THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 12.7

TO: Rahm
Bruce

FROM: **Staff Secretary**

FYI,

cc: Alexis
J. Podesta

+ cc
Podesta
to coordinate
Rahm

The American Jewish Committee

New York Chapter

Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, NY 10022-2746
(212) 751-4000

November 21, 1995

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As you know, we are an interracial and interreligious group of leaders deeply concerned about welfare reform and its impact on the most vulnerable individuals in our society. In July we met with Carol Rasco, Mary Jo Bane and David Elwood to discuss our concerns. The meeting was open, forthright and candid as we explored many areas of mutual concern.

Now that the welfare package has emerged from the Senate-House conference committee, we urge you to exercise your Presidential veto power to veto the welfare legislation in whatever legislative vehicle it is presented.

The conference-committee report calls for cuts in means-tested programs of approximately $82 billion over seven years. Coupled with reductions in the Earned Income Tax Credit, means-tested entitlements, other than Medicaid, would be cut by $114 billion over seven years. These cuts would have particularly harsh consequences for children and legal immigrants, and would force many individuals and families who rely on federal programs into poverty.

Children would be most deeply affected by the conference agreement. The welfare package it presents would allow states to deny assistance to children born to poor unmarried women under the age of 18. Denial of assistance solely on the basis of age and martial status will punish children and will lead to further problems for society.

The agreement would also cut $6 billion from child nutrition programs, including the school-lunch program. It is unclear whether states would even be required to continue to provide free meals to poor children or to meet the lunch program's basic nutritional standards. The conference package would also block-grant child-protection funds, with no provision for increased funding based on changes in need. In addition, the agreement would significantly reduce federal Supplemental Security Income (SSI) benefits for large numbers of disabled low-income children, by cutting both the number of children who would be eligible for these benefits, and by cutting the amount of benefits that those children who are eligible would be entitled to receive.

Norman R. Stein, President, Diane Steinman, Director, Vice Presidents: Dorothy B. Dubin, Edith B. Everett, Jo Renee Fine, Frances A. Hess, Jeffrey M. Loewy, Kenneth D. Makovsky, Manfred Ohrenstein, Philippe D. Padley, Florence Reif Richman, Kenneth S. Brown, Treasurer, Lee Saltzman, Del[illegible], Harold L. Lazarus

The conference package does nothing to help people move off of welfare, and in fact cuts a number of programs designed to help ease the transition from welfare to work. The agreement removes child-care guarantees for parents who need it in order to participate in education, training and employment. Furthermore, the agreement makes no provision for transitional child care or Medicaid to mothers and their children who have left welfare for employment. The agreement also eliminates the JOBS program and ends the requirement that states provide the education, job training and employment services needed by recipients to be self-sufficient.

The conference agreement also cuts deeply into food-stamp benefits, ultimately cutting food-stamp assistance by approximately one-fifth. Most of the cuts would come from across-the-board benefit reductions that would affect all recipients, including families with children, the working poor, the elderly and the disabled.

In addition, the conference agreement would significantly reduce the benefits available to legal immigrants. Under the agreement, most noncitizens, including legal immigrants over the age of 75 and those too disabled to naturalize, would be ineligible for food stamps and SSI. Many legal immigrant children will be ineligible for child-nutrition programs, including school-lunch programs, and many pregnant immigrant women will be denied WIC benefits. The agreement also provides for a state option to bar noncitizens from Medicaid and certain other benefits.

Moreover, the conference agreement would deny welfare benefits to able-bodied adults after two years and would limit total lifetime assistance to five years or less, at the option of the states. There should be no time limit to public assistance as long as employable people are working, genuinely looking for work or participating in a worker training program.

Finally, the agreement contains a weak "maintenance-of-effort" provision that only requires states to maintain 75% of their 1994 expenditure level for programs folded into the welfare block grant. As a result, states will be able to withdraw an additional $3 billion in state funds over the next five years without losing any federal block grant funds. This could lead to a dangerous "race to the bottom" by states as they seek to deter the migration of needy citizens from neighboring states.

In sum, the welfare "reform" package proposed by the conference committee would practically destroy the federal safety net and , without resources in place to help the poor become self-sufficient, would force vulnerable individuals and families who rely on federal support programs over the line into poverty. These provisions undermine the very purpose that welfare reform was intended to achieve.

We urge you to veto this draconian and unwise legislation.

Respectfully,

Norman H. Stein, President, New York Chapter, American Jewish Committee
Mimi Alperin, Chair, National Affairs Commission, American Jewish Committee

Margaret Fung, Executive Director, Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund

Roscoe C. Brown, Jr., Past President, Bronx Community College

Rev. Msgr. James J. Murray, Executive Director, The Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York
Thomas De Stefano, Executive Director, Catholic Charities of the Diocese of Brooklyn and Queens

David S. Chen, Executive Director, Chinese-American Planning Council

David R. Jones, President/CEO, Community Service Society

Dawud Assad, President, Council of Masajid of U.S.A.

Megan E. McLaughlin, DSW, Executive Director/CEO, Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies

Luis A. Miranda, Jr., President, Hispanic Federation of New York City

Hazel N. Dukes, President, New York State Branches, NAACP

Mark Handelman, Executive Vice President, New York Association of New Americans

Dennis M. Walcott, President/CEO, New York Urban League

Luther Gattling, President, One Hundred Black Men

Juan A. Figueroa, President and General Counsel, Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund

cc: Leon Lvp Futrell

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-7-95

95 NOV 17 AM : 27

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20250-0100

November 18, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SECRETARY DAN GLICKMAN

SUBJECT: AGRICULTURAL MARKET TRENDS AND RECONCILIATION

Grain markets are extremely tight and market prices are at, or near, record highs. These conditions have significant implications for the debate over the agriculture provisions of the budget reconciliation bill and the 1995 farm bill.

High prices are raising crop income, but reducing livestock income which is already under pressure from record-large meat supplies. Government farm program costs are falling sharply, likely down $3-4 billion in FY 1996 compared with the budget projections Congress is using to assess budget reconciliation proposals.

Despite the run up in farm prices, food price inflation is not a major concern, now. However, the tight supplies and strong prices place increased importance on developments in 1996. Below normal crop production in any major grain producing country could cause US grain prices to increase to the point that livestock and poultry producers significantly reduce production, possibly resulting in notable food price inflation beginning in late 1996.

* The conferees have agreed to reconciliation provisions that set commodity program spending levels independently of prices, a fundamental, and I believe unwise, change in these programs. In locking in much of the baseline spending estimates, farmers will receive large farm payments notwithstanding high prices. At the same time, food and other assistance programs for low income people are being reduced.

This plan has several flaws; however, we should not reject it out of hand. Many will want the Administration to do that, but we do so at considerable peril. It is extremely unlikely Congress will totally scrap what it has produced at the end of a sometimes acrimonious debate. The framework of the post-veto bill is probably set. However, with modifications, we can broker a compromise that achieves important reforms consistent with our policies.

Supply and Price Situation. Last Thursday, we released our most recent estimate on the market prospects for the current season: Major crop supplies are extremely tight, leading to historically high prices for wheat and possibly corn, detailed in the table:

Prices and carryover stocks for major crops: 1992/93-1995/96

	Wheat	Corn	Soybeans	Upland Cotton
U.S. Farm level Price	*$/bushel*	*$/bushel*	*$/bushel*	*Cents/lb.*
1992/93	3.24	2.07	5.56	54
1993/94	3.26	2.50	6.40	58
1994/95	3.45	2.25	5.45	73
1995/96 Projected	4.20-4.50	2.95-3.35	6.30-7.30	75 1/
Current Record High	4.09 ('74)	3.21 ('83)	7.83 ('83)	75.4 ('80)
U.S. Ending Stocks	*Mil. bushels*	*Mil. bushels*	*Mil. bushels*	*Mil. bales*
1992/93	531	2,113	292	4.5
1993/94	568	850	209	3.3
1994/95	507	1,558	335	2.6
1995/96 Projected	395	617	215	3.7
Lowest Since 1970	340 ('73)	361 ('74)	60 ('72)	2.3 ('90)

1 Internal projection; USDA is prohibited by law from publishing cotton price projections.

US stocks of wheat and corn at the end of the current marketing seasons are projected to be the lowest since the infamous "Great Russian Grain Robbery" of the early 1970's when the former-Soviet Union bought massive quantities of US grains in the face of

tightening world supplies, setting off dramatically higher prices. Soybean and cotton stocks are also down and prices higher.

World stocks of grains at the end of this season are projected to be the lowest on record. As a percent of use, they are projected to be the lowest since we started comprehensive global record keeping in 1960 – three to four percent below the level the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations considers a "minimum safe level."

The market tightness is a result of several factors: A wet spring and dry August reduced US yields to below average, also foreign production and stocks fell. At the same time, US exports have been very strong. During FY 1995, exports were a record $53 billion, a substantial $9 billion above the previous record set in 1981 and we expect another record high this fiscal year.

Positive Implications: Farm Income and Farm Program Costs. We expect that higher crop prices will significantly boost crop farm income. Cash receipts for wheat, feed grain, and cotton producers will increase $2.5 to $3 billion in 1995, an eight percent increase over last year. For many producers, receipts will be even stronger in 1996 as they market this fall's harvest at record or near-record prices. However, for some crop producers, cash receipts will drop this year as reduced yields offset higher prices.

While most crop producers are benefitting, the story is different for livestock and poultry producers. Record-large supplies have pressured prices in 1995, thus receipts for livestock and poultry producers will fall by $1 billion this year.

Your budget, released in February, estimated FY 1995 outlays on farm price and income support programs at $10.6 billion. With stronger prices, outlays actually turned out to be $6.0 billion. For FY 1996, your budget estimated outlays at $9.1 billion; they are now expected to total only $5.5 billion, or lower.

Because of increased market prices, many crop producers will have to repay advances on 1995-crop deficiency payments we paid earlier this year. Of the $2.1 billion advanced, producers will probably be required to repay over $1.5 billion. We have already provided producers with several options for refunding advance deficiency payments. Much of the agricultural reconciliation debate in the House and in conference has focused on how part of the higher projected payments in the February baseline can be captured for producers by legislating spending levels for future years that would not decline as prices rise.

We expect that the very low stocks on hand at the end of this year will lead to strong market prices and lower-than-anticipated payments to producers in 1996. Continued strong world grain prices will also reduce the cost of other agricultural programs, such as export subsidies under the Export Enhancement Program (EEP). Because global supplies are tight and demand remains strong – fueled by population growth, foreign income growth, and market-opening trade agreements – income prospects for crop producers look very good for the next couple of years.

Risks to the Outlook: Poor 1996 weather and food availability. The Consumer Price Index (CPI) for food is expected to be up three percent in 1995, compared with a two and four-tenths percent increase last year. The larger increase in retail food prices this year primarily reflects weather-related increases in retail prices of fresh fruits and vegetables. Retail prices of cereal and bakery products, which account for only nine percent of the food in the CPI, will increase about two and one-half percent this year, compared with more than four percent last year.

Continued high grain prices may affect livestock and poultry production and lead to increases in the 1996 food CPI. But at this point, we foresee very little change from this year's level. Right now, the US livestock industry appears to be handling higher grain prices. Although profitability is low among cattle producers, the cattle herd continues to build. But if grain prices trigger a large livestock liquidation, the trend could set off a cycle whereby first the increase in herd slaughter would lower meat prices dampening food price inflation and then, by late 1996, livestock markets could start to tighten pushing retail prices and the food CPI higher.

The risk to food prices comes from the possibility of even higher grain prices than we now expect. Higher than expected prices could result from poor southern hemisphere harvests in the spring or unexpected demand, for example from Russia where grain production is low, or poor US weather next spring or summer.

US weather in the spring and summer of 1996 will be a critically important factor for rebuilding supplies and whether we avoid a serious disruption for livestock and poultry producers and serious consequences for consumers. The low level of carry in stocks world-wide means that even if grain yields are on trend in 1996, grain stocks will remain below average and market prices will remain strong.

We have another concern resulting from the higher grain prices: They reduce the ability of developing countries to import grain. I believe it is especially important that we maintain our commitment to funding humanitarian export programs, such as PL-

480, in future budgets. If we do not, more of the world's hungry will be at risk.

Implications for Farm Policy in the Budget Reconciliation and Farm Bills. The current crop situation has implications for the 1995 farm legislation. High grain prices reduce the need for government payments and export subsidies.

The House and Senate conferees appear to have agreed to a reconciliation bill similar to the House's "Freedom to Farm Act," which fixes total payments each year, regardless of price, likely resulting in substantial payments to producers over the next couple of years despite expected high prices.

We continue to believe that payments should be scaled back when prices are high. It is wrong to make large government payments to farmers when prices are high while at the same time Congress is supporting budget cuts for low-income recipients of food assistance, Medicare, and other programs.

High grain prices also underscore the need for the government not to place unnecessary restrictions on the amount of land that can be farmed. The conference bill appears to provide greater planting flexibility and eliminates the authority to require producers to idle land in order to be eligible for payments. While these changes go further than the Administration's proposal, they make sense.

The Conservation Reserve Program (CRP), which offers farmers ten-year contracts to retire environmentally-sensitive land, must be better targeted by providing authority for enrolling new, more environmentally sensitive cropland as existing contracts expire. The conference bill provides authority for new enrollments but severely reduces funding for the CRP, which could limit our ability to remove environmentally sensitive cropland from production. We are also exploring various options that would enable producers to withdraw certain acreage from the CRP before contract expiration.

We will continue to monitor the unfolding situation closely and keep you abreast of further developments. Although grain markets are very tight and market prices high, food supplies and food price inflation are not now major concerns. We are prepared to use available discretionary authority to relieve the tight grain situation to the extent we can.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-7-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 DEC 5 A11 : 47

5 December 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: Leon Panetta
Bruce Lindsey

From: Harold Ickes (HI)

Re: Securities "reform"

Attached is a self explanatory memorandum to me from Bill Carrick, dated 30 November 1995, which I requested, in which he urges the President to veto the securities reform law now moving through Congress. As he states, his client is the California Consumer Attorneys, who is very much opposed to this legislation.

He argues that initiatives basically dominate California campaigns and, as he states in the first two pages, he thinks that various initiatives over the years have been responsible for the outcome of specific candidate elections.

According to Bill, silicon valley interests intend to back a comprehensive tort reform package to hide their own special interest agenda - - namely, to stop class action shareholder lawsuits. He claims that silicon valley interests have been unable to broaden their coalition to enlist other corporate interests, particularly the insurance industry and, therefore, they are isolated both financially and politically.

While there is no guarantee, he thinks that a Presidential veto of the federal securities litigation reform bill might prevent a pitched battle next year on this issue in California. He argues that if there is no federal securities litigation reform, there will be no reason to finance a California shareholders/securities reform initiative. In short, a Presidential veto of the federal bill would take all the financial energy out of a silicon valley initiative campaign.

In summary, it is his view that the "tort war" will hurt Democrats financially, will dominate the advertising and free media environments, will distract voter attention from the Clinton/Gore campaign message and will inhibit Democrats ability to finance a popular initiative like a minimum wage increase which could do for the Democrats in 1996 what proposition 187 did

for the Republicans in 1984.

Also attached is a two page memo from Paul Maslin, the pollster, to me, dated 29 November 1995 arguing that securities litigation reform that would limit class action shareholder lawsuits is not popular in California.

Let's discuss if you wish.

Bill Carrick

FAX

Memorandum

To: Harold Ickes
Fr: Bill Carrick
Dt: November 30, 1995
Re: Per your request

Harold,

Here's the information that you requested. Hope it is helpful in your decision making. Although it is in my own economic self-interest for the "Tort Wars" to blow up, it is clearly not in the interest of the President's re-election for this war to be waged in the California Initiative process.

7 pages with cover

MORRIS & CARRICK
INC.

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold Ickes
Fr: Bill Carrick
Dt: November 30, 1995
Re: Effect of Silicon Valley Tort Initiatives on California Election

Since 1990, I have been the lead strategist and media consultant in five competitive statewide races. I believe very strongly that the California political culture is very different than the political culture in the rest of America in many ways.

Californians care less about politics, government, and campaigns. California campaigns are dominated to an overwhelming extent by paid media and not free media. The actual turnout of voters in General Elections is very volatile and differs from election to election. Support for minor parties can have a determining impact on election outcomes, even without Ross Perot's Party in the equation. I can elaborate on the differences between California and other states for pages, but the most powerful difference between California and the rest of the country is the Initiative process.

Initiatives dominate California campaigns!

In 1988, the insurance wars were a more powerful influence on turnout than the Presidential campaign. In 1990, Dianne Feinstein would have beaten Pete Wilson if Big Green had not turned rural Inland voters out in large numbers to vote against Big Green and Big Green supporter, Dianne Feinstein. In 1994, Proposition 187 polarized swing voters against 187 opponent Kathleen Brown and influenced the turnout negatively for all Democrats.

What's going to be the initiative battle of 1996? Affirmative Action? Minimum Wage? Probably not, because all the money is going to be spent on the big battle of 1996 - the fight over tort issues. Silicon Valley interests are sponsoring and financing a package of three initiatives for the March 26, 1996 Primary ballot; all are aimed at the legal profession: Pure No-Fault Insurance (Prop 200), Shareholders Lawsuits "Reform" (Prop 210), and Attorney Fee Caps (Prop 202).

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2866 BELDEN DRIVE, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90068 (213) 469-4592

My client, the California Consumer Attorneys are leading the opposition to this package. Both sides are planning to spend $10 million on the March campaign.

The apparent strategy of the Silicon Valley folks is to back a comprehensive tort reform package to hide their own special interest agenda; namely, to stop class action Shareholder Lawsuits. Almost every major Silicon player has been nailed in these suits, principally for insider trading. These companies and their executives are almost exclusively the financial backers of these initiatives. (Hardly what Hiram Johnson had in mind when he created the intiative process to counter the railroads stranglehold on the California Legislature.) To date, this special interest has failed to broaden their coalition beyond the Silicon Valley universe. Their failure to enlist other corporate interests, particularly the insurance industry, has isolated them in their campaign, financially and politically.

