Science and Tech Initiative

And the new tasks that remain for later are:

- 7) The 1998 Congressional Democratic Message
- 8) A Family Initiative

Another major event that the administration is tackling is the tobacco settlement, and its ability to get concessions that make it worth supporting will again reinforce the image of the President as strong, capable.

### **1) Fast Track**

The previous polling showed that Fast Track is best defended on the merits – as a necessary tool that other presidents have had to negotiate trade agreements to expand our access to foreign markets, increase exports, create jobs and enhance our standard of living.

On the larger issue of trade, the public is being won over that the global economy is here and that American leadership in that new economy depends very much on our ability to gain access to the developing world marketplace. They reject turning back to protectionism.

The soft spot continues to be the belief that trade policy so far has cost us jobs, and that can be defended on the overall statistics that over 1.4 million new export-related jobs have been created in the last few years, and the clearly robust nature of the economy after these trade agreements were implemented.

### **2) Global warming**

The previous polling showed that there is a tendency to believe there is global warming, though skepticism that it is the result of fossil fuels, and a strong belief that any policy must be implemented by both developed and developing nations.

On the other hand, the public already believes that fossil fuels are inherently in need of restrictions, as they include foreign dependence, will run out and create pollution.

We are in a public education phase while the policy process continues.

- August 4 - Climate Change Event
- October 6 - Climate Change Conference

### **3) Entitlement Reform**

**Launching of the Medicare Commission in late fall**

This will of course lead to incessant questions about the Social Security piece of entitlement reform – and the basic decision whether to leave that for next year’s state of the union or to do that sooner in the fall. This is a hotly followed issue so it would have major news impact whenever it is done. However, the State of the Union is currently the only opportunity we have to state our policies to an audience of 80 million directly so waiting on it until then would make some sense.

Here is some current DLC polling on the subject of Social Security Reform, just for background information

**Confidence in Program**

- Only 44% have a great deal or some confidence in the long-term financial stability of Social Security, 55% have not very much or none.

	Tot	D	R	I	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Great deal or some	44	52	40	41	43	26	27	59	84
Not very much or none	55	47	60	58	55	74	73	40	16

- 77% agreed that the Social Security system is running out of money and changes will be necessary or it will go bankrupt in 30-40 years (43% strongly agreed + 34% somewhat agreed).
- 72% believed that Social Security will soon face a crisis requiring us to undertake serious reform, only 25% believed the programs are basically sound and should not be tampered with.

**Changes in Social Security**

A slim majority (51%) said it would be better to repair Social Security rather than move toward structural changes that depend more on private savings (42%).

“Do you think it would be better to repair the existing Social Security Program, or would it be better to move toward structural changes to Social Security that depend more on private savings?”

	Tot	D	R	I	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Repair existing program	51	62	36	49	48	51	48	51	59

Move toward structural changes	42	31	56	44	46	42	46	44	29
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57% said Social Security should be provided to all seniors, 39% said only those who have a financial need.

	Tot	D	R	I	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+	< \$20K	20K-35K	35K-60K	60K-100K	100K+
All seniors	57	57	55	60	45	44	58	66	63	57	54	62	55	57
Only those who have financial need	39	40	42	35	52	53	39	30	30	40	43	37	40	40

75% supported a proposal to take one-third of the employee contribution to Social Security and allow the employee to put it in a private retirement fund (44% strongly). Almost 2-1 (58% - 30%) believed it would lead to higher savings and a stronger economy rather than not lead to an increase in savings and endanger savings due to stock market fluctuations.

### Possible changes to Social Security system

	Strongly Support	Support	Oppose
<b>Change the Social Security system to create a two-tier system which would provide a basic retirement plan for all low and middle income retired Americans as well as individually-controlled private savings.</b>	33	72	19
Adjusting the Consumer price index to more accurately measure the rate of inflation, which may lower cost of living adjustments for all retirees.	30	71	20
Because the Social Security system caps the amount of benefits any retiree can receive, it also caps the amount of money any individual can pay into the system. While the Social Security system taxes everyone's wages the same amount up to \$65,000, any income above that does not have to pay Social Security tax. Given this, some people say we should lift the Social Security cap, so all income is taxed for Social Security regardless how much a person makes, but maintain the cap on benefits.	37	68	28
Gradually ending the social security system and replacing it by requiring Americans to save for their retirement. This would be done by shifting the social security payroll tax into mandatory personal savings account which would be controlled by the contributor.	29	55	38
Reducing the Cost of living adjustment, which increases benefits as the cost of living rises, for wealthy retirees	23	47	41
Raise the cap on how much income is taxed for Social	53	25	44

Security, but exempt people who earn only a modest income from paying any Social Security tax on their earnings			
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#### 4) The Educational Initiative

Kick off around September 10<sup>th</sup>, DLC would like to hold a Democratic event September 24<sup>th</sup>, AFL-CIO meeting comes in middle of Fast-Track debate.

