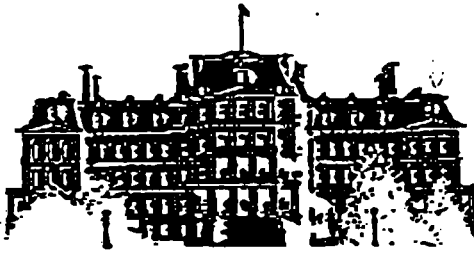


EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT



THE OLD EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING

COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
17TH AND PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20500

TO: Jennifer Klein

OFFICE:

FAX NUMBER: 6-2878

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FROM: Mark Mazur

FAX NUMBER: (202) 395-6809

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ROOM: 318

NO. OF PAGES (inc cover) 4DATE: 6/2/95SUBJECT: Op-Ed Draft for Laura

MESSAGE:

Ten-

Here's a draft of the Op-Ed piece. I
tried to incorporate your comments (and
Chris's too). Please let me know how you
want to proceed on this.

Mark

OP-ED PIECE FOR LAURA TYSON -- HEALTH CARE

mjm 6/2/95

Intended placement -- Roll Call

From the very beginning of the Clinton Administration, reform of the overall health care system was a major goal. This goal reflected the observation that, for numerous policy discussions, whenever the analysis got below the surface, health care reform was a major part of the most plausible solution. In various contexts -- stagnant living standards, burgeoning Federal budget deficits, moving welfare recipients into the paid work force, or the pathetically bad worldwide rankings of the United States on measures of average health status of the population -- the policy solution involved health care reform.

The Administration's initial recommendation for a possible solution to the health care conundrum was the Health Security Act. Suffice it to say the Congress was unwilling to enact broad-based health care reform the first time it was presented with an Administration proposal. However, the national debate over health care was a resoundingly successful educational experience. And, the various proposals developed by Members of Congress contained several common themes that could form the basis for a bipartisan approach to serious health care reform.

One undeniable fact is that, while the United States spends a greater portion of its national output (GDP) than any other industrialized country on health care (around 14 percent of GDP), the performance of the health care system in the United States, as measured by objective measures such as lifespan, infant mortality, childhood immunizations, (others?), is not commensurate with the level of spending. This dismal correlation of high spending and low performance cannot be dismissed as inefficient government spending (such as \$600 hammers) because the bulk of health care spending in the U.S. comes from the private sector -- employer-provided insurance and out-of-pocket payments by people receiving health care services.

Another fact is that current policies will not sustain the Medicare system very far beyond the turn of the century. The increased attention Congress has placed on the Medicare Trust Fund's solvency is welcome. The challenge of ensuring that Medicare can continue to provide quality health care to future generations of Americans provides an opportunity to implement the first steps of a necessary health care reform.

Incremental strategies that are not part of an overall reform effort simply are not responsive to the situation at hand. Moreover, back-fitting health care policy to meet arbitrary deficit reduction targets does not represent a serious attempt at health care reform. These strategies are, at best, temporary fixes. At worst, they are counter-productive.

An appropriate characterization of the health care finance

system is to think of it being like a balloon. Reducing costs in a single sector is like squeezing on one side of the balloon. Market forces work to ensure that the pressure is released somewhere else in the system.

Economists know that the burden of policy changes need not stay with the party immediately affected. In the area of excise taxes, sellers often are able to shift the tax burden onto consumers. Similarly, in health care the party affected by a policy change is often able to shift the burden of this change to someone else. In general, the party bearing the ultimate burden is the one least able (or with the least incentive) to escape it. In the past, this may have been employers who provided health insurance benefits to their employees. However, now employers have gotten more sophisticated and developed strategies to ensure that in the game of musical chairs which characterizes cost-shifting, they are not the ones left standing when the music stops.

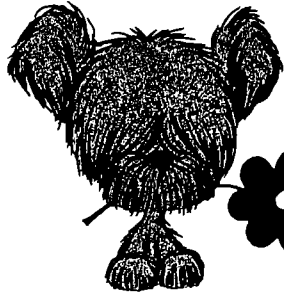
For instance, if Medicare payments to providers are cut, these providers: may bear the burden themselves through lower incomes; may shift the burden to beneficiaries through declining to treat Medicare patients as readily as in the past; or may shift the burden onto insurers and other paying parties through cross-subsidization of Medicare treatments. In the latter case, costs to private insurers would go up, leading some employers to cut back on coverage offered to their workers. These workers may end up paying for care themselves out-of-pocket or else may receive uncompensated charity care, shifting the burden to the public and/or non-profit sector.

The Republican proposals in health care to date are not associated with comprehensive health care reform. Instead these proposals look at Medicaid and Medicare as "cash cows" to fund either deficit reduction or tax cuts for the well-off. Cuts of the proposed magnitude in Medicare and Medicaid will almost surely increase the number of uninsured, leading to greater demand for uncompensated care. And nowhere in these proposals are the questions asked -- Will these changes improve the overall quality of health care delivered? Will these changes cause objective measures of health status of Americans to increase? By not addressing these questions, these proposals illustrate exactly the wrong way to address health care reform in America.

However, there is a right way to undertake health care reform. The right way would recognize the interdependence of the individual aspects of the health care system. This approach would focus on improving the health status of Americans. It would increase the security and continuity of health insurance coverage, and would ensure that health insurance coverage increased to cover more of the currently uninsured. Moreover, it would address the concerns of Americans who through the loss of a job find themselves without health insurance coverage or the wherewithal to purchase it. The right way would deal with insurance reform to promote labor mobility. It would address the special problems faced by small

businesses (ugh!). And, last but not least, the right way would promote the efficient provision of health care in America. A more efficient health care system can provide the same (or better) quality of care at reduced cost. This yields the potential for budget savings as well as for a reversal of the shift in compensation away from wages and toward health benefits. In the longer run, increased living standards can result from a shift away from unnecessary health care consumption.

Addressing health care in a comprehensive manner is the right way to undertake reform. Legislation that encourage cost-shifting or that represents an arbitrary response to budget cutting fervor is the wrong way to undertake reform. The President has stated on several occasions, including a letter to Congressional leadership and his State of the Union address, that he is willing to work toward real health care reform in a bipartisan manner. This is a good-faith offer to work together on an issue of utmost importance to Americans. It would be the Nation's loss if Congress did not accept this offer.



FROM THE DESK OF

Jennifer Klein

Amy Keller
289-4900

Too much emphasis on comprehensive

Don't do last year. Phrase it as
the current problem i.e. health
status, intricately connected to
other problems like welfare, stagnant
living standards.

Good health policy — 1 logical outgrowth
is deficit reduction — can't do it
for def. reduction.
Medicare Trust Fund.

June 12 →

1200-1500 words. Viewpoint on Rep. proposal
to cut Medicare Spending

Chr-15- Here's my first draft (also on diskette) (I hope this is close to what you had in mind. I'm taking Tuesday off, but I'll be home all weekend - Feel free to call me at (301) 608-0388.

OP-ED PIECE FOR LAURA TYSON -- HEALTH CARE

mjm 5/27/95

Mark

Intended placement -- Roll Call

From the very beginning of the Clinton Administration, reform of the overall health care system was a major goal. This goal reflected the observation that, for numerous policy discussions, whenever the analysis got below the surface, health care reform was a common part of the most plausible solution. This was true no matter what the individual issue -- stagnant living standards, burgeoning Federal budget deficits, moving welfare recipients into the paid work force, or the pathetically bad worldwide rankings of the United States on measures of average health status of the population.

The Administration's initial recommendation for a possible solution to the health care conundrum was the Health Security Act. Suffice it to say the Congress was unwilling to enact broad-based health care reform the first time it was presented with an Administration proposal. However, the national debate over health care was a resoundingly successful educational experience. And, the various proposals developed by Members of Congress had several common themes that could form the basis for a bipartisan approach to serious health care reform.

One fact that came out during the debate last year was that, while the United States spends a greater portion of its national output (GDP) than any other industrialized country on health care (around 14 percent of GDP), the performance of the health care system in the United States, as measured by objective measures such as lifespan, infant mortality, (others?), is not commensurate with the level of spending. This dismal correlation of high spending and low performance cannot be dismissed as inefficient government spending (such as \$600 hammers) because the bulk of health care spending in the U.S. comes from the private sector -- employer-provided insurance and out-of-pocket payments by people receiving health care services.

Another thing learned during last year's debate was that piecemeal strategies to address one or a couple facets of the health care system simply will not work. These incremental strategies are at best, band-aids. At worst, they are counter-productive.

An analogy that fits this situation is to think of the health care finance system as a balloon. As one side of the balloon is squeezed in order to reduce costs in one sector, market forces work to ensure that the pressure is released somewhere else in the system.

Economists know that the burden of policy changes need not stay with the party immediately affected. In the area of excise taxes, sellers often are able to shift the tax burden onto consumers. Similarly, in health care the party affected by a

policy change is often able to shift the burden of this change to someone else. In general, the party bearing the ultimate burden is the one least able (or with the least incentive) to escape it. In the past, this may have been employers who provided health insurance benefits to their employees. However, now employers have gotten more sophisticated and have developed market strategies to ensure that in the game of musical chairs which characterizes cost-shifting, they are not the ones left standing when the music stops.

For instance, if Medicare payments to providers are cut, these providers: may bear the burden themselves through lower incomes; may shift the burden to beneficiaries through declining to treat Medicare patients as readily as in the past; or may shift the burden onto insurers and other paying parties through cross-subsidization of Medicare treatments. In the latter case, costs to private insurers would go up, leading some employers to cut back on coverage offered to their workers. These workers may end up paying for care themselves out-of-pocket or else may receive uncompensated charity care, shifting the burden to the public and/or non-profit sector.

The Republican proposals in health care to date are not comprehensive in nature. Instead these proposals look at Medicaid and Medicare as "cash cows" to fund either deficit reduction or tax cuts for the well-off. Nowhere in these proposals are the questions asked -- Will these changes improve the overall quality of health care delivered? Will these changes cause objective measures of health status of Americans to increase? By not addressing these questions, these proposals show us exactly the wrong way to address health care reform in America.

However, there is a right way to undertake health care reform. The right way would focus on improving the health status of Americans. Toward that end, it would increase the security and continuity of health insurance coverage, and would ensure that health insurance coverage increased to cover larger and larger numbers of the currently uninsured. The right way would promote patient choice and increase buying power of health care consumers. And, last but not least, the right way would promote the efficient provision of health care in America. [Do we need this sentence? It would begin by removing the perverse incentives in the current system for over-testing, over-prescribing, and over-treating patients.] Increased efficiency is the way competitive markets are supposed to work. Through reduced inefficiency, the health care system can provide the same (or better) quality of care at reduced cost. This yields the potential for budget savings as well as for a reversal of the shift in compensation away from wages and toward health benefits. In the longer run, increased living standards may result from a shift away from unnecessary health care consumption in favor of more beneficial consumption and savings and investment.

Addressing health care in a comprehensive manner is the right

way to undertake reform. Legislating changes that encourage cost-shifting or that represent willy-nilly budget cutting is the wrong way to undertake reform. Congress has the opportunity to go about addressing this national concern in the right way. If Congress chooses to make a good faith effort at comprehensive health care reform, the Administration stands ready to help in this endeavor.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Carol and Laura
FR: Chris J.
RE: Medicare/Medicaid polling
cc: Gene, Bill, Jen, Mark

April 23, 1995

Following up on the Republican/AHA polling results I forwarded you last week, I wanted to make sure you got a copy of the attached piece that Morton Kondracke wrote on this issue for Roll Call this past week. Since so many Members and staff read this paper, I thought you might want to have on hand.

Hill Update

The latest from the Hill is that many Republicans are just now learning of the upcoming White House Conference on Aging. As you know, Senator Domenici had already postponed the release of his mark-up to May 1st of 2nd. There are now reports that he is under significant pressure to hold off another week until the conclusion of the White House CoA. (The House continues to track a couple of weeks behind the Senate.)

The 7-year Medicare/Medicaid target numbers keep moving around. The Budget Committee staff seem to want to push up the Medicare numbers to about \$300-\$320, primarily because they cannot justify (to themselves) the level of cuts that would be necessary from Medicaid and the non-health entitlements. (Having said this, to place the Medicare number in context, the HSA-equivalent 7-year Medicare savings number is about \$100 billion less and, as you know, much of it was reinvested AND the proposed cuts were off a much higher base.)

Although on a policy basis, it is easier to justify Medicare cuts than Medicaid and the non-health entitlements, the political pressure is definitely coming down hard on moderating the Medicare cuts. As a result, the Medicare number may come down. The consequence of such an action, of course, is that the current \$130-\$160 billion Medicaid number may go back up to the 5 percent cap level of \$190 billion (or even more.) The Governors will NOT be pleased about this development. The bottom line, though, is that the combination Medicare/Medicaid number is still between \$400 and \$500 billion over 7 years.

On the non-Medicare/Medicaid health "reform" front, Senator Dole and Packwood are drafting up a bill. Obviously they will call this initiative health reform and use it as a way to begin to call us on our "no Medicare cuts outside the context of reform" line. The bill's provisions apparently include: (1) insurance reforms, (2) tax incentives and consumer protections for long-term care, (3) Medical Savings Accounts, and (4) a "simplification" section that contains incentives and standards for billing, data collection and electronic claims transfers. I will keep you posted on developments and specifics.

GOP Poll Warns Cutting Medicare Could Be Fatal

Congressional Republicans think they can avoid the fatal "third rail" of American politics by cutting Medicare while sparing Social Security. But a top GOP pollster is warning that it won't work.

According to pollster Bill McInturff, nearly two-thirds of likely voters think that cutting deeply into Medicare, as GOP leaders want to do to balance the budget and pay for tax cuts, constitutes breaking the Republican promise not to cut Social Security.

McInturff has told GOP leaders that the "obvious conclusion" to a study he did for the American Hospital Association is: "Members of Congress who want to cut Medicare should proceed with caution and at their own peril."

GOP budget-writers have proposed whacking the \$175 billion per year medical program for the aged by at least \$150 billion over five years and possibly \$350 billion over seven years. At the same time, the party has ruled Social Security "off the table."

The Clinton Administration and Democrats in Congress argue that "Medicare is Social Security," and focus groups conducted by McInturff indicate that this is the way the public sees it, too.

McInturff's firm, Public Opinion Strategies, and the Democratic polling firm of Frederick/Schneiders found in late January that by 70 to 18 percent, likely voters favor balancing the budget by 2002. But if cutting Medicare by 20 percent is required, 60 percent oppose the balanced budget and only 30 percent favor it.

The survey's killer question, though, was: "If your Member of Congress ran for office



Photo by Maureen Keating

Speaker Newt Gingrich is promoting a new "Medichoice" plan, but he won't be able to dodge the Medicare question.

last fall promising not to cut Social Security but then votes this year to cut Medicare spending, would you say that Member of Congress had broken their campaign promise?"

Sixty-four percent of voters said they would regard it as a broken promise and 24 percent wouldn't, with the rest undecided. Among 1992 Ross Perot voters, those presumably most eager to cut the federal deficit, 71 percent said it would break a promise.

Instead of releasing the poll publicly, both McInturff and the AHA have used it as the basis of briefings for Members. An AHA official said the reaction among Republicans is that "their faces go ashen."

The AHA is using the poll and a series of related focus group findings as the basis of a grassroots lobbying campaign during the Congressional recess in which hospital adminis-

trators, doctors, and hospital board members are visiting 120 targeted Members to urge them to avoid deep cuts and instead create a bipartisan Medicare Commission using the base-closing model to impose future limits.

An AHA official thinks that the study findings—reportedly validated in another GOP poll conducted by Linda DiVall—have led House Republicans to stop talking about Medicare cuts and to shift to "Medicare reform," including a "Medichoice" plan touted recently by House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.).

"Medichoice" would allow seniors to continue seeing their private doctors, but would pay a greater percentage of their medical bills if they enroll in a managed care plan.

There's no indication, however, that "Medichoice" changes GOP plans to cut Medicare and Medicaid funding as part of its budget-balancing effort. House GOP tax cuts will make it necessary to cut federal spending by about \$750 billion over seven years, the lion's share of which will have to come from medical entitlements.

In a briefing that McInturff prepared for House Majority Leader Dick Armey (R-Texas) in February, the pollster reported that voters see Medicare as "a fundamental part of America's social contract," with 67 percent of seniors and 58 percent of all voters believing it is a benefit they have already paid for.

McInturff tested various arguments for and against Medicare cuts. Nearly 60 percent of voters agreed both with the argument that "spending is out of control" and that "Congress promised not to cut Social Security" or Medicare.

He asked voters both before and after the test questions whether they would be more or less likely to vote for a Member of Congress who supported deep Medicare cuts and reported to Armey "a VERY unusual finding in

survey research: there is no movement in any of the post-test questions" and "support for no cuts INCREASES."

Forty-seven percent of voters say they'd be less likely to vote for a candidate who supported Medicare cuts. Only 16 percent would be more likely and 30 percent said it would make no difference.

According to the AHA, focus group findings indicated that voters are "interested in, but cautious about" proposals for "means test-

When results of the poll are shown to GOP Members, said an AHA official, 'their faces go ashen.'

ing" Medicare as a method of reducing costs, but this seems to fly in the face of the Republican "Contract with America" proposal to repeal tax increases on Social Security income for well-off old people.

McInturff reported to Armey that Medicaid has a favorable reputation among only 36 percent of voters versus 61 percent for Social Security and 56 percent for Medicare, suggesting it will be much easier for Republicans to slash medical spending for the poor than for the middle class.

On the other hand, Republicans have been making progress convincing voters that they will not go "too far" in helping the rich at the expense of the poor. McInturff found the percentage of voters who think that has dropped from 41 to 34 percent.

But deep cuts in Medicare and Medicaid could again make the GOP look like Scrooge and threaten its wished-for status as America's majority party.