The preliminary skirmishes indicate that this will be a very ugly campaign. All the rhetoric from the Silicon side is about "ambulance chasers" and "greedy lawyers".

The Consumer Attorneys are preparing a major assault on the Silicon Valley corporations that are financing an initiative campaign to remove their own insider trading schemes from the scrutiny and accountability of shareholder lawsuits. California voters are quick to reject any initiative proposed by a special interest to advance its own economic interest. In 1988, the Insurance Industry's $60 million campaign to pass a no-fault initiative was rejected by the voters by a margin of 87% to 13%. The 1994 tobacco industry campaign to repeal local restrictions on smoking was soundly defeated.

Polling conducted on behalf of the Consumer Attorneys indicates weakness in all three initiatives, but the Shareholder Lawsuits initiative, which is modeled on the federal securities legislation is the weakest. It will lose. And, the Silicon Valley corporations sponsoring it will be depicted as arrogant and greedy corporate interests oblivious to the rights of their shareholders.

This initiative fight will be very polarizing politically. Ultra-conservative California Republican politicians, like Orange County Senator and Senate Minority Leader Rob Hurtt and Orange County Republican Assembly Leader, Curt Pringle, are lined up with the Silicon corporations.

The California Democratic Party, the labor movement, elected Democratic officials, civil rights groups, senior groups, and every significant California consumer group are opposing these initiatives.

This initiative battle will spill into the November election. The Consumer Attorneys are sponsoring a November initiative dealing directly with restricting frivolous lawsuits which would also restore the contingent fee system if the Silicon Valley Fee Cap initiative wins in March. A coalition of Consumer Attorneys, Class-Action and Securities Attorneys, Senior Citizens Groups and Consumer groups is also sponsoring an initiative to protect individual retirement and pension funds from fraudulent investment practices through the tort system. The Keating scandal, the Orange County bankruptcy, and now Secretary Reich's report on 401K fraud have made California voters very sensitive to these issues. The Silicon Valley corporate interests are working on a counter initiative to gut the November Retirement and Pension Security Initiative.

These initiatives and counter initiatives, with well funded campaigns behind them, will shape and structure Election 1996 in California.

Can this be avoided?

A Presidential veto of the federal Securities Litigation Reform might prevent all of this. If there is no federal Securities Litigation Reform, there is no reason to finance a California Shareholders/Securities Reform Initiative. Once the Silicon Valley interests understand that they will still be liable in federal court for their insider trading security law violations, they will see little reason to wage a multi-million dollar campaign to protect them from California state shareholder suits. A Presidential veto would take all the financial energy out of the Silicon Valley initiative campaign.

Without the initiative threat, the Consumer Attorneys, Bill Lerach and the Security Attorneys, the consumer groups, and the senior groups would concentrate on carrying California and electing the rest of the Democratic ticket. The Democratic Party Coordinated Campaign would be the beneficiary of much of the money that the Consumer Attorneys will now be spending on initiatives.

These tort wars will hurt Democrats financially, will dominate the advertising and free media environments, will distract voter attention from the Clinton/Gore campaign message and will inhibit the Democrats ability to finance a popular initiative like a Minimum Wage Increase, which could do for us what 187 did for Republicans in 1994.

Let me know if I can provide any more information.

Fairbank, Maslin, Maullin & Associates

Opinion Research & Public Policy Analysis

TO: Harold Ickes

FROM: Paul Maslin

RE: California attitudes toward tort reform

DATE: November 29, 1995

Fairbank, Maslin, Maullin & Associates (FMMA) has recently conducted public opinion research on behalf of the Consumer Attorneys of California. The results suggest that there is very little support for tort reform measures pertaining to class action shareholder lawsuits.

On October 31 through November 4, 1995, FMMA conducted a telephone survey of 1000 likely voters throughout California. The margin of error for the sample as a whole is approximately three percent.

As Table One demonstrates, support for a measure designed to limit shareholder and class action lawsuits receives little support and has a slim chance of passing. Just 36 percent of voters said they would support this measure. This is a particularly weak finding given that voters generally move toward voting No on initiatives as election day draws near. Thirty-four percent of voters were against the measure, with another 20 percent undecided.

Table 1: Shareholder Actions/Class Actions

(Another) initiative is called the Attorneys' Fees Shareholder Actions Class Actions Initiative Statute. It would require the losing party to pay the winning party's reasonable attorneys fees and expenses in shareholder actions against corporations and in class actions based on securities law violations. The plaintiff's attorneys may have to pay a bond to cover the defendant's attorney fees and all expenses. If the election were held today, would you vote Yes or No on the Attorneys' Fees Shareholder Actions Class Actions Initiative Statute?

Definitely Yes	19%	36
Probably Yes	17%	
Total Yes	**36%**	
Undecided, lean Yes	5%	
Undecided, lean No	5%	
Undecided	20%	
Probably No	17%	34
Definitely No	17%	
Total No	**34%**	

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The proportion supporting the measure drops significantly after voters hear the arguments in favor and against the measure. In the second vote, just 21 percent of voters said they would support the measure and 43 percent were opposed (with 36 percent undecided). These results further suggest the weakness of both the initiative and the issue for those espousing tort reform.

Conversely, research done earlier in the year (April 1995, sample of 600 likely California voters), showed that there is actually strong support for measures designed to help protect people with money in pension and retirement funds. Seventy percent of voters said they would vote Yes on an initiative requiring full disclosure of information affecting the value of pension and retirement funds and give people holding pension plans and retirement funds or savings an opportunity to sue if they believe they have suffered from losses resulting from fraudulent misrepresentation or reckless investment practices. Just 12 percent of voters were against this measure, with the remaining 18 percent uncertain.

This support is an outgrowth of senior citizens and younger families worrying about losing their savings and investments to fraud or mismanagement and awareness of recent scandals such as the Charles Keating savings and loan debacle and the insolvency of Orange County.

In essence, FMMA's research shows that voters do not want to limit their ability to be compensated for corporate and/or individual mismanagement of their funds and do not support tort reform measures designed to do so.

Fairbank, Maslin, Maullin & Associates

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-7-95

8760

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 6, 1995

95 DEC 6 P1:50

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Secretary Rubin Meeting with Argentina President Carlos Menem

During Secretary Rubin's visit to Argentina last weekend, President Menem transmitted a letter to you regarding potential U.S. sanctions for Argentina's failure to adequately protect patents. The letter is attached at Tab II for your review.

There is a Principals Committee meeting scheduled for 3:30 p.m. tomorrow to make a final determination on what sanctions, if any, to recommend to you.

Attachments
Tab I Memorandum from Secretary Rubin
Tab II Letter from President Menem with Translation

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

95 DEC 4 P4:00

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

December 4, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SECRETARY ROBERT RUBIN R.E.R.

SUBJECT: **Message from President Menem of Argentina**

Attached is a letter I received from President Menem of Argentina during my two-and-a-half day visit to Argentina and Brazil this past weekend, which included chairing a very successful money laundering conference in Buenos Aires.

I had private meetings with both President Menem of Argentina and President Cardosa of Brazil, and both expressed very warm feelings toward you and, more generally, toward our country.

The issue with respect to IPR raised in the attached letter is now in the hands of Sandy Berger, who will coordinate a process to work through this. If you are interested in being posted with further information on this issue, you should speak to Sandy. In regard to this issue, I was simply acting as a messenger from President Menem to you and the Administration.

More generally, the Finance Ministries of both Brazil and Argentina have a very good relationship with our Treasury Department, and we are involved with them on a regular basis regarding the very substantial economic issues ahead of them.

Attachment

cc: Laura Tyson
Sandy Berger

EMBASSY TRANSLATION
PRESIDENT MENEM'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT CLINTON
DECEMBER 1, 1995,

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I HAVE THE PLEASURE TO CONGRATULATE YOU FOR THE OUTCOME OF YOUR DECISIVE EFFORTS TO REACH A PEACE AGREEMENT IN BOSNIA, WHICH PROMISES TO FINALLY PUT AN END TO CONFRONTATIONS IN THE REGION. I HOPE THAT ARGENTINA WILL EVENTUALLY BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NATO AND SECURITY COUNCIL PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS. NO LESS IMPORTANT WAS YOUR VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND, WHICH PERMITTED A DIALOGUE WHICH HAD NOT OCCURRED FOR A LONG TIME.

AS REGARDS THIS SUB-REGION, MERCOSUR KEEPS CONSOLIDATING THROUGH, IN MY OPINION, A SUCCESSFUL INTEGRATION EXERCISE WHICH NEITHER AFFECTS NOR WEAKENS THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP ARGENTINA WISHES TO HAVE WITH THE U.S.

THE MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE ON MONEY LAUNDERING AND INSTRUMENTS OF CRIME, WHICH ARGENTINA OFFERED TO HOST AND IS TAKING PLACE IN BUENOS AIRES THESE DAYS, IS A GREAT OPPORTUNITY FOR OUR GOVERNMENTS TO SHOW, ONCE AGAIN, OUR WILLINGNESS TO WORK TOGETHER ON KEY ISSUES FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. I AM TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE PRESENCE IN THE COUNTRY OF MR. ROBERT RUBIN, U.S. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE, TO REFER TO THESE AND OTHER TOPICS WHICH REQUIRE OUR ATTENTION.

I WISH TO EXPRESS SOME VIEWS REGARDING PATENTS WHICH, AS EXPRESSED MANY TIMES BEFORE, WE ARE INTERESTED IN RESOLVING IN AGREEMENT WITH THE HIGHEST STANDARDS OF PROTECTION OF INTELLECTUAL RIGHTS.

I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS THIS WILLINGNESS TO YOUR PREDECESSOR, MR. GEORGE BUSH, IN 1991, AND TO YOU AGAIN TWICE, IN 1993 AND 1994. IT IS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SUCH WILLINGNESS THAT WE MADE THE UTMOST EFFORTS TO OBTAIN NEW LEGISLATION TO REPLACE THE LAW IN FORCE SINCE THE SECOND HALF OF THE PAST CENTURY. WE ACTIVELY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN DISCUSSIONS ON THE SUBJECT DURING THE URUGUAY ROUND OF THE GATT, AND I SENT A DRAFT BILL TO CONGRESS IN 1991, WHICH NOT ONLY REFLECTED THE DISCUSSIONS HELD AT THAT FORUM BUT ALSO AIMED AT A HIGHER PROTECTION FOR INTELLECTUAL

CREATORS AS ESTABLISHED BY THE CONSTITUTION AND WITH MY PERSONAL BELIEF. MY COMMITMENT THEN WAS TO DO ALL THAT WE COULD POSSIBLY DO TO MAXIMIZE THAT PROTECTION. AFTER VERY LONG PARLIAMENTARY NEGOTIATIONS, INCLUDING MY VETO OF SEVERAL ARTICLES OF THE DRAFT BILL, TWO LAWS WERE PASSED AND I ISSUED A REGULATORY DECREE FOR THE SAME PURPOSE. THE PROCESS IS NOT OVER YET BUT THERE ARE FIRM FOUNDATIONS FOR THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF PATENTS. AFTER NEARLY 140 YEARS, PATENTS OF PHARMACEUTICAL PRODUCTS WILL BE RECOGNIZED IN ARGENTINA AFTER A FIVE-YEAR TRANSITION PERIOD, A LITTLE LONGER THAN WE HAD HOPED BUT SHORTER THAN PROPOSED BY OTHER SECTORS.

WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK, WHICH SO ELOQUENTLY SPEAKS ABOUT THE EXCELLENT STATUS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP AND OUR SHARED PHILOSOPHIES AND JOINT EFFORTS, I WISH TO EXPRESS MY SERIOUS CONCERN ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT SOME AREAS OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE CONSIDERING THE HYPOTHESIS OF TAKING ACTIONS AGAINST ARGENTINA ON THE ALLEGED BASIS THAT THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK WOULD NOT ADEQUATELY PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY. SUCH A BASIS WOULD NOT REFLECT WHAT HAS BEEN DONE NOR WOULD BE THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE TO A POLICY DECISION WHICH, AS PRESIDENT, I HAVE ALWAYS STRONGLY MAINTAINED.

WHILE ANALYZING THE HYPOTHESIS OF THE ADOPTION OF MEASURES AGAINST ARGENTINA, IT SHOULD ALSO BE CONSIDERED THAT SUCH MEASURES MIGHT BRING SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES WHICH COULD AFFECT OUR EXCELLENT BILATERAL RELATIONS, THE BEST WE HAVE HAD FOR YEARS. SUCH ACTIONS WOULD BE A VERY BAD SIGN FOR ALL PARTIES, BOTH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL.

RECEIVE, MR. PRESIDENT, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST ESTEEM.

Presidente de la Nación Argentina

BUENOS AIRES,

ESTIMADO SEÑOR PRESIDENTE:

Me complazco en felicitarlo por los resultados de sus esfuerzos decisivos por obtener un acuerdo de paz en Bosnia que promete concluir de manera definitiva con los enfrentamientos en esa región. Confío que la Argentina pueda eventualmente participar en el operativo de paz iniciado por la OTAN y el Consejo de Seguridad. No menos importante ha sido su presencia en Irlanda del Norte, ya que la misma permitió encaminar diálogos que no existían desde hace mucho tiempo.

En lo que hace a esta subregión, el Mercosur continúa consolidándose en lo que considero un exitoso ejercicio de integración que no afecta ni debilita la relación particular que la Argentina desea tener con los Estados Unidos.

La Conferencia Ministerial Concerniente al Lavado de Dinero e Instrumentos del Delito, de la que Argentina ofreció ser sede y que tiene lugar en Buenos Aires en estos días, es una ocasión propicia para que nuestros Gobiernos pongan de manifiesto, una vez más, su voluntad de trabajar juntos en temas centrales para toda la comunidad internacional. Aprovecho la presencia del Sr. Robert Rubin, Secretario del Tesoro de los Estados Unidos de América, que asiste a dicha Conferencia para referirme a estos y otros temas que requieren de nuestra atención.

Deseo efectuarle algunas precisiones en la cuestión de las patentes que, como ya lo hemos manifestado muchas veces, es de nuestro interés resolver conforme con los más altos parámetros de protección a los derechos intelectuales.

AL SEÑOR PRESIDENTE DE LOS
ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMERICA
D. WILLIAM CLINTON
WASHINGTON D.C.

Presidente de la Nación Argentina

Tuve la ocasión de manifestar esta voluntad a su predecesor, el Sr. George Bush, en 1991, y lo reiteré a Ud. en dos oportunidades más, en 1993 y 1994. Es en el marco de esa voluntad que hicimos esfuerzos supremos por obtener una nueva legislación que sustituya la ley que nos regía desde la segunda mitad del siglo pasado. Participamos activa y constructivamente en este tema durante la Ronda Uruguay del GATT y envié, en 1991, un proyecto de ley al Congreso que, no sólo tenía en cuenta las discusiones en ese foro sino que, además, pretendía una protección aún mayor para los creadores intelectuales en total coincidencia con lo que establece la Constitución y con mi convicción personal. Mi compromiso de entonces fue el de hacer todo lo que estuviera a nuestro alcance para maximizar dicha protección. Tras un muy extenso trámite parlamentario que incluyó mi veto a varios artículos del Proyecto de Ley, se aprobaron dos leyes y dicté un Decreto Reglamentario que procura el mismo objetivo. El proceso aún no ha concluído pero ya hay bases seguras de lo que será el marco legal de las patentes. Después de casi 140 años se reconocerán patentes para productos farmacéuticos en la Argentina tras una transición de cinco años, lapso mayor al que deseábamos, pero mucho menor del que se había propuesto desde otros sectores.

Es en virtud de este marco, que habla de manera elocuente del excelente estado de nuestras relaciones, y de la coincidencia de filosofías y de esfuerzos conjuntos, que deseo expresarle mi seria preocupación ante la eventualidad que, en algunos sectores del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos, se estén manejando hipótesis de aplicar medidas contra la Argentina con aparente fundamento en que el marco legal no protegería adecuadamente los derechos de propiedad intelectual. Este fundamento no reflejaría lo que se ha hecho ni tampoco sería la respuesta adecuada a una decisión de política que, como Presidente, siempre mantuve con firmeza.

Al analizar esa hipótesis, de adopción de medidas contra la Argentina, no debieran omitirse las consecuencias muy serias que traerían aparejadas y que podrían afectar nuestras excelentes relaciones bilaterales, las mejores en mucho tiempo. Esas medidas serían una muy mala señal para todos los operadores tanto económicos como políticos.

Reciba, señor Presidente las seguridades de mi más alta estima.

Con mucho afecto.-

bertram R. Schader
Serrano, 224
28006 MADRID

Dear Mike
Regards
Steve

12-7-95
Original Copy to Jim Dorskind
to coordinate reply.
M.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12/15/95

Hon. William J. Clinton
President of the United States
c/o Hon. Richard N. Gardner
U.S. Embassy
Serrano, 75
28006 MADRID

YALE CLUB OF MADRID

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12/5/95

Hon. William J. Clinton
President of the United States
c/o Hon. Richard N. Gardner
U.S. Embassy
Serrano, 75
28006 MADRID

Serrano, 224
28016 MADRID
Tel. 564 9808

Madrid, 30 November 1995

Dear Bill,

Regardless of how far you travel from the United States, there will always be colleagues from the Yale Law School to welcome you. On behalf of the four Yale Law graduates and all the other members of the Yale Club of Madrid, we welcome you to Spain and we wish you complete success in your negotiations and discussions while here.

We watch with continuing admiration your peace-making efforts in many areas of the world and your historic success in bringing an end to conflicts in Haiti, Israel, Ireland, Korea and now Bosnia. The difficulties you have experienced and are presently experiencing on the domestic front, are simply a product of your sincere efforts to make our nation more fair, more just and more humane, while simultaneously making our economy prosper in a very competitive world.