We need to have more direct action:

- We should take the attitude that a major component of the plan – opening up the doors wider to college has been accomplished through the tuition tax credits
- Need to shift emphasis now from just standards to some of the other elements of the educational agenda, and use discrete legislation to do it.

Public's top concerns:

They are looking for a re-establishment of basic educational values – punishing those who do poorly and rewarding those who do well. That is why they are keenly interested in doing more to fire bad teachers, remove disruptive students, end social promotions. They would punish the failing schools and reward the good ones.

They see much of the educational system as having lost its clear sense of right and wrong – and having devolved into a bureaucracy that tolerates if not promotes poor results.

This provides us with an avenue for re-launching our educational agenda in September around a comprehensive educational reform bill that will focus on a revised 10-point plan for taking our educational system into the next century – and the public would be ready for additional uses of the carrot and stick approach to:

- a) educational standards
- b) teacher certification and performance
- c) no social promotions
- d) an anti-drop out program (this heavily affects Hispanics who are have the highest drop-out rate).

August 15<sup>th</sup>, September 8<sup>th</sup> events planned



Education Initiatives	Much More Fav.	Total More Fav.	Total Less Fav.
Challenge every state to adopt higher standards for teachers and for schools.	67	88	10
Giving principals greater authority to fire incompetent teachers.	64	85	13
Giving teachers and administrators greater authority to expel disruptive students.	62	85	11
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
Challenge states and school districts to set rigorous standards for their students by adopting national tests in the core subjects of 4 <sup>th</sup> grade reading and 8 <sup>th</sup> grade math.	49	81	17
A major program to provide funds to localities to use to increase their programs of school construction and repair	52	81 (support)	12 (oppose)
Call on universities in all 50 states to provide technology and internet training for elementary school teachers.	48	78	19
Improving the quality of schools by providing performance bonuses to public school teachers who exceed standards.	52	78	18
Put in place a national high school graduation standard and test and provide incentives to states to adopt them.	47	75	20
Giving this aid to local school boards and local governments only if the school board raised their educational standards to require students to pass competency tests designed by the state and administered each year before they can be promoted to the next grade	50	74 (support)	19 (oppose)
Put into place a set of national standards and recommended tests in core courses and provide incentives to states to adopt them.	40	73	20
Providing public funding for scholarships or vouchers to allow disadvantaged students to attend private or parochial schools.	49	69	28
Wire every school to the Internet by the year 2000.	43	68	28
Direct the Department of Defense to adopt national tests in core subjects immediately in all military schools.	24	60	24
Double the funding for charter schools, and repeat the challenge that every state adopt public school choice and charter school laws.	30	53	28

BC: Everything focused on stds. — only legacy fed govt can leave an educ  
 Coverell - defense — not looking for popularity blips  
 USA Today on IS by city schools  
 Chalka  
 Farley schools

**5) Race Agenda**

Seven upcoming events on race between now and November 10<sup>th</sup>, with the two major events the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Little Rock which will prove and opportunity to talk about the basic issues still confronting the country on schools and integration. Still do not have a major multicultural event on the schedule.

**6) Science and Tech Initiative**

No immediate events planned.

But the Tobacco settlement could create the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Medical Research Fund into the major dreaded diseases.

If Diabetes is in the budget, we should schedule an event to launch it.

**7) The 1998 Congressional Democratic Message**

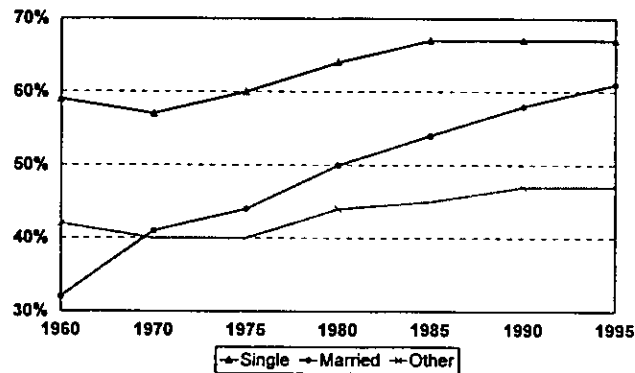
In progress

## 8) The Family Initiative

There is currently no coherent family initiative that centers around any clear set of proposals specifically addressed to that constituency. And the changes in the family remains the most powerful of issues in America today.