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Distribution

From: Chris Jennings
Jennifer Klein

Date: April 20, 1995

Re: American Hospital Association Polling Data

Attached for your information you will find Medicare polling results from a survey done for the American Hospital Association. This document helps to explain why Republicans are growing increasingly nervous about their Medicare savings proposals. We thought that you would be interested.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

for the

AMERICAN HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION

Medicare National Study

METHODOLOGY:

Public Opinion Strategies and Frederick Schneiders, Inc. conducted a nationwide survey of 800 likely voters and an oversample of senior citizens for a total of 250 interviews among people 65 years or older on January 24-28, 1995. The margin of error for the national sample is $\pm 3.46\%$ and $\pm 6.20\%$ for the senior citizens oversample.

KEY FINDINGS:

1. *The November elections continue to reverberate through the data and indicate a number of important shifts in sentiment on key issues as regards the mood of the electorate, the Clinton health care plan and perceptions of the parties.*

On a number of key questions, this data captures an electorate in flux and still reacting to the events of the Clinton era and the election:

- Public confidence in the direction of the country is improving, with 37% of the country saying things are now headed in the "right direction," a 12% improvement from last fall. Republican "right direction" responses more than doubled moving from 14% last fall to 35% now.
- The post-election coverage has helped solidify people's opposition to the Clinton health care plan, with 46% now saying they "opposed" the plan, 11% higher than any 1994 data point. Republican opposition to the plan solidified and opposition increased among people over 65 years old, Perot voters, among White Southerners, and residents of the West.
- Only 12% of the respondents described themselves as "liberal" (down from 24% a decade ago, lower than the roughly 18% average in 1994, and the lowest percentage we have ever recorded).
- The percentage of people who say they have "a great deal of concern" that Democrats "will go too far in keeping costly government services that are wasteful and out-of-date" increased from only 24% in October of 1992 to 37%. Conversely, the percentage of people who say they have "a great deal of concern" that Republicans "will go too far in helping the rich and cut needed government services that benefit people who aren't wealthy" declined from 41% in 1992 to 34% today. These questions were added to help monitor the perceptions of the parties as the public debate over Medicare and Medicaid develops.

2. *Medicare is very well perceived and is a fundamental part of America's "social contract."*

The entire weight of this data suggests that Medicare is quite positively perceived and is linked with social security as part of a fundamental contract with America's seniors:

- Fifty-six percent (56%) have a favorable feeling about Medicare with only 11% having an unfavorable feeling. (When asked on an open-ended question to describe in their own words why they had a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Medicare, it is clear that the unfortunates are mostly driven by confusing Medicare with Medicaid.) On this scale, respondents were allowed to say "half/half" neither favorable or unfavorable which provides a more accurate assessment of core favorable feeling. The strength of the 56% number is best gauged by recognizing that social security has a comparable 61% rating.
- Medicare's rating among seniors is extraordinarily high with an 81% favorable to only five percent unfavorable rating. A whopping 49% of seniors say they have "very favorable" feelings about Medicare. Again, the social security program receives only marginally higher ratings of 86% favorable, 54% very favorable.
- Another measurement of Medicare's standing is that while 69% of Americans under 65 are "satisfied" with their "own benefits and medical care," 86% of seniors are "satisfied." While 34% of younger Americans are "very satisfied," a majority of seniors (53%) are "very satisfied" with their benefits and health care.
- Among seniors, Medicare ratings were uniformly high whether one self-identified as only being on Medicare versus having other private insurance, whether one has a Medigap plan or not or whether a senior is in an HMO or traditional fee-for-service Medicare environment.

Overall though, there are some differences of perception by party with Republicans (53% favorable/16% unfavorable) giving Medicare slightly lower marks than Democrats (63% favorable/6% unfavorable). These differences erode though among people over 65 years old, with Republican seniors (84% favorable/2% unfavorable) being not statistically different than Democrat seniors (81% favorable/6% unfavorable).

3. **BEWARE:** *Cutting Medicare IS perceived as breaking a promise NOT to cut Social Security.*

The Republican 'Contract with America' exempts social security funds to balance the budget by the year 2002. Reductions in the growth of the Medicare and Medicaid programs are "on the table" however. Policy elites see the social security program as distinct from Medicare. Focus group findings and this survey suggest the electorate clearly does not see this distinction:

- Sixty-four percent (64%) of the electorate believes that if you ran for office saying that you would not cut social security, and if Congress votes this year to cut Medicare then "that Member of Congress has broken their campaign promise."
- The Perot voters came to more closely mirror the Bush voters' opposition to the Clinton health care plan. However, on this topic, the Perot voter more closely resembles a Clinton voter:

HAS MEMBER BROKEN PROMISE?

By 1992 presidential vote

(64% Has - 23% Has not = 41% Difference Score)

<u>Presidential vote</u>	<u>Has</u>	<u>Has not</u>	<u>D/S</u>
Bush	60	32	+28
Clinton	70	19	+51
Perot	71	23	+48

- There is a surprisingly modest difference by ideology with conservatives (62% has broken promise/26% has not broken promise) almost the same as moderates/liberals (67% has/22% has not).
- Even the "hardest core" 17% of the electorate that consistently supports Medicare cuts to balance the budget believes a Member of Congress would have broken their promise (53% has/38% has not).

4. *Yes, people support a balanced budget amendment ... but NOT readily if cuts in Medicare are involved.*

These findings replicate a variety of other public data that demonstrates a profound difference between support for a balanced budget amendment versus very weak support once more painful trade-offs are introduced:

- Seventy percent (70%) of Americans say they support a "constitutional amendment to balance the budget by the year 2002," with 46% saying they "strongly favor" the amendment.
- However, support for a balanced budget totally erodes a question later if a balanced budget requires "cuts [in] government spending on Medicare by 20% over the next seven years." Only 31% favor this option with a majority opposed (59%). Not surprisingly, opposition is stronger among seniors (25% favor/65% oppose).
- Fully 44% of the electorate moves from support to opposition or "don't know" when asked about cuts in Medicare. Movement towards opposition is highest among critical elements of the electorate such as seniors, Perot voters, older Republicans, and residents of the Great Lakes region. Republican seniors are more likely to have moved to opposition than senior Independents or Democrats.
- Perhaps not unexpectedly, there is a decided difference based on income to this question.

SUPPORT MEDICARE CUTS TO BALANCE THE BUDGET

By income & age/income

<u>Income</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>D/S</u>
Under 30K	23	65	-41
30K-60K	34	57	-23
60K+	36	54	-18
Over 65/ < 30K	23	70	-47
Over 65/ > 30K	32	60	-28

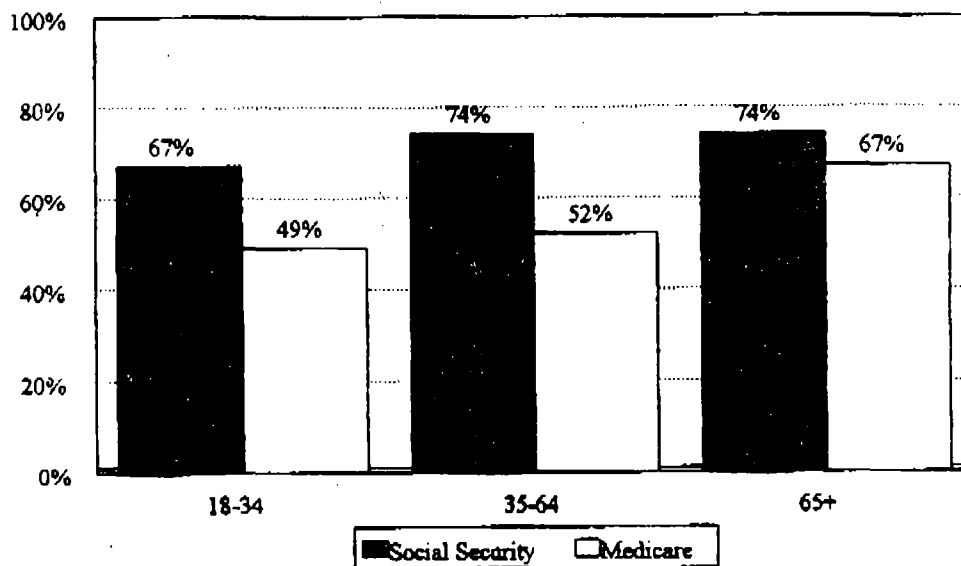
5. *One reason for Medicare's strong support is a majority of Americans do NOT view it as an entitlement.*

A majority of Americans (53%) believe Medicare is better explained as "a government program where people get the benefits their taxes have already paid for" versus 33% who believe it is "a government entitlement program." Among all Americans, this is one question on which there is a segmentation as compared to social security. Almost three out of four Americans (72%) believe social security is not an entitlement but is a "government program ... their taxes have already paid for."

- Please note the profound difference by age on this question. Among seniors, neither Medicare (14% entitlement/67% program already paid for by their taxes) nor social security (10% entitlement/74% already paid for) is an entitlement. However, people under 35 years old are substantially more likely to describe Medicare as an entitlement, while continuing to see social security as a government program you get for having paid for all your life:

Are Social Security and Medicare entitlement programs or do people get benefits that their taxes have already paid for?

% Responding "Paid For" by Age



6. *These findings suggest that one should not assume that if people more clearly understood the scope and growth of the Medicare program their attitudes would significantly change.*

As researchers, we have been concerned that too often on complex public policy issues that people simply do not have enough frame of reference to make more informed judgements. For example, we replicated past national surveys that discuss "cuts" in Medicare as opposed to a far more accurate description of a reduced rate of growth in spending.

Among the interesting elements of this study is that it helps establish that after 30 years of an extensive federal program, less than 50% of Americans can correctly identify Medicare when asked to describe the program on an open-ended question. Not surprisingly, awareness is substantially higher among people on Medicare than people under 35 years old. On other public affairs topics, formal education (people with college and post-graduate degrees are better informed) and income (higher income respondents are better informed) are stable predictors of awareness and levels of information. However, these factors are less important than simply the age of the respondent in terms of being able to correctly identify Medicare. As noted earlier, people with an unfavorable opinion of Medicare or whom receive Medicaid are among the most likely sub-groups to misidentify Medicare.

Accordingly, we introduced the following "prompt" that was read to all respondents:

- Now, let me describe Medicare in more detail ... Medicare is a federal government health care program covering over 35 million Americans who are either over 65 years old or have certain disabilities. Medicare provides hospital insurance coverage for most people over 65. Additional insurance to cover doctors' services and laboratory tests can be purchased and many seniors pay roughly \$500 a year for this coverage that is automatically deducted from their social security check. Medicare, though, is primarily financed through a 1.45 ("one point four five") percent payroll tax paid for by employees and employers.

We also provided a few key facts about the size and growth of the Medicare program

- Medicare spending keeps increasing because people already on the program are living longer and because over four million more people will qualify over the next seven years.

	FAV	UNFAV	NO DIFF
	35%	14%	47%
65+	40%	9%	41%

- Medicare spending is the FASTEST growing government spending program, with spending last year alone of 160 BILLION dollars, the fourth largest item in the entire federal government.

	22%	28%	44%
65+	22%	21%	43%

- Medicare spending is projected to almost DOUBLE to roughly 350 BILLION dollars in the year 2002.

	22%	31%	41%
65+	21%	24%	44%

In all cases, seniors were less likely than the balance of Americans to say they had an "unfavorable" reaction to these three statements.

7. *More facts and figures do not seem to move people as much as broader arguments and a classic battle that can be characterized as a fight between our obligation as a society to our parents or our children.*

Respondents were given eleven arguments, six arguments to not cut Medicare spending and five arguments to reduce the rate of growth of Medicare spending to a 50% increase over the next seven year and asked how convincing each argument is for that side of the argument:

Summary of Arguments
Ranked by Percent "Very Convincing"

- 59% America has a contract with America's seniors who have worked hard, played by the rules, and served our country well. Making cuts in their medical care at an age when they need it the most is simply **WRONG** and should **NOT** be allowed.
- 56% Today, we are **ALREADY** spending more **JUST** on the **INTEREST** payments for the national debt than on Medicare. Government spending is out of control and it's time to slow it down.
- 55% Members of Congress **PROMISED** to **NOT** cut social security and should **NOT** vote to cut Medicare. Both programs are critical to our seniors and a promise this important should be kept.
- 53% It is morally wrong to keep spending money we don't have because we are passing on a burden to our children and their children which threatens their ability to achieve the American dream.
- 44% Cutting **MEDICARE** means seniors would be less likely to get medical treatment using the latest medical tests and equipment and there would be even more pressure to cut the length of how long a Medicare patient could stay in the hospital to receive treatment.
- 38% Cutting **MEDICARE** for seniors is a bad idea because it just means younger families are going to have to spend even more money to help take care of their elderly parents.
- 37% **MEDICARE** is a **GOVERNMENT**-run program, so spending less would force people to look for ways to eliminate the fraud, waste and mismanagement **WITHOUT** hurting the quality of medical care seniors would receive.
- 36% Medicare cuts would lower payments to doctors and hospitals. This might sound like a good idea, but what it really does is reduce the number of doctors willing to treat Medicare patients and could even lead to the rationing of needed medical services.
- 33% The growth in Medicare just can't be held to 50 percent because even though this **SOUNDS** like **A LOT** of money, it is not even enough to keep pace with the new people that must be covered and medical inflation costs.
- 28% Congress already reduced **MEDICARE** spending growth by **67 BILLION** dollars and the latest government studies **PROVES** hospitals are **STILL** making money and Medicare patients have not seen any impact. This proves you can slow the growth in Medicare spending **WITHOUT** hurting the quality of medical care Medicare patients receive.
- 26% A 50 percent increase means **MEDICARE** spending will continue to increase at **TWICE** the rate of inflation.

BOLD denotes arguments for **NOT** cutting Medicare spending.

ROMAN denotes arguments for holding Medicare spending growth to a 50% increase over the next seven years.

Note
weakness of
this
argument

Clearly, the broader, "moral" arguments about either our obligation to seniors or to future generations seems to be more persuasive than simply trying to litigate this issue on more complex facts and figures. (Another argument tested on three state studies for reducing the rate of growth to 50% because of the concern the program will go bankrupt for those currently paying is marginally effective, but still not as potent as the appeal to "passing on a burden to our children.")

8. *Actually, even when given MORE information, support for NO CUTS at all in Medicare INCREASES.*

When first presented with all this information, 36% of the respondents say "don't cut any money from Medicare, find cuts elsewhere" After hearing this series of arguments both supporting and opposing making cuts in Medicare spending, the percentage of people supporting no cuts at all increases from 36% to 44%. The movement among seniors is smaller as the start point was 41% "no cuts" versus a post-test result of 45% "no cut."

Overall, 22% of Americans move to support fewer cuts in the level of Medicare funding, while 12% move to support additional cuts.

The movement is primarily gender based with women, including Republican women, moving to support fewer cuts in Medicare, while Republican men move towards favoring cutting Medicare more. Younger women are especially easy to move to supporting fewer cuts.

9. *A VERY unusual finding in survey research: there is NO MOVEMENT on any of the post-test questions!*

Characteristically, on a public affairs topic where people have a modest amount of information and have a limited "anchor" in terms of opinion, there can be a great deal of movement between the initial key questions and the "informed" opinion at the end of a study. Given the extent of information in this study, it would not have been unreasonable to assume a good deal of movement. However, the movement was quite modest:

COMPARING PRE & POST TEST QUESTIONS

<u>Question</u>	<u>Pre-test</u>	<u>Informed</u>
Balance budget by 20% Medicare cut	30% favor/ 60% oppose	29% favor/ 62% oppose
More/less likely to vote for a Congressman who voted to cut Medicare by 350 billion over seven years	16% more likely/ 48% less likely	14% more likely/ 47% less likely

Although there was little overall movement at the aggregate level, roughly three out of ten people did shift opinion, but the shifting opinion off-set each side. Thirteen percent of the respondents moved from opposition/don't know to now favor additional Medicare cuts to balance the budget, while 16% moved from favor to don't know/oppose any additional Medicare cuts.

The sub-groups are not unsurprising with women, Independents, strong Democrats, and lower middle-income groups moving towards stronger opposition to Medicare cuts, while support for balancing the budget even with the Medicare cuts increases among Republicans, people with only some high school or college, and in the younger to middle-age bracket.

10. *There was ONE important exception about little overall movement ... concern increases about the quality of care available to Medicare patients.*

When initially asked, 32% of Americans believe Medicare patients receive lower quality care than the balance of Americans. The discussion about changing funding levels for Medicare exacerbates this concern with 43% saying Medicare patients would receive lower quality care by the year 2002.

The change is very dramatic among seniors. Only 12% believe they are receiving lower quality care, but 29% express that concern by the end of the survey. So, in a survey with little aggregate post-test movement, the only measure that changes is the concern about quality of care in a environment where Medicare funding is reduced.

SUMMARY OBSERVATION:

- * • *There is an obvious conclusion to this study: Members of Congress who want to cut Medicare should proceed with caution and at their own peril.*

As always, there is a limited constituency for difficult choices in public policy. When asked at the end of the study, still roughly half of respondents (47%) say they would be less likely to vote for someone who voted to reduce funding for Medicare, another third say it would make "no difference" to their opinion and only 14% say it would make them "more likely" to vote for a candidate.

This issue clearly coalesces core elements of the Democrat coalition as well as defines the core part of the Republican coalition more likely to support a candidate who reduces funding for Medicare:

- Would you be more likely or less likely to vote for a Member of Congress who voted to cut Medicare spending by \$350 Billion over the next seven years or would this not have much impact on how you might vote one way or the other?

MORE LIKELY

29% Mountain Region
25% Independent/Conservative
22% Independent 18-44
22% \$60,000 or more
21% Outer South
20% Voted GOP in 1994
20% Men 18-34
20% White South
20% Other Ethnic
20% Conservative
20% No health insurance

LESS LIKELY

63% Dem Women
63% Health Ins: Medicare
60% Dem 45+
60% White Dem
60% Retired
58% Women 55+
58% Voted Dem in 1994
57% Dem Moderate/Liberal
56% 65+
56% 92 Vote: Clinton



PUBLIC POLLING UPDATE

DEFENSE SPENDING

Greenberg Research
March 29, 1995

Major findings from recent surveys:

Strong support for maintaining current spending levels. The status quo on military spending is the preference of most Americans. From 56 to 63 percent say keep spending levels the same rather than calling for an increase or decrease (CBS, Feb. 22-25; Times Mirror, Feb. 9-12) and an overwhelming 81 percent say it is important to keep the current level of funding for defense (Alliance to Save Student Aid, Jan. 21-23).