We are proud to be able to say that not only Hillary and yourself are graduates of our own Alma Mater, but also the many members of your administration who too have spent their formative years in New Haven. You have brought pride to our Law School and to the University, and we wish you many more significant achievements both now and in the future.

Warmest personal regards,

Bertram

Bertram R. Schader
'59 Law
President

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-6-95

I shd write
her & Standard
Nice work!! -
12-7-95
Orig'l Copy to J. Dorsett
to coordinate the reply.

November 30, 1995

TO: The Baumholder Headquarters Publicity Office

FROM: Patricia Dengel, 7th Grade English teacher, Baumholder High School

RE: Letters to President Clinton and letters to parents deploying to Bosnia

Since speaking with you on November 28th, all 7th grade students have written a letter either to President Clinton or to their parents who will deploy to Bosnia. In our conversation, you assured me that letters for President Clinton would be handed to one of his assistants. Could you also see that these letters are given to the commanders of the parents named on the envelope and distributed by the commanders to deploying parents of 7th graders? It has helped student morale tremendously to be considered an important part of the ceremonies on Saturday. We thank you for the opportunity to assist in the process of this send off for deploying parents.

Below are several quotes from the letters to parents that President Clinton might wish to include in his address to the troops:

1. Erin Gainey: "I'll try not to be worried about you Dad because I know you are trained to handle this."

2. Dionne Englert: "Daddy, the people of the world should respect you and all our soldiers for their bravery."

3. Cerise Lake: (Both parents are deploying!!) "Mom and Dad, I love you both and want you to take good care of each other in Bosnia."

4. Courtney Lumpkin: "I'm proud to have a brave and honest father like you."

5. Jeremy Green: "Not only are you a great father, but also a great soldier."

6. RAchel Bybee: "I'm proud of your job which is to help others. It must make you feel great to know you've saved lives."

7. Justin Zimmerman: "Dad, I know you'll be fine in Bosnia because of all the training you've had. I'll miss you and count the days until we see you again."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12-6-95

Carolyn -

These gentlemen came and "met" with me regarding the attached. I told them that a panel/commission makes this decision!??!

Can we make sure he gets a response.

Thanks - Larry

12-7-95

Todd -
Send to Dorskind for reply?

Yes ✓

No _____

12-7-95
Original copy to Jim Dorskind to coordinate reply.
M.

MILTON FENSTER ASSOCIATES INC.

Public Relations
654 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10021 Tel: 212-759-3540 Fax: 212-758-5620

December 6,1995

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

I am writing to you regarding a distinguished American whom I believe deserves your personal consideration as a recipient of the annual Presidential Honors Award. You know him well, and in turn, he has great admiration for you.

Sanford I. Weill, who currently serves as Chairman & CEO of Travelers Group--one of the nation's largest financial services companies--has achieved every sort of business-related achievement over the past 40 years. But more importantly, during that time Sandy Weill has worked relentlessly to improve the lives of Americans in three distinct areas:

Education In 1980, he founded the Academy of Finance, to help prepare high school students for work, after graduation, in the financial services industry. That program has grown to over 165 Academies involving students in 29 states, training them for careers in a number of industries.

Over the past five years alone, more than 20,000 students have been involved in Academy programs, and nearly 800 corporate, government and civic organizations have participated as partners. Sandy currently serves as Chairman of the National Academy Foundation.

Sandy also served as Chairman of the Joint Mayoral/City Council Commission on Early Child and Child Care Programs during the Dinkins Administration in New York City. In addition, he is a Board of Trustees and Advisory Board member of Cornell University's Johnson Graduate School of Management.

The Arts

In the 1980's, Sandy led a fundraising effort to refurbish and preserve New York's Carnegie Hall. In addition to generating more than $60 million in donations, Sandy contributed $2.5 million of his own. The Weill Recital Hall now stands as a permanent tribute to Sandy's hard work and generosity.

Sandy currently serves as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Carnegie Hall, and is a Director of the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra.

Health Care

Sandy has long been involved in working to improve the nation's health care delivery system. He is Chairman of the Board of Cornell University Medical College.

He also serves on the following medical Boards:

Board of Governors of New York Hospital
Joint Board of New York Hospital and Cornell Medical Center
Board of Overseers of Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center

I respectfully suggest that Sanford I. Weill be given serious consideration for recognition as an American who has combined a highly successful business career with a lifetime of service to his country. He stands as a role model for all Americans, and should be formally recognized for his contributions to society.

I would be happy to furnish further information if needed.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Milton Fenster

Milton Fenster

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Betty -

Maggie asked BC that this be sent to POTUS

thanks

-Evan

include

P. note

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate the reply.

12-7-95
Original to Jim Dorskind
M.

Peggy Cooper Cafritz

October 25, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12/5/95

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

My brother, Mario Cooper, who was the manager of your 1992 Democratic National Convention and who has given many years of tireless service to the Democratic party is now HIV positive. He is also the chair of the board of the AIDS Action Council which is the nation's leading and largest AIDS public policy organization. I greatly fear for his well-being and life.

Many of the students at my school, the Duke Ellington School of the Arts, are vulnerable to the plaque of AIDS.

I have already lost many dear friends - each of whom was a productive citizen and valuable contributor to American Society. Today I have many friends who will, sooner than later die from AIDS including Sandra Vreeland and her two innocent little children, Reed and Victoria. The absence of Medicaid will only hasten their deaths.

I have supported strongly the cause of the families and children affected by the AIDS epidemic. Over half of people with AIDS depend on Medicaid for their basic medical care. In Medicaid's future lies the fate of thousands of people with AIDS here in Washington and across the country.

Over the next several weeks, the House and the Senate will be voting on Budget Reconciliation legislation, which will effectively dismantle the Medicaid program and turn it over to the states as a block grant with vastly diminished federal resources and virtually no federal guidance or federal minimum standards for care for disabled people, including people living with AIDS. Such an outcome would have devastating and life-threatening consequences for people living with AIDS and other disabled persons, as well as poor women and children and low income senior citizens in need of nursing home care. It is unacceptable for this congress to move to destroy the fundamental health safety net provided through the Medicaid program.

Given the intent of the current House and the Senate leadership to date, it is likely that the Reconciliation bill will pass, with its dismantling of the federal Medicaid program. You may be our only hope to save this vital program--a program upon which thousands of Americans with AIDS depend access to life-saving medical care. Your support for the Ryan White Care Act during your tenure as President is acknowledged and appreciated. However, there is no way that the Ryan White Care Act can fill the gaps in vital health care services for people with AIDS that will result from a block-granted, financially diminished Medical Program.

For these reasons, I urge you to stand firm in your commitment to preserve Medicaid as an entitlement program, with specific guarantees of adequate medical care to disabled people, including people with AIDS. Please veto the Budget Reconciliation bill and insist that Medicaid maintain its guarantee of medical care to the poor and disabled in any compromise Budget Reconciliation package which your Administration develops with the Congressional leadership.

Gratefully,

Peggy

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-5-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 3, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN
PHIL CAPLAN
HELEN HOWELL

SUBJECT: Recent Political Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent political information items:

(A) **Debra DeLee memo on '96 convention.** She recommends an overall creative team as follows: First, a supervisory "Creative Council" made up of Maggie Williams, Ron Brown, Harold Ickes, Ron Klain, Harry Thomason, Susan Thomases and Debra. Second, internal staff -- Rick Jascula (experience in PR, marketing, media, advance) is joining team as Deputy CEO; Debra recommends Gary Smith as tv producer (he did 1988 and 1992 Conventions, Barbra Streisand Special, is highly recommended by Harry, Susan and Mike Berman); Rene Lagler as Production Designer; Berman, Michael Sheehan, Bob Healy and Jim King to handle podium and speakers as they have in the past. Third, external creative advisors such as Steven Speilberg and Rob Reiner, under Harry's direction. Final approval needed on: 1) the hiring of Gary Smith as TV producer; 2) the design for the stage/podium; and, 3) convening the next meeting of the Creative Council with the First Lady.

(B) **Ickes memo on C/G '96 Re-elect fundraising projections.** If federal matching funds are included, Terry McAuliffe and Laura Hartigan expect to raise $38.9 million of the total $42.8 million pre-convention budget by December 31. The February prospect mailing will be cancelled for a savings of $250,000, and the total expense of fundraising operations will be very close to the $6.2 million permitted by FEC guidelines (down from the $6.6 million projected previously).

(C) **Clinton/Gore '96 Direct Mail** The C/G Re-elect's October "Survey Package" was sent to 250,000 members and prospective donors at a cost of $130,000. Mailing is projected to gross $320,000.

(D) **Ickes memo on DNC fundraising.** In 1995, the DNC raised (as of October 30) $18.4 million at events attended by you, the Vice President, Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Gore. Harold also forwards a chart with a detailed breakdown of the events.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-5-95

95 NOV 29 P4:15

27 November 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
THE VICE PRESIDENT

CC: Leon Panetta
Erskine Bowles
Maggie Williams
Ron Klain
Skila Harris

From: Harold Ickes

Re: 15 November 1995 memorandum to the President and the Vice President from Debra DeLee regarding the 1996 Democratic National Convention

Attached is the self explanatory 15 November 1995 memorandum to the President and the Vice President from Debra DeLee which she asked me to transmit to both of you.

DEBRA DELEE, CEO

MEMORANDUM for the PRESIDENT
VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: Debra DeLee, CEO
DATE: November 15, 1995
RE: 1996 Democratic National Convention

The Democratic National Convention will provide an opportunity to communicate the accomplishments of this Administration and deliver a clear and concise Democratic message to the nation.

Convention planning can be divided into four distinct spheres:

The first is logistics and operations. This encompasses everything outside the convention hall: transportation, hotels and housing, security, the "science" of credentialling and volunteers.

The second sphere is communications. This includes message & theme development for the convention, delivering that message to the national and international media, media arrangements and logistics.

The third sphere is production, both the creative and technical elements. It is basically everything inside the hall: the content of the program, the balance between business meetings, speakers and entertainment, as well as construction and design of the hall.

And the final sphere is the political aspect of putting on a national nominating convention: coordination with the White House, the DNC, the City of Chicago, state and local elected officials, the Democratic leadership in Congress, international dignitaries and the "art" of credentialling.

This memo will specifically address the third sphere and my recommendations for the creative team to deal with what I call our "4 day mini-series."

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
P.O. BOX 641196 • CHICAGO, IL 60664-1196 • TEL (312) 832-1996 • FAX (312) 832-2515

I recommend the following elements of an overall creative team:

I. Creative Council

The creative group, which had one initial meeting in May with the First Lady, should continue to serve as the ultimate creative team for the convention. I will refer to them as the Creative Council. This group includes, Secretary Ron Brown, Harold Ickes, Jack Quinn's successor, Maggie Williams, Chairman Don Fowler, Harry Thomason, Susan Thomases, and me. We should also include the producer of the event.

II. Internal Staff

Rick Jasculca will be joining our team as Deputy CEO. Currently, Rick is President of Jasculca/Terman a public relations/public affairs. Jasculca/Terman has extensive experience with marketing campaigns, media tours, news conferences, communications management, speech writing and media training. Rick also has spent a significant amount of time doing White House advance for the President and First Lady.

In his role as Deputy CEO, he will oversee communications, media arrangements, production, satellite news, technology and the hall.

I recommend that we hire Gary Smith as our television producer. Gary is highly endorsed by both Don Fowler and Ron Brown who worked closely with him in 1988 and 1992 as well as by Harry Thomason, Susan Thomases and Mike Berman. Producing a special "show" like our convention requires a unique talent and is very different from producing movies or sitcoms. Gary has had much success in this genre including the Barbra Streisand Special (for which he just won an Emmy), the Disney Teacher Awards and the 1988 and 1992 Democratic Conventions. I am also impressed with Gary's understanding of our "culture" and the uniqueness of producing a convention when we have the White House.

I expect that Gary will want to bring with him the team that he assembled for that last two conventions -- Ricky Kirshner and others. This team also comes highly recommended.

Rene Lagler has been hired as our Production Designer. He worked on both the 1988 and 1992 conventions. Rene has been working closely with the construction firm of Stein & Co. on the possible design of the facility. Rene has produced a model of his design for the stage/podium and it has received kudos from Harold Ickes, Don Fowler, Harry Thomason and Susan Thomases.

Mike Berman, Michael Sheehan, Bob Healey, Jim King and others should be utilized during the convention in roles similar to those that they performed at previous conventions related to podium and speakers.

III. External Creative Advisors

Under the direction of Harry Thomason, a group of creative individuals who have been supportive of this Administration, such as Steven Speilberg and Rob Reiner, should be identified and asked to serve as creative advisors. This group may not ever be convened as a working body but they should be called upon for advice, ideas and creative capital.

There are also a number of consultants who need to be involved early on in the message, production and logistical arenas and who will eventually have very specific roles as the convention approaches. They should include but not be limited to, Jeff Eller, David Axelrod (Chicago-based), Mort Engleberg and Mike Berman.

These three elements, the Creative Council, Internal Staff and External Creative Advisors should make up the overall creative team for the convention. They will work closely with the White House and Re-elect as deemed appropriate by Harold Ickes.

The convention should be the perfect vehicle to celebrate and showcase the accomplishments of this Administration as well as officially kick-off the re-election campaign. To continue moving forward, the following items should be addressed as soon as possible:

1. Final approval on Gary Smith
2. Final approval of the design for the stage/podium
3. Convening the next meeting of the Creative Council with the First Lady

On a personal note, I am both honored and thrilled to be serving in this position. I take this opportunity very seriously and appreciate any response and reaction to these recommendations.

cc: Don Fowler
Harold Ickes
Jack Quinn
Maggie Williams

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12/5/95

95 NOV 28 P6:38

20 November 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: Leon Panetta

From: Harold Ickes

Re: National Poll by the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press released 14 November 1995

Attached is a copy of the above referenced poll entitled "Voter Anxiety Dividing GOP: Energized Dems Backing Clinton".

Send this to Bill Gibson
I want to discuss this tomorrow night

BC

Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
The Press

N E W S Release

1875 Eye Street, N.W., Suite 1110
Washington, D.C. 20006
202 293-3126

EMBARGOED

NOV 14 1995

Harold I -
(share w/
political
folks?)

FOR RELEASE: TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1995, A.M.

VOTER ANXIETY DIVIDING GOP; ENERGIZED DEMS BACKING CLINTON

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Andrew Kohut, Director
Robert C. Toth, Senior Associate
Kimberly Parker, Assistant Research Director
Margaret Petrella, Survey Analyst
Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press
202/293-3126

On balance, more Democrats and Independents are worried about all of these things than Republicans, but the "bigger tent" GOP now counts within its ranks a greater percentage of middle class people who are very concerned about their financial future. Most dramatically, while only 36% of *Enterpriser* Republicans are very worried about being able to afford health care, fully 64% of *Moralists* are. The same pattern is evident for most other major financial matters. For example, the adequacy of retirement funds is a worry for just 29% of *Enterprisers* but 50% of *Moralists*.

The political consequence of these concerns also emerges clearly in the survey. As shown in the table below, Republicans who are anxious about paying health care costs are significantly less likely to approve of GOP policies than are Republicans who are not so worried about these expenses. At the same time, worried Independents are much more apt to think well of Bill Clinton and disapprove of Republican ideas than are Independents who are less anxious about paying their health care bills.

	APPROVE OF ...	
	Bill Clinton	GOP Policies
Republicans:		
Concerned about health care costs		
Yes	18	60
No	18	85
Independents:		
Concerned about health care costs		
Yes	52	26
No	35	43

Morris says "optimism"

VOTER ANXIETY DIVIDING GOP; ENERGIZED DEMOCRATS BACKING CLINTON

Anxiety may replace anger as the dominant voter emotion in 1996. A major national survey finds significantly more Americans than 18 months ago worried about affording major expenses such as health care costs, college tuition, retirement funds and housing costs. Voter anxiety has increased across the political spectrum and appears to be dividing the Republican coalition and turning off Independents. At the same time, Democratic groups are uniting in opposition to GOP policies and are more politically energized.

Times Mirror's voter typology[1] finds greater support for Bill Clinton's job performance among Democratic groups than support for GOP policies among Republican groups. More than seven-in-ten voters classified as left of center approve of the President's performance. On the conservative side, strong support for the policies of GOP leaders is only found among "free market" *Enterprisers* (79% approve). However, among socially conservative *Moralists*, just 66% express approval, and even fewer (56%) of *Libertarians* voice support for the policies of the Republican leaders. Two swing voting groups, the economically anxious *New Economy Independents* and *The Embittered*, mostly approve of Bill Clinton's performance and overwhelmingly disapprove of GOP policies.

Voter worries about affording major expenses appear to be playing an important role in the rising political fortunes of Bill Clinton and the sagging popularity of Republican policies. The percentage of Americans very worried that they cannot afford health care costs rose from 50% in March of 1994 to 66% in the current survey. Similarly, the survey found increased worries about saving enough money to retire (42% to 48%), paying for college tuition (37% to 44%), losing a job or taking a pay cut (28% to 34%), and being able to own or afford to keep a home (31% to 38%).

Approve of Bill Clinton and GOP Leaders

	% Who approve of ... Clinton	GOP Leaders
TYPOLOGY GROUPS		
Right/Conservative:		
Enterprisers	13	79
Moralists	23	66
Libertarians	39	56
Center:		
New Economy Independents	50	22
The Embittered	45	19
Democrat/Liberal:		
Seculars	78	12
New Democrats	76	19
New Dealers	72	9
Partisan Poor	78	10

[1] The Times Mirror typology is described in an appendix to this report.

The Buck Doesn't Stop Here...