Here are some of the recent facts about the increase of women in the work force and the increase in the proportion of births to single mothers:

**Participation Rate of Women in the Civilian Labor Force: 1960-1995**

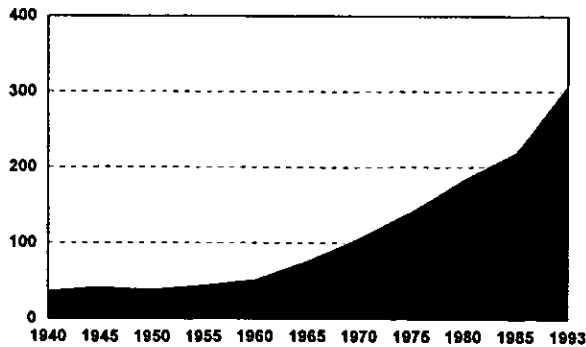


Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates, Inc.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

**Ratio of Births to Unmarried Women: 1940-1993**

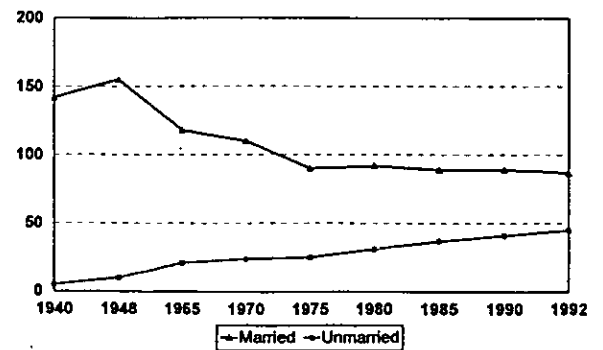
(Ratios per 1,000 live births)



Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates, Inc.

Source: US Census

**Birth Rates for Married and Unmarried Women: 1940-1992**



Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates, Inc.

Source: U.S. Dept of Health  
Vital Statistics 1992

Since singles typically work and since the single largest trend is that married women are working, the issue that would clearly be increasing in severity as a result of these trends is **child care.** → *Major focus of next SOTU + 3 yrs.*

The upcoming conference is the only scheduled opportunity to highlight this issue, and to outline a policy position. Past polling has shown the public desire for added day care to be focused on care that is provided near work.

But there are a host of other related issues we can look to add into the schedule:

- FMLA Extension
- Adoption registry – a single national registry for all children up for adoption
- Child Support enforcement legislation
- Insurance coverage of contraception
- Lifetime probation for child sex offenders so there are tested every year

**Emerging Issue worth Taking On -- Defending the modern consumer in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century World**

One of the defining aspects of a New Democrat vs. a Republican is to have an activist government that comes in on the side of the people who need help, and in the modern world, we are now a consumer of a whole different array of services, giving way to a speech that talks about how these are the new problems and how we are addressing them:

Issues that define the new needs of consumers today:

- a) Privacy – strong legislation is needed to assure the privacy of a) government information (executive order) and b) the ordinary events of everyday life (everything from credit cards to hopping on the Web – the opportunity for surveillance of the individual is everywhere. OMB has a report on this that could be implemented.
- b) Child Care. There is a lack of systematic, national standards and regulation of the child care industry involving thousands of injuries and significant deaths each year
- c) HMO health care – the bill of rights is being looked at by the healthcare commission. It is particularly important to look at the issues of women and health – everything from stays in hospitals to mammograms to contraceptive coverage.

- d) Economic issues related to complaints in new industries, deregulated industries, travel, purchases involving overseas companies. Recently the Consumer complaint hotline was shutdown for lack of money. No central number to deal with these things; instead we have a pathwork of hundreds of numbers by are and product type.

#### **Review of domestic left-overs from proposals in the state of the union**

Connecting the hospitals to the internet so that every child in a hospital could be connected  
FLMA/flextime  
Not sure if done: respite care for Alzheimer's  
Felony for a parent to flee from child support across a state line  
Victims Rights Amendment  
Progress on cleaning up 500 toxic waste sites  
Designate 10 American Heritage Rivers

#### **Misc. issues coming up**

- FDA reform
- Product liability
- Census battle -- here is a candidate for the line item veto if they keep attaching it to appropriations bills.
- AMTRAK
- Judge Nominations

## Presidential Message Schedule

Date	Event	Message
Thursday, July 31	Tobacco Event	
Monday, August 4	National Urban League	
Monday, August 4	Climate Change – CEOs (T)	
Tuesday, August 5	National Night Out (T)	
Monday, August 11	Pediatric Labeling/ Kennedy-Kassebaum Anniversary	
Tuesday, August 12	Welfare to Work Event	
Wednesday, August 13	Working Visit with Amir Sheikh Khalifa of Bahrain	
Thursday, August 14	Religious Freedom Event	