If forced to choose, Americans say spend less. When keeping spending the same is not given as an option, strong majorities say spend less on defense. Over half (55 percent) oppose an increase in defense spending (CNN/ USA Today, Nov. 29-29, 1994) and 60 percent say they would rather the government spend less, rather than more (32 percent) on defense (L.A. Times, Jan. 19-22).

Increased spending a low priority. A plurality (45 percent) place a low priority on an increase in defense spending -- just 12 percent say it is a top priority (CNN/ USA Today, Dec. 28-30). Well over half (58 percent) say it would not matter if the Republicans failed to bring up this issue during the first 100 days of 1995 (CNN/ USA Today, Nov. 28-29). Close to two-thirds (64 percent) say it is a step in the wrong direction to fund the Star Wars missile defense system.

Will have to cut spending to balance the budget. A solid majority (58 percent) recognize that military spending would have to be cut in order to balance the budget. Indeed, when forced to choose Americans believe by two-to-one it is more important to pass a balanced budget amendment rather than maintaining current levels of military spending (ABC, March 16-19).

U.S. DEFENSE SPENDING

Should federal spending on military and defense programs be increased, decreased or kept about the same?

Increased	- 16%
Decreased	- 18
Kept the same	- 63
Don't know/No answer	- 3

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,190
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: February 22, 1995
ENDING DATE: February 25, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES POLL

Do you think that we should expand our spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back?

Expand	- 19%
Keep the same	- 56
Cut back	- 24
Don't know/Refused	- 1

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,209
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: February 9, 1995
ENDING DATE: February 12, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NEWS INTEREST INDEX POLL

On another subject, do you favor or oppose allowing U.S. (United States) troops to serve under United Nations commanders in some circumstances?

Favor	- 56%
Oppose	- 35
Don't know	- 9

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,353
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: January 19, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 22, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: LOS ANGELES TIMES

Of those programs that we just discussed--defense, foreign aid, financial aid for college students, welfare, social security and healthcare--which should be the federal government's top priority to fund?

Defense	- 21%
Foreign aid	- 1
Financial aid for college	- 13
Welfare	- 4
Social Security	- 24
Healthcare	- 33
Don't know	- 4

POPULATION: National Registered voters
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,000
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Alliance to Save Student Aid
BEGINNING DATE: January 21, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 23, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: ALLIANCE TO SAVE STUDENT AID SURVEY

Of those programs that we just discussed--defense, foreign aid, financial aid for college students, welfare, social security and healthcare--what should be the second priority to fund?

Defense	- 11%
Foreign aid	- 3
Financial aid for college	- 22
Welfare	- 8
Social Security	- 33
Healthcare	- 18
Don't know	- 5

POPULATION: National Registered voters
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,000
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Alliance to Save Student Aid
BEGINNING DATE: January 21, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 23, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: ALLIANCE TO SAVE STUDENT AID SURVEY

Right now, Congress is trying to balance the federal budget. In order to do that some legislators are proposing to cut funding for many federal programs. I'd like to know how important you think it is for the government to keep the current level of funding for the following programs?

Would you say that it is very important, somewhat important, not very important or not important at all for the government to keep the current level of funding for defense?

Very important	- 44%
Somewhat important	- 37
Not very important	- 12
Not important at all	- 5
Don't know	- 2

POPULATION: National Registered voters
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,000
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Alliance to Save Student Aid
BEGINNING DATE: January 21, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 23, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: ALLIANCE TO SAVE STUDENT AID SURVEY

(I'm going to read you another series of statements and I'd like you to tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each.)
Federal funding for student aid programs should be maintained even if the defense budget has to be trimmed to help reduce the deficit.

Strongly agree	- 40%
Somewhat agree	- 28
Somewhat disagree	- 15
Strongly disagree	- 13
Don't know	- 4

POPULATION: National Registered voters
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,000
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Alliance to Save Student Aid
BEGINNING DATE: January 21, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 23, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: ALLIANCE TO SAVE STUDENT AID SURVEY

Do you think the federal government should spend a great deal more money on national defense, or somewhat more, or somewhat less, or do you think the federal government should spend a great deal less money on national defense?

Great deal/somewhat more	- 32%
Somewhat/great deal less	- 60
Don't know	- 8

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,353
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: January 19, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 22, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: LOS ANGELES TIMES

From what you have heard or read, do you believe there are countries--other than Russia--that are getting ballistic missiles capable of delivering chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons in an attack on the United States or its troops and allies overseas?

Yes, there are such countries	- 88%
No, there are not such countries	- 7
Don't know/No response	- 5

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,000
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: The Coalition to Defend America
BEGINNING DATE: January 2, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 3, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: MISSILE DEFENSE SURVEY

(Here are some proposals members of Congress have made. For each one, please tell me whether you think it should be the top priority for Congress to pass within the first 100 days, a high priority, a low priority, or no priority at all.)...How high a priority should Congress give to...an increase in defense spending.

Top priority - 12%
 High priority - 30
 Low priority - 45
 No priority - 11
 Don't know/refused - 2

POPULATION: National adult
 NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,010
 INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
 SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network,
 U.S.A. Today
 BEGINNING DATE: December 28, 1994
 ENDING DATE: December 30, 1994
 SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A.
 TODAY

As you may know, the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 near the end of World War II. Looking back, would you say you approve or disapprove of using the atomic bomb on Japanese cities in 1945?

Approve - 55%
 Disapprove - 39
 Don't know/Refused - 6

POPULATION: National adult
 NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,014
 INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
 SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network,
 U.S.A. Today
 BEGINNING DATE: December 2, 1994
 ENDING DATE: December 5, 1994
 SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A.
 TODAY

Among the items you have said should receive 'top' priority with Congress--which one do you personally think is the most important one?

(Ask about the proposals the respondent said were high priority) A Constitutional amendment to balance the budget, Legislation which would allow the President to veto individual parts of a proposed spending or tax bill, rather than having to accept or veto the entire bill, tougher anti-crime legislation, legislation to limit welfare payments, a cut in taxes for most Americans, an increase in defense spending, a cut in the capital-gains tax, a Constitutional amendment to limit the number of terms members of Congress can serve, significant cuts in spending for Federal programs, a Constitutional amendment to allow voluntary prayer in schools, making it more difficult for women to get an abortion, significant reduction in the Federal budget deficit, major reform in the country's health care system.

Constitutional amendment to balance the budget - 5%
 Legislation allow the President to veto individual, part of spending tax bill - 6
 Tougher anti-crime legislation - 5
 Legislation to limit welfare payments - 11
 Cut in taxes for most Americans - 6
 Increase in defense spending - 6
 Cut in the capital-gains - 1
 Constitutional amendment to limit number of terms members of Congress can serve - 3
 Significant cuts in spending for Federal programs - 4
 Constitutional amendment to allow voluntary prayer in schools - 5
 More difficult for women to get an abortion - 4
 Significant reduction in the Federal budget deficit - 7
 Major reform in the country's health care system - 11
 Don't know/refused - 30

POPULATION: National adult
 NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,010
 INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
 SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network,
 U.S.A. Today
 BEGINNING DATE: December 28, 1994
 ENDING DATE: December 30, 1994
 SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A.
 TODAY

If you were making up the federal budget this year (1994) would you increase spending for military defense, decrease spending for military defense or keep spending the same for this?

Increase - 31%
Keep same - 44
Decrease - 23
Don't know - 2

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,511
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Times Mirror
BEGINNING DATE: December 1, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 4, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NEWS INTEREST INDEX

Do you think the N.A.T.O. (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) Alliance should be maintained or is the Alliance not necessary anymore?

Maintained - 60%
Not necessary - 27
Don't know/Refused - 13

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,511
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Times Mirror
BEGINNING DATE: December 1, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 4, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NEWS INTEREST INDEX

(In your view, would the Republican Party or the Democratic Party do a better job of dealing with each of the following issues and problems?
) National defense...

Republican - 62%
Democratic - 28
No difference/No opinion (vol.) - 10

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,020
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

(Here are some of the proposals in the Contract With America which the Republicans pledged to bring to a vote in the House of Representatives within the first 100 days of 1995. For each one, please tell me whether you favor or oppose it.)
An increase in defense spending...

Favor - 42%
Oppose - 55
No opinion - 3

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,020
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

(Here are some of the proposals in the Contract With America which the Republicans pledged to bring to a vote in the House of Representatives within the first 100 days of 1995. For each one, please tell me whether you favor or oppose it.)
Legislation preventing U.S. (United States) troops from serving under commanders of the United Nations...

Favor - 41%
Oppose - 51
No opinion - 8

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,020
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

(If Congress were not able to bring this proposal (from the Republicans' Contract With America) up for a vote in the first 100 days (of 1995), would that matter to you, or would that not matter to you?
) An increase in defense spending...

Would matter - 40%
Would not matter - 58
No opinion - 2

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,020
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

(If Congress were not able to bring this proposal (from the Republicans' Contract With America) up for a vote in the first 100 days (of 1995), would that matter to you, or would that not matter to you?

) Legislation preventing U.S. (United States) troops from serving under commanders of the United Nations...

Would matter - 40%
Would not matter - 58
No opinion - 2

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,020
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

(In your view, would the Republican Party or the Democratic Party do a better job of dealing with each of the following issues and problems?
) National defense...

Republican - 62%
Democratic - 28
No difference (vol.) - 6
No opinion - 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,020
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

Which country do you think is the biggest threat to United States security today...China, Russia, Iraq, North Korea, Germany, Japan, or some other country?

China	- 18%
Russia	- 11
Iraq	- 39
North Korea	- 11
Germany	- 2
Japan	- 7
Some other country	- 8
Don't know/Refused	- 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,026
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network,
U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A.
TODAY

In your view, is the United States vulnerable to a surprise attack similar to that of Pearl Harbor, or not?

Yes, vulnerable	- 40%
No, not vulnerable	- 56
Don't know/Refused	- 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,026
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network,
U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A.
TODAY

Jesse Helms, a Republican Senator from North Carolina, recently said President (Bill) Clinton is not up to the job of Commander in Chief and made other comments about the President's relationship with the armed forces. Do you think it was appropriate for Senator Helms to say these things about the President, or do you think Senator Helms was wrong to make these statements?

Appropriate	- 23%
Wrong	- 70
Don't know/no answer	- 7

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,120
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: November 27, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 28, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS

(Thinking about the next Congress and what it should do...Please tell me whether you think each of the following should be a high priority for Congress to act on next year (1995), a low priority for action, or should not be a priority for Congress at all.) Increasing defense spending.

High priority	- 31%
Low priority	- 50
Not a priority	- 15
Not sure	- 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 800
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Time, Cable News
Network
BEGINNING DATE: November 9, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 10, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: TIME, C.N.N.,
YANKELOVICH PARTNERS INC

Study #4057--page 11

15. Now I'm going to mention several proposals made by the Republicans and being considered by Congress. For each one, please tell me if you feel this is a step in the right direction or a step in the wrong direction. First, (READ ITEM)--Is this a step in the right direction or the wrong direction.

(IF "RIGHT DIRECTION" ASK:) Do you feel strongly or not strongly that this is a step in the right direction?

(IF "WRONG DIRECTION" ASK:) Do you feel strongly or not strongly that this is a step in the wrong direction?

(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)

	Right Direction/ Feel <u>Strongly</u>	Right Direction/ Do Not Feel <u>Strongly</u>	Wrong Direction/ Do Not Feel <u>Strongly</u>	Wrong Direction/ Feel <u>Strongly</u>	Neither Right Or Wrong (VOL)	Not Sure	
(FORM A--NEXT 6 ITEMS)							
Funding a missile-defense system, often called "Star Wars"	15	13	23	41	1	7	☐
Ending the federal food stamp program and giving the money directly to the states	39	15	8	27	3	8	☐
Ending government affirmative action programs for women, blacks, and other minorities	31	10	13	31	4	11	☐
Eliminating the national service program, which gives stipends and college tuition credits to young people in public-service jobs	24	12	15	37	3	9	☐
Cutting spending for the Department of Education	9	6	11	<u>68</u>	2	4	☐
Establishing a six-month moratorium on new federal regulations affecting business and local government	28	19	10	12	5	28	☐
(FORM B--NEXT 6 ITEMS)							
Greatly reducing U.S. involvement in United Nations' peacekeeping missions	37	21	13	23	1	5	☐
Ending the school lunch program and other federal nutrition programs, and giving the money directly to the states .	25	9	8	<u>50</u>	2	6	☐
Ending the ban on assault weapons . . .	32	9	6	<u>45</u>	2	6	☐
Ending direct lending of student loans by the government, and having banks make all student loans	28	13	9	38	2	10	☐
Ending federal spending for public television and public radio	21	13	12	41	4	9	☐
Denying welfare benefits to unwed teenage mothers	37	12	12	26	5	8	☐

No opinion

7

20. The Republican Party's "Contract With America" outlines the proposals the Republicans in Congress want to bring up in the first 100 days of the new Congress. Would you say you support all of the items, support most of them, oppose most of them or oppose all of them?

	3/19/95
Support (NET)	56
Support all of them	5
Support most of them	51
Oppose (NET)	36
Oppose most of them	31
Oppose all of them	4
No opinion	8

COMPARE TO:

Do you support or oppose most of the items in the Republican Party's "Contract With America," which outlines the proposals the Republicans in Congress want to bring up in the first 100 days of the new Congress?

	3/3/95
Support	53
Oppose	31
No opinion	17

21. Which of these comes closer to your view:

A. The more I hear about what the Republicans are doing in Congress, the more I like it.

-or-

B. The more I hear about what the Republicans are doing in the Congress, the less I like it.

	3/19/95
Statement A	44
Statement B	52
(VOL) Both equally	2
(VOL) Neither	1
No opinion	1

22. On another subject, do you think the federal budget can be balanced without cutting spending on Social Security, or would Social Security have to be cut?

	3/19/95
Don't need to cut	79
Need to cut	19
No opinion	2

23. (Of those who think Social Security spending would have to be cut) Would it have to be cut a great deal or only somewhat?

	3/19/95
Need to cut a great deal	27
Need to cut only somewhat	71
No opinion	2

24. Do you think the federal budget can be balanced without cutting military

spending, or would military spending have to be cut?

	3/19/95
Don't need to cut	39
Need to cut	58
No opinion	3

25. (Of those who think military spending would have to be cut) Would it have to be cut a great deal or only somewhat?

	3/19/95
Need to cut a great deal	28
Need to cut only somewhat	71
No opinion	1

26. Do you think the federal budget can be balanced without raising taxes, or would taxes have to be raised?

	3/19/95
Don't need raise taxes	58
Need to raise taxes	41
No opinion	2

27. (Of those who think taxes would have to be raised) Would they have to be raised a great deal or only somewhat?

	3/19/95
Need to be raised a great deal	11
Need to be raised only somewhat	86
No opinion	3

28. If the choice is between these two things, which one do you think is more important - passing a balanced budget amendment or ...?

A. Protecting the Social Security system

	3/19/95	3/3/95
Passing a balanced budget amendment	27	30
Protecting the Social Security system	72	67
No opinion	2	3

B. Maintaining current military spending

	3/19/95
Passing a balanced budget amendment	65
Maintaining current military spending	32
No opinion	3

C. Holding down taxes

	3/19/95
Passing a balanced budget amendment	46
Holding down taxes	52
No opinion	2

29. On another subject, do you favor or oppose a limit on the number of years a person could serve as a U.S. Representative in Congress? (If favor/oppose) Do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?

	3/19/95	1/29/95
Favor (NET)	73	79



PUBLIC POLLING UPDATE

FOSTER NOMINATION

Greenberg Research
March 29, 1995

Major findings from recent surveys:

Plurality support for Foster. By 41 to 27 percent, Americans support the confirmation of Surgeon General nominee Henry Foster (L.A. Times, March 15-19). Support is down somewhat from a nearly identical question asked by CNN in late February, but there has been no meaningful growth in opposition (48 percent approve, 26 percent reject). The rise in undecideds is more likely the result of reduced coverage of the story. Among those who say they have heard enough about the issue to have an opinion, 34 percent favor the Foster nomination and just 17 percent oppose. Almost half, 45 percent, don't know enough to say (NBC/ Wall Street Journal, March 4-7).

Partisan and ideological divide over nomination. The L.A. Times report notes that Foster's nomination is generally favored by Democrats and independents, liberals and moderates and opposed by Republicans and conservatives. Whites narrowly favor confirmation (38 to 30 percent) while blacks favor it by a larger margin (47 to 19 percent).

Performing abortions should not disqualify candidate. Three-quarters of Americans say that performing abortions should not disqualify Dr. Foster from being considered as Surgeon General (NBC/ WSJ, March 4-7).

As you know, one of the chief jobs of many Republicans in Congress is to cut back on the size and the growth of the federal government. In their attempts to cut back government, do you think the Republicans have gone too far, or not far enough, or have they gone just about as far as they should?

3/95

Gone too far	14%
Not gone far enough	46
As far as should	29
Don't know	11

Do you think it is realistic or unrealistic to propose cuts in federal taxes right now?

3/95

Realistic	35%
Unrealistic	59
Don't know	6

Do you favor or oppose placing an absolute five-year limit on the amount of time families could receive welfare, after which their benefits would be stopped even if they could not find a job?

3/95

Favor	48%
Oppose	45
Don't know	7

Do you favor or oppose placing a one year ban on most new federal regulations, including some which opponents say protect consumers, workers and the environment?

3/95

Favor	39%
Oppose	44
Don't know	17

When it comes to cutting crime, which would you prefer Congress do: provide money to localities and require that it be used to hire new police, or provide money to localities that local officials can use for any crime-stopping programs of their choice? (ACCEPTED "NEITHER" OR "OTHER" AS VOLUNTEERED RESPONSES)

3/95

Hire new police	38%
Crime-stopping programs of choice	54
Neither	4
Other	1
Don't know	3

Surgeon General Nomination

(AMONG ALL ADULTS)

On another subject, do you think the U.S. Senate should vote to confirm Dr. Henry Foster as Surgeon General of the United States or should the Senate reject Foster's nomination?