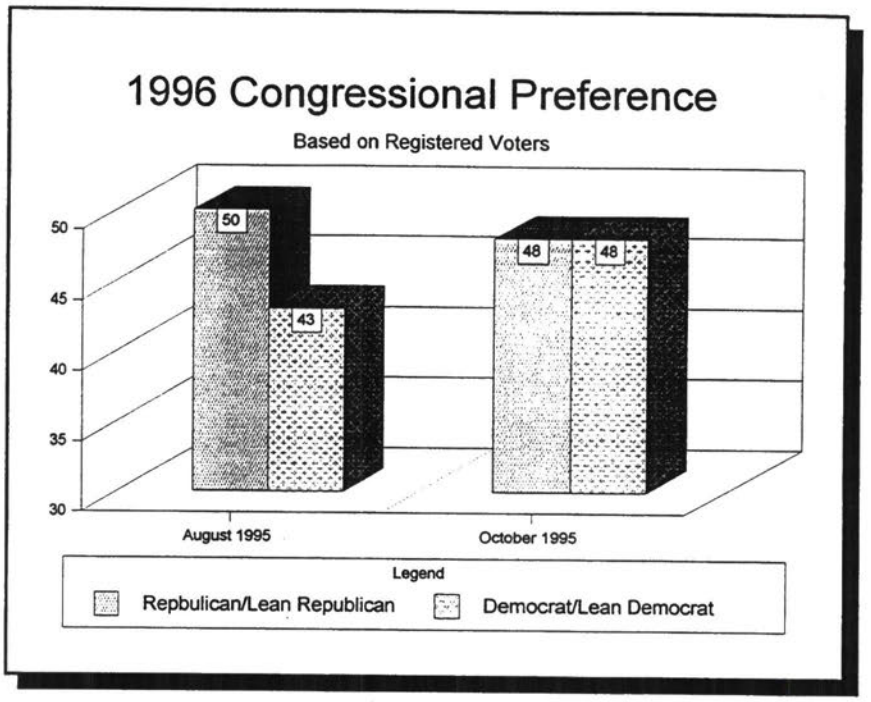
Beyond increased economic anxiety, the poll of 2,000 adult Americans found discontent with the course of the country even greater than it was four years ago. However, unlike 1991 the concern is not nearly as singularly focused on the condition of the economy, and Bill Clinton, at least for now, is escaping the blame. The public is pinning it on Congress and to a lesser extent, shouldering it themselves.

Americans who are dissatisfied with the "way things are going" in the nation (73% of respondents) cite in free response questions a broad range of largely familiar issues. Most often mentioned are the condition of the economy, fear of crime, and concerns about the health care system. Health care was mentioned spontaneously more often than in response to open questions in surveys conducted over the past 18 months. This undoubtedly reflects public concerns raised by the Medicare/Medicaid debate in Congress.

Almost as many Americans are dissatisfied with the state of the nation because of the way the political system works as are disillusioned for other reasons. Higher taxes, the moral crisis, the size of government, a declining educational system, the need for welfare reform, and the budget deficit round out the long list of reasons that make Americans unhappy with conditions in the country.

Although no single problem or concern is driving public discontent with the country's course, the public is more of one mind as to who's at fault -- 35% name Congress and 27% blame "the people themselves" for the country's problems. In contrast, only 7% said the President is principally at fault. There are also less direct indications that Clinton may not be blamed as Presidents usually are for the country's problems. Four years ago, a strong correlation existed between attitudes toward the state of the nation and views about re-electing George Bush. Today, there is a weaker relationship between the national mood and a second term for Bill Clinton.

Congress is now a bigger target than it has been in the past because it is criticized *both* by those who fault the political system, *and* by those who decry the policies of the Republican leadership. Large percentages of Democrats and Republicans now see Congress as most responsible for the country's troubles. There is little indication that the "Republican revolution" has altered American antipathy toward the Congress. It now gets a lower favorability rating than it did prior to the mid-term elections of 1994. The only significant change observed is that the public's intention to vote for Democratic congressional candidates is appreciably higher than it was two months ago.



More Criticism of Business

Despite deep and growing concern about wages and layoffs, relatively few Americans blame either business corporations (8%) or Wall Street (2%) for the country's problems. However, the poll does show the public with a less positive view of business than last year; the percentage holding an unfavorable opinion of business corporations increased from 24% in 1994 to 36% in the current survey. More significantly, the survey found a deep belief that corporations care little about their customers and employees and too much about their stockholders and top executives. Just 4% of the public said corporations put the interests of their employees first and 6% said the customer comes first. Most respondents said big companies care primarily about their shareholders (46%) and top executives (34%). The public would have it otherwise: 31% said the customer *should* come first, 30% said employees, 15% said stockholders. Only 4% believe corporations should put the interests of top executives first. These public views about corporate priorities were largely shared by Republicans, Democrats, and Independents alike. Americans of all political persuasions also felt that corporate mergers should be scrutinized more carefully by government in the future.

The Public's Agenda

The public as a whole sends a very mixed message as to what issues it wants discussed by Presidential candidates. While voters remain keenly interested in the economy, issues that have emerged from the budget debate now rival that topic on their political agenda. Only one-in-five respondents to the Times Mirror survey volunteered that economic conditions should be the top issue of the campaign (down from close to 60% four years ago). Even jobs, cited by 6%, was less that half the 15% mentioned in 1991. Health care reform received as many mentions as the economy (20%), after which the public cited balancing the budget (14%). A significant percentage also mentioned crime (9%), welfare reform (8%), the moral crisis (8%) and education reform (6%). Very few people spoke spontaneously of improving race relations (2%).

Somewhat broader and more altruistic answers are given by many respondents when presented a list and asked to rank what the next President's top tasks should be. However, again no consensus emerged and priorities very much reflected the predominant values within the electorate. If anything, dealing with the moral breakdown in the country is the one recurring theme that runs across the political spectrum. Once a strictly Republican refrain, and still the top issue for social conservatives (*Moralists*), this issue has considerable saliency with *Independents* and with moderate *New Democrats* and conservative *New Dealers*.

In contrast, the survey found little indication that the Million Man March or the O.J. Simpson case has created greater interest among whites in the racial issue. Just 12% of white Americans said that dealing with racial tension should be one of the President's two top priorities.

NEXT PRESIDENT'S
TOP TASKS
By Voter Groups

ENTERPRISERS:
Balance budget
Moral breakdown
Reduce crime

MORALISTS:
Moral breakdown
Balance budget
Improve jobs

LIBERTARIANS:
Balance budget
Reduce crime
Improve education

NEW ECONOMY IND:
Improve education
Moral breakdown
Balance budget

THE EMBITTERED:
Balance budget
Moral breakdown
Problems of poor/needy

SECULARS:
Improve education
Problems of poor/needy
Balance budget

NEW DEMOCRATS:
Improve education
Moral breakdown
Reduce crime

NEW DEALERS:
Problems of poor/needy
Balance budget
Improve jobs

PARTISAN POOR:
Improve education
Problems of poor/needy
Reduce crime

Character, Compassion, Stay-the-Course Leadership

Although voters are sending a mixed message about issues, there is a considerable consensus about the personal qualities Americans are looking for in their next president. High ethical standards, compassion for the average citizen, and good judgement in a crisis are traits that overwhelming majorities of the public believe are crucially important. Few partisan differences are evident in this respect. Republicans put somewhat more emphasis on high ethical standards, and Democrats stress compassion more, but overall, both attributes are considered highly desirable by members of both parties and by Independents as well.

A second priority tier included *strong leadership* qualities such as decisiveness, consistency on issues and sincerity in saying what one believes. The poll found much *less* interest in characteristics associated with *political professionalism*. Relatively few respondents put much value on willingness to compromise, party loyalty, political savvy, experience in public office or familiarity with Washington.

These findings offer a sharp contrast to the results of a similar question asked by the Gallup Poll in 1979. Then, as now, there was much voter interest in a compassionate President who would have good judgement in a crisis. But an electorate disillusioned with Jimmy Carter gave experience in government higher priority and ethical standards lower priority than do voters today.

In the current survey, voters often associated Colin Powell or Bill Clinton with the qualities they most want in a President. Powell, who has since decided that he will not run, was most identified with good character and good judgement. Clinton was most identified with compassion. Neither Dole nor any of the other announced GOP candidates were named most often in association with highly rated personal qualities.

Powell' s strong showing in the polls as a Republican challenger has reflected the fact that his personal image coincides with the qualities voters say they want in a President. But it also has reflected the retired general's unique ability to attract diverse groups of voters. From *Enterpriser* Republicans to *Partisan Poor* Democrats, large majorities said they can envision the possibility of voting for Powell[2]. No other Republican candidate is attractive to Independent voters, let alone Democrats. Dole appeals to all three right of Center groups, but turns off Independents. Gingrich and Gramm only appeal to *Enterprisers*; majorities of populist *Moralists* and more moderate *Libertarians* say they are not likely to vote for either man should they be candidates next November.

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[2] New Deal Democrats, composed largely of older , southern whites is the only group that does not express strong interest in voting for Powell.

Buchanan gets few expressions of support from any of the Republican groups. Surprisingly, only 32% of *Moralists* say there is a chance they would vote for the former presidential speech writer if he is on the ballot next year.

POTENTIAL CANDIDATE SUPPORT

Based on Registered Voters

Good/Some Chance of Voting For ...	Enter-prisers	Moral-ists	Liber-tarians	New Economy Indep.	Embit-tered	Secu-lars	New Democrats	New Dealers	Part-isan Poor
Clinton	14	25	45	63	58	95	84	84	92
Dole	83	69	67	38	41	19	25	28	24
Perot	26	31	31	40	43	21	26	35	11
Powell	61	69	82	73	73	68	63	48	62
Gingrich	55	39	35	16	9	1	8	8	11
Buchanan	40	32	28	18	22	7	16	19	16
Gramm	52	37	35	16	16	10	15	9	14

In contrast, eight in ten or more of each of the Democratic groups say there is a good chance or some chance that they would vote to re-elect Bill Clinton. And more importantly, more than six-in-ten of the Independent groups in the People & the Press typology say they might vote for the President. It is difficult to distinguish whether this result is due more to revitalized support for Clinton or concern-based opposition to the GOP policies. In particular, Clinton's approval ratings have increased most among whites, seniors, middle income people, and suburbanites. All are groups that have been important to the GOP's recent electoral success, but they now express more anxiety about the future and less approval of Republican policies. The President has improved his image the most within his own ranks among moderate *New Democrats* and older *New Dealers*.

Gender Politics

Gender and race also play an important role in the changing political fortunes of the President and GOP leaders. White males, who voted Republican heavily in the mid-term elections are now divided over the party leaders' policies, and look more favorably on Clinton than they did a year ago. White females give Clinton a moderately positive rating (48% approve, 40%

disapprove), but give GOP leaders a much more negative evaluation (36% approve, 50% disapprove). Non-whites strongly support the president and are equally opposed to the plans and policies of Republican leaders.

GENDER, RACE AND POLITICS

	White Male %	White Female %	Non-White Male %	Non-White Female %
Clinton Approval:				
Approve	43	48	59	58
Disapprove	48	40	32	29
No Opinion	9	12	9	13
	100	100	100	100
GOP Approval:				
Approve	43	36	27	22
Disapprove	46	50	61	65
No Opinion	11	14	12	13
	100	100	100	100
1996 Vote: Good/Some Chance of Voting For ...				
Clinton	47	56	68	76
Dole	56	45	34	26
Perot	38	30	32	22
Powell	68	64	68	55
Gingrich	28	21	20	16
Buchanan	25	26	20	17
Gramm	31	22	19	16

Besides growing concerns about the personal consequences of budget cutting, the differing views of men and women about government are an important element in public opinion. White females are much greater supporters of an activist government than are white men. Overall, non-whites of both sexes favor an activist government far more than white men and women. White males see themselves as having a more conservative view on government than they believe Clinton does, while white women rate Clinton's philosophy close to their own. All of the GOP leaders are seen by both white women *and* white men as being more anti-government than are voters themselves. This is especially the case for Gingrich.

The unusual degree of political cohesion among Democratic groups is clearly an important element in Clinton's new found political strength. Compared to four years ago, the current poll found larger percentages of Democrats saying that it matters who's elected President and that there are real differences between the parties. The percentage of Democrats saying that there are real differences between the two parties rose from 28% in 1994 to 41% currently. Fewer Republicans (36%) and Independents (27%) expressed that opinion. Although Democrats seem more energized and united, there is little indication that either party has gained new converts. Nor has strong interest in a third party subsided. The GOP had held a slight edge in party affiliation in Times Mirror Center surveys conducted between December 1994 and March 1995. But in all surveys since April, including the new poll, equal percentages of survey respondents self-identified with each party. Both parties are less well regarded by Independent voters than they were last summer and the percentage of the public favoring creation of a third party has increased slowly over the course of the past 15 months (53%, July 1994; 57% April 1995; 59% currently).

The public's views of the two parties are echoed in the way it judges the accomplishments of the President and the Republican congressional leadership. Few think Clinton (24%) or the GOP leaders (20%) have made progress in dealing with the country's problems. Most think each has tried but not succeeded (50% and 40% respectively). Even core constituents doubt that progress has been made either by the President or by Republican leaders. Only fiercely partisan free market *Enterprisers* see GOP success, and only the *Partisan Poor* think Clinton is making progress in dealing with the country's problems.

I. MOOD OF THE NATION

The level of discontent among Americans remains very high. Almost three out of four (73%) said they are dissatisfied with the way things are going in the country today. This was almost double the level of October 1988 when it was 40% (and a 56% majority was satisfied), somewhat greater than in 1992 (68%), and about the same in 1994 (72% on average). Women were somewhat more dissatisfied than men overall (76% vs. 69%), as were those 50 to 64 years old (80%). But the public divided mainly along political lines. Those disapproving of President Clinton were much more discontented than those approving of him (84% vs. 63%). Those intending to vote for an Independent in the 1996 presidential elections were more disaffected (84%) than those favoring Clinton (64%) or a generic Republican (75%). Within the Times Mirror's typology, the two independent groups were most dissatisfied (85% of the New Economy Independents, 84% of the Embittered). These groups, who together constitute nearly one-fourth of the adult U.S. population, are the swing voters who can spell the difference in an election.

There was not a single focus of the public's discontent, however. The top three reasons were volunteered almost equally often: economics (including jobs and wages), cited by 21%; health care, 21%; and crime, 20%. This was basically the same as the problems that have been at the top of the public agenda for several years. What was new, however, was that complaints about the political system and Washington politics were so high, 17%, as the reason for dissatisfaction. As recently as last April, although the question was phrased somewhat differently, only 6% said dissatisfaction with the government and politics was "the most important problem" facing the country.[3]

Blacks cited the economy twice as often as whites (37% vs. 19%) as the cause of their dissatisfaction now, but strikingly, there was no significant difference in economic mentions among respondents despite different political identification: 22% by Democrats, 21% by Republicans, and 22% by Independents. There was also no difference between those preferring Clinton, a Republican, or an Independent (20%, 22%, and 22%, respectively) for president in 1996.

Health care is once again one of Americans' concerns after recently rating very low as a national problem. Before the 1992 presidential election, it was mentioned as "the most important problem" facing the country by 3% or fewer respondents. Over the next two years, it rose to as high as 20% in mid-1994 during Congressional deliberations on Clinton's health plan, but dropped back

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[3] "Now the GOP Faces Cynical, Dissatisfied Public." Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press, Apr. 13, 1995. Washington DC. Over a dozen Times Mirror surveys back to 1987 asked respondents for "the most important problem facing this country today."

swiftly to only 5% in April of this year. Now, one-in-five (21%) Americans cite health care as the cause for dissatisfaction. The angry and sometimes bitter political debate over the future of Medicare appears to have increased public anxiety as well as attention to health care issues.

Women mentioned the health care system and the lack of health care much more often than men (25% vs. 17%), particularly women over 50 years old (28%). Within the Times Mirror typology, the Seculars, a highly educated and socially tolerant Democratic group, stood out in mentions of health care (33%). Regionally, Easterners were more concerned (28%) than Americans in other parts of the country. And the long-standing political divisions on the issue were again apparent. Democrats cited health care as the reason for dissatisfaction much more than Republicans and Independents (30% vs. 14% and 21%, respectively). Those whose presidential preference in 1996 was Clinton mentioned health care more often (28%) than those favoring a Republican or an Independent (14% and 23%, respectively).

Waning Concern About Crime?

While health care advanced again, crime appears to be waning somewhat as an issue. Some 18 months ago, in March, 1994, 31% of Americans named crime/gangs/the justice system as "the most important problem" facing the country. The proportion dropped irregularly to 23% last April. This month 20% cited crime as a reason for their dissatisfaction. Crime was mentioned much more often by women than men (25% vs. 18%), but no other significant demographic or political difference emerged on this issue.

Disaffection with American politics, although it came in a bit lower than the top three complaints on average, concerned Independents most. Twenty-two percent of Independents said Washington politics or the political system was the main reason for their disaffection, compared to 14% of Republicans and 13% of Democrats. For Independents, then, politics was more important than crime and about as important as the economy and health care as a reason for discontent. Within the Times Mirror typology, the Democratic-oriented Seculars and the classic Republican group called the Enterprisers were most upset about politics (25% and 24%, respectively).

Two additional reasons given by respondents for dissatisfaction with America today are noteworthy:

- *Foreign policy* was cited by 8% of respondents. This probably reflects in part the looming prospect of American troops being sent to Bosnia to police a peace agreement. Men, particularly men 18 to 29 years old, expressed this concern most often, as did those who preferred a Republican or an Independent in the White House next year rather than Clinton.

- *Race relations* was cited by only 5% of the public. This was an unexpectedly small number in view of the controversial O.J. Simpson murder case and the Million Man March by blacks in Washington. Blacks mentioned this problem nearly four times more often than whites (14% vs. 4%), and young men more than young women (9% vs. 4% of 18 to 29 year olds), but no other demographic or political differences were found on the issue.