## **Message Calendar August – November 1997**

### **Children/ Families**

Aug. 11 Pediatric Labeling Event  
Oct. 23 White House Conference on Child Care

### **Crime**

Oct. 8 NAPO Top Cop Dinner

### **Economy**

Aug. 12 Welfare-to-Work, St. Louis, MO  
Sept. 24 AFL-CIO Convention, Pittsburgh, PA  
Oct. 2 Auto Execs. Meeting

### **Education**

Aug 15 Back-to-School Education Event (T)  
Sept. 8 Back-to-School Education Event (week of)

### **Environment**

Aug. 4 Climate Change Meeting with CEOs  
Aug. 8 Block Island Event  
Oct. 6 Climate Change Conference

### **Foreign Policy**

Aug. 1 Working Visit with President Aliyev of Azerbaijan  
Sep. 22 Speech to Opening Session of UNGA, NY  
Oct. 7 Working Visit with Amir Sheikh Khalifa of Bahrain  
Oct. 12-20 Travel  
Oct. 14 Official Working Visit of President Zedillo of Mexico  
Oct. 24 Working Visit with President Arzu of Guatemala  
Oct. 29 Chinese State Visit  
Nov. 17 Working Visit with President Nazarbayev of Kazakstan  
Nov. 19 Working Visit with President Chissano of Mozambique

### **Race**

Aug. 4 National Urban League Address  
Aug. 5 Black Leadership Forum Meeting  
Aug. 15 Asian Pacific Americans Meeting  
Sept. 12/13 Congressional Black Caucus  
Sept. 16 Congressional Black Caucus Dinner  
Sept. 25 40th Anniversary of Little Rock Central High Desegregation  
Nov. 10 White House Conference on Hate Crimes

**Tobacco**

Aug. 5 Tobacco Executive Order

**Other**

Aug. 13 Oklahoma City Memorial Event

Aug. 14 Religious Freedom Event

Sept. 29 Arts and Humanities Ceremony

Nov. 6 Dedication of the George Bush Presidential Library, Texas A&M



## Race Relations

85% believe race relations in the U.S. is a serious problem now (39% very serious), 14% do not believe it is a serious problem. Forty percent believe it has become more serious this past decade (16% less serious and 42% remains the same).

19% believe the race issue today is primarily an issue of blacks and whites, while 74% believe it is an issue of the many minorities in the country getting along with whites and becoming integrated into society.

80% believe the new wave of immigration from Asia and Latin America is triggering new problems and new feelings of hostility against these groups (13% do not believe so).

This is the area of major change in the race issue – the big idea that needs to be emphasized as this is explained.

Suggested Theme:

**One America in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century** (Subhead: The President's Initiative on Race – this should be the theme of all of the events, all banners, and of the advisory board.)

The Kerner Commission did not have race in its title – it was the National Commission on Civil Disorders.

The Advisory Board—One America in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The President's Task Force on race. Task Force is a fundamentally a better name than advisory board, which sounds quite weak for the President to be spearheading.

Need to tie our message to the themes of the state of the union. The enemy of our time is inaction – and nowhere is this truer than in the area of race.

- a) Problems but no crisis, so we have the best possible atmosphere for real discourse
- b) Have made progress, yet the problem persists, even grows in new ways
- c) New dimensions of the problem raised by the changing nature of America
- d) And America is headed for another race related crisis if we fail to act (important to discuss in these stark terms), as new divisions are occurring just as we continue the healing process of the old divisions.

e) And racism is much more subtle than in the past when it was more out in the open, making the personal actions of people in their daily lives much more important

f) Recognize the changes in the political system important to making progress in racial reconciliation – seeing past the old attempts to use crime, welfare and other issues as ways to divide people

g) So we must expand our efforts to look at the new problems in these new times with the task force and examination of the problems we face as we enter the 21<sup>st</sup> century

h) Should not be defensive about not having solutions today or about appointing another commission

The benefit of some of the other commissions has been that that looked at problems so controversial that they uniquely got at the truth of what was happening, and were credible to all communities in establishing that essential truth.

**Consequently, an important aspect of the initiative is to examine the state of race relations today so that all Americans will have a better understanding of the problems created by our diversity and the steps we need to take to enter the 21<sup>st</sup> Century a stronger nation. This is an excellent overall statement of the goal of the effort.**

Calling this a national conversation on race is also weak. This is less about conversation and dialogue, and more about shared understanding of the facts, of the true state of affairs.

On issue after issue, it is the understanding of the problems regarding race that lead to a consensus of solutions. For example, the great majority oppose affirmative action in college admissions, and then when they understand the consequences of that position – i.e. no minorities in law school – they change their mind dramatically.