3/95

Should confirm	41%
Should reject	27
Don't know	32

Presidential Politics

(AMONG REGISTERED DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANING INDEPENDENTS)

Do you think Bill Clinton should be the Democratic Party's nominee for President in 1996, or would you prefer that the Democrats look for another candidate?

3/95

Renominate Clinton	63%
Look for other candidate	31
Don't know	6

(AMONG REGISTERED REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANING INDEPENDENTS)

If the 1996 Republican primary or caucus for president were being held in your state today, and the candidates were Lamar Alexander, Pat Buchanan, Bob Dole, Bob Dornan, Phil Gramm, Richard Lugar, Arlen Specter and Pete Wilson, for whom would you vote: Alexander, Buchanan, Dole, Dornan, Gramm, Lugar, Specter or Wilson?

3/95

Dole	52%
Gramm	17
Alexander	7
Buchanan	4
Dornan	2
Lugar	2
Specter	2
Wilson	2
Somebody Else	-
Don't Know	12

(AMONG REGISTERED VOTERS)

If Bill Clinton runs for reelection as President in 1996, will you definitely vote for him, probably vote for him, probably vote against him or definitely vote against him?

	3/95	1/95
Vote for	40%	37%
Vote against	53	48
Don't know	7	15

If the 1996 general election for President were being held today and the candidates were Bill Clinton, the Democrat and Bob Dole, the Republican, for whom would you vote, Clinton or Dole?

3/95

Clinton	44%
Dole	52
Someone else	1
Don't know	3

If the 1996 general election for President were being held today and the candidates were Bill Clinton, the Democrat and Phil Gramm, the Republican, for whom would you vote, Clinton or Gramm?

3/95

Clinton	48%
Gramm	41
Someone else	-
Don't know	11

(END)

ROTATE ORDER OF Q.16a AND Q.16b ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW
(FORM A)

16a. Do you think Bill Clinton has been too inflexible in dealing with the Republican Congress, has been too quick to give in to the Republican Congress, or has struck the right balance in dealing with the Republican Congress?

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95*</u>
Too inflexible	23	17
Too quick to give in	23	20
Right balance	38	55
Not sure	16	8

* January 1995 question was phrased, "Do you think Bill Clinton will be too inflexible in dealing with the Republican Congress, will be too quick to give in to the Republican Congress, or will strike the right balance in dealing with the Republican Congress?"

(FORM A)

16b. Do you think the Republican Congress has been too inflexible in dealing with President Clinton, has been too quick to give in to President Clinton, or has struck the right balance in dealing with President Clinton?

	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95*</u>
Too inflexible	43	47
Too quick to give in	9	4
Right balance	35	43
Not sure	13	6

* January 1995 question was phrased, "Do you think the Republican Congress will be too inflexible in dealing with President Clinton, will be too quick to give in to President Clinton, or will strike the right balance in dealing with President Clinton?"

* 17a. Do you favor or oppose the nomination of Dr. Henry Foster to be the Surgeon General, or haven't you heard enough about the issue to have an opinion?

Favor the nomination	34
Oppose the nomination	17
Don't know enough to say	45
Not sure	4

* 17b. Do you think the fact that Dr. Foster performed abortions when he was a practicing physician in Tennessee should or should not disqualify him from being considered as Surgeon General?

Should disqualify him from being considered as Surgeon General	19
Should not disqualify him from being considered as Surgeon General .	75
Not sure	6



PUBLIC POLLING UPDATE

TAXES

Greenberg Research
March 29, 1995

Major findings from recent surveys:

Cutting spending and deficit reduction is more important than cutting taxes. While roughly 80 percent favor a tax cut (CNN/ USA Today/ Gallup, Nov. 28-29, 1994; Dec. 16-18, 1994) and anywhere from 54-74 percent say such a cut should be a high priority (Time/ CNN Feb.28 -Mar. 1; CBS, Jan.2-3; CNN/ USA Today/ Gallup, Dec. 28-30, 1994) cutting taxes is less popular when contrasted with other budgetary measures. Over three-fourths want Congress to cut spending before cutting taxes (CNN/ USA Today/ Gallup, Dec. 28-30, 1994). Over half (55 percent) would prefer balancing the budget to cutting taxes (40 percent; CBS/ NYT, Feb. 22-25). Almost three-quarters (70 percent) would rather use savings from spending cuts to reduce the deficit rather than for a tax cut (24 percent) (CNN/ USA Today/ Gallup, Dec. 16-18, 1994).

Tax cuts considered unrealistic now, other issues more important. Almost six of ten Americans (59 percent) believe it unrealistic to propose federal tax cuts right now (LA Times, Mar. 15-19). A middle class tax cut (19 percent) runs well behind welfare reform (41 percent), health care reform (40 percent) and a balanced budget amendment (30 percent) as the most important issues for Congress to address (NBC/WSJ, March 4-7).

College tuition and per child deductions most popular tax cuts -- capital gains less important. The most popular form of tax cut is making college tuition and other post-high school costs deductible -- 84 percent favor this idea (CNN/ USA Today/ Gallup, Dec. 16-18, 1994). A tax exemption for families is only slightly less popular (77 percent favor) followed by tax deductible IRAs (62 percent; CBS, Jan. 2-3). Only 56 percent favor a cut in capital gains tax (CNN/ USA Today/ Gallup, Dec. 16-18, 1994). Indeed, a solid majority (57 percent) say it would not matter if the Republicans were unable to bring a capital gains tax cut up for a vote (CNN/ USA Today/ Gallup, Nov. 28-29, 1994).



Per child credit and college tuition deductions preferred for families making less than \$100,000. Although over three quarters (78 percent) favor a \$500 per child tax credit, a majority (52 percent) believe a tax cut should only apply to lower income families (CNN/ USA Today/ Gallup, Dec. 16-18, 1994). A clear majority (55 percent) prefer college tuition deductions for families with less than \$100,000 annual income and per child credit for \$75,000 or less annual income, rather than similar deductions that also include a capital gains cut for families making up to \$200,000.

Republicans have edge on dealing with taxes, but public skeptical about GOP promises to lower taxes. The Republicans hold a 15-20 point advantage over Clinton on taxes. However, this does not mean the public thinks Republicans will be able to deliver a tax cut. Only 9 percent think their taxes will go down with the Republicans in control of Congress, while 42 percent expect an increase (CBS, Nov. 27-28, 1994). Between 57-64 percent think it unlikely that the Republican controlled congress will be able to lower their taxes (CNN/ USA Today/ Gallup, Dec. 28-30, 1994; ABC/ Money, Dec. 29, 1994-Jan. 8, 1995).

Americans feel overburdened by the federal tax system, and do not expect to see any relief. Three fourths strongly agree that "middle-class tax payers have consistently carried the tax burden for America" and more than three-fourths say they "never expect to pay fewer taxes" than they do today (Alliance to Save Student Aid, Jan. 21-23). Two-thirds, feel the amount of federal income tax they pay is too high (CNN/ USA Today/ Gallup, Dec. 16-18, 1994) and a simple majority (51 percent) believe the tax system is somewhat or quite unfair (CBS/NYT, Feb 22-25).

TAXES AND DATE AFT 11/8/94

Tax Cuts

(Thinking about Congress and what it should do...Please tell me whether you think each of the following should be a high priority for Congress to act on next year, a low priority for action, or should not be a priority for Congress at all.)... A cut in taxes for the middle class

High priority	- 61%
Low priority	- 27
Not a priority	- 9
Not sure	- 3

POPULATION: National adult

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,010

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

SURVEY SPONSOR: Time, Cable News Network

SURVEY NOTES: The sample included 800 national adults and an oversample of 210 registered Republicans. The results are weighted to be representative of the national adult population.

BEGINNING DATE: February 28, 1995

ENDING DATE: March 1, 1995

SOURCE DOCUMENT: TIME, C.N.N., YANKELOVICH PARTNERS INC.

Which do you think is more important for Congress to do first: Cut federal government spending, OR cut taxes for the middle class?

Cut spending	- 61%
Cut taxes	- 36
Don't know/No answer	- 3

POPULATION: National adult

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 4,943

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

BEGINNING DATE: January 10, 1995

ENDING DATE: January 20, 1995

SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS

(Here are several things Congress is considering working on this year (1995)). Do you think passing a tax cut for the middle class should be a top priority for Congress, or do you think other things are more important?

Top priority	- 54%
Other things more important	- 42
Don't know/no answer	- 4

POPULATION: National adult

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 931

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

BEGINNING DATE: January 2, 1995

ENDING DATE: January 3, 1995

SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS

Do you think federal taxes can be cut without reducing the government services that are important to you and your family, or do you think those services would have to be cut?

Can be cut without reducing services - 45%
Services would be cut - 48
Don't know/no answer - 7

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 931
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: January 2, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 3, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS

How likely is it that Congress will pass legislation cutting your federal income taxes in 1995?

Very likely - 9%
Somewhat likely - 24
Very unlikely - 34
Somewhat unlikely - 30
No opinion - 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 520
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Money magazine
BEGINNING DATE: December 29, 1994
ENDING DATE: January 8, 1995
DOCUMENT: ABC NEWS, MONEY POLL

(Here are some proposals members of Congress have made. For each one, please tell me whether you think it should be the top priority for Congress to pass within the first 100 days, a high priority, a low priority, or no priority at all.)...How high a priority should Congress give to...a cut in taxes for most American families.

Top priority - 27%
High priority - 47
Low priority - 20
No priority - 4
Don't know/refused - 2

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,010
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: CNN, U.S.A. Today
DATE: December 28 - 30, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A.

(Here are some proposals members of Congress have made. For each one, please tell me whether you think it should be the top priority for Congress to pass within the first 100 days, a high priority, a low priority, or no priority at all.)...How high a priority should Congress give to...a cut in the capital-gains tax.

Top priority - 15%
High priority - 36
Low priority - 33
No priority - 7
Don't know/refused - 9

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,010
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: December 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 30, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

(Regardless of how you voted this year (1994), do you think the new Republican leaders in Congress will or will not be able to do each of the following?)...cut your taxes.

Will - 41%
Will not - 57
Don't know/refused - 2

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,010
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: December 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 30, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

What should Congress do first...cut spending, or cut taxes?

Cut spending	- 77%
Cut taxes	- 19
Both (vol.)	- 4
Neither (vol.)	- *
Don't know/refused	- *

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,010
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
QUESTION NOTES: * = less than .5 percent
BEGINNING DATE: December 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 30, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

If there were a middle class tax cut, how much. if at all, do you think your own federal taxes would go down? Would the amount be... less than\$ 100 per year, about\$ 100 per year, more than\$ 100, more than\$ 300 or more than\$ 500?

Less than100 per year	- 26%
About100 per year	- 21
More than100	- 14
More than300	- 11
More than300	- 5
Not at all/Wouldn't qualify/Income too high (vol.)	- 7
Don't know/Refused	- 16

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 728
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Newsweek
BEGINNING DATE: December 27, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 28, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: PRINCETON SURVEY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, NEWSWEEK

If Congress is able to cut federal spending--what do you think they should do with the savings--cut taxes, or reduce the federal budget deficit?

Cut taxes	- 24%
Reduce deficit	- 70
Both (vol.)	- 5
No opinion	- 1

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP POLL

Are you in favor of a cut in federal income taxes, or not?

Yes	- 80%
No	- 17
No opinion	- 3

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP POLL

(A few questions about priorities for President (Bill) Clinton and the new Congress next year (1995). As I read from a list tell me if you think the item that I read should be a priority. Should this be a top priority, important but lower priority, not too important, or not done?

) Cutting the capital gains tax...

Top priority	- 27%
Important, but lower priority	- 38
Not too important	- 16
Not be done	- 7
Don't know	- 12

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,511
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Times Mirror
BEGINNING DATE: December 1, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 4, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NEWS INTEREST INDEX

(A few questions about priorities for President (Bill) Clinton and the new Congress next year (1995). As I read from a list tell me if you think the item that I read should be a priority. Should this be a top priority, important but lower priority, not too important, or not done?

) Reducing federal income taxes for the middle class...

Top priority	- 53%
Important, but lower priority	- 32
Not too important	- 9
Not be done	- 3
Don't know	- 3

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,511
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Times Mirror
BEGINNING DATE: December 1, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 4, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NEWS INTEREST INDEX

(Here are some of the proposals in the Contract With America which the Republicans pledged to bring to a vote in the House of Representatives within the first 100 days of 1995. For each one, please tell me whether you favor or oppose it.) A cut in taxes for most Americans...

Favor	- 83%
Oppose	- 15
No opinion	- 2

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,020
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

(Here are some of the proposals in the Contract With America which the Republicans pledged to bring to a vote in the House of Representatives within the first 100 days of 1995. For each one, please tell me whether you favor or oppose it.) A cut in the capital gains tax...

Favor	- 58%
Oppose	- 30
No opinion	- 12

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,020
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

(If Congress were not able to bring this proposal (from the Republicans' Contract With America) up for a vote in the first 100 days (of 1995), would that matter to you, or would that not matter to you?

) A cut in taxes for most Americans...

Would matter - 58%
Would not matter - 41
No opinion - 1

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,020
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A.
Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A.
TODAY

(If Congress were not able to bring this proposal (from the Republicans' Contract With America) up for a vote in the first 100 days (of 1995), would that matter to you, or would that not matter to you?

) A cut in the capital gains tax...

Would matter - 39%
Would not matter - 57
No opinion - 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,020
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A.
Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A.
TODAY

(Thinking about the next Congress and what it should do...Please tell me whether you think each of the following should be a high priority for Congress to act on next year (1995), a low priority for action, or should not be a priority for Congress at all.) A cut in taxes for the middle class.

High priority - 70%
Low priority - 21
Not a priority - 7
Not sure - 2

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 800
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Time, Cable News Network
BEGINNING DATE: November 9, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 10, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: TIME, C.N.N.,
YANKELOVICH PARTNERS INC

Taxes & Balanced Budget

Do you favor or oppose passing a constitutional amendment which would require the federal government to balance the budget if it may result in higher taxes or cuts in spending programs such as Medicare and Social Security?

Favor - 35%
Oppose - 60
Not sure - 5

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,010
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Time, Cable News Network
SURVEY NOTES: The sample included 800 national adults and an oversample of 210 registered Republicans. The results are weighted to be representative of the national adult population.
BEGINNING DATE: February 28, 1995
ENDING DATE: March 1, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: TIME, C.N.N., YANKELOVICH PARTNERS INC.

If you had to choose, would you prefer balancing the budget or cutting taxes?

Balancing - 55%
Cutting taxes - 40
Don't know/No answer - 5

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,190
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: February 22, 1995
ENDING DATE: February 25, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES POLL

What if the tax cut amounted to \$ 500 per child--then would you prefer balancing the budget or cutting taxes?

Balancing budget - 57%
Cutting taxes - 32
Don't know/No answer - 11

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,190
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: February 22, 1995
ENDING DATE: February 25, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES POLL

In order to balance the federal budget, do you think it will be necessary or not necessary to increase taxes on people like you?

Necessary - 39%
Not necessary - 57
Don't know/No answer - 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,190
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: February 22, 1995
ENDING DATE: February 25, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES POLL

What should be given a higher priority in 1995, cutting taxes for the middle class or taking steps to reduce the budget deficit?

Cutting taxes for the middle class - 37%
Taking steps to reduce the budget deficit - 56
Both equally (vol.) - 4
Don't know/Refused - 3

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,209
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: February 9, 1995
ENDING DATE: February 12, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NEWS INTEREST INDEX POLL

As you may know, Congress is considering a proposal for a constitutional amendment to require that the federal budget be balanced by the year 2002. Those in favor say this is the only way to force the government to bring the federal budget deficit under control. Those opposed say it would require increased taxes and cuts in Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid programs. Do you favor or oppose the proposal for a constitutional amendment to require a balanced federal budget?

Favor - 40%
Oppose - 53
Don't know - 7

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,353
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: January 19, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 22, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: LOS ANGELES TIMES

Which do you think is the more important priority for the country today--reducing taxes or reducing the budget deficit?

Reducing taxes - 28%
Reducing the budget deficit - 65
Depends (vol.) - 5
Not sure - 2

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,003
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: NBC News, Wall Street Journal
BEGINNING DATE: January 14, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 17, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NBC NEWS, WALL STREET JOURNAL

Which do you think is the more important priority for the country today--reducing taxes or reducing the budget deficit?

Reducing taxes - 35%
Reducing the budget deficit - 58
Depends (vol.) - 4
Not sure - 3

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,001
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: NBC News, Wall Street Journal
BEGINNING DATE: December 10, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 13, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NBC NEWS, WALL STREET JOURNAL

Suppose balancing the federal budget required increases in the amount you pay in federal income tax--then would you favor a balanced budget amendment (to the Constitution that would require the federal government to balance the budget by the year 2002), or not?

Favor - 51%
Not favor - 47
Don't know/No answer - 2

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,147
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
QUESTION NOTES: Asked of those who favor a balanced budget amendment which would require the budget be balanced by the year 2002 (81%)
BEGINNING DATE: December 6, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 9, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES

Clinton v. Reps on taxes

(For each of the following issues, please tell me if you think that President (Bill) Clinton or the Republicans in Congress generally will have the better approach to this issue, or if there will not be much difference.) Who do you think will have a better approach to... taxes President Clinton or the Republicans in Congress, or do you think there won't be much difference on this issue?

Clinton	- 17%
Republicans in Congress	- 55
No difference	- 23
Not sure	- 5

POPULATION: National registered voters
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 802
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: NBC News, Wall Street Journal
BEGINNING DATE: November 9, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 9, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NBC NEWS, WALL STREET JOURNAL

(As I read a list of issues please tell me who you think has the best ideas.) On the issue of...cutting taxes for the middle class... who has the best ideas--Republican congressional leaders, Democratic congressional leaders, or (President) Bill Clinton?