Beyond their individual merit, causes for dissatisfaction volunteered by respondents can be arranged according to those that fall within the agenda of the two political parties. The GOP list is longer and its items were cited considerably more often by the public than were those on the Democratic list. Specifically, Republican agenda items included high taxes, mentioned by 14%; moral crisis/family values, 13%; government is too big, 12%; welfare reform, 9%; and the budget deficit, 5%. The Democratic items were health care, cited by 21%; the educational system, 9%; and dislike of social spending cuts, 8%.

Congress Still Takes the Heat

Just 7% of respondents blamed Clinton for their dissatisfaction with the state of the nation. Congress and "the people themselves" were fingered far more often (35% and 27%, respectively). Democrats blamed the GOP-led Congress more than Republicans (41% vs. 30%), but in another surprise, Republicans blamed "the people themselves" more than they blamed Clinton (31% vs. 9%). Ironically, the Bystanders, a Times Mirror typology group that opts out of the political process, were among those who blamed "the people themselves" most often (31%). Congress was blamed more often for four of the top five problems. The exception was crime, which seems to be viewed broadly as a social problem rather than one that a government institution or individual can solve.

These results are one of several signs that Clinton's chances at re-election may not depend on the mood of the electorate next November as much as is normally the case. In 1991 as the presidential campaign season began, for example, 74% of those satisfied with the state of the nation said they would vote for George Bush, compared to a meager 20% who said they would vote for a generic Democrat; conversely, only 35% of those who were dissatisfied said they would vote for Bush, while 52% would chose the Democrat.[4] In the current survey, even though diluted by posing a three-way race, the correlation between national mood and support for the president can be seen to be considerably less significant. Of those satisfied with the way things are going in the country, 42% said they would vote for Clinton next year, 24% for a Republican, and 14% for an Independent. Of those dissatisfied, the preferences were almost identical: 27% for Clinton, 29% for a Republican, and 25% for an Independent.

STATE OF THE NATION AND SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT

	Satisfied %	Dissatisfied %
1991:		
Bush	74	35
Democrat	20	52
Don't know	6	13
	100	100
1995:		
Clinton	42	27
Republican	24	29
Independent	14	25
Don't know	20	19
	100	100

Government Seen As Biggest Threat

Along much the same line, more Americans by far said they feel more threatened by the government than by any social or economic institution. One out of two respondents said the government is "the biggest threat" to people like themselves. Perot voters are marginally stronger in this view than the average, but most remarkable is that Democrats, Republicans and Independents in essentially identical proportions identified government as the biggest threat: 50%, 49%, and 50%, respectively. They apparently do so for different reasons, however. Respondents who wanted government programs cut and those who want current programs maintained[5] were essentially the

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4 Times Mirror Center surveys in October, 1991.

5 Anti-government respondents were distinguished from pro-government respondents based on replies to the following question: "If '1' represents someone who believes that government programs should be cut back very much in order to lower taxes and reduce the power of the government, and '6' represents someone who feels that government programs that help needy people and deal with important national problems should be maintained, where on the scale of '1' to '6' would you place yourself?"

same in seeing government as the biggest threat; 50% of the "anti-government" group and 49% of those who could be called "government activists" saw government as the biggest threat. Interestingly, among the Times Mirror typology groups, the Democratic-oriented Partisan Poor voiced two contradictory complaints: that the government spends two much and is too big (16%), and that there were too many cuts being made in social spending (14%).

The news media was cited second most often as the biggest threat (15%), followed by business corporations (13%), Wall Street bankers and investment companies (8%), and the entertainment industry (5%). More Democrats and Independents (16% and 14%, respectively) saw business as the main threat than did Republicans (10%). Instead, more Republicans saw the media as the biggest threat (19%) compared to Democrats (12%) or Independents (14%). The public's new attitudes toward business and the media are discussed later in this report.

II. PUBLIC PRIORITIES

The Medicare debate has brought health care reform back to the top of the public's agenda. It tops the list of issues the public would like to see presidential candidates address in the 1996 campaign. At this point, the economy is much less of a dominant issue than it was during the 1992 presidential campaign. In October 1991, 43% of the public said the economy was the *one issue* they would most like to hear the candidates talk about. Today, only 14% name the economy the top issue.

There is a gender gap in public priorities echoing the gender gap that underlies party identification and voting behavior. Women show much more interest in social issues such as health care and education reform. Nearly a quarter of the women polled said health care was the one issue they wanted to hear the candidates talk about, compared to only 15% of men. Men were more focused on economic issues, primarily balancing the budget, the state of the economy and taxes.

Public priorities divide along partisan lines as well. Candidate messages about balancing the budget are likely to resonate with the strongly Republican Enterprisers and the economically conservative Libertarians. Candidates who talk about health care reform will most likely catch the attention of core Democratic groups, as well as the New Economy Independents, a crucial group of swing voters. Right-leaning Enterprisers and Moralists are more interested than others in hearing the candidates talk about the moral crisis in this country.

Foreign policy does not appear to be a priority for any sector of the electorate in the upcoming campaign season. And race relations is barely on the public's radar screen, in spite of news media attention to the "Million Man March" and the inside the beltway contention that race would be a defining issue in the 1996 election. Blacks are slightly more interested than whites in hearing the candidates address race relations; still, a mere 6% say race is the one issue they would most like to hear about.

Public Priorities

Top 5 Issues the Public Wants Candidates to Address

	Health Care Reform %	Economy %	Balance Budget %	Crime %	Moral Crisis %
Total	20	14	14	9	8
Enterprisers	7	14	26	8	15
Moralists	16	16	14	9	13
Libertarians	10	26	19	4	5
New Economy Indeps.	28	10	12	11	6
Embittered	17	16	13	6	8
Bystanders	14	10	8	11	7
Seculars	29	15	10	10	4
New Democrats	26	14	7	9	8
New Dealers	29	7	11	10	4
Partisan Poor	27	10	11	11	4

Americans are split over what one issue the next president should focus on once elected. In 1992 there was much more unanimity of opinion. Then, the public was clearly intent on economic issues: 40% said the first priority of the next president should be to reduce the deficit, 31% said it should be to reduce unemployment. Today the public view is much more diffuse. Twenty percent said the president's first priority should be balancing the budget, 17% said it should be the moral breakdown in the country, 14% said improve the educational system, and 12% said deal with the problems of poor and needy people.

Men, senior citizens and those in the highest income bracket were the groups most likely to say balancing the budget should be the president's highest priority. Evangelical and non-Evangelical Republicans are split over presidential priorities. Non-Evangelical Republicans would give the highest priority a balanced budget rather than the country's moral crisis by a margin of 33% to 19%. Evangelicals, on the other hand, would prefer to see the president deal with the moral crisis rather than a balanced budget by a nearly equal margin -- 32% vs. 17%.

Improving the educational system is the number one priority for young voters, age 18-29. This issue was also given higher priority by Democratic groups than by Republicans. Educational

reform was a top priority of the Seculars, the New Democrats and the Partisan Poor, as well as the unaffiliated New Economy Independents. Republican groups placed more emphasis on balancing the budget and dealing with the moral breakdown in the country.

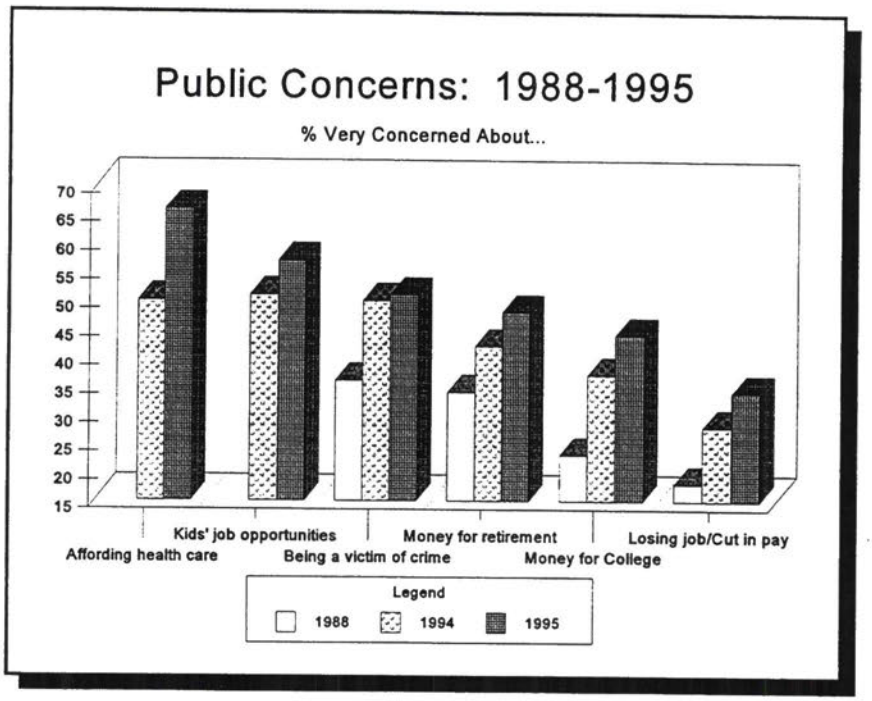
Public Concerns

The public's priorities aside, the source of the public's sour mood is much easier to read. People are becoming less and less satisfied with the amount of money they earn, and they are extremely concerned about their future financial security. The proportion of respondents who said they are "very satisfied" with their earnings has fallen to 17% from an already low 23% in 1994. The decrease in satisfaction over earnings is most dramatic among political Independents, Perot voters and those age 50-64.

Public dissatisfaction with earnings and pessimism about future earning prospects have shown little movement in spite of the economic recovery the country has experienced in the last few years. In January of 1992, during the sustained economic recession, 61% of Americans complained they did not earn enough money to live the kind of life they wanted, and only 34% believed they would earn enough in the future. By July 1994, although the economy had improved significantly, these percentages were virtually unchanged: 60% and 34%, respectively.

The public's anxiety level over a whole range of issues central to their lives is considerably higher now than it was in 1994 and *dramatically* higher than it was in 1988. Nearly half of Americans now say they are "very concerned" about not having enough money for their retirement, compared to only about one-third in 1988. Fully 44% said they are very concerned about being unable to save enough money to put a child through college, up from 23% in 1988. And the percentage of people who said they are very concerned about losing their job or taking a cut in pay has nearly doubled to 34% from 18% in 1988.

The public also expresses increased anxiety over being unable to afford necessary health care when a family member gets sick, and, for those who have children, not having adequate child care and their children not having good job opportunities in the future. The rising stress has occurred even though the economy has moved out of recession, unemployment has gone down, and crime rates have dipped somewhat. This is additional evidence that changes taking place at the macro level have yet to be felt by individual citizens.



Concern over future financial security now exists across nearly all demographic categories. Immediate financial concerns, such as losing a job or taking a cut in pay, still seem to fall mostly on the least well-off. But college-educated and mid-to-upper income Americans are now increasingly worried about having enough money for their retirement and being able to afford health care in the future. This may increase the *political* significance of these issues, because middle class and affluent groups are more likely to be attentive to the presidential campaign and more likely to vote next November.

Looking at anxiety levels through the prism of the typology, one group stands out as relatively immune from many of the concerns that plague most other Americans. The affluent Enterprisers expressed the lowest levels of concern on six of the eight issues measured. Their partisan brethren, the Moralists, provide a stark contrast. This socially conservative, largely middle class voting block showed high levels of anxiety in every one of the measures. The Moralists' greatest economic concerns were affording health care for themselves or their families, future job prospects for their children, and not having enough money for their own retirement.

These concerns may help explain not only why the Moralists have failed to embrace the agenda of GOP leaders in Congress, but also why the Republican coalition that stretches from the Enterprisers to the Moralists appears more fractured now than in many years.

The two largest Independent groups in the electorate are also highly stressed about their own economic conditions and extremely pessimistic about the future. The New Economy Independents, who are the largest swing voting block in the electorate today, have not been won over by the agenda of the new Republican Congress -- 64% disapprove of the policies of the GOP congressional leaders. For this group, as well as the other important Independent voting block, the Embittered, a major concern is being able to afford necessary health care when a family member gets sick. More than seven in ten New Economy Independents and fully 80% of the Embittered are very concerned about this problem.

Public's Major Financial Concerns
% Very Concerned About...

	Affording necessary health care	Having enough money for retirement	Affording college for kids	Losing/ Not affording own home
Total	65	48	44	38
Enterprisers	36	29	27	20
Moralists	64	50	44	35
Libertarians	50	34	26	20
New Economy Indeps.	73	62	57	48
Embittered	80	59	58	44
Bystanders	73	45	50	54
Seculars	62	41	37	34
New Democrats	71	46	43	42
New Dealers	85	60	56	45
Partisan Poor	85	49	36	37

Those Independent voters, who express concern over their own and their families' financial futures, represent close to 20% of the electorate. They were fairly evenly divided, if not somewhat more approving, on the president's job performance but expressed overwhelming disapproval of the policies of the Republican Congress. For example, among those New Economy Independents and Embittered who say they are concerned about being able to afford health care in the future, 70% disapprove of GOP congressional leaders, only 17% approve. And they appear to be holding out hope for an Independent candidate in 1996. Among those who were concerned about having enough money for their retirement, 42% said they would vote for an Independent candidate for president, 28% for Bill Clinton, and 18% for a Republican candidate.

III. PUBLIC VIEWS ON THE PRESIDENCY

Americans *care* this year about the coming election more than they did at this time four years ago. Compared to 1991, the public now expresses greater interest both in *which individual* and *which party* wins in 1996. Nearly eight-in-ten (78%) said they personally care a good deal who wins the election, up from 73% who felt the same way in October, 1991. Six-in-ten also said they care a great deal which party is victorious (61%), a six percentage point increase from four years ago (55%).

Democrats in particular care about who wins more than they did in 1991, perhaps reflecting increased concern about the cuts in social spending and the changes in welfare and Medicare policy. Fully 85% of Democrats said they care who wins, compared to 69% four years ago; all four of the Democratic-oriented typology groups are similarly enthusiastic. Republicans as a whole remain at the same high level on this measure -- 84% now vs. 83% in 1991 -- but Enterprisers are much more energized (93%) while Liberarians much less so (68%).

Personal Qualities Sought in A President

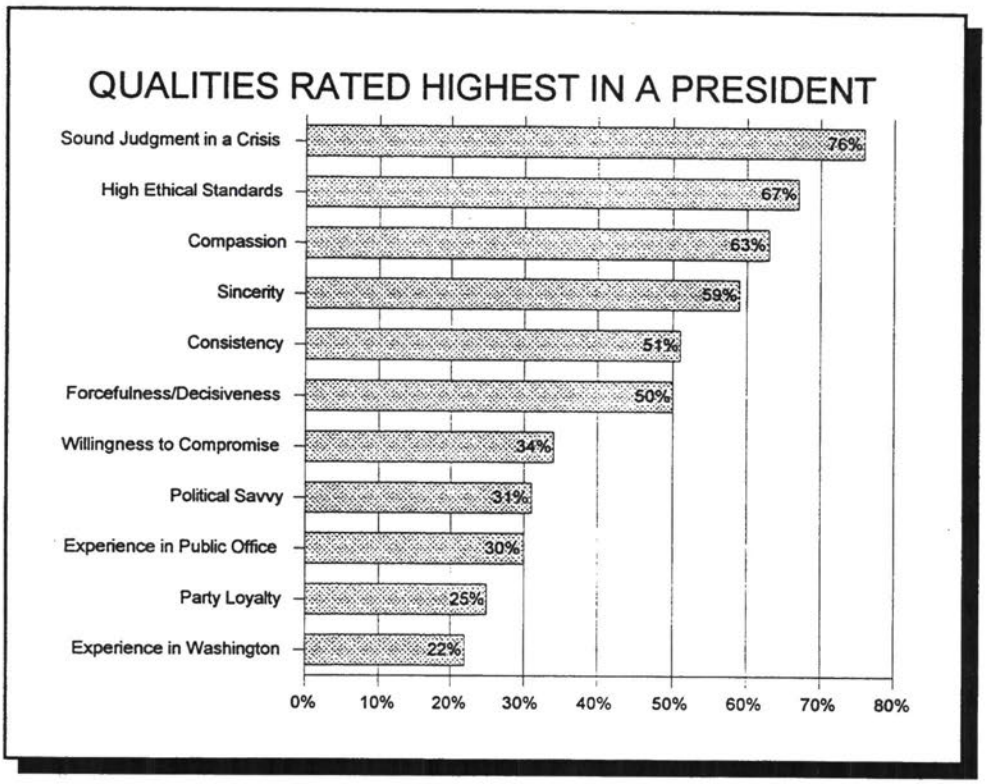
The electorate also knows what qualities it wants in a president. The Times Mirror survey found a three-tier hierarchy of qualities. The public regards *personal* qualities most highly. *Leadership* qualities it values moderately. *Political* qualification it considers of least importance. Specifically:

- The largest majorities said they want a president who has the personal traits of "sound judgment in a crisis" (76%), "high ethical standards" (67%), and "compassion for the average citizen" (63%). Women were more likely than men to feel that compassion is essential (68% vs. 58%).

- A lesser proportion but still a majority chose leadership qualities such as "saying what one believes, even if it is unpopular" (59%) , "consistent positions on issues" (51%), and "being forceful and decisive" (50%).

- One-third or less of the public favored professional political qualities including willingness to compromise (34%), political savvy (31%), experience in public office (30%), loyalty to party (25%), and experience in Washington (22%).

These priorities have changed somewhat with time. In a comparable Gallup Poll question in 1979, when Jimmy Carter was the incumbent, experience in public office was considered much more necessary, whereas high ethical standards were not nearly as important to the electorate as today.