If the Kerner Commission's most famous insight is that there are two Americas – one black and one white. This group may well conclude that we are on the verge of 100 different America's and that this is the greatest threat to forging One America in the 21st Century.

Most Americans agree that there is some racism everywhere in society today.

In each of these areas is there ...	A great deal/ some racism	Not much/No racism
In the hearts and minds of typical Americans	74	20
The police	70	23
In the justice system	70	23
In today's South	69	12
In large corporate workplaces	67	23
In small business workplaces	66	26
In the housing system	66	27
In the educational system	63	33
In our young people	61	36
In the Northeast	58	18
In the West	52	20
In the voting system	45	48

### POSSIBLE PROPOSALS ON RACE

	Very Favorable	Favorable	Unfavorable
Increase the efforts to move 1 million people from welfare to work by taking some of the welfare savings and creating more training and employer subsidies for hiring people on welfare	68	93	7
Outlining a set of rights and responsibilities for new immigrants so that they will know what to expect from this country, such as speedy consideration of their applications for citizenship, and they will know their responsibilities in work, education and other areas.	63	85	10
Examining the state of race relations in this country today so that all Americans will have a better understanding of the problems created by our diversity and the steps we need to take to enter into the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century a stronger nation	57	85	10
Stepping up enforcement of the current laws on discrimination that are on the books,	51	78	12

ending backlogs of up to 6 years with many agencies that handle discrimination cases			
Creating special programs geared specifically at integrating new minorities into this country, to help them with the language, to become part of the political system, and to find work	47	78	19
Making sure that the spread of new technologies available to help households and children, such as the internet, are made available to all households so they do not fall further behind.	41	65	26
Maintain some form of affirmative action programs in employment and education, but without quotas, so that minorities receive extra help in these areas to qualify	31	65	31
Making intentional discrimination in employment not just a civil offense, but a criminal one	37	60	31

22% believe race should be taken into consideration in college and secondary education admissions process, while 71% believe it should be left out.

When told minority enrollment has increased with affirmative action and severely decreased without it, 57% support some form of affirmative action in education, 33% oppose.

### Crime

Americans do not see crime as decreasing.

The explanation may lie in the as yet undetermined pattern of the reduction in crime. If minority urban areas have been the areas of greatest decline, then crime would not be going down for most voters in their own communities.

We need to have a more sophisticated explanation of what is going on to be credible to the typical voter about where and how crime is diminished.

Is crime increasing or decreasing...	Increasing	Decreasing
Nationally	64	25
In your community	55	30

For those that say crime is decreasing:

Degree of impact on decrease in crime:	Significant impact	Moderate impact	Slight impact	No impact
More cops on the street and more law enforcement staff	65	16	4	8
Improvement in the values of our citizens who are taking better care of their families and communities	49	28	12	8
Stricter criminal justice system and punishments	43	22	20	10
The new community policing program	41	24	14	8
Improvement of the economy	37	29	22	10
A decline in the use of crack cocaine	33	24	10	18
Better juvenile prevention programs, including gang intervention	31	37	14	6
Implementation of the Brady Bill and restrictions on obtaining guns	31	35	16	16

### Urban Development

America's cities are not in a crisis, but they do have deep and mounting problems requiring increased attention through a series of bottom-up programs.

Crime, poverty (welfare), and the cities serving as the gateway for new immigrants all are the key problems the cities face as we enter the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

43% believe our cities are headed in the right direction, 36% believe they are off on the wrong track.

40% believe the cities are better off than they were 25 years ago (47% worse off).

In contrast, 52% believe our suburbs are headed in the right direction

29% believe they are off on the wrong track.

54% agree that the government should provide increased funding to assist cities, 38% disagree.

When asked who is more likely to help the nation's cities, the President or GOP in Congress, 48% say the President and only 28% the Congress.

	Not a problem (1)	Problem (4+5)	Serious problem (5)
Cities have a higher crime rate	2	77	52
Cities tend to be a gateway for immigrants	8	60	40
Cities have a higher percentage people in poverty	4	55	35
Cities have reduced city services such as schools and law enforcement	10	43	25
People who live in cities sometimes don't have the job skills required for jobs in the city	10	41	23

51% believe police officers should be encouraged to move to inner city neighborhoods, 39% believe where police live affects crime there. Sixty percent would favor allowing police officers discounts on vacant public housing if they lived there (33% oppose).

But we should be careful not to underplay the progress that has been made in the cities to date in outlining the urban agenda. But the reality is that the cities face the awesome task of creating jobs to mover people from welfare to work, and to integrate new immigrants, and that job creation in the cities has ground to a halt, according to the statistics.