Republican congressional leaders	- 30%
Democratic congressional leaders	- 15
Bill Clinton	- 30
None of the above (vol.)	- 8
Don't know	- 17

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,209
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: February 9, 1995
ENDING DATE: February 12, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NEWS INTEREST INDEX POLL

(For each of the following issues, please tell me if you think that President (Bill) Clinton or the Republicans in Congress generally have the better approach to this issue, or if there is not much difference?) Taxes...

President Clinton	- 24%
Republicans in Congress	- 37
No difference	- 30
Not sure	- 9

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,003
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: NBC News, Wall Street Journal
BEGINNING DATE: January 14, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 17, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NBC NEWS, WALL STREET JOURNAL

Who do you think has better ideas about cutting taxes: President (Bill) Clinton, or the Republicans in Congress?

President Clinton	- 34%
Republicans in Congress	- 47
Both (vol.)	- 1
Neither (vol.)	- 5
Don't know/No answer	- 13

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 4,943
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: January 10, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 20, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS

Who do you have the most confidence in when it comes to handling the following problems--President (Bill) Clinton or Republican leaders?) Taxes...

Clinton	- 36%
Republicans	- 52
Both (vol.)	- 1
Neither (vol.)	- 7
Don't know/Refused	- 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

If taxes are cut next year (1995), who do you think should get the most credit--President (Bill) Clinton, the Republicans in Congress, or the Democrats in Congress?

Clinton	- 28%
Republicans	- 44
Democrats	- 13
Neither/Other (vol.)	- 7
Don't know/Refused	- 8

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

Do you approve or disapprove of the way he (President Bill Clinton) is handling...taxes?

Approve	- 31%
Disapprove	- 59
Don't know/Refused	- 9

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,014
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: December 2, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 5, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

(Who do have the most confidence in when it comes to handling the following problems--President (Bill) Clinton or Republican leaders?) Taxes...

Clinton	- 33%
Republicans	- 55
Both (vol.)	- 1
Neither (vol.)	- 7
Don't know/Refused	- 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,014
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: December 2, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 5, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

(In your view, would the Republican Party or the Democratic Party do a better job of dealing with each of the following issues and problems?) Taxes...

Republican	- 57%
Democratic	- 30
No difference/No opinion (vol.)	- 13

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,020
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

(As you know, President (Bill) Clinton has made his own proposals for tax cuts and for spending cuts.) In your view, what should Congress do with (President Bill) Clinton's tax cuts: should it make more tax cuts, make fewer tax cuts, or pass the tax cuts as as proposed by Clinton?

Make more cuts	- 35%
Make fewer cuts	- 20
Pass cuts as proposed by Clinton	- 33
Don't know/refused	- 11

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,010
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: December 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 30, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

(As I read off some statements, please tell me whether you think each applies more to (President) Bill Clinton or more to Republican leaders in Congress.) How about... has better ideas about tax cuts for the middle class?

Clinton	- 41%
Republican leaders	- 39
Both equal (vol.)	- 4
Neither (vol.)	- 7
Don't know	- 9

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 728
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Newsweek
BEGINNING DATE: December 27, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 28, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: PRINCETON SURVEY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, NEWSWEEK

President (Bill) Clinton gave a speech to the nation on Thursday night (December 15, 1994), in which he outlined his proposals for a middle-class tax cut. Do you think Clinton...sincerely believes that this tax cut is in the best interests of the nation or do you think he is merely responding to pressure from the Republicans in Congress and from public opinion?

Sincerely believes best interests of the nation	- 29%
Merely responding to pressure	- 64
Both/Mixed (vol.)	- 2
Don't know/Refused	- 5

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

(In your view, would the Republican Party or the Democratic Party do a better job of dealing with each of the following issues and problems?

) Taxes...

Republican - 57%

Democratic - 30

No difference (vol.) - 10

No opinion - 3

POPULATION: National adult

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,020

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A.

Today

BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994

ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994

SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A.

TODAY

Ways to Cut Taxes

As you may know, in 1993 Congress raised the percentage of Social Security benefits that are subject to income tax, from 50% to 85% for elderly couples with annual incomes of 44,000 dollars or more. There is a proposal to repeal that increase and restore the rate to 50%. Do you think the percentage of Social Security benefits subject to income tax should remain at the current 85% for these couples or should it be cut to 50%.

Remain at 85%	- 43%
Cut to 50%	- 49
Neither/other (vol.)	- 2
Don't know	- 6

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,353
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: January 19, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 22, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: LOS ANGELES TIMES

There are two proposals for cutting taxes being considered in Washington. One proposal would provide families with annual incomes of up to 75,000 dollars with a tax credit for children under 13, and families with incomes of up to 100,000 dollars with a tax deduction for their children's college tuition. The other proposal would provide families with an income up to 200,000 dollars with a tax credit for all children, as well as a 50 percent cut in the capital gains tax. Which of these proposals do you prefer, and I can repeat them if you wish.

Version for families with income under 75,000/ 100,000	- 55%
Version for families with incomes under 200,000	- 23
Neither/other	- 10
Don't know	- 12

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,353
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: January 19, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 22, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: LOS ANGELES TIMES

There are several tax cuts currently being proposed. Please tell me if you favor or oppose each of these. Do you favor or oppose making college tuition deductible?

Favor	- 81%
Oppose	- 16
Don't know/no answer	- 3

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 931
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: January 2, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 3, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS

(There are several tax cuts currently being proposed. Please tell me if you favor or oppose each of these.) Do you favor or oppose increasing the tax exemption for families with children?

Favor	- 77%
Oppose	- 19
Don't know/no answer	- 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 931
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: January 2, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 3, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS

(There are several tax cuts currently being proposed. Please tell me if you favor or oppose each of these.) Do you favor or oppose making it easier for people to take money out of, and take tax deduction for, individual retirement accounts, or I.R.A.'s?

Favor	- 62%
Oppose	- 29
Don't know/no answer	- 9

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 931
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: January 2, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 3, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS

In your view, should an income tax cut apply only to families with children, or should it apply to everyone, regardless of whether or not they have children?

With children only - 9%
Everyone - 90
No opinion - 1

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
QUESTION NOTES: Asked of those who favor a cut in income tax (80%)
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP POLL

And do you think all Americans should be eligible for a tax cut, or should it only apply to lower and middle income people?

All Americans - 47%
Lower/middle income - 52
No opinion - 1

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
QUESTION NOTES: Asked of those who favor a cut in income tax (80%)
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP POLL

Here are some specific ways that the federal income tax could be cut. For each of one, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose it....
Allowing people to take a tax deduction for college tuition and other post-high school education costs.

Favor - 84%
Oppose - 14
No opinion - 2

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP POLL

(Here are some specific ways that the federal income tax could be cut. For each of one, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose it.)...
Cutting taxes for families by\$ 500 for each dependent child.

Favor - 78%
Oppose - 18
No opinion - 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP POLL

(Here are some specific ways that the federal income tax could be cut. For each of one, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose it.)...
Reducing the tax on capital gains--such as the profits people earn on stocks, bonds and property.

Favor - 56%
Oppose - 39
No opinion - 5

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP POLL

Here are some tax reductions that will be considered by the next Congress. Which one, if any would you most like to see passed... a cut in the capital gains tax on investments, a tax credit for parents of five hundred dollars per child, a tax credit for businesses that invest in new equipment, a cut in the taxes paid on Social Security benefits by people with incomes over forty-five thousand dollars?

Cut capital gains tax on investments	- 20%
Credit for parents of five hundred dollars per child	- 33
Credit for businesses that invest in new equipment	- 14
Cut in the taxes paid on Social Security by people with incomes over forty-five thousand dollars	- 23
None (vol.)	- 4
Not sure	- 6

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,001
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: NBC News, Wall Street Journal
BEGINNING DATE: December 10, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 13, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NBC NEWS, WALL STREET JOURNAL

Which of these two statements about a reduction in the capital gains tax do you agree with more: Statement A: A capital gains tax cut is good for the country because it encourages new investments, and that creates jobs and promotes growth. Statement B: A capital gains tax cut is bad for the country because it benefits only the wealthy and it increases the budget deficit.

Statement A/good for the country	- 44%
Statement B/bad for the country	- 48
Depends (vol.)	- 2
Not sure	- 6

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,000
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: NBC News, Wall Street
BEGINNING DATE: December 10, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 13, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NBC NEWS, WALL STREET JOURNAL

Do you favor or oppose requiring Social Security recipients who have higher incomes to pay federal income taxes on a larger share of their Social Security payments?

Favor	- 57%
Oppose	- 38
Not sure	- 5

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 800
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Time, Cable News Network
SURVEY NOTES: The survey included 800 national adults plus an oversample of Catholics. Only the national adults are reported here.
BEGINNING DATE: December 7, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 8, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: TIME, C.N.N., YANKELOVICH PARTNERS INC.

Do you favor or oppose reducing the tax deduction for interest paid on home mortgages?

Favor	- 46%
Oppose	- 44
Not sure	- 10

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 800
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Time, Cable News Network
SURVEY NOTES: The survey included 800 national adults plus an oversample of Catholics. Only the national adults are reported here.
BEGINNING DATE: December 7, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 8, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: TIME, C.N.N., YANKELOVICH PARTNERS INC.

As you may know, home mortgage deductions cost the Treasury\$ 70 billion a year, much of which goes to high income taxpayers. Do you favor or oppose reducing the tax deduction on home mortgages to the first\$ 300,000 of the mortgage debt?

Favor	- 55%
Oppose	- 31
Not sure	- 14

POPULATION: National adult

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 800

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

SURVEY SPONSOR: Time, Cable News Network

SURVEY NOTES: The survey included 800 national adults plus an oversample of Catholics. Only the national adults are reported here.

BEGINNING DATE: December 1994

ENDING DATE: December 1994

SOURCE DOCUMENT: TIME, C.N.N.,
YANKELOVICH PARTNERS INC.

TAXES - GENERAL AND OTHER

How do you feel about the present income tax system--do you feel it is quite fair to people like yourself, reasonably fair to people like yourself, somewhat unfair, or quite unfair to people like yourself?

Quite fair	- 6%
Reasonably fair	- 40
Somewhat unfair	- 29
Quite unfair	- 22
Don't know/No answer	- 3

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,190
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: February 22, 1995
ENDING DATE: February 25, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NYT

(I'm going to read you a series of statements and I'd like you to tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each.) Middle-class taxpayers have consistently carried the tax burden for America.

Strongly agree	- 75%
Somewhat agree	- 17
Somewhat disagree	- 4
Strongly disagree	- 1
Don't know	- 1

POPULATION: National Registered voters
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,000
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Alliance to Save Student Aid
BEGINNING DATE: January 21, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 23, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: ALLIANCE TO SAVE STUDENT AID SURVEY

(I'm going to read you a series of statements and I'd like you to tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each.) I never expect to pay fewer taxes than I do today.

Strongly agree	- 56%
Somewhat agree	- 22
Somewhat disagree	- 10
Strongly disagree	- 9
Don't know	- 3

POPULATION: National Registered voters
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,000
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Alliance to Save Student Aid
BEGINNING DATE: January 21, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 23, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: ALLIANCE TO SAVE STUDENT AID SURVEY

Right now, the Constitution allows Congress to pass tax increases by a simple majority vote, that is, by just over half of the members voting. Do you favor or oppose a proposal for a constitutional amendment that would require income tax increases to be passed by a larger, three-fifths majority of the members voting.

Favor	- 69%
Oppose	- 24
Don't know	- 7

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,353
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: January 19, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 22, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: LOS ANGELES TIMES

Now, I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one of the following do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country...inflation, unemployment, interest rates, federal budget deficit, federal taxes, the U.S. (United States) trade deficit?

Inflation	- 7%
Unemployment	- 27
Interest rates	- 5
Federal budget deficit	- 32
Federal taxes	- 13
The U.S. trade deficit	- 10
All important (vol.)	- 4
Not sure	- 2

POPULATION: National adult
 NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,003
 INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
 SURVEY SPONSOR: NBC News, Wall Street Journal
 BEGINNING DATE: January 14, 1995
 ENDING DATE: January 17, 1995
 SOURCE DOCUMENT: NBC NEWS, WALL STREET JOURNAL

Congress is considering eliminating certain federal spending programs, and instead giving funds to state and local governments for them to provide services in those areas. Would you generally favor or oppose this change if you knew that it would require increases in state taxes and local property taxes?

Favor	- 39%
Oppose	- 49
Depends (vol.)	- 6
Not sure	- 6

POPULATION: National adult
 NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,003
 INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
 SURVEY SPONSOR: NBC News, Wall Street Journal
 BEGINNING DATE: January 14, 1995
 ENDING DATE: January 17, 1995
 SOURCE DOCUMENT: NBC NEWS, WALL STREET JOURNAL

President (Bill) Clinton, Republicans and Democrats in Congress have proposed tax cuts for the middle class. Such cuts would make more money available for federal programs and deficit reduction. Do you think a middle class tax cut at this time would be good for the country or bad for the country?

Good for the country	- 54%
Bad for the country	- 32
Some good/Some bad (vol.)	- 5
Don't know/Refused	- 9

POPULATION: National adult
 NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 728
 INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
 SURVEY SPONSOR: Newsweek
 BEGINNING DATE: December 27, 1994
 ENDING DATE: December 28, 1994
 SOURCE DOCUMENT: PRINCETON SURVEY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, NEWSWEEK

(There has been much talk in Washington about reducing the role of government. But cutting back on government might be upsetting to some people. Please tell me how upset you would be in each of the following circumstances.) How upset would you be if... tax cuts lead to a major increase in the federal budget deficit... very upset, somewhat upset, not too upset or not at all upset?

Very upset	- 38%
Somewhat upset	- 35
Not too upset	- 11
Not at all upset	- 11
Don't know	- 5

POPULATION: National adult
 NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 728
 INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
 SURVEY SPONSOR: Newsweek
 BEGINNING DATE: December 27, 1994
 ENDING DATE: December 28, 1994
 SOURCE DOCUMENT: PRINCETON SURVEY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, NEWSWEEK

Do you consider the amount of federal income tax you have to pay as too high, about right, or too low?

Too high	- 66%
About right	- 30
Too low	- 1
No opinion	- 3

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP POLL

Do you think that tax cuts and deficit reduction can be accomplished at the same time?

Can	- 52%
Cannot	- 43
No opinion	- 5

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP POLL

During the next twelve months, do you think the taxes you pay will be changed so that they are higher, or lower, or won't there be any change?

Higher	- 35%
Lower	- 20
No change	- 41
Don't know/Refused	- 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

If your federal income tax was cut by \$ 500 dollars per year, how much of a difference would that make to you, financially--a big difference, somewhat of a difference, not much of a difference, or no difference?

A big difference	- 20%
Somewhat of a difference	- 35
Not much of a difference	- 32
No difference	- 13
Don't know/Refused	- 1

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

In your view, will a tax cut right now make the nation's economy better or worse--or will it not make much difference in the economy?

Better	- 39%
Worse	- 10
No difference	- 48
Don't know/Refused	- 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

Do you think that tax cuts and deficit reduction can be accomplished at the same time or do you think that they cannot be accomplished at the same time?

Can	- 52%
Cannot	- 43
No opinion	- 5

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP POLL

DO you think that tax cuts and deficit reduction can be accomplished at the same time or do you think that they cannot be accomplished at the same time?

Can	- 52%
Cannot	- 43
No opinion	- 5

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,016
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: December 16, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 18, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP POLL

(Now I would like to read you a few things that some people feel are economic problems today. For each one, please tell me on a scale from 1 to 10 how serious a problem it is. A number from eight to ten means this is one of the country's most serious problems, from four to seven means that it is a serious problem, and from one to three means it is a less serious problem. You may use any number from one to ten, depending on how serious you feel the problem is.) Taxes that are too high...

Most serious (8-10)	- 55%
Serious (4-7)	- 38
Least serious (1-3)	- 6
Not sure	- 1

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,000
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: NBC News, Wall Street Journal
BEGINNING DATE: December 10, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 13, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NBC NEWS, WALL STREET JOURNAL

Do you favor or oppose a reduction in the capital gains taxes that investors pay on the sale of stocks, businesses, or other assets?

Favor	- 43%
Oppose	- 41
Depends (vol.)	- 1
Not sure	- 15

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,000
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: NBC News, Wall Street Journal
BEGINNING DATE: December 10, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 13, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NBC NEWS, WALL STREET JOURNAL

Would you favor or oppose requiring a sixty percent vote of Congress to raise taxes, instead of the simple majority required now?

Favor	- 60%
Oppose	- 32
Depends (vol.)	- 1
Not sure	- 7

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,000
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: NBC News, Wall Street Journal
BEGINNING DATE: December 10, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 13, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NBC NEWS, WALL STREET JOURNAL

If money is saved by cutting government programs, do you think the savings should be used for a middle class tax cut, to reduce the federal budget deficit, or to increase spending on other government programs such as job training?

Middle class tax cut	- 29%
Reducing the federal budget deficit	- 34
Other government programs	- 29
Neither (vol.)	- 1
Both (vol.)	- 2
Not sure	- 5

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 800
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Time, Cable News Network
SURVEY NOTES: The survey included 800 national adults plus an oversample of Catholics. Only the national adults are reported here.
BEGINNING DATE: December 7, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 8, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: TIME, C.N.N., YANKELOVICH PARTNERS INC.

Would you be willing or unwilling to pay more in taxes in order to provide job training and public service jobs for people on welfare so they can get off welfare?

Willing	- 59%
Unwilling	- 37
Don't know/No answer	- 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,147
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: December 6, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 9, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES

In the election for Congress, which two or three issues would you say were most important to you when you decided which candidate to vote for?

Economy/recession	- 16%
Unemployment/jobs	- 9
Inflation/high cost of living	- 4
High taxes	- 15
Health care/cost of medical care	- 21
Crime/personal safety	- 24
Environment(general)/environmental issues	- 6
Less government/more efficient government	- 7
Wanted to send a message/time for a change/elect new people	- 5
Education	- 8
Other	- 26
All/none (vol.)	- 5
Not sure	- 17

POPULATION: National reg. voters who voted in Congressional Election
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,201
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: National Wildlife Federation
QUESTION NOTES: Adds to more than 100% due to multiple responses
BEGINNING DATE: December 1, 1994

As you make your New Year's resolutions, which of these is your top financial priority for 1995--pay down debt, increase your income, buy things you want and need, reduce your taxes or increase your savings and investments?