When asked to choose which *one* of all the qualities is most essential for a president, the three personal traits beat all the others by a two-to-one margin: high ethical standards (22%), compassion (19%), and sound judgment (18%). The choice was somewhat colored by the party affiliation of the respondent. Among Republicans, nearly one-third cited ethical standards as the most essential quality, compared to only 16% of Democrats. The top rated quality among Democrats was compassion (24% vs. 13% Republicans). Among the Democratic groups in the Times Mirror typology, those which rated compassion most highly were the Partisan Poor (28%) and the Seculars (26%). Independents as a whole rated three traits about equally: compassion (20%), ethical standards (19%) and sound judgment (19%). Of the two key independent groups (and thus swing voters) in the typology, New Economy Independents rated compassion most essential (26%), while the Embittered rated high ethics first (24%) and compassion second (20%).

Not surprisingly, income and education also matter in this regard. The more affluent and better educated rated high ethical standards as most essential, while the less educated and less affluent chose compassion most often. Blacks, as well as respondents under 30 years of age, were also more likely to pick compassion. Evangelical Christians were among those putting the highest value on high ethical standards.

Of the top three qualities considered essential in a president, two were most identified with the now non-candidate, Colin Powell, while only one of them was associated with Bill Clinton. None of the current GOP candidates, including Bob Dole, were most associated with the top-ranked personal qualities. Specifically, nearly one-third of Americans saw in Powell the attributes of sound judgment (33%) and high ethical standards (30%), compared to only 19% and 10%, respectively, who associated them with Clinton. A slightly larger proportion associated high ethical standards with Dole than with Clinton (15% vs. 10%). However, Clinton wins on compassion. Four-in-ten identified this quality with the President, nearly three times the number that associated it with either Powell (15%) or Perot (14%).

Americans saw little to choose among the candidates in leadership traits. More of the public viewed Powell as "forceful and decisive" than they did Clinton (25% vs. 15%), but the public identified sincerity ("saying what one believes even if it is unpopular") more with Clinton than with Powell (26% vs. 18%). On consistency, there is no clear winner in the ratings: Dole, 15%; Powell, 14%; Clinton, 12%; Perot, 12%; and Gingrich, 11%.

POLITICAL CANDIDATES* MOST IDENTIFIED WITH QUALITIES

	Powell	Clinton	Dole	Perot	Gingrich	All Other Candidates	DK/ Refused	N
PERSONAL QUALITIES:								
Sound Judgment in Crisis	33	19	12	5	1	8	22=100	(355)
High Ethical Standards	30	11	15	4	3	15	22=100	(445)
Compassion	15	40	5	14	1	5	20=100	(343)
LEADERSHIP QUALITIES:								
Sincerity	18	26	9	14	5	9	19=100	(167)
Consistency	14	12	15	12	10	10	27=100	(147)
Forcefulness/Decisiveness	25	15	14	8	5	9	24=100	(125)
PROFESSION POLITICAL QUALITIES:								
Willingness to Compromise	18	30	10	13	0	2	27=100	(83)
Political Savvy	6	30	19	5	3	4	33=100	(48)
Experience in Public Office	7	32	10	9	0	10	32=100	(34)
Party Loyalty	10	23	14	17	3	7	26=100	(69)
Experience in Washington	3	30	39	4	0	0	24=100	(28)

*Some of the political figures are *potential* candidates.

A President's Role in the Moral Crisis

Americans perceive a moral crisis in the country and place a great deal of importance on high ethical standards in who becomes president, but there is a mixed view on what the president can do about these concerns. A majority felt that whoever is elected can make a difference in dealing with the problem of violence (65%), and to a slightly lesser degree, with the problems of race and of low moral and ethical standards (54% each). However, much fewer (34%) felt that family breakdown and illegitimate children are issues upon which a president can have an impact.

Partisan differences emerged on these issues. Republicans and Democrats largely agreed that a president could have some effect on the problems of race and violence. But on the breakdown of the family and low moral and ethical standards, Republicans were more likely than Democrats to believe the president can make a difference (41% vs. 33%, and 63% vs 53%, respectively).

There were also differing views on the *ways* in which the President can have the greatest impact. With respect to the breakdown of the family, a majority (52%) felt the President can make the biggest difference by proposing policies, one-quarter (26%) said by serving as a role model, and one-fifth (19%) said by drawing national attention to the issue. On the issue of low moral and ethical standards, however, Americans were more likely to think the President would be effective by serving as a role model (47%), rather than by proposing policies (33%) or drawing attention to the problem (18%). Republicans were much more likely than Democrats to feel that the President could have the greatest impact by serving as a role model (56% vs. 34%), while Democrats felt he could be most effective by proposing policies (42%, compared to 27% among Republicans).

IV. POLITICAL JUDGEMENTS

Opinions about Candidates and Leaders

Overall, approval of Bill Clinton at 48% appears to be holding steady in the midst of the crucial debates in Washington these days. Approval of the policies of Republican leaders in Congress, on the other hand, has continued a 10-month slide, falling from 52% in December of last year, to 44% after the first 100 days, and now to 36%.

President Clinton's support, at this point, is much more broad-based than support for the GOP agenda. The President's job approval ratings cut across socio-economic lines, whereas approval of Republican congressional leaders appears to be much more concentrated demographically. Forty-six percent of college graduates approved of the Republican's policies compared to only 23% of those with less than a high school education. Similarly, 58% of those making more than $75,000 a year, but fewer than one third of those with incomes under $30,000, approved of the Republicans.

The approval ratings for Clinton and the Republican congressional leaders provide some insight into the relative strength of the two major party coalitions. The Democrats seem much more firmly united behind President Clinton than the Republicans do behind their leaders in Congress. The President received strong approval ratings from the four core Democratic groups (72% or better) in the Times Mirror typology, and positive ratings from the Independent groups (45% or better). The Republican leaders in Congress receive more tepid support from their core constituents. A large majority of the affluent Enterprisers (79%) expressed strong support for the Republican policies and proposals, but only two-thirds of Moralists (66%) and even fewer Libertarians (56%) said they approve of the GOP agenda. And only about one-in-five of the key Independent groups -- 22% of the New Economy Independents and 19% of the Embittered -- expressed approval of the policies of the GOP Congress.

With twelve months to go before the 1996 Presidential campaign, the public remains evenly split between Bill Clinton and an unnamed Republican candidate (34% vs. 33%, respectively) in a three-way test race. More than a quarter (26%) said they would prefer to see an unnamed Independent candidate elected President in 1996. Clinton's support seems to be strongest among women, minorities, and older Americans (49% of those age 65 and older chose Clinton). The generic Republican ran strongest among white males, Evangelical Christians and those with annual incomes exceeding $75,000. Support for an Independent candidate was strongest among young voters (33% of those age 18-29 chose the Independent) and among those who voted for Ross Perot in 1992.

Among the leading 1996 presidential hopefuls, non-candidate Colin Powell receives the strongest endorsement. Fully 65% of the public said there is either a good chance or some chance they would vote for Powell if he ran for President. Bill Clinton was the next most popular choice (55%), followed by Bob Dole (47%). Clinton appears strong among Democratic and Independent groups and Dole strong mostly among Republicans, but Colin Powell enjoyed strong support across the board. Powell appealed mostly to Republican groups, but strong majorities of most Democratic groups -- the Seculars, New Democrats and the Partisan Poor -- said there is at least some chance they would vote for Powell.

Bill Clinton appears to be highly acceptable to all of the traditional Democratic voting groups. At least 84% of registered voters among Seculars, New Democrats, New Dealers and the Partisan Poor said there is a chance they would vote for him in 1996. Clinton also ran fairly strong among the two key Independent groups (61% on average), though not as strong as Powell (73%) who at the time of the survey seemed to control the center of the electorate.

Primary Voters

Among those who say they are very likely to vote in their state's primary next year, relatively few can see themselves voting for what might be considered the second tier of GOP candidates. Only about a third of Moralists and Libertarians, two core Republican groups, say there is even some chance they will vote for Patrick Buchanan or Phil Gramm if either is a candidate for president next year. The Moralists would presumably be a natural constituency for Buchanan, given his message of cultural conservatism and economic populism. However, this group seems more drawn to Colin Powell and, to a lesser extent, Bob Dole. Only the Enterprisers express strong support for Buchanan and Gramm. They are also more likely than any other group to say there is a chance they would vote for Newt Gingrich if he were to run for President.

Buchanan, Gramm and Gingrich hold very little appeal for the key Independent voting blocks, the New Economy Independents and the Embittered -- many of whom will be able to take part in the party primaries in 1996 in states where Independents are eligible to participate. These groups are much more enamored with Colin Powell. Three-quarters of each group said there was a chance they would vote for Powell if he were to run in '96.

POTENTIAL GOP CANDIDATE SUPPORT
Based on Likely Primary Voters

Good/Some Chance of Voting For ...	Total	Enterprisers	Moralists	Libertarians	New Economy Independents	Embittered
Bob Dole	48	85	70	70	37	38
Colin Powell	67	60	73	83	75	75
Newt Gingrich	25	56	40	37	13	9
Patrick Buchanan	23	40	32	29	17	23
Phil Gramm	26	53	34	35	15	17

Any resistance to a Powell candidacy among Republican groups would likely have come from the ideologically conservative Enterprisers, who were less enthusiastic about Powell than they are about Bob Dole. A Newt Gingrich candidacy would be much more appealing to the Enterprisers than to Moralists. This is not surprising considering the Enterprisers are philosophically more in line with the GOP Contract with America and express the highest levels of approval for the Republican leaders in Congress of any right-leaning group. In contrast, more than half of both the Moralists, as well as the Libertarians, said there is "no chance" they would vote for Newt for President.

The widening gender gap which underlies party identification and attitudes toward the "Republican revolution" could have a significant impact on the presidential election. Since the beginning of the 104th Congress, women have consistently expressed more negative attitudes toward the GOP agenda, toward specific GOP policies, and toward Republican House Speaker, Newt Gingrich. This survey found that women disapprove of congressional Republicans' policies and proposals by a staggering margin of 53% to 33%. In contrast, men dislike the GOP's ideas by a narrower 48% to 40% margin.

The gap is apparent in presidential politics as well. Not only were women more inclined to say they would vote for Bill Clinton in 1996 (60% vs. 50% of men); they were also much less likely than men to say they would vote for the leading GOP candidates (42% vs. 53% of men said there is a chance they would vote for Bob Dole).

Support for a Powell candidacy was no doubt tied to the widespread perception that little progress is being made toward solving the major problems facing the country. An overwhelming majority of the public (73%) is dissatisfied with the way things are going in the country and very few believe significant progress is being made. President Clinton seems to escape much of the blame for the state of the nation, but not Republican leaders in Congress.

Twenty-four percent of the public said the President has made progress in solving the nation's problems, which is about the same as the public said about GOP Congressional leaders (20%). Fifty percent said Clinton has tried but failed; only 40% gave GOP leaders that much credit. Some 12% said Clinton has made problems worse, but almost twice that proportion, 21%, said GOP leaders have made the problems worse.

Views of the Parties

While Bill Clinton seems to have escaped much of the blame for the way things are going in the country, his party clearly has not. Public attitudes toward *both* major political parties have soured considerably over the last year. The public may be skeptical about the policies and proposals of the GOP Congress, but their negative attitudes toward both parties suggest a more general distaste for politics as usual.

Since July of 1994, favorability ratings for the Republican party have fallen 11 percentage points, and ratings for the Democrats have fallen 13 percentage points. While self-described Republicans and Democrats continue to express overwhelmingly favorable opinions of their own parties, that support has softened somewhat over the last year or so. In July 1994 29% of Republicans had a *very* favorable opinion of their own party; today 21% do. Similarly, 31% of Democrats had a very favorable view of their party in July of '94, compared to 22% today. More importantly, favorability ratings of both parties have fallen off sharply among Independents over the last year.

Trend in Favorability Ratings of Parties
July 1992-Oct. 1995

	REPUBLICAN		DEMOCRATIC	
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Favorable	Unfavorable
October 1995	52	44	49	48
July 1994	63	33	62	34
May 1993	54	35	57	34
July 1992	46	48	61	33

Nearly 60% of the public now agrees we should have a third major party in this country -- the highest level recorded since the question was first asked by the *Washington Post* in September 1982. There is a widespread perception that the two major parties are extremely polarized these days. Only 18% of the public sees "hardly any difference" in what the parties stand for today. Democrats are more likely than Republicans or Independents to see sharp differences between the two parties. More than 40% of Democrats said there is a "great deal" of difference between the two parties, up from 28% who felt that way in July 1994. Among Democratic voting groups, the centrist New Democrats show the largest increase on this front. In 1994, only 16% saw a great deal of difference between the two parties; this year 37% perceive the polarization.

TREND IN DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN PARTIES
By Party ID

	---- July 1994 ----				---- October 1995 ----			
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
Difference:								
Great Deal	23	30	**28**	15	34	36	**41**	27
Fair Amount	51	53	52	50	46	48	45	47
Hardly Any	24	16	19	34	18	14	13	25
Don't know	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

In the current survey, nearly three-quarters of the public (72%) said Republicans and Democrats have been bickering and opposing one another more than usual. In August of 1993, on the heels of a bruising and very partisan budget battle in Congress, only 57% of the public thought the parties were opposing each other more than usual. Despite widespread dissatisfaction with the two major parties and growing support for a third one, Ross Perot continues to be an unpopular alternative for most Americans. Nearly two-thirds of the public said there *no chance* they would vote for Perot if he is a candidate for President next year. Even among Perot's strongest supporters in 1992, this sentiment prevails. Fifty-six percent of New Economy Independents and 62% of Libertarians said there is no chance they will vote for Perot.

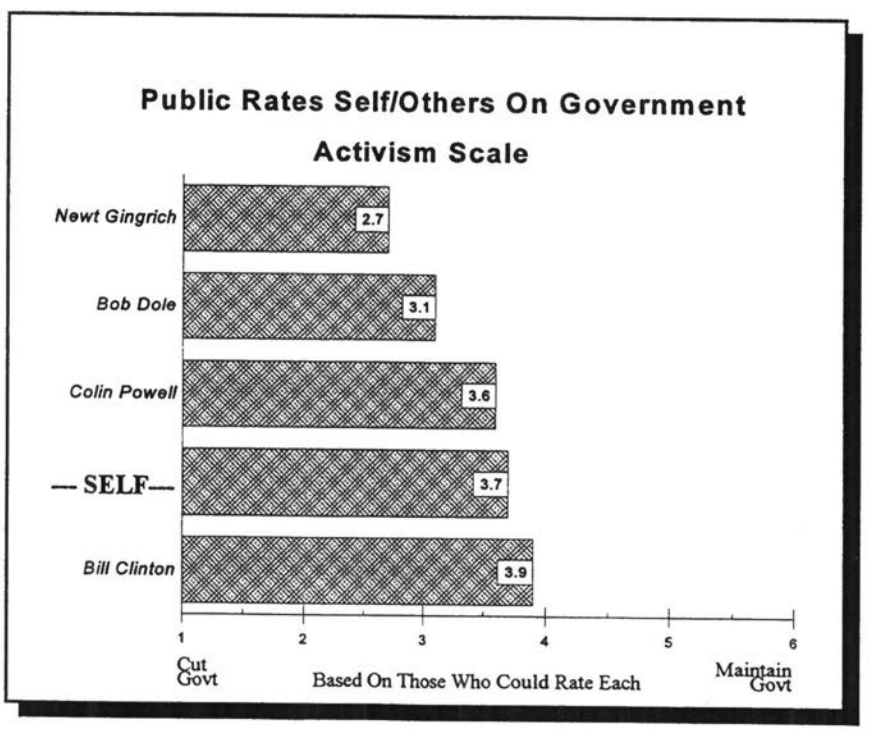
The public's perceptions of the parties seem to have contributed to an increasingly negative view of Congress. Congress's favorability rating has dropped substantially since July of 1994. Today only 42% of the public has a favorable opinion of Congress, compared to 53% in July '94.

Among those who say the parties are opposing each other more these days than usual, even fewer -- 37% -- have a favorable opinion of the Congress. Fully 61% of this group holds an unfavorable view of Congress, compared to only 40% of those who think the parties are working together more now than in the past.

The Role of Government and Presidential Candidates

The debate in Washington over the role of government is likely to become a major theme of the 1996 campaign. While the 1994 Republican sweep of Congress was interpreted by many as a repudiation of big government, the public actually sees itself as closer to Bill Clinton's position on the role of government than to Newt Gingrich's or Bob Dole's. When asked to rate themselves on a government activism scale, where 1 represents someone who believes government programs should be cut back in order to lower taxes and reduce the power of government, and 6 is someone who thinks that government programs that help the needy and deal with national problems should be maintained, respondents placed themselves at 3.7, or closer to the activist end of the scale. The public perceived the President to be slightly less conservative, at 3.9, and felt closest in ideology to Colin Powell (3.6). In fact, nearly a quarter of the public rated themselves the same as Powell.

Newt Gingrich was perceived by the public to be the most conservative, followed by Bob Dole. The public saw Powell by this measure as closer to Clinton than to Republicans. The only typology group to rate themselves near Newt Gingrich in terms of government activism was the conservative Enterprisers.



V. VOTER VALUES AND ISSUE COALITIONS

The latest Times Mirror poll, in an unusual result, finds more unity among Democratic groups than among Republican groups on policy issues that could be raised in the election campaign. Specifically, Republicans are divided on abortion rights, social safety net issues, government scrutiny of big company mergers, and the flat tax. The poll found Democrats most divided on two issues: affirmative action and illegal immigrants. And there is more good news for Democrats; overall, the Independent groups are closer to their positions than to Republican stands.

On **abortion rights**, more than seven-in-ten of the public (71%) agreed that a woman's right to have an abortion should be preserved. Four years ago, an equally large number of Americans felt the same way (74%). Among those least supportive of abortion rights were Evangelical Christians (52%), while most supportive were Non-Evangelical Protestants (88%).

This issue deeply divides the Republican groups in the Times Mirror voter typology. Just over half of the socially conservative Enterprisers and Moralists supported abortion rights, compared to 86% of the Libertarians. Among the Democratic groups, at least 64% of each group favored preserving abortion rights, with the socially tolerant Seculars almost unanimous on the issue (95%). A key swing group, the New Economy Independents, overwhelmingly favored the Democrats on this issue (80% supportive of abortion rights).