**This means that, if we fail to reverse these trends, and we will have a crisis – a crisis that affects not only the quality of life in our cities, but the ability to create One America, as the race issue and the urban agenda are intertwined.**

Past polling has shown that empowerment zones, welfare to work, the EITC, Pell Grants and educational standards are all overwhelmingly favored as an agenda to help the cities on a bottom-up basis.

A re-testing of expanded empowerment zones shows that If President Clinton supported legislation which increased enterprise zones, 66% would be more favorable to him and 15% would be less favorable.

## Judicial Backlog

The judicial backlog is a good issue for us to hit the Republicans on – either in a radio address or in a speech. The public believes that the Republicans are paying politics with the appointment process.

This is a good issue to bring up around the time of the hearings – the GOP is busy holding political hearings rather than putting judges on the bench..

When told that there are 100 vacancies on the bench, but the nominations are delayed in Congress, 26% said Congress should hold up the nominations, while 66% said they should act on them as quickly as possible.

When asked who is to blame for the vacancies, the President for his inaction or the Republicans for slowing down the process, **29% said the President and 55% said the GOP.**

If the President asked Congress to eliminate the judicial backlog, **64% would be more favorable to the President, while 23% would be less favorable.**

The Republican argument put in its best terms has some currency, but it is fairly limited as the public is cynical about Republican motives.

If the Republicans said they would scrutinize every nominee very carefully and slowly to make sure liberal and lenient judges don't get appoint, 48% would be more favorable to the Republicans, 41% would be less favorable.

32% say the GOP would hold up nominees because of sincere concerns, 56% say they are just playing politics.

## Workplace

There is considerable support for new programs related to the workplace.

At the top of the list is a major initiative on day care. All the polling in the last few months has shown that people consider the day care system inadequate, that they want day care located near or as part of their work, and that this is at the top of people's priority list, regardless of whether they have children. They also believe that daycare is an essential component of moving people from welfare to work.

Regulation of smoking in the workplace in a uniform way also has strong support – provided that the regulation is limited, still allowing people to smoke in designated areas. The federal government is a good place to start, particularly if it could be done as an executive order.

	Support	Oppose	Strongly support
more after school programs and charging parents a nominal fee for enrolling their children	90	8	68
Greater availability of daycare near to work	87	8	68
Tougher enforcement of racial discrimination rules in the workplace	77	20	60
Tougher regulation of sexual harassment in the workplace	73	24	47
New federal regulations restricting smoking in the workplace	69	26	55
Greater flexibility to receive time off in lieu of pay for overtime	70	21	47

	Support	Oppose
Currently, smoking is not restricted in federal government buildings. Legislation has been proposed which would ban all smoking in government buildings unless they provide separately ventilated smoking lounges.	75	23
Federal regulations which ban smoking in the workplace except in separately ventilated smoking lounges	66	32
Federal regulations which only allow smoking in private offices & designated smoking areas within the workplace	64	34
Federal ban on all smoking in the workplace	39	57

67% said smoking restrictions should remain in the hands of states and localities, while 29% said the federal government should set smoking regulations. Nevertheless, they still favor the restrictions. This suggests allowing localities to opt out or supercede the regulation, so that local control in the form of an override would be possible.



## Rating Systems

Almost everyone favors the adoption of expanded ratings with letters for violence. As first in earlier meetings, TV carries with it a special concern that is different from movies – reducing the violence that young kids watch on a regular basis. Consequently there is strong support for adding specific information related to violence and/or sex for additional parental guidance.

86%/13% favor/oppose the television ratings that the networks now use to rate TV programs.

**90% would favor (60% strongly) the addition of letters to designate sexual or violent themes or strong language, as some broadcasters plan to do. Nine percent would oppose the additional letters.**

When given the argument some in industry are using, that they letters are confusing and could lead to the end of some programming, 74% still support the additional letters and 20% oppose.

## Internet regulation

The topic of appropriate internet regulation continues to be an ongoing issue of magnitude. It has a number of growing dimensions to date:

- Pornography – aside from indecency
- Privacy Issues concerning what you look at
- Gambling
- Use by Children (V-chip)
- Fraud and Crime
- The regulation of junk mail
- The Commercialization of the Web as an advertising and sales tool
- The monopolization of software to access the web
- Control of international sites that do not obey American regulations

These are now being considered on a piecemeal basis, suggesting the need for either the creation of some kind of Internet regulatory board, or a kind of presidential working group to make comprehensive recommendations or to make on-going decisions without step by step Congressional, Court intervention that we have now.

On the V-chip issue: Sixty-eight percent of respondents favor a V-Chip for computers which would allow parents to screen access to Web sites which are rated (26% oppose). The government would set standards for the ratings, but web sites would have to be self rated.