Pay down debt	- 32%
Increase income	- 19
Buy things	- 5
Reduce taxes	- 10
Increase savings and investments	- 32
None (vol.)	- 2
Don't know	- 1

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 500
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Money magazine
SURVEY NOTES: Sample size is approximate
BEGINNING DATE: November 30, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 11, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: ABC NEWS, MONEY POLL

With the Republicans in control of both the U.S. (United States) House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate, do you think your taxes will go up, go down, or stay about the same?

Up	- 42%
Down	- 9
Stay about the same	- 46
Don't know/no answer	- 5

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,120
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: November 27, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 28, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS

In order to balance the federal budget, do you think it would be necessary to raise your taxes or to cut government programs that benefit you and your family, or don't you think either of those things would be necessary?

Necessary to raise taxes/cut benefits	- 54%
Not necessary	- 37
Don't know/no answer	- 9

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,120
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: November 27, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 28, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS

(Now, I am going to read you a number of positions and qualities people have said were important in deciding how they would vote in yesterday's Congressional elections (November 8, 1994). For each, please tell me if this was a major reason to support a candidate, a major reason to oppose a candidate, or if it was not a major factor in deciding your vote.) If a candidate... pledged to cut taxes and welfare payments.

Major reason to support a candidate	- 56%
Major reason to oppose a candidate	- 13
Not a major factor	- 26
Not sure	- 5

POPULATION: National registered voters
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 802
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: NBC News, Wall Street Journal
BEGINNING DATE: November 9, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 9, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NBC NEWS, WALL STREET JOURNAL



PUBLIC POLLING UPDATE

CHILDREN'S ISSUES

Greenberg Research
March 29, 1995

Major findings from recent surveys:

Too many cuts in school lunch programs. Four in ten Americans (43 percent) believe the Republicans in Congress are trying to make too many cuts in the school lunch program (ABC, March 16-19) and a solid majority (58 percent) say ending school lunch programs and shifting responsibility to the states is a step in the wrong direction (NBC/WSJ, March 4-7). This is second only to education (49 percent too many cuts) as the single area where voters most fear Republican cuts, ahead of military spending, programs to protect the environment and anti-crime programs.

Clinton trusted to protect children. By 49 to 40 percent Americans trust Clinton over the Republican Congress to do a better job of protecting America's children (ABC, March 16-19).

Support for moving other programs to the states. A majority (55 percent) support shifting responsibility for programs like food stamps and aid to dependent children from the federal to state government (CBS, Nov. 27-28, 1994).

CHILDREN'S ISSUES

Do you think government spending on programs for poor children should be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

Increased - 47%
Decreased - 9
Kept the same- 39
Don't know/No answer - 5

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,147
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: December 6, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 9, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES
DATE OF RELEASE OF SOURCE DOCUMENT:
December 14, 1994
QUESTION ID: USCBSNYT.121494, R14A
LANGUAGE: ENGLISH
ORGANIZATION: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES
LOAD-DATE-MDC: December 27, 1994

Programs like food stamps and aid to dependent children are currently funded and run by the federal government. Would you rather have these programs be the responsibility of your state government, or of the federal government?

State - 55%
Federal - 39
Neither (vol.) - 1
Don't know/no answer - 5

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,120
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: November 27, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 28, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS
DATE OF RELEASE OF SOURCE DOCUMENT:
November 29, 1994
QUESTION ID: USCBS.112994, R40
LANGUAGE: ENGLISH
ORGANIZATION: CBS NEWS
LOAD-DATE-MDC: December 3, 1994

15. Now I'm going to mention several proposals made by the Republicans and being considered by Congress. For each one, please tell me if you feel this is a step in the right direction or a step in the wrong direction. First, (READ ITEM)—Is this a step in the right direction or the wrong direction.

(IF "RIGHT DIRECTION" ASK:) Do you feel strongly or not strongly that this is a step in the right direction?

(IF "WRONG DIRECTION" ASK:) Do you feel strongly or not strongly that this is a step in the wrong direction?

(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)

	Right Direction/ Feel <u>Strongly</u>	Right Direction/ Not Feel <u>Strongly</u>	Wrong Direction/ Do Not Feel <u>Strongly</u>	Wrong Direction/ Feel <u>Strongly</u>	Neither Right Or Wrong (VOL)	Not Sure	
(FORM A—NEXT 6 ITEMS)							
Funding a missile-defense system, often called "Star Wars"	15	13	23	41	1	7	☐
Ending the federal food stamp program and giving the money directly to the states	39	15	8	27	3	8	☐
Ending government affirmative action programs for women, blacks, and other minorities	31	10	13	31	4	11	☐
Eliminating the national service program, which gives stipends and college tuition credits to young people in public-service jobs	24	12	15	37	3	9	☐
Cutting spending for the Department of Education	9	6	11	<u>68</u>	2	4	☐
Establishing a six-month moratorium on new federal regulations affecting business and local government	28	19	10	12	5	28	☐
(FORM B—NEXT 6 ITEMS)							
Greatly reducing U.S. involvement in United Nations' peacekeeping missions	37	21	13	23	1	5	☐
→ Ending the school lunch program and other federal nutrition programs, and giving the money directly to the states .	25	9	8	<u>50</u>	2	6	☐
Ending the ban on assault weapons . . .	32	9	6	<u>45</u>	2	6	☐
Ending direct lending of student loans by the government, and having banks make all student loans	28	13	9	38	2	10	☐
Ending federal spending for public television and public radio	21	13	12	41	4	9	☐
Denying welfare benefits to unwed teenage mothers	37	12	12	26	5	8	☐

C. Bill Clinton

	Understands	Does not understand	No opinion
3/19/95	55	43	2
6/26/94	52	46	2
1/23/94	55	39	5
4/26/93	60	39	1
1/17/93	76	20	4
4/9/92	49	42	9

D. Bob Dole, the Senate majority leader

	3/19/95
Understands	47
Does not understand	45
No opinion	8

E. Newt Gingrich, the House speaker

	3/19/95
Understands	35
Does not understand	57
No opinion	9

18. Would you say the Republicans in Congress are trying to do too much at once, too little, or about the right amount?

	3/19/95
Too much	51
Too little	18
About the right amount	30
No opinion	2

19. For each federal program I name, please tell me if you think the Republicans in Congress are trying to make too many cuts in that program, too few cuts, or about the right amount.

A. Military spending

	3/19/95
Too many	36
Too few	25
About the right amount	35
No opinion	4

B. Most social programs

	3/19/95
Too many	38
Too few	22
About the right amount	34
No opinion	5

C. Education

	3/19/95
Too many	49
Too few	19
About the right amount	27
No opinion	5

D. The arts

	3/19/95
Too many	31

Too few	26
About the right amount	33
No opinion	9

E. Welfare, or public assistance for poor people
3/19/95

Too many	37
Too few	26
About the right amount	34
No opinion	3

F. Food stamps for the poor
3/19/95

Too many	35
Too few	26
About the right amount	34
No opinion	5

→ G. The school lunch program
3/19/95

Too many	43
Too few	18
About the right amount	31
No opinion	8

H. Subsidies for farmers
3/19/95

Too many	26
Too few	34
About the right amount	27
No opinion	13

I. Tax breaks for big businesses
3/19/95

Too many	42
Too few	29
About the right amount	22
No opinion	7

J. Programs to protect children
3/19/95

Too many	32
Too few	36
About the right amount	26
No opinion	5

K. Programs protecting the environment
3/19/95

Too many	27
Too few	34
About the right amount	32
No opinion	7

L. Anti-crime programs
3/19/95

Too many	23
Too few	40
About the right amount	30

	3/19/95	1/4/95
Clinton	36	32
Republicans in Congress	50	55
(VOL)Neither	9	8
(VOL)Both Equally	2	2
No opinion	3	3

G. Handling the crime problem

	3/19/95
Clinton	41
Republicans in Congress	48
(VOL)Neither	7
(VOL)Both Equally	2
No opinion	3

H. Upholding family values

	3/19/95
Clinton	44
Republicans in Congress	45
(VOL)Neither	7
(VOL)Both Equally	2
No opinion	3

I. Protecting the environment

	3/19/95
Clinton	54
Republicans in Congress	36
(VOL)Neither	6
(VOL)Both Equally	1
No opinion	3

J. Reforming the welfare system

	3/19/95
Clinton	38
Republicans in Congress	51
(VOL)Neither	7
(VOL)Both Equally	1
No opinion	2

→ K. Protecting America's children

	3/19/95
Clinton	49
Republicans in Congress	40
(VOL)Neither	7
(VOL)Both Equally	2
No opinion	3

12. Do you think the changes Clinton is seeking are mainly the right changes for the country, or mainly the wrong ones?

	3/19/95	1/29/95	8/16/94	1/23/94	11/14/93	5/23/93	1/17/93*
Right ones	54	60	55	55	61	59	73
Wrong ones	32	26	32	27	29	32	17
In between (vol.)	9	10	9	12	8	6	4
No opinion	4	3	4	6	2	3	6

**will seek*



PUBLIC POLLING UPDATE
SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE

Greenberg Research
March 29, 1995

Major findings from recent surveys:

Clinton regains advantage on protecting Social Security. By 53 to 34 percent voters trust Clinton over the Republicans in Congress percent to protect social security (ABC, March 16-19). This represents a complete reversal from early January, when ABC showed the Republicans with a 7 point advantage over Clinton (39 to 46 percent).

Protecting social security more important than balanced budget amendment. An overwhelming 72 percent say it is more important to protect social security than pass a balanced budget amendment (27 percent; ABC, March 16-19). Support for protecting social security actually grew from 67 percent in the beginning of March (ABC, March 3). Most Americans (64 percent) agreed with the Democrats in opposing the balanced budget amendment because it did not specifically protect social security (NBC/WSJ, March 4-7).

Little faith in future of social security. Over one-third (37 percent) believe that when they reach retirement, social security will pay less benefits than it does now. One-quarter believe social security will not be paying any benefits at all. Just 14 percent say it will be paying the same (NBC/WSJ, March 4-7).

Strong support for Medicare spending. Close to two-thirds (64 percent) would oppose cuts in Medicare in order to reduce the budget deficit and lower taxes (NBC/WSJ, March 4-7).

			Equally		Opinion
3/19/95	39	46	2	10	3
1/29/95	40	46	4	8	2
1/4/95	30	54	3	9	4
12/20/94	34	60	NA	NA	6
12/15/94	34	49	3	9	6
12/15/94*	37	46	4	6	7

* Heard Clinton's speech on 12/15/94

11. For each specific issue I name, please tell me who you trust to do a better job handling that issue - Clinton or the Republicans in Congress.

A. Handling the nation's economy

	Clinton	Republicans	Neither	Both	No opinion
3/19/95	43	47	7	1	2
1/4/95	34	56	3	1	5
12/20/94	36	59	NA	NA	5
11/14/94	45	37	12	3	3
8/8/93	48	35	13	1	3
6/28/93	45	40	10	1	4
4/26/93	59	29	7	4	1

→ B. Helping the middle class

	3/19/95	1/4/95
Clinton	52	41
Republicans in Congress	38	49
(VOL)Neither	6	5
(VOL)Both Equally	1	2
No opinion	2	3

C. Cutting taxes

	3/19/95	1/4/95
Clinton	36	30
Republicans in Congress	52	59
(VOL)Neither	9	5
(VOL)Both Equally	1	2
No opinion	2	4

* D. Protecting Social Security

	3/19/95	1/4/95
Clinton	53	39
Republicans in Congress	34	46
(VOL)Neither	7	8
(VOL)Both Equally	1	3
No opinion	5	4

E. Helping the poor

	3/19/95	1/4/95
Clinton	61	54
Republicans in Congress	27	35
(VOL)Neither	8	6
(VOL)Both Equally	1	1
No opinion	3	4

F. Reducing the federal budget deficit

No opinion

7

20. The Republican Party's "Contract With America" outlines the proposals the Republicans in Congress want to bring up in the first 100 days of the new Congress. Would you say you support all of the items, support most of them, oppose most of them or oppose all of them?

	3/19/95
Support (NET)	56
Support all of them	5
Support most of them	51
Oppose (NET)	36
Oppose most of them	31
Oppose all of them	4
No opinion	8

COMPARE TO:

Do you support or oppose most of the items in the Republican Party's "Contract With America," which outlines the proposals the Republicans in Congress want to bring up in the first 100 days of the new Congress?

	3/3/95
Support	53
Oppose	31
No opinion	17

21. Which of these comes closer to your view:

A. The more I hear about what the Republicans are doing in Congress, the more I like it.

-or-

B. The more I hear about what the Republicans are doing in the Congress, the less I like it.

	3/19/95
Statement A	44
Statement B	52
(VOL) Both equally	2
(VOL) Neither	1
No opinion	1

22. On another subject, do you think the federal budget can be balanced without cutting spending on Social Security, or would Social Security have to be cut?

	3/19/95
Don't need to cut	79
Need to cut	19
No opinion	2

23. (Of those who think Social Security spending would have to be cut) Would it have to be cut a great deal or only somewhat?

	3/19/95
Need to cut a great deal	27
Need to cut only somewhat	71
No opinion	2

24. Do you think the federal budget can be balanced without cutting military

spending, or would military spending have to be cut?

	3/19/95
Don't need to cut	39
Need to cut	58
No opinion	3

25. (Of those who think military spending would have to be cut) Would it have to be cut a great deal or only somewhat?

	3/19/95
Need to cut a great deal	28
Need to cut only somewhat	71
No opinion	1

26. Do you think the federal budget can be balanced without raising taxes, or would taxes have to be raised?

	3/19/95
Don't need raise taxes	58
Need to raise taxes	41
No opinion	2

27. (Of those who think taxes would have to be raised) Would they have to be raised a great deal or only somewhat?

	3/19/95
Need to be raised a great deal	11
Need to be raised only somewhat	86
No opinion	3

28. If the choice is between these two things, which one do you think is more important - passing a balanced budget amendment or ...?

A. Protecting the Social Security system

	3/19/95	3/3/95
Passing a balanced budget amendment	27	30
Protecting the Social Security system	72	67
No opinion	2	3

B. Maintaining current military spending

	3/19/95
Passing a balanced budget amendment	65
Maintaining current military spending	32
No opinion	3

C. Holding down taxes

	3/19/95
Passing a balanced budget amendment	46
Holding down taxes	52
No opinion	2

29. On another subject, do you favor or oppose a limit on the number of years a person could serve as a U.S. Representative in Congress? (If favor/oppose) Do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?

	3/19/95	1/29/95
Favor (NET)	73	79

Study #4057--page 14

19c. As you know, Congress recently voted down a balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Most Republicans supported the amendment as necessary to reduce spending and balance the budget. Many Democrats opposed the amendment because it did not specifically protect the Social Security trust fund from being used to balance the budget. Who do you agree with more--the Republicans who supported this version of the balanced budget amendment, or the Democrats who opposed it?

Agree with Democrats	64
Agree with Republicans	27
Both equal (VOL)	2
Not sure	7

(FORM A)

20a. If Congress reduces spending on some programs this year, should these savings mainly be used to reduce the deficit, to lower taxes, or to increase funding for other programs?

Reduce the deficit	53
Lower taxes	26
Increase funding for other programs	15
Combination (VOL)	2
Not sure	4

(FORM B)

20b. Would you favor or oppose cutting spending on Medicare in order to reduce the budget deficit and lower taxes?

Favor	24
Oppose	64
Not sure	12

(FORM A)

21. When you reach retirement age, do you think Social Security will be paying the same level of benefits as it pays now, paying less than now, or will it not be paying benefits at all?

Paying same as now	14
Paying less than now	37
Not paying benefits at all	29
Already retired/does not apply (VOL)	14
Not sure	6

(FORM B)

22. Congress is now considering changes in the rules that govern lawsuits over product liability. Which do you think is more important--ROTATE ORDER: that Congress protects people's right to sue a company when they are injured, or that Congress reduces frivolous and expensive lawsuits?

Protects people's right to sue	31
Reduces frivolous and expensive lawsuits	58
Both equal (VOL)	6
Not sure	5



PUBLIC POLLING UPDATE

INTERNATIONAL ENGAGEMENT AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Greenberg Research
March 29, 1995

Major findings from recent surveys:

Support for cooperation with U.N., but caution regarding specific U.S. commitments. Almost two-thirds say the U.S. should cooperate fully with the U.N. (Times Mirror, Feb. 9-12), but support drops nine points when cooperation involves U.S. troops under U.N. command (56 percent favor; L.A. Times, Jan. 19-22). The only U.S. involvement viewed favorably (57 percent) is the use of troops to evacuate U.N. forces under attack in Bosnia (NBC/ WSJ, Dec. 10-13, 1994). Just 34 percent favor U.S. ground troops taking part in a U.N. peacekeeping mission in Bosnia (CBS News, Nov. 27-28, 1994) and only 28% would favor a similar mission in the Middle East (Time/ CNN, Dec. 7-8, 1994).

Bosnia military involvement opposed, sanctions supported. Aside from assisting a U.N. evacuation, strong majorities oppose almost any type of U.S. military involvement in Bosnia -- from air strikes (62 percent oppose) to deployment of ground troops in the region (78 percent oppose; Time/ CNN, Dec. 7-8, 1994). U.S. diplomatic and economic pressure (75 percent favor) is much preferred as a means to end the conflict (Time/ CNN, Dec. 7-8, 1994). Responsibility for solving the conflict belongs to the U.N -- two thirds feel the U.S. has no responsibility for finding solutions, but almost three quarters (73 percent) say the U.N. should be doing something to resolve the conflict (CBS News, Nov. 27-28, 1994).

Mixed feelings on the handling of Haiti. The public is evenly split on the decision to send troops to Haiti (47 percent each favor and oppose; Times Mirror, Feb. 9-12); However, 51 percent feel the U.S. should not have gotten involved (CBS News / NYT, Dec 6-9, 1994) and almost two-thirds feel the new Congress should move to pull American troops out of Haiti (Time/ CNN, Nov. 9-10, 1994).