Large majorities support an active government role in helping both **low income and middle income families**. But compared to four years ago, many fewer Americans are committed to it. At a similar juncture in the 1991 campaign, more than one-half of respondents *completely* agreed that government should help low income families (53%), as well as middle income families (52%), while in the current study, only one-third completely agreed (35% and 36%, respectively). This decline in intensity cuts across all major groups in the electorate regarding government aid for low income families, with the greatest drop among Republicans (23 percentage point decline vs. 12 percentage points for Democrats). Nonetheless, fully 69% of Republicans agreed that the government should help low income families in this respect.

Democratic groups are united on social safety net issues, too, but there is less cohesion among the Republicans. Specifically, the Moralists (who are less affluent than other Republican groups) were significantly more likely than either the free-market Enterprisers or the Libertarians to support government aid for low income families, as well as middle income families. In addition, the two swing groups, the New Economy Independents and the Embittered, are much closer to the Democrats on these issues than to the Republicans.

Nearly three-quarters of Americans agreed that the **mergers of big companies** should be looked at more closely by government (72%). Overall, Democrats were much more in agreement than Republicans (80% vs. 61%), with Independents closer to Democrats (75%). Among Republicans, the Moralists again split from the pro-business Enterprisers and Libertarians in voicing much greater support for government scrutiny. Democrats, however, were relatively unified on this issue, with at least 70% of all groups agreeing that government should keep a closer watch on mergers. Similar to the social safety net issues, both independent groups were more closely aligned with the Democrats than with the Republicans.

Just over half of the public (52%) was in favor of a **flat tax**, with Republicans far more so than Democrats (62% vs. 42%). Not surprisingly, the two Republican groups who stand to benefit most from it -- the Enterprisers and the Moralists -- were more supportive (69% and 64%, respectively) than the Moralists (56%). The New Economy Independents were closer to the Democratic position on this issue.

Only slightly more than a third of Americans (36%) agreed with **affirmative action** policy, with Democrats twice as supportive as Republicans (50% vs. 25%). All Republican groups showed low levels of support for special preferences for minorities in jobs and education, but among the Democratic groups, the Partisan Poor, the group with the largest concentration of blacks, were much more supportive of special preferences than were other Democratic groups. Again, the two key independent groups were somewhat more in tune with the Democratic position on this issue.

Nearly six-in-ten Americans (58%) agreed that **illegal immigrants** and their children should be denied education, health and welfare benefits. On this issue, Democrats and Republicans were both somewhat divided. Less than a majority of Seculars, New Democrats or Partisan Poor supported the denial of benefits, while 62% of the more conservative New Dealers did so. Among Republican groups, roughly six-in-ten of Moralists and Libertarians felt illegal immigrants should not receive benefits, compared to a slightly higher number of Enterprisers (74%).

With respect to **political reform**, large majorities continue to support term limits (79% vs. 80% in 1991), although compared to four years ago, there has been some decline in the intensity with which these views are held (55% completely agreed then vs. 45% now). In addition to the core Republican groups, the two independents groups in the typology voiced strongest support for term limits.

More than six-in-ten agreed (64%) that the US should play a leading role in **dealing with the world's problems**. This view was evenly spread across the partisan preferences, although there

were differences within them. Among the most internationalist by this measure were the (Republican) Moralists, the (Independent) Embittered, and the (Democratic) Secular and Partisan Poor. Most isolationist in this regard were the Enterprisers and Libertarians on the right and New Dealers on the left.

ISSUE COALITIONS AMONG THE TYPOLOGY GROUPS

(% Agree)

	Abortion Rights	Govt Aid Middle Income	Govt Aid Low Income	Govt Scrutinize Mergers	Flat Tax Rate	Special Preferences Minorities	Deny Immigrants Benefits	Term Limits	US World Leader
TOTAL	71	78	81	72	52	36	58	79	64
REPUBLICAN GROUPS									
Enterprisers	54	50	50	52	69	14	74	89	57
Moralists	58	77	80	74	56	26	59	87	67
Libertarians	86	60	67	49	64	24	62	67	58
INDEPENDENT GROUPS									
New Economy Ind.	80	85	92	77	45	42	60	86	64
Embittered	64	80	95	80	56	52	55	89	71
Bystanders	68	88	90	74	47	35	56	67	51
DEMOCRATIC GROUPS									
Seculars	95	91	88	78	34	47	46	68	71
New Democrats	78	87	87	70	46	46	48	73	65
New Dealers	70	83	86	95	46	38	62	78	59
Partisan Poor	64	88	95	79	43	62	48	65	78

VI. VIEWS ABOUT BUSINESS AND THE MEDIA

Attitudes Toward Business Slip

With the earnings of American workers rising the smallest amount on record last year -- at 2.7%, barely ahead of inflation -- and with layoffs providing depressing counterpoints to new highs of the stock market, the public's regard for business corporations has declined sharply. The favorability rating of big companies remains relatively high at 60%, but it has fallen by 10 percentage points in 15 months to its lowest level of the nineties. Merely 4% of the public believed that big companies put the interests of their employees first; 46% said they put stockholders first and 34% said they put top executives first.

What they *should* do instead, respondents said, is turn that hierarchy almost upside down. Thirty-one percent said corporations should put customers first and 30% said employees first; only 4% said put the top executives first. Fully 72% said mergers of big companies should be looked at more closely by the government. An even larger majority (77%) felt that too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few large companies, but this figure has remained relatively steady for more than a year.

Whether or not it reflects badly on the business community, the public has also become strikingly disenchanted with the perceived cost, in terms of loss of jobs, of free trade agreements like NAFTA. Almost twice as many now say such agreements hurt the job situation (55% all told, including 28% who said hurt a little, 27% who said hurt a lot). Just a year and a half ago, only 32% held that view (14% hurt a little, 18% hurt a lot).

Despite the anxiety of Americans about jobs and wages expressed in these findings, however, the public's contradictory attitude toward big business was also evident. A slim majority said government regulation of business does more harm than good (50% vs. 45%), perhaps reflecting more the historic antipathy of Americans toward the government than sympathy for business. Three-fourths (75%) of respondents felt confident that business is living up to its responsibility to the public, although this was much the same as found in 1979 (71%). A similar number of respondents saw the news media (15%) and business corporations (13%) as the greatest threat to people like themselves, and nearly half as many named the one-time favored American whipping boy, Wall Street banks and investment companies (8%). All took a back seat to fear of the government, which 50% of respondents called the biggest threat.

The new critics of corporations are found mostly among women, the middle aged (30 to 49 years old), and those with family income in the $20,000 a year range. Politically, the new critics are

more likely to be Independent, and geographically, they come more often from small cities and towns. To a considerable degree, they are the same people who are newly disillusioned with Congress.

More importantly, perhaps, in view of the coming presidential campaign, divisions were found among traditional Republican groups on two key policy issues: mergers and trade.

Of the 72% who agreed that mergers should be watched more closely by the government, 28% agreed completely, and among these were a disproportionate number of blacks and non-whites, persons over 65 years of age, and those in families earning under $20,000 a year. Politically, they were almost twice as often Democrats and Clinton voters rather than Republicans and Bush voters. But among the three traditional GOP groups in the *Times Mirror* typology, the Moralists, who have a decidedly anti-business bent, were akin to all of the Democratic and Independent groups rather than like the Enterprisers and Libertarians. Seventy-four percent of the Moralists agreed on closer scrutiny, compared to 52% of the Enterprisers and 49% of the Libertarians. All of the other groups in the typology favored closer scrutiny by at least 70%.

Of the 55% who felt free trade agreements hurt the job situation, there were few marked demographic differences. There was also no difference between Democrats and Republicans -- 53% of each said jobs are hurt -- while 59% of Independents said the same. Among those expressing a presidential preference for 1996, 49% of those favoring Clinton said jobs are hurt, compared to 54% of those favoring a Republican and 60% of those favoring an Independent candidate. Among the three Republican groups in the *Times Mirror* typology, the Libertarians were the odd-man out (45% said hurt), much like two Democratic groups (the Seculars and Partisan Poor), while the GOP-inclined Enterprisers (at 55%) and the Moralists (at 59%) were much like the other Democratic groups and the Independents.

The Republican groups were also noteworthy for their positions on whose interests corporations *should* put first. Enterprisers and Moralists put employees first; Libertarians put employees second, after stockholders. But all three put top executives lowest on their list, with 4% or less saying they should be first, lower even than the average of the more "populist" Independent and Democratic groups.

Finally, two of the three Republican groups -- the Enterprisers and the Libertarians -- were over-represented among those who had a "great deal of confidence" in business living up to its public responsibilities. Similarly, the groups over-represented among those who had no confidence in business living up to its responsibilities included both of the Independent groups -and three of the

four Democratic groups. The fourth Democratic group -- the New Democrats -- are largely partial to business despite liberal social leanings.

The News Media Takes Some Hits

Although far behind the government in this regard, a significant proportion of the public (15%) saw the news media as the biggest threat in their lives, marginally more than business (13%) and much more than Wall Street (8%) and the entertainment industry (5%).

The quintessential Republican typology group, the Enterprisers, led in citing the media most often (25%), much as they led in blaming the media (along with the Partisan Poor) for the reasons for their dissatisfaction with the state of the country. These same Enterprisers -- affluent, educated, mostly white -- may see the media connected to entertainment; they also were among those most likely to see the entertainment industry as the biggest threat.

The public does not blame the media for exaggerating the amount of crime in the country. Almost a two-thirds majority (64%) believed the media accurately reflects the level of crime, and only 31% felt that news organizations are guilty of exaggeration in this respect. These are essentially the same proportions of almost two years ago (64% and 28%, respectively, in January, 1994). Leaders in the belief that the press exaggerates were the Democratic-leaning Seculars (39%), the Independent-leaning (low education, low income) Embittered (38%), and the Republican Enterprisers (37%).

The public was not critical, either, about the volume of political coverage by the media. Sixty percent said it was about the right amount, while 18% said too much and an identical 18% said too little. Four years ago, at the same time in the presidential election cycle, the results were similar: 58% said the coverage was the right amount, 12% said too much and 22% said too little. New Dealers and Enterprisers were above average in complaining about too much coverage (28% and 23%, respectively), while the Embittered and the Moralists were above average in saying too little (25% and 22%, respectively).

There was a huge rise, however, in the proportion of Americans who said they want more coverage about the candidates' stand on political *issues* rather than his or her past experiences and qualifications. This represents a significant shift from the past two presidential elections. Fully 66% said they want the issues paid most attention to, compared to 46% in 1991 and 41% in 1987. In comparison, only 24% said they want most attention given to experience, almost half the level of previous years (42% in 1991 and 45% in 1987). Those who want most focus on the personal

character of a candidate constituted 9%, much the same as previously. Among the typology groups, the Democratic-oriented Seculars were strongest in favor of most coverage of issues (85%), while the Republican Enterprisers and the independents called the Embittered were above average in calling for more personal character coverage (18% and 16%, respectively).

Beyond specific topics, however, there was a dramatic rise in the perception that the First Amendment protects the interests of the media as much as those of the public. In August, 1989, only 32% of respondents said the Constitution protects "news organizations and their interests," while 56% said it defends "the people and the public interest more." In the current poll, almost half (48%) said the Constitution protects news organizations more, while 46% said it defends the public mostly.

APPENDIX

About the Typology

The Times Mirror Center in 1987 developed a unique voter classification system based on three major elements -- party affiliation, political participation, and personal values and attitudes -- and using the statistical technique called "cluster analysis." The new typology in 1995 is built on the same foundation, with minor modifications.

Nine values and attitudes were measured, including attitudes toward government, environmentalism, business, social welfare, social policy issues, religion, race relations, the military, and feelings of political alienation.

The analysis segmented the American public into ten groups -- three Republican, four Democrat, and three in between:

The Divided Right

- Enterprisers (13% of adult population): Affluent, well-educated, and predominantly white. This classic Republican group is mainly characterized as pro-business, anti-government, anti-social welfare.

- Moralists (16%): Middle-aged, middle-income, predominantly white, religious (more than half are Evangelicals). This core Republican group is also socially intolerant and anti-social welfare, militaristic, anti-big business and anti-big government. Former Democrats drawn to the GOP's religious and cultural conservatism have increased its size substantially since 1987.

- Libertarians (8%): Highly-educated, affluent, predominately white male. This group has Republican lineage but is uncomfortable with today's GOP, particularly its religious right. Pro-business, anti-government, anti-social welfare but highly tolerant, very low on religious faith, cynical about politicians.

The Detached Center

- New Economy Independents (13%): Average income, young to middle aged, mostly female. This group is unanchored in either party and many supported Perot in 1992. It has many conflicting values: strongly environmentalist but not believers in government regulation; pro-social welfare but not very sympathetic to blacks; inclined to fundamental religious beliefs but highly tolerant of homosexuals.

- Bystanders (8%): Very young, poorly educated, with low income. This group opts out of the political process or are not eligible to vote (high Hispanic concentration). Slightly more male than female, its only claimed commitment is to environmentalism.

- The Embittered (9%): Low income, low education, middle-aged. One in five of this group are black, four in ten have children under 18. Old ties to Democrats have eroded but the Embittered feel unwelcome in the GOP. They distrust government, politicians, corporations. They are religious

and socially intolerant. They strongly blame discrimination for lack of black progress, but are not strongly in favor of social welfare programs.

The "Not So" Left

- Seculars (8%): Highly educated, sophisticated, affluent, mostly white baby boomers and Generation X. The most socially tolerant group, driven by social issues, it is the only one to embrace the "liberal" label. Very low in religious faith. Highly pro-environment, moderately pro-government, distrusting of business. Drifting from the Democrats but not attracted to Republicans.

- New Democrats (12%): Mostly female, average income and education, as many white Evangelical Protestants as white Catholics. Religious but not intolerant, more pro-business than other Democratic groups, they reject discrimination as a major barrier to black progress, are pro-government and environmentalist.

- New Dealers (8%): One of the two oldest groups in the typology (one in four over 65), average education and low income. Once part of FDR's coalition, beneficiary of government programs, this group is now turned off by politics. Strongly conservative on race and social welfare, strong on religion, moderate on social tolerance, pro-America, distrusts politicians and business.

- Partisan Poor (5%): Very poor (38% with household income under $20,000 a year), disadvantaged, about four in ten in the south. This oldest typology group, rooted in New Deal coalition, believes more government spending on the poor is needed. More than one-third are non-whites. Very religious and socially intolerant.

The Times Mirror Typology
(Percent of adult population)

	July 1994	*Oct. 1994*	*April 1995*	*Oct. 1995*
Enterprisers	10	12	15	13
Moralists	18	17	12	16
Libertarians	4	6	6	8
New Economy Independents	19	14	17	13
Embittered	7	6	7	9
Bystanders	8	9	11	8
Seculars	9	8	8	8
New Democrats	11	10	9	12
New Dealers	7	8	7	8
Partisan Poor	7	10	8	5
	100	100	100	100

1996 Voting Blocs and the Typology

The typology gives us an opportunity to look at the structure of various sectors of the electorate. As was evident in the 1994 elections, the sum of an electoral group is often more powerful than its parts. In 1994, white males, talk radio listeners and conservative Christians turned out to vote in higher numbers and voted with greater unanimity than other voting blocs, and thus their impact on the election was substantial.

Some of the key voting blocs to watch in 1996 will be primary voters, talk radio listeners, and the Christian Right. The overwhelming majority of Republican primary voters (those who say they are "very likely" to vote in a primary in their state next year) are clustered in two typology groups. Forty percent of likely GOP primary voters are upscale, economically conservative Enterprisers, and an equal percentage (39%) are socially conservative, middle class Moralists. The battle over the Republican presidential nomination will likely be waged between these two GOP voting blocs, who at this point do not agree in their assessments of the Republican congressional agenda or the current Republican presidential field.

In recent years, talk radio has become a powerful tool for political expression and coalition building. The regular talk radio audience remains largely conservative. More than 20% of those who listen to talk radio regularly are Enterprisers; 14% are Moralists. However, more Democrats appear to be tuning into talk radio this year than last. In October 1994, just weeks before the November elections, only 7% of the regular talk radio audience consisted of New Democrats; today that number has nearly doubled to 15%. This moderate, middle class Democratic group makes up about 12% of the electorate and will be an important group to watch in 1996.

The Christian right could be another important swing group in the 1996 elections, particularly during the Republican nomination process. Nearly half (47%) of those Republicans who identify themselves as born again or Evangelical Christians, can be found among the ranks of the religious and culturally conservative Moralists. Forty percent are Enterprisers. Again these two groups have increasingly divergent attitudes toward their party's social and political agenda. This schism may weaken the electoral strength of the Christian Right in the 1996 election.

Potential Voting Blocs

	All Voters	Likely GOP Primary Voters	Talk Radio Listeners	Christian Right
Enterprisers	13	40	22	40
Moralists	16	39	14	47
Libertarians	8	12	10	3
New Economy Indeps.	13	4	9	3
Embittered	9	2	9	3
Bystanders	8	1	3	4
Seculars	8	--	8	--
New Democrats	12	2	15	--
New Dealers	8	--	6	--
Partisan Poor	5	--	4	--
	100	100	100	100

TABLES

TOP FIVE SOURCES OF DISSATISFACTION

(Based on Those Dissatisfied)

	Health Care System %	Economy %	Crime %	Political System %	Taxes Too High %
Total	21	21	20	17	14
Sex					
Male	17	22	15	21	17
Female	25	21	25	13	10
Race					
White	21	19	20	17	14
Non-white	21	33	22	11	12
Black	21	37	21	13	10
Age					
Under 30	20	20	22	7	9
30-49	20	26	19	16	19
50-69	22	17	21	23	12
65+	26	16	22	20	7
Education					
College Grad.	22	22	20	22	14
Some College	22	22	24	15	16
High School Grad.	22	21	20	14	13
<H.S. Grad	18	18	17	17	11
Family Income					
$75,000+	18	23	19	17	16
$50,000-$74,999	15	21	22	17	19
$30,000-$49,999	22	20	21	20	15
$20,000-$29,999	19	23	27	14	14
<$20,000	25	22	15	13	10
Region					
East	28	26	18	16	14
Midwest	21	20	18	18	16
South	19	18	22	16	11
West	19	22	23	16	13

Question: What things are you most dissatisfied with?