## Flood Relief Provisions

The public supports the Republicans on the issues for which the flood relief bill is being vetoed.

However, they agree with a veto on the grounds that the Republicans should send you a clean bill and should not encumber it with unrelated provisions.

When respondents were asked about the budget provision providing for a temporary continuing resolution, 62% favored the provision and 29% opposed it. When told that Democrats say this measure is a trick to avoid shutdowns and allow the GOP to not pass a budget, support drops to 55% favor and 33% oppose it.

Forty-four percent support the provision to use sampling techniques by the Census, while 39% oppose it.

However, people do not want Republicans to play partisan politics with legislation and they would prefer the relief to be held up than accept the partisan amendments. When told the GOP has attached the two unrelated provisions to the emergency spending bill, 55% favored a veto while 37% opposed a veto. Furthermore, a majority (52%) blame the Republicans for holding up the relief rather than the President, who could accept the provisions (35%).

The Republicans have attached both the provision to eliminate shutdowns and a ban on sampling techniques to the \$8.6 billion disaster relief fund. President Clinton says he will veto the disaster relief until he gets a clean bill with no unrelated provisions.

55% favor veto/36% oppose veto

The President and the Democrats say that the Republicans are holding up the disaster relief with unrelated provisions. Other say that the President should just accept these two provisions to get disaster relief sooner.

52% hold up disaster relief/35% accept provisions.

## Education

Consider adding the 11<sup>th</sup> grade test as a way of jump starting the educational initiative. Voters consider an earlier test in 11<sup>th</sup> grade to be fair because it gives students two years to pass it.

80%/17% favor/oppose (unaided) a national test for 11<sup>th</sup> graders which must be passed before graduation. Support increases to 85% (oppose: 13%) when told the test would be during the fall of their junior year, 21 months before graduation. The argument that this would increase drop out rates because poor performing

students would be discouraged dropped support for tests to 75/21 support/oppose.

### Children's Drug Testing

81% say they would support regulations (14% oppose) which would require drug companies to test drugs which might have a benefit for children.

But when the drug manufacturers arguments are given that the process is costly, could slow down the approval process, and is usually unnecessary, support drops to 61% (oppose: 33%) but is still well above 50%.

If told children cannot receive protease inhibitors because they have not been tested, 69% would favor regulations that require drug companies to test drugs which have a benefit on children, 21% would oppose.

### Cloning

Cloning of embryos presents a significant issue for Republicans/Gingrich causes to pounce on.

Hunan Cloning: 77% support ban, 17% in favor  
Limited Embryo Cloning: 67% support ban/28% support it.

### AIDS, Medicaid

69%/25% support /oppose (unaided) extending Medicaid to HIV positive recipients and 64% view the President more favorably for his proposal (25% less favorably).

When the proposal is explained, and people were told the extension of benefits would lower treatment costs and reduce the chance of further spreading, support rises to 73%, while opposition falls to 24%.

78% support federal standards of care aimed at encouraging doctors to prescribe protease inhibitors (13% oppose).

Unaided, 46% support/50% oppose the availability of needle exchanges.

Support rises, however, to 55% when told it would prevent the spread of AIDS and participants would be required to join a drug addiction program (41% oppose).

## Cult Symposium

72% believe cults are a serious problem in the US (42% very serious) while 25% don't view it as a serious problem.

Respondents liked the idea of establishing a hotline to provide advice and assistance to those seeking help relating to cults (54%/40% support/oppose) and 61% favored (33% opposed) a meeting with law enforcement officials from around the country to discuss cults and apocalyptic groups as the millenium approaches.

Fifty-three percent believed the issue of cults is important enough to warrant the President's attendance at a law enforcement symposium on cults, while 44% believed President Clinton should not attend an event as small as a law enforcement symposium on cults.

Some people say that President Clinton should not attend an event as small as a law-enforcement symposium on cults. Other say that the subject of cults, given what happened in Waco and in California, is so important that the President should get involved in the meeting to underscore it as a priority. Which is closer to your view?

43% should not attend/54% so important that the President should get involved

## Beer, Wine and Liquor Advertising

There is a clear distinction between hard liquor and beer and wine advertising.

A majority supports a ban on hard liquor advertising; most do not support a ban on beer and wine —but would support voluntary/collective industry actions to reduce the impact of beer advertising on underage drinking.

Do you think...	Should be permitted	Permitted only if content doesn't appeal to kids	Not permitted at all
Hard liquor ads on TV...	21	18	57
Beer advertising on TV...	20	35	43
Wine advertising on TV...	24	34	40

## Community Computer Centers

There is broad support for community computer centers, and they certainly fit within the general theme of making sure that technology is not for the few, but for all people of all classes.