General support for international organizations. The United Nations receives positive ratings from the American public (62 percent favorable) and two-thirds agree the U.S. should cooperate with the U.N. (Times Mirror, Feb. 9-12). The NATO Alliance is viewed as an important organization which should be maintained (60 percent) despite the end of the Cold War (Times Mirror, Dec. 1-4, 1994).

Foreign affairs is a low priority. Most Americans are not concerned with international affairs -- an overwhelming 85 percent prefer President Clinton focus on domestic affairs (Times Mirror, Dec. 1-4, 1994). Close to two-thirds, 63 percent, do not believe the U.S. is in a position to act as a world policeman (Time/ CNN, Sept. 21-22, 1994). Americans are nearly unanimous on their view of foreign aid -- 92 percent think it should be decreased or kept at the same level (Time/ CNN, Jan. 25-26).

UNITED NATIONS

(Now I'd like your views on some people, organizations and things in the news. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name.) Would you say your overall opinion of...The United Nations...is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

Very favorable	- 13%
Mostly favorable	- 49
Mostly unfavorable	- 18
Very unfavorable	- 8
Never heard of (vol.)	- *
Don't know	- 12

Please tell me if you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree, or completely disagree with the following statement...The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations.

Agree	- 65%
Disagree	- 29
Don't know/Refused	- 6

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,209
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: February 9, 1995
ENDING DATE: February 12, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NEWS INTEREST INDEX POLL

On another subject, do you favor or oppose allowing U.S. (United States) troops to serve under United Nations commanders in some circumstances?

Favor	- 56%
Oppose	- 35
Don't know	- 9

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,353
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: January 19, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 22, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: LOS ANGELES TIMES

On another subject, do you favor or oppose allowing U.S. (United States) troops to serve under United Nations commanders in some circumstances?

Favor	- 56%
Oppose	- 35
Don't know	- 9

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,353
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: January 19, 1995
ENDING DATE: January 22, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: LOS ANGELES TIMES

In the next century, which country will be the United States' most important diplomatic partner in international relations--the country that the United States depends on most in international diplomatic relations?

Russia	- 20%
Great Britain	- 17
Japan	- 7
Germany	- 4
China	- 4
Israel	- 2
Canada	- 2
Middle East	- 1
European Community	- 1
Other	- 1
Don't know/No answer	- 41

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,147
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY NOTES: The poll was also conducted in Japan Dec. 1-7, 1994 by the Tokyo Broadcasting System. The Japanese results are available at the Roper Center.
BEGINNING DATE: December 6, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 9, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES

If Japan increases its military power in order to cooperate in international peace-keeping operations, do you think there is a danger of Japan becoming too aggressive, or not?

Danger - 43%
No danger - 48
Don't know/No answer - 9

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,147
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY NOTES: The poll was also conducted in Japan Dec. 1-7, 1994 by the Tokyo Broadcasting System. The Japanese results are available at the Roper Center.
BEGINNING DATE: December 6, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 9, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES

As far as you know, is Japan currently a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council?

Yes - 32%
No - 19
Don't know/No answer - 49

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,147
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY NOTES: The poll was also conducted in Japan Dec. 1-7, 1994 by the Tokyo Broadcasting System. The Japanese results are available at the Roper Center.
BEGINNING DATE: December 6, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 9, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES

As far as you know, is Germany currently a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council?

Yes - 39%
No - 15
Don't know/No answer - 46

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,147
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY NOTES: The poll was also conducted in Japan Dec. 1-7, 1994 by the Tokyo Broadcasting System. The Japanese results are available at the Roper Center.
BEGINNING DATE: December 6, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 9, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES

Do you approve or disapprove of Japan being/becoming a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council?

Approve - 67%
Disapprove - 19
Don't know/No answer - 14

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,147
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY NOTES: The poll was also conducted in Japan Dec. 1-7, 1994 by the Tokyo Broadcasting System. The Japanese results are available at the Roper Center.
BEGINNING DATE: December 6, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 9, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES

Do you approve or disapprove of Germany being/becoming a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council?

Approve - 68%
Disapprove - 19
Don't know/No answer - 13

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,147
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY NOTES: The poll was also conducted in Japan Dec. 1-7, 1994 by the Tokyo Broadcasting System. The Japanese results are available at the Roper Center.
BEGINNING DATE: December 6, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 9, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES

Do you think the N.A.T.O. (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) Alliance should be maintained or is the Alliance not necessary anymore?

Maintained - 60%
Not necessary - 27
Don't know/Refused - 13

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,511
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Times Mirror
BEGINNING DATE: December 1, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 4, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NEWS INTEREST INDEX

(Here are some of the proposals in the Contract With America which the Republicans pledged to bring to a vote in the House of Representatives within the first 100 days of 1995. For each one, please tell me whether you favor or oppose it.)
Legislation preventing U.S. (United States) troops from serving under commanders of the United Nations...

Favor - 41%
Oppose - 51
No opinion - 8

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,020
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

(If Congress were not able to bring this proposal (from the Republicans' Contract With America) up for a vote in the first 100 days (of 1995), would that matter to you, or would that not matter to you?

) Legislation preventing U.S. (United States) troops from serving under commanders of the United Nations...

Would matter - 40%
Would not matter - 58
No opinion - 2

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,020
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A. TODAY

Which country do you think is the biggest threat to United States security today...China, Russia, Iraq, North Korea, Germany, Japan, or some other country?

China	- 18%
Russia	- 11
Iraq	- 39
North Korea	- 11
Germany	- 2
Japan	- 7
Some other country	- 8
Don't know/Refused	- 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,026
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A.
Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A.
TODAY

In your view, is the United States vulnerable to a surprise attack similar to that of Pearl Harbor, or not?

Yes, vulnerable	- 40%
No, not vulnerable	- 56
Don't know/Refused	- 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,026
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Cable News Network, U.S.A.
Today
BEGINNING DATE: November 28, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 29, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: GALLUP, C.N.N., U.S.A.
TODAY

US INT'L INVOLVEMENT

Haiti

(Now I am going to read you a list of policy decisions made by the (President Bill) Clinton administration. Please tell me if you approve or disapprove of each of the following. If you are unaware of the decision please tell me that.) Do you approve or disapprove of President Clinton's... decision last September to send U.S. (United States) troops to Haiti?

Approve	- 47%
Disapprove	- 47
Unaware/Never heard of	- 2
Don't know/Refused	- 4

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,209
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: February 9, 1995
ENDING DATE: February 12, 1995
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NEWS INTEREST INDEX
POLL

Given what you know about the situation in Haiti, do you think sending U.S. (United States) ground troops to Haiti was the right thing to do, or do you think U.S. troops should have stayed out of Haiti?

Right thing	- 40%
Should have stayed out	- 51
Don't know/No answer	- 9

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,147
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: December 6, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 9, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES

(Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely.) How closely did you follow news stories about... the deployment of U.S. (United States) forces to Haiti?

Very closely	- 31%
Fairly closely	- 39
Not too closely	- 19
Not at all closely	- 11
Don't know	- *

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,511
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Times Mirror
QUESTION NOTES: * = less than .5 percent
BEGINNING DATE: December 1, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 4, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NEWS INTEREST INDEX

(Thinking about the next Congress and what it should do...Please tell me whether you think each of the following should be a high priority for Congress to act on next year (1995), a low priority for action, or should not be a priority for Congress at all.) Pulling American troops out of Haiti.

High priority	- 64%
Low priority	- 23
Not a priority	- 8
Not sure	- 5

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 800
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Time, Cable News Network
BEGINNING DATE: November 9, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 10, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: TIME, C.N.N., YANKELOVICH PARTNERS INC

Bosnia

Do you approve or disapprove of President (Bill) Clinton's offer to send up to twenty-five thousand U.S. (United States) ground troops to Bosnia to help with the evacuation of U.N. (United Nations) peacekeeping forces that are there now and under attack?

Approve - 57%
Disapprove - 36
Depends (vol.) - 2
Not sure - 5

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,000
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: NBC News, Wall Street Journal
BEGINNING DATE: December 10, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 13, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NBC NEWS, WALL STREET JOURNAL

Here are several proposals which have been made to get the Serbs to stop their military attacks against the Bosnian Muslims. Please tell me whether you favor or oppose each one.... Removing the U.N (United Nations) troops in Bosnia and giving weapons to the Bosnian Muslims so they can defend themselves.

Favor - 40%
Oppose - 50
Not sure - 10

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 800
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Time, Cable News Network
SURVEY NOTES: The survey included 800 national adults plus an oversample of Catholics. Only the national adults are reported here.
BEGINNING DATE: December 7, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 8, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: TIME, C.N.N., YANKELOVICH PARTNERS INC.

(Here are several proposals which have been made to get the Serbs to stop their military attacks against the Bosnian Muslims. Please tell me whether you favor or oppose each one.)... Using military planes from the U.S. (United States) and its Western European allies to launch a widespread attack against Serbian military positions.

Favor - 31%
Oppose - 62
Not sure - 7

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 800
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Time, Cable News Network
SURVEY NOTES: The survey included 800 national adults plus an oversample of Catholics. Only the national adults are reported here.
BEGINNING DATE: December 7, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 8, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: TIME, C.N.N., YANKELOVICH PARTNERS INC.

(Here are several proposals which have been made to get the Serbs to stop their military attacks against the Bosnian Muslims. Please tell me whether you favor or oppose each one.)... Using military planes from the U.S. (United States) and its Western European allies to launch attacks against targets such as roads and power plants, which the Serbs use for civilian as well as military activities.

Favor - 27%
Oppose - 64
Not sure - 9

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 800
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Time, Cable News Network
SURVEY NOTES: The survey included 800 national adults plus an oversample of Catholics. Only the national adults are reported here.
BEGINNING DATE: December 7, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 8, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: TIME, C.N.N., YANKELOVICH PARTNERS INC.

(Here are several proposals which have been made to get the Serbs to stop their military attacks against the Bosnian Muslims. Please tell me whether you favor or oppose each one.)...
Using military planes from the U.S. (United States) and its Western Sending U.S. (United States) ground troops to Bosnia.

Favor - 17%
Oppose - 78
Not sure - 5

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 800
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Time, Cable News Network
SURVEY NOTES: The survey included 800 national adults plus an oversample of Catholics. Only the national adults are reported here.
BEGINNING DATE: December 7, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 8, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: TIME, C.N.N., YANKELOVICH PARTNERS INC.

In general, would you rather see the United States primarily use military actions or primarily use diplomatic and economic actions in order to end the fighting in Bosnia?

Military - 15%
Diplomatic and economic actions - 74
Both equally (vol.) - 3
Not sure - 8

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 800
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: Time, Cable News Network
SURVEY NOTES: The survey included 800 national adults plus an oversample of Catholics. Only the national adults are reported here.
BEGINNING DATE: December 7, 1994
ENDING DATE: December 8, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: TIME, C.N.N., YANKELOVICH PARTNERS INC.

In order to try and end the fighting in Bosnia, would you favor or oppose the United States sending ground troops as part of the United Nations peace-keeping force?

Favor - 34%
Oppose - 58
Don't know/no answer - 8

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,120
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: November 27, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 28, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS

Do you think the United Nations has a responsibility to do something about the fighting between Serbs and Bosnians in what used to Yugoslavia, or doesn't the United Nations have this responsibility?

Has responsibility - 73%
Doesn't have responsibility - 20
Don't know/no answer - 7

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,120
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: November 27, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 28, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS

Middle East

Thinking about the situation in the Middle East, do you favor or oppose using United States military troops to help maintain peace between Israel and Syria by stationing those U.S. troops on the Golan Heights on the border between Israel and Syria?

Favor	- 28%
Oppose	- 65
Not sure	- 7

POPULATION: National adult

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 800

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

SURVEY SPONSOR: Time, Cable News Network

SURVEY NOTES: The survey included 800 national adults plus an oversample of Catholics. Only the national adults are reported here.

BEGINNING DATE: December 7, 1994

ENDING DATE: December 8, 1994

SOURCE DOCUMENT: TIME, C.N.N.,
YANKELOVICH PARTNERS INC.

Lake Research

MEMORANDUM

TO: Womens' Leaders
FROM: Celinda Lake
RE: Women Voters in the 1994 Election
DATE: March 13, 1995

Overview

As Democrats analyze the wave of the 1994 election, much has been made of the "angry white man," but little attention has been paid to "ambivalent women." In the past Democrats have won elections by generating strong support among women and narrowing the gap or winning men. In 1994 Democrats failed on both scores and saw an erosion of support among both men and women, particularly among white men and women. In fact Democrats in 1992 had won Congressional races by generating positive support among white women (51% Democratic, 49% Republican) and narrowly losing white men (49% - 51%). In 1994 Democrats solidly lost both white men (37%-63%) and white women (47% - 53%). Realistically, the Democrats will come back in 1996 only by putting together a message and strategy that excites the base of women and rebuilds support among men.

In the past when a gender gap existed, Democrats tended to win because they excited women as much as Republicans excited men. That was not true in 1994, when women were at best lukewarm and ambivalent towards Democrats, and men were enthusiastic about Republicans. In 1994 according to the VRS exit polls, women gave Democrats only an 8 point margin overall (54% Democrat, 46% Republican), while men gave Republicans a 14 point gap (57% Republican, 43% Democratic). Democrats would have retained control of both the House and Senate if women had been as excited about the Democrats as men were about the Republicans. 1994 represented both frustration among women and anger among men, and the party must deal with both to come back.

1994 saw white women drop 4.4% from their average level of support for Democrats

between 1980-1992 and white men drop 7.5% . Overall women dropped 1% and men 8%.

Table 1 --- Congressional Vote

	1994 Vote			1994	
	% Dem	% Rep	Dem margin	Ave Dem vote 80-92	Dem dropoff
men	43	57	-14	51	-8
women	54	46	+8	55	-1
white men	37	63	-26	44.5	-7.5
white women	47	53	-6	51.4	-4.4

Comparing 1992 to 1994, there was a dramatic fall-off in women's support for Democrats among white women (-12 points), among seniors (-8), among married women (-6), and among middlebrow women with some college education (-10). 1994 represented erosion of support for Democrats among swing and base voters.

Finally, preliminary evidence suggests that a lack of enthusiasm among women also manifested itself in lower turnout. The exit polls suggest that while in 1992 54% of the electorate was female, in 1994 51% of the electorate was female, representing a possible falloff in women's turnout. According the Gallup/CNN survey, non-voters were 56% women, and 35% non-college women (10 points higher than their proportion of the population). In the past Democrats have won in part because of higher turnout among women than men. Women overall supported Democrats by 8 points and non-college women supported them by 12 points. Lower turnout among women costs Democrats important votes.

State Races (see appendix)

Gender gaps were evident in all but two of the top statewide races. Democrats won 7 offices because of the support of women. Women carried the day in the New Jersey Senate race, the California Senate race, the New Mexico Senate race, the Virginia Senate race, Florida Governor's race, the Georgia Governor's race, and the Maryland Governor's race. In addition, according to exit polls, the Nevada Senate and Nebraska Senate races would have gone from solid wins to 1-2 point races if not for the strong support among women.

There were significant gender gaps in another key 10 races. However, in these races

men's enthusiasm for the Republicans was not matched by the same level of enthusiasm among women for the Democrat. Women voted for, but men voted against, the Democratic candidate carrying the day in the Arizona Senate, the Michigan Senate, the Minnesota Senate, the Pennsylvania Senate, the Washington Senate, the Alabama Governor, the Arizona Governor, the Connecticut Governor, the New York Governor, and the Texas Governor's race.

What Happened?

What happened? Why were women not more enthusiastic? Why did the Democrats have erosion among women? First, both men and women were discouraged with the job Congress and Bill Clinton had done. For both men and women, anti-incumbents became anti-Democrats because they perceived the Democrats to be in charge and not to have gotten the job done. Sixty-four percent of women and 76% of men disapproved of the job Congress was doing. By a margin of 41% to 39% women wanted someone new in Congress, joined by men who wanted someone new by a margin of 48% to 35%. When women assessed their feelings about Bill Clinton before the election, the dominant emotions were disappointment, uncertainty, and disgust (44%). Fifty-two percent of men agreed. Only 32% of women and 28% of men still described themselves as hopeful.

Perceptions of the economy were a major drag on the enthusiasm of women. Women are much more pessimistic about the economy than men -- worried about jobs and the incomes those jobs provide. While 42% of men believe the economy is in recovery, only 30% of women agree. Moreover, negative impressions of the economy may also have depressed turnout among women. 72% of nonvoters felt the economy was not in good shape.

Women thought Bill Clinton had done a bad job on crime, and crime is an important issue to women who worry about their own personal security and violence against children. Forty-two percent of women listed crime as their top issue compared to 31% of men. Both men and women believe that Clinton is doing a bad job on crime, even after the passage of the crime bill. (Women: 42% approve, 46% disapprove/Men: 37% approve, 53% disapprove).

Women wanted health reform more than men but also had serious reservations about the Clinton package. Senior women, who most wanted reform, switched from support of the Clinton plan to opposition. Eighteen percent (18%) of women but only 9% of men said Bill Clinton's

health care proposal was their biggest concern about him on the eve of the election.

In the 1994 election, both men and women said that they trusted the Republicans more than the Democrats to deal with the problem they cared about most (9 and 7 points respectively). This despite the fact that women lean Democratic in their party identification by 5 points while men lean Republican by 12 points.

Finally, older women and non-college women wanted Bill Clinton to pay more attention to home and less to foreign affairs. They were particularly angry about the time Bush spent on foreign affairs and do not want to see Bill Clinton do the same.

Don't Ignore the Base

Coming back from the 1994 represents a real challenge to the Democrats -- both in rebuilding their base and regaining swing voters. The Democrats must find a way to both energize their base and rebuild support among swing voters.

Today, and for most of the last two years, the Democrats would have been a permanent minority party without the support of women. Moreover, Bill Clinton would have been a defeated President without their support. While Democrats contemplate regaining angry men, they must also develop strategies to deal with ambivalent women.

In the 1994 election, women leaned Democratic 43% to 38% Republican. Men leaned Republican 48% to 36%. In a two-way Presidential race with Bob Dole, women voted 49% for Bill Clinton, 35% for Dole with 16% undecided.