Continued ...

	Health Care System %	Economy %	Crime %	Political System %	Taxes Too High %
Total	21	21	20	17	14
Community Size					
Large City	22	25	23	13	14
Suburb	24	23	24	18	14
Small City/Town	20	20	20	18	12
Rural Area	20	19	17	16	15
Religious Preference					
Total White Protestant	19	16	21	18	13
White Prot. Evangelical	16	14	18	16	11
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	22	18	23	21	15
White Catholic	26	25	23	13	15
Party ID					
Republican	14	21	20	14	13
Democrat	30	22	25	13	12
Independent	21	22	16	22	15
1992 Vote					
Clinton	28	22	22	17	11
Bush	17	20	22	17	15
Perot	19	23	18	20	16
1994 Congressional Vote					
Democrat	31	21	21	18	12
Republican	13	19	24	18	16
Didn't Vote	21	22	19	14	13
Presidential Approval					
Approve	27	23	23	14	11
Disapprove	17	21	19	18	15
No Opinion	20	16	16	16	14
GOP Congress Approval					
Approve	15	22	24	16	13
Disapprove	26	22	19	17	14
No Opinion	20	17	18	17	14
Listens To Talk Radio					
Regularly	21	24	19	21	16
Sometimes	20	23	19	17	13
Rarely/Never	22	19	22	14	13

WHO'S MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR WAY THINGS ARE GOING?
(Based on Those Dissatisfied)

	Congress %	People Themselves %	Business %	President %	Media %	Entertain-ment %	Wall Street %
Total	35	27	8	7	6	3	2
Sex							
Male	37	24	11	6	7	2	2
Female	33	29	6	8	6	4	2
Race							
White	35	27	8	6	6	4	2
Non-white	35	24	10	9	5	2	1
Black	36	22	11	8	5	3	1
Age							
Under 30	33	37	7	9	4	2	*
30-49	34	24	11	8	7	3	2
50-69	37	23	6	5	6	5	2
65+	36	24	6	3	6	4	3
Education							
College Grad.	38	26	10	4	6	3	1
Some College	34	27	9	6	8	3	2
High School Grad.	36	27	8	7	5	4	2
<H.S. Grad	27	26	7	11	7	1	2
Family Income							
$75,000+	32	29	8	5	6	4	3
$50,000-$74,999	37	26	12	9	6	2	1
$30,000-$49,999	38	25	9	7	7	4	2
$20,000-$29,999	32	28	9	6	6	5	2
<$20,000	37	26	6	7	6	2	2
Region							
East	35	22	12	6	6	3	2
Midwest	34	28	9	5	7	2	3
South	36	30	6	9	5	4	1
West	35	26	9	6	8	4	1

Question: Generally, who do you think is most responsible for ... (insert mention from Q. 3)?

Continued ...

	Congress %	People Themselves %	Business %	President %	Media %	Entertain-ment %	Wall Street %
Total	35	27	8	7	6	3	2
Community Size							
Large City	34	25	11	6	4	4	2
Suburb	36	29	9	4	7	6	*
Small City/Town	35	29	7	8	5	2	3
Rural Area	35	22	7	10	9	2	2
Religious Preference							
Total White Protestant	33	29	7	7	6	3	2
White Prot. Evangelical	30	31	4	8	7	4	2
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	35	27	9	5	6	3	2
White Catholic	39	22	8	8	8	4	2
Party ID							
Republican	30	30	7	9	7	5	2
Democrat	41	24	8	5	6	3	2
Independent	34	26	10	7	6	2	1
1992 Vote							
Clinton	41	24	10	4	5	3	2
Bush	29	31	6	8	8	5	3
Perot	41	26	11	6	3	2	0
1994 Congressional Vote							
Democrat	42	24	10	5	5	1	2
Republican	32	28	8	8	8	4	1
Didn't Vote	33	28	8	7	6	4	2
Presidential Approval							
Approve	39	25	10	3	6	4	2
Disapprove	32	28	7	10	7	3	2
No Opinion	33	31	8	8	4	1	3
GOP Congress Approval							
Approve	31	29	6	8	9	5	2
Disapprove	40	24	10	6	5	3	2
No Opinion	25	34	8	9	1	3	2
Listens To Talk Radio							
Regularly	41	23	7	8	6	1	2
Sometimes	37	22	9	7	6	5	3
Rarely/Never	31	32	8	6	6	3	1

TOP FIVE ISSUES PUBLIC WANTS CANDIDATES TO DISCUSS

	Health Care Reform %	Economy %	Balance Budget %	Crime %	Moral Crisis %
Total	20	14	14	9	8
Sex					
Male	15	16	17	8	7
Female	24	12	10	10	9
Race					
White	20	14	15	9	9
Non-white	21	11	5	10	5
Black	22	9	4	10	7
Age					
Under 30	17	12	9	10	6
30-49	18	15	13	9	10
50-69	22	13	14	9	7
65+	23	15	20	9	8
Education					
College Grad.	18	18	16	8	9
Some College	17	13	15	9	9
High School Grad.	21	12	13	10	7
<H.S. Grad	22	12	9	10	9
Family Income					
$75,000+	14	19	24	11	11
$50,000-$74,999	16	19	16	6	10
$30,000-$49,999	18	13	15	10	8
$20,000-$29,999	23	12	14	10	7
<$20,000	22	12	8	9	7
Region					
East	23	15	12	8	8
Midwest	19	13	14	10	8
South	21	13	12	10	10
West	15	16	16	8	7
Community Size					
Large City	20	14	11	10	6
Suburb	17	19	16	10	7
Small City/Town	20	13	14	8	10
Rural Area	20	10	12	9	8

Question: What one issue would you most like to hear presidential candidates talk about?

Continued ...

	Health Care Reform %	Economy %	Balance Budget %	Crime %	Moral Crisis %
Total	20	14	14	9	8
Religious Preference					
Total White Protestant	20	13	16	8	10
White Prot. Evangelical	19	10	15	8	16
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	20	15	17	8	5
White Catholic	22	16	15	10	6
Party ID					
Republican	13	15	18	8	13
Democrat	27	11	9	11	6
Independent	19	15	14	9	6
1992 Vote					
Clinton	27	13	9	9	5
Bush	11	16	22	8	13
Perot	16	17	21	10	11
1994 Congressional Vote					
Democrat	26	15	13	10	4
Republican	12	15	20	8	14
Didn't Vote	21	12	10	9	7
Presidential Approval					
Approve	26	14	11	11	5
Disapprove	14	14	18	8	13
No Opinion	13	11	8	6	4
GOP Congress Approval					
Approve	13	15	20	8	11
Disapprove	25	14	10	10	7
No Opinion	15	11	8	10	8
Listens To Talk Radio					
Regularly	19	17	16	8	9
Sometimes	20	12	14	8	9
Rarely/Never	20	14	12	10	7
TYPOLOGY GROUPS					
Enterprisers	7	14	26	8	15
Moralists	16	16	14	9	13
Libertarians	10	26	19	4	5
New Economy Independents	28	10	12	11	6
Embittered	17	16	13	6	8
Bystanders	14	10	8	11	7
Seculars	29	15	10	10	4
New Democrats	26	14	7	9	8
New Dealers	29	7	11	10	4
Partisan Poor	27	10	11	11	4

TREND IN PUBLIC CONCERN

(March 1994 vs. October 1995)

	Not Having Enough Money For Retirement (% Very Concerned)			*Being Able to Afford Necessary Health Care For Family Member (% Very Concerned)*		
	March 1994 %	Oct 1995 %	Change	March 1994 %	Oct 1995 %	Change
Total	42	48	+6	50	66	+16
Sex						
Male	38	45	+7	45	60	+15
Female	46	50	+4	55	71	+16
Race						
White	39	45	+6	47	62	+15
Non-white	64	65	+1	72	84	+12
Black	67	66	-1	74	85	+11
Age						
Under 30	42	45	+3	56	63	+7
30-49	47	52	+5	48	65	+17
50-69	48	55	+7	55	72	+17
65+	24	34	+10	42	62	+20
Education						
College Grad.	29	37	+8	32	52	+20
Some College	33	45	+12	53	57	+4
High School Grad.	48	52	+4	54	71	+17
<H.S. Grad	56	54	-2	62	83	+21
Family Income						
$50,000+	27	39	+12	33	44	+11
$30,000-$49,999	37	46	+9	52	61	+9
$20,000-$29,999	47	53	+6	58	72	+14
<$20,000	58	54	-4	65	81	+16
Region						
East	48	48	0	50	70	+20
Midwest	38	48	+10	49	63	+14
South	42	53	+11	53	69	+16
West	42	38	-4	47	58	+11

Question: Now I'd like you to think about some concerns that people may have. How concerned are you, if at all, about (Not having enough money for your retirement/Being unable to afford necessary health care when a family member gets sick)? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not at all concerned about this?

Continued ...

	Not Having Enough Money For Retirement (% Very Concerned)			*Being Able to Afford Necessary Health Care For Family Member (% Very Concerned)*		
	March 1994 %	Oct 1995 %	Change	March 1994 %	Oct 1995 %	Change
Total	42	48	+6	50	66	+16
Community Size						
Large City	45	53	+8	49	67	+18
Suburb	39	44	+5	45	62	+17
Small City/Town	43	50	+7	53	66	+13
Rural Area	42	44	+2	52	65	+13
Party ID						
Republican	36	41	+5	40	53	+13
Democrat	46	54	+8	58	76	+18
Independent	46	49	+3	52	68	+16
1992 Vote						
Clinton	45	52	+7	55	76	+21
Bush	32	38	+6	40	50	+10
Perot	37	53	+16	41	57	+16
Presidential Approval						
Approve	43	50	+7	55	73	+18
Disapprove	39	45	+6	46	55	+9

TOP FIVE QUALITIES "ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL" IN A PRESIDENT*

		High Ethics %	Com-passion %	Sound Judgment %	Sincer-ity %	Consist-ency %	Forceful-ness %
Total		22	19	18	9	8	6
Sex							
	Male	20	19	20	10	8	6
	Female	24	19	16	8	7	6
Race							
	White	24	18	18	9	8	6
	Non-white	9	24	16	8	5	7
	Black	9	24	15	7	4	5
Age							
	Under 30	16	23	15	11	10	4
	30-49	23	19	17	9	9	6
	50-69	29	18	21	8	6	6
	65+	20	14	21	8	5	8
Education							
	College Grad.	27	14	24	9	7	7
	Some College	29	20	16	7	9	6
	High School Grad.	19	19	16	10	9	6
	<H.S. Grad	12	24	16	9	3	6
Family Income							
	$75,000+	30	11	26	6	10	9
	$50,000-$74,999	26	17	20	11	10	5
	$30,000-$49,999	26	17	18	10	9	5
	$20,000-$29,999	20	21	15	9	8	7
	<$20,000	15	25	16	8	7	5
Region							
	East	19	21	17	10	8	6
	Midwest	21	22	18	10	6	6
	South	22	16	16	8	8	8
	West	26	17	22	9	9	3

* Based on those who rated at least one quality "absolutely essential" in Q.13

Question: Of all the qualities you think are absolutely essential, which ONE would you say is the most important for a President to have?

Continued ...

	High Ethics %	Com-passion %	Sound Judgment %	Sincer-ity %	Consist-ency %	Forceful-ness %
Total	22	19	18	9	8	6
Community Size						
Large City	22	18	20	8	7	6
Suburb	24	17	22	9	8	6
Small City/Town	21	20	17	9	8	6
Rural Area	23	20	14	9	8	7
Religious Preference						
Total White Protestant	26	17	18	9	8	6
White Prot. Evangelical	32	18	14	9	8	6
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	23	17	22	8	8	7
White Catholic	22	17	22	9	8	6
Party ID						
Republican	31	13	17	9	10	7
Democrat	16	24	18	9	5	5
Independent	19	20	19	8	9	6
1992 Vote						
Clinton	16	24	21	10	6	7
Bush	36	10	16	7	10	7
Perot	24	19	21	10	8	6
1994 Congressional Vote						
Democrat	19	20	19	10	6	8
Republican	32	12	22	8	10	5
Didn't Vote	19	23	15	9	7	6
Presidential Approval						
Approve	15	23	21	10	6	6
Disapprove	31	15	16	8	10	6
No Opinion	18	17	14	10	9	5
GOP Congress Approval						
Approve	29	13	21	8	10	7
Disapprove	16	24	16	10	7	6
No Opinion	24	16	18	8	7	3
Listens To Talk Radio						
Regularly	25	17	18	8	8	7
Sometimes	22	18	18	8	8	6
Rarely/Never	21	20	18	10	7	6

TREND IN CLINTON APPROVAL
(December 1994 vs. October 1995)

	--December 1994--		--October 1995--		Change In
	Approve	Disapprove	Approve	Disapprove	Approval
	%	%	%	%	
Total	41	47	48	42	+7
Sex					
Male	41	50	46	46	+5
Female	41	45	50	38	+9
Race					
White	37	52	46	44	+9
Non-white	66	22	62	26	-4
Black	71	16	66	22	-5
Age					
Under 30	40	47	48	40	+8
30-49	40	50	47	44	+7
50-69	41	47	43	49	+2
65+	44	42	54	33	+10
Education					
College Grad.	45	47	48	46	+3
Some College	42	46	49	42	+7
High School Grad.	36	51	46	42	+10
<H.S. Grad	45	42	50	34	+5
Family Income					
$50,000+	41	52	44	49	+3
$30,000-$49,999	37	54	47	43	+10
$20,000-$29,999	46	43	47	42	+1
<$20,000	47	38	51	37	+4
Region					
East	46	40	52	35	+6
Midwest	38	54	47	41	+9
South	38	51	43	46	+5
West	45	41	50	43	+5

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president?

Continued ...

	--December 1994--		--October 1995--		Change In
	Approve	Disapprove	Approve	Disapprove	Approval
	%	%	%	%	
Total	41	47	48	42	+7
Community Size					
Large City	51	39	52	40	+1
Suburb	42	45	52	40	+10
Small City/Town	39	50	48	39	+9
Rural Area	34	54	40	49	+6
Party ID					
Republican	16	73	22	70	+6
Democrat	74	18	76	13	+2
Independent	38	48	46	43	+8
1992 Vote					
Clinton	75	17	77	14	+2
Bush	12	78	16	77	+4
Perot	24	68	34	56	+10

TREND IN APPROVAL OF REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS
(December 1994 vs. October 1995)

	--December 1994--		--October 1995--		Change In
	Approve	Disapprove	Approve	Disapprove	Approval
	%	%	%	%	
Total	52	28	37	51	-15
Sex					
Male	58	25	40	48	-18
Female	46	31	33	53	-13
Race					
White	54	26	39	48	-15
Non-white	35	44	20	66	-15
Black	30	48	15	72	-15
Age					
Under 30	60	29	40	43	-20
30-49	52	29	39	48	-13
50-69	49	28	37	54	-12
65+	43	28	26	62	-17
Education					
College Grad.	55	32	46	47	- 9
Some College	52	31	42	45	-10
High School Grad.	53	25	34	52	-19
<H.S. Grad	45	28	23	59	-22
Family Income					
$50,000+	57	28	51	41	- 6
$30,000-$49,999	53	30	40	48	-13
$20,000-$29,999	56	26	36	52	-20
<$20,000	43	31	24	59	-19
Region					
East	48	30	32	56	-16
Midwest	52	28	34	49	-18
South	53	27	39	50	-14
West	51	29	40	49	-11

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Republican leaders in Congress?

Continued ...

	--December 1994-- Approve %	Disapprove %	--October 1995-- Approve %	Disapprove %	Change In Approval
Total	52	28	37	51	-15
Community Size					
Large City	47	31	33	55	-14
Suburb	59	30	44	46	-15
Small City/Town	51	26	35	51	-16
Rural Area	50	28	35	51	-15
Party ID					
Republican	82	4	71	20	-11
Democrat	21	58	10	79	-11
Independent	49	28	31	54	-18
1992 Vote					
Clinton	21	57	15	76	- 6
Bush	78	6	69	22	- 9
Perot	60	19	44	43	-16
Presidential Approval					
Approve	33	47	25	64	- 8
Disapprove	70	14	55	37	-15
No Opinion	39	22	15	42	-24

	--April 1995-- Approve %	Disapprove %	--October 1995-- Approve %	Disapprove %	Change In Approval
TYPOLOGY GROUPS					
Total	44	43	36	51	- 8
Enterprisers	82	10	79	12	- 3
Moralists	76	14	66	25	-10
Libertarians	64	27	56	30	- 8
New Economy Independents	32	53	22	64	-10
Embittered	42	45	19	68	-23
Bystanders	36	40	26	50	-10
Seculars	15	76	12	79	- 3
New Democrats	18	67	19	61	+ 1
New Dealers	19	68	9	83	-10
Partisan Poor	19	63	10	75	- 9

CLINTON, DOLE AND POWELL ELECTABILITY

(Good Chance/Some Chance Combined)

		Clinton %	Dole %	Powell %
Total		55	47	65
Sex				
	Male	50	53	68
	Female	60	42	63
Race				
	White	52	50	66
	Non-white	76	25	63
	Black	82	19	62
Age				
	Under 30	55	46	68
	30-49	55	48	70
	50-69	50	49	68
	65+	62	44	48
Education				
	College Grad.	55	56	80
	Some College	55	48	67
	High School Grad.	54	45	64
	<H.S. Grad