When it is explained that the computer centers would allow community members to have free access for learning, creating resumes, and other tasks, 76% would support the establishment of federally funded computer centers in inner, 20% oppose.

Public housing developments would be the ideal place to put these centers.

If told contrasting arguments:

Some people say the government providing computers in impoverished neighborhoods is wasteful, costing a minimum of \$20 million, while potentially allowing children access to harmful material. Others say that people in poor neighborhoods have less access to computers, and providing them is important to having an educated and informed workforce. Without such a program, residents of these areas will not have access to the resources vital to education and finding jobs

23% say providing computers is wasteful, 73% say it is important.

## Cigarette Taxes

Public supports both the Waxman idea of setting a children's smoking quota, and of a stiff cigarette tax used for health care and other areas. Public's first priority continues to be funding for dreaded diseases, followed by children's healthcare. School construction could be a part of the tasks funded.

Waxman bill support – 66% (52% strongly) /32% oppose

Kennedy Hatch support – 67% favor/30% oppose

### POSSIBLE USES FOR THE \$30-\$40 BILLION CIGARETTE TAX FUND

	Favor	Oppose
Expand by \$5 billion the funding for fighting diseases such as AIDS, cancer, diabetes	81	15
Covering an additional 5 million children with health care	79	18
Use \$5 billion to help local school boards build and modernize schools	71	24
Cover the unemployed with health care coverage for up to 6 months	66	29
Fund an anti-smoking TV ad campaign	62	35

## Overall Strategy

There are two separate tasks – defeat the hearings and advance the overall message of the second term.

The press is, as usual, 1) overplaying the effect of Paula Jones, Fundraising, and even their own polls which by a series of their own polls now show conclusively that they are not hurting the administration's near record ratings and 2) downplaying the importance of the administration's mission/accomplishments, which are quite enormous by this point as we enter an era of sustained economic growth and national resurgence that truly towers over anything that Reagan and Bush accomplished.

We now have on the table a series of clear initiatives, and it is important for us to theme all of the events related to them so that the President's agenda for moving America in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century is clearly explained both in terms of the achievements done so far and interns of what we are trying to accomplish to draw better arrows for the press and to try to put new initiatives into the existing framework or structure so that over time they will see the larger picture. It is not about specific initiatives, but about larger themes behind what the President and the administration are accomplishing.

Preparing our economy to meet the challenges of the new global economy and the information age.

Based on principles:

Investing in people (the complete educational, training agenda)

Fiscal discipline (Balancing the budget)

Opening up new markets (NAFTA, other trade agreements such as in telecommunications)

Restructuring our economy (managing the deregulation of telecommunications, cable, transportation, electricity)

Preparing our children, our families and communities for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

Expanding healthcare coverage to kids, the unemployed

Creating the balance between family and work (FLMA, Flex time)

Reducing crime through more police, fewer guns, and a change in values represented by programs such as community policing

Using government to protect our kids from the new influences in society (pornography, safe and drug free schools, guns and tobacco and other values issues)

Making a clean environment consistent with economic growth (Clean air standards)

## Making Government Work Again

Restoring discipline (Balancing the budget now, later by securing Medicare and Social Security for the next generation)

Adapting the federal bureaucracy to change (REGO reforms, FAA overhaul, State department overhaul)

Restoring faith in the presidency by returning to activism after 12 years in which the presidents abandoned the responsibilities of government for domestic problems

Improving faith in the electoral system (Motor voter, expanded registration, Campaign finance and still needed, electoral reform)

## The One America in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Initiative to reconcile the forces of diversity and make them our greatest strength

Based on:

Racial reconciliation, over the creation of new divisions (The President's Initiative on Race)

Creating opportunity while demanding Responsibility (Moving 1 million from welfare to work)

Integrating new minorities into the country

New methods of solving our problems (The urban agenda grounded in empowerment zones, development banks, head start, etc.)

## Maintaining America's leadership in Science and Technology

Making technology available to every child, rich or poor

Advancing the fight against dreaded diseases (AIDS, others)

Controlling the new dangers/ethical dilemmas that science presents (cloning, internet)

## Creating international leadership to make America the indispensable nation standing for peace and freedom

Creating an undivided Europe (NATO Expansion)

Serving as a leading force for peace (Bosnia, Haiti, Ireland, MidEast)

Working to solve the long-term threats to our survival (nuclear arms reductions, chemical weapons, anti-terrorism), etc.

This then serves as a framework for a strategic agenda – a set of goals and principles that additional policies can be placed under so that consistent themes are echoed in the unveiling of these policies.