Men went 35% for Clinton, 49% for Dole, and 16% undecided. In a three way race women supported Clinton 45%, with Dole at 40% and Perot at 8%. At the same time men went 34% for Clinton, 48% for Dole and 10% for Perot.

However, Democrats and Bill Clinton cannot take women's votes for granted. Post-election, both men and women disapproved of the job Clinton was doing. Women disapproved 55% to 42% approval. Men disapproved 70% to 29%. As we have seen, winning over both requires much of the same -- a solid economy, progress on reinventing government and politics. However, men and women often see these issues in different ways. For example, women worry about the economy -- particularly jobs and incomes, while men are more optimistic about the economy but worry about taxes and deficits. Women want a crime agenda that gives equal

weight to punishment and prevention, while men favor punishment. Women split on whether current policies should be changed (47% continue, 47% change), while men overwhelmingly want a change in direction (66%).

Public Polling Update

on

Balanced Budget Amendment, Deficit Reduction, Medicare and Medicaid

March, 1995

(Provided by Greenberg Research)

I'd like to read you a list of seven possible legislative priorities. Please tell me which one or two you feel are the most important issues for Congress to address...an increase in the minimum wage, a balanced budget amendment, a middle class tax cut, welfare reform, a revised crime bill, health care reform, a capital gains tax cut?

4

Increase minimum wage	- 18%
Balanced budget amendment	- 24
Middle class tax cut	- 28
- Welfare reform	- 46
Revised crime bill	- 21
- Health care reform	- 29
Capital gains tax cut	- 8
All equally important (vol.)	- 3

Health care reform
2nd highest to
welfare reform

QUESTION NOTES: Adds to more than 100% due to multiple responses

Do you favor or oppose a balanced budget amendment to the U.S. (United States) Constitution?

Favor	- 71%
Oppose	- 16
Depends (vol.)	- 4
Not sure	- 9

Would you favor or oppose a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution if that would require a twenty percent cut in spending on entitlement programs such as Medicare, Medicaid, and veterans benefits?

6

Favor	- 28%
Oppose	- 65
Depends (vol.)	- 3
Not sure	- 4

Many Democrats say that Congress should have to explain which programs they intend to cut before voting on the balanced budget amendment, so people will understand the consequences. Republicans say that voting on the balanced budget amendment should come first, because without the amendment, Congress won't really make the spending cuts that it should. Who do you agree with more on this issue--the Democrats or the Republicans?

Democrats	- 58%
Republicans	- 36
Both/neither (vol.)	- 3
Not sure	- 3

POPULATION: National adult

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,003

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

SURVEY SPONSOR: NBC News, Wall Street Journal

BEGINNING DATE: January 14, 1995

ENDING DATE: January 17, 1995

SOURCE DOCUMENT: NBC NEWS, WALL STREET JOURNAL

DATE OF RELEASE OF SOURCE DOCUMENT: January 20, 1995

ORGANIZATION: HART AND TEETER RESEARCH COMPANIES

Would you favor or oppose a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution that would require the federal government to balance its budget by the year 2002?

Favor - 77%
Oppose - 15
Don't know/No answer - 8



Suppose balancing the federal budget required cuts in Social Security or Medicare—then would you favor a balanced budget amendment (that would require the federal government to balance the budget by the year 2002), or not?

Favor - 34%
Oppose - 62
Don't know/No answer - 4

POPULATION: National adult

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 4,943

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

QUESTION NOTES: Asked of those who favored a balance budget amendment (77%)

BEGINNING DATE: January 10, 1995

ENDING DATE: January 20, 1995

SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS

DATE OF RELEASE OF SOURCE DOCUMENT: January 23, 1995

ORGANIZATION: CBS NEWS

Do you favor or oppose a balanced budget amendment to the U.S. (United States) Constitution?

Favor - 68%
Oppose - 19
Depends (vol.) - 3
Not sure - 10

Would you favor or oppose a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution if that would require a twenty percent cut on entitlement programs such as Medicare, Medicaid, and veterans benefits?

Favor - 33%
Oppose - 61
Depends (vol.) - 3
Not sure - 3

I'd like to read you a list of seven possible legislative priorities. Please tell me which one or two you feel are the most important issues for the next Congress to address... job training programs, a balanced budget amendment, a revised crime bill, welfare reform, health care reform, a middle class tax cut, a school prayer amendment?

Job training programs - 21%
Balanced budget amendment - 28
Revised crime bill - 21
Revised crime bill - 37
Health care reform - 31
Middle class tax cut - 22
School prayer amendment - 11
All equally important (vol.) - 3
Not sure - 1

QUESTION NOTES: Adds to more than 100% due to multiple responses.

POPULATION: National adult

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,000

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

SURVEY SPONSOR: NBC News, Wall Street Journal

BEGINNING DATE: December 10, 1994

ENDING DATE: December 13, 1994

SOURCE DOCUMENT: NBC NEWS, WALL STREET JOURNAL

DATE OF RELEASE OF SOURCE DOCUMENT: December 16, 1994

ORGANIZATION: HART AND TEETER RESEARCH COMPANIES

Would you favor or oppose a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution that would require the federal government to balance its budget by the year 2002?

Favor	- 81%
Oppose	- 12
Don't know/No answer	- 7

Suppose balancing the federal budget required cuts in Social Security--then would you favor a balanced budget amendment (to the Constitution that would require the federal government to balance the budget by the year 2002), or not?

Favor	- 37%
Oppose	- 60
Don't know/No answer	- 2

POPULATION: National adult

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,147

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

QUESTION NOTES: Second question asked of those who favor a balanced budget amendment which would require the budget be balanced by the year 2002 (81%)

BEGINNING DATE: December 6, 1994

ENDING DATE: December 9, 1994

SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES

DATE OF RELEASE OF SOURCE DOCUMENT: December 14, 1994

ORGANIZATION: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES

Suppose balancing the federal budget required cuts in Medicare--then would you favor a balanced budget amendment, (to the Constitution that would require the federal government to balance the budget by the year 2002), or not?



Favor - 33%
Not favor - 64
Don't know/No answer - 2

Suppose balancing the federal budget required cuts in spending on education--then would you favor a balanced budget amendment (to the Constitution that would require the federal government to balance the budget by the year 2002), or not?

Favor - 27%
Not favor - 73

Suppose balancing the federal budget required increases in the amount you pay in federal income tax--then would you favor a balanced budget amendment (to the Constitution that would require the federal government to balance the budget by the year 2002), or not?

Favor - 51%
Not favor - 47
Don't know/No answer - 2

POPULATION: National adult

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,147

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

QUESTION NOTES: Asked of those who favor a balanced budget amendment which would require the budget be balanced by the year 2002 (81%)

BEGINNING DATE: December 6, 1994

ENDING DATE: December 9, 1994

SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES

DATE OF RELEASE OF SOURCE DOCUMENT: December 14, 1994

ORGANIZATION: CBS NEWS, NEW YORK TIMES

Would you favor or oppose a balanced budget amendment that would require Congress to balance the federal budget by the year 2002?

Favor - 80%
Oppose - 12
Don't know/no answer - 8

If a balanced budget amendment were passed, to do you think Congress would be able to balance the federal budget by the year 2002, or don't you think Congress would be able to balance the budget by then?

Will be able - 28%
Will not be able - 63
Don't know/no answer - 9

POPULATION: National adult
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 1,120
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
BEGINNING DATE: November 27, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 28, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: CBS NEWS
DATE OF RELEASE OF SOURCE DOCUMENT: November 29, 1994
ORGANIZATION: CBS NEWS

I'd like to read you a list of six possible legislative priorities. Please tell me which one or two you feel are the most important issues for the next Congress to address...welfare reform, health care reform, balanced budget amendment to the constitution, Congressional term limits, a middle class tax cut, job training programs.

Welfare reform - 46%
Health care reform - 37
Balanced budget amendment - 26
Congressional term limits - 8
Middle class tax cut - 29
Job training - 25
All equally important (vol.) - 3

*Health reform 2nd
highest priority
behind welfare reform*

POPULATION: National registered voters
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS: 802
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
SURVEY SPONSOR: NBC News, Wall Street Journal
QUESTION NOTES: Adds to more than 100% due to multiple responses
BEGINNING DATE: November 9, 1994
ENDING DATE: November 9, 1994
SOURCE DOCUMENT: NBC NEWS, WALL STREET JOURNAL
DATE OF RELEASE OF SOURCE DOCUMENT: November 11, 1994
ORGANIZATION: HART AND TEETER RESEARCH COMPANIES

Times Mirror

12/4/94

Q.12 A few questions about priorities for President Clinton and the new Congress next year.... As I read from a list tell me if you think the item that I read should be a priority. First... (READ AND ROTATE) should this be a top priority, important but lower priority, not too important, or not done?

		<u>Top Priority</u>	<u>Important, but lower Priority</u>	<u>Not Too Important</u>	<u>Not Be Done</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a.	Stricter control of handguns	46	25	14	13	2=100
b.	Improving the job situation	64	27	5	2	2=100
c.	Reforming health care 81	54	27	9	7	3=100
d.	Cutting the capital gains tax	27	38	16	7	12=100
e.	Reducing crime	78	17	2	1	2=100
f.	Reforming the welfare system	66	25	5	2	2=100
g.	Reducing the budget deficit	65	26	5	1	3=100
h.	Reducing federal income taxes for the middle class	53	32	9	3	3=100
i.	Limiting the number of terms a member of Congress can serve	33	31	23	8	5=100
j.	Passing a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget	51	32	8	5	4=100
k.	Passing a constitutional amendment that would allow prayer in public schools	33	27	19	19	2=100

FOR
RELEASE:

1/3

13. Here are some proposals members of Congress have made. For each one, please tell me whether you think it should be the top priority for Congress to pass within the first 100 days, a high priority, a low priority, or no priority at all. First, ... Next, how high a priority should Congress give to ...[ROTATE]

[INTERVIEWER NOTE: IF RESPONDENT SAYS ITEM SHOULD NOT BE PASSED, MARK AS "NO" PRIORITY.]

	Priority				No Opin
	Top	High	Low	No	
Tougher anti-crime legislation	34	50	12	2	2
Significant reduction in the Federal budget deficit	31	51	13	3	2
A Constitutional amendment to balance the budget	30	47	16	4	3
A cut in taxes for most American families	27	47	20	4	2
Major reform in the country's health care system	28	44	21	5	2
Legislation to limit welfare payments	26	44	24	3	3
Significant cuts in spending for Federal programs	22	45	26	5	2
Legislation which would allow the President to veto individual parts of a proposed spending or tax bill, rather than having to accept or veto the entire bill	21	43	26	6	4
A Constitutional amendment to limit the number of terms members of Congress can serve	19	36	34	8	3
A Constitutional amendment to allow voluntary prayer in schools	19	33	33	14	1
A cut in the capital-gains tax	15	36	33	7	9
An increase in defense spending	12	30	45	11	2
Making it more difficult for women to get an abortion	13	21	40	23	3

FOR
RELEASE:

14. Among the items you have said should receive "top" priority with Congress -- which one do you personally think is the most important one?

113
11 Major reform in the country's health care system
11 Tougher anti-crime legislation
7 Significant reduction in the Federal budget deficit
6 Legislation to limit welfare payments
6 A Constitutional amendment to balance the budget
6 A cut in taxes for most Americans
5 Legislation which would allow the President to veto individual parts of a proposed spending or tax bill, rather than having to accept or veto the entire bill
5 A Constitutional amendment to allow voluntary prayer in schools
4 Significant cuts in spending for Federal programs
4 Making it more difficult for women to get an abortion
3 A Constitutional amendment to limit the number of terms members of Congress can serve
1 A cut in the capital-gains tax
1 An increase in defense spending
30 No opinion
100

15. The Republican leaders in Congress have made several proposals to change the way Congress operates, which they plan to bring to a vote on the first day of the new Congress. These changes include reducing the number of Congressional committees and staff and requiring all meetings to be made public. Do you think these changes represent real reforms of Congress, or are they just a political gimmick?

37 Represent real reforms
57 Just a political gimmick
6 No opinion
100

24. Have you heard or read anything about the Republican "Contract with America," which outlines proposals the Republicans in the U.S. House of Representatives promise to vote on in the first 100 days of the new Congress, or haven't you heard or read anything about it?

Total Respondents

	<u>Tot</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<u>Oct94B*</u>
Have heard or read	28 %	35 %	24 %	25 %	29 %
Have not	70	63	74	73	70
DK/NA	2	2	2	2	1

*Varied wording: "....would work on if they win a majority in Congress this fall,"

25. In the first 100 days of the new Congress, do you think the Republicans will keep their promise to vote on the proposals outlined in their Contract with America, or don't you think they'll keep their promise?

Will keep promise	47 %	71 %	31 %	39 %
Will not keep promise	38	18	53	43
DK/NA	15	11	16	18

26. With the Republicans in control of both the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate, do you think your taxes will go up, go down, or stay about the same?

Up	42 %	22 %	58 %	48 %
Down	9	18	2	6
Stay about the same	46	57	37	42
DK/NA	5	3	3	4

→ 27. Would you favor or oppose a balanced budget amendment that would require Congress to balance the federal budget by the year 2002?

Favor	80 %	85 %	76 %	79 %
Oppose	12	11	14	11
DK/NA	8	4	10	10

Trend Dates: Oct94B was conducted 10/29-11/1/94; NYS94A was conducted in New York State 9/29-10/2/94; Sep94A was conducted 9/8-11/94; Aug94A was conducted 3/2/94; Jul94C was conducted 7/14-17/94; Apr94A was conducted 4/21-23/94; Jan94C was conducted 1/15-17/94; Jan94A was conducted 1/3-5/94; Feb93A was conducted 2/20-21/93; Mar82 was conducted 3/11-15/82; Apr81 was conducted 4/22-26/81.

23. (Of those who support a balanced budget amendment) Would you support or oppose a constitutional amendment to require a balanced federal budget if it meant raising your federal income taxes?

	1/4/95
Support	48
Oppose	49
No opinion	2

Q.21/23 NET

	1/4/95
Support amendment if raise federal income taxes	38
Oppose amendment if raise federal income taxes	55
No opinion	7

24. Do you think the president of the United States should or should not have the authority to veto individual items in the federal budget, something known as the line-item veto?

	1/4/95
Yes, president should have the authority	64
No, president should not have the authority	31
No opinion	5

25. Turning to another subject, the death penalty: Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

	1/4/95	4/26/92*	12/18/82	1/30/82	5/20/81
Favor	74	75	76	69	73
Oppose	19	19	19	19	20
(Vol) It depends	5	5	NA	8	5
No opinion	2	1	6	4	3

* Word "oppose" added to question

26. Do you support or oppose a reduction in the federal capital gains tax - that is, the tax on profits from investments?

	1/4/95	10/20/88
Support	52	44
Oppose	40	33
No opinion	8	23

27. Would you support or oppose a law limiting welfare recipients to a maximum of two years of benefits, after which those who are able to work would have to get a job or do community service?

	1/4/95	1/23/94
Support	91	89
Oppose	8	8
No opinion	1	3

28. Do you favor or oppose an amendment to the U.S Constitution that would allow organized prayer in the public schools?

	1/4/95	4/13/87
Favor	67	68
Oppose	32	30
No opinion	1	2

29. Do you favor or oppose a limit on the number of years a person could serve as a U.S. Representative in Congress?

	Favor	Oppose	No opinion
1/4/95	75	23	2
6/26/94	72	24	3

ABN/WP

1/4/95

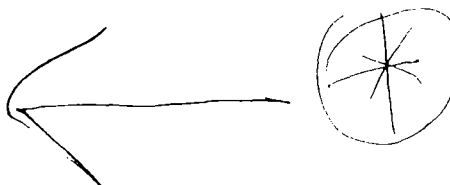
(11)

11/14/93	80	17	3
4/9/92	76	21	3
3/18/92	76	21	3
3/11/92	74	23	3
10/21/91	74	24	3
10/14/90	73	24	3

30. Now on several of these issues I'm going to ask you what kind of priority it should get in Congress. For each I name, please tell me whether you think it's absolutely critical to get done as soon as possible, important but not critical, not very important or not important at all.

A. Health care reform

	1/4/95
Critical/important (NET)	34
Absolutely critical	45
Important but not critical	39
Not important (NET)	15
Not very important	10
Not important at all	5
No opinion	1



B. Cutting the federal budget deficit

	1/4/95
Critical/important (NET)	93
Absolutely critical	55
Important but not critical	39
Not important (NET)	5
Not very important	3
Not important at all	2
No opinion	1

C. Providing a middle-class tax cut

	1/4/95
Critical/important (NET)	82
Absolutely critical	37
Important but not critical	46
Not important (NET)	17
Not very important	13
Not important at all	4
No opinion	1

D. Approving a constitutional amendment to allow organized prayer in public schools

	1/4/95
Critical/important (NET)	60
Absolutely critical	22
Important but not critical	38
Not important (NET)	38
Not very important	19
Not important at all	19
No opinion	1

E. Approving a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget

	1/4/95
Critical/important (NET)	35
Absolutely critical	41
Important but not critical	45
Not important (NET)	13
Not very important	7

11. As you know, the President and the Congress will be trying to cut federal programs in order to reduce the budget deficit. For each of the following programs, please tell me whether you think it is more important to reduce the federal budget deficit, or more important to prevent that program from being significantly cut. First, (READ 1ST ITEM, ROTATE); Second, (READ AND ROTATE REST OF ITEMS) --

		<u>Reduce Fed Budget Deficit</u> %	<u>Prevent Significant Cut in Program</u> %	<u>No Opin</u> %
 →	a. Medicare-- the federal health program for the elderly	19	78	3
 →	b. Medicaid-- the federal health program for the poor	29	66	5
→	c. Social security	20	77	3
	d. Defense spending	52	43	5
	e. Food stamps	60	35	5
	f. School lunch program	28	69	3
	g. Grants to cities to put more police on the streets	28	68	4
	h. Aid to farmers	43	52	5
	i. Funding for the arts	66	29	5
	j. Loans to college students	31	65	4
	k. Welfare programs in general	65	30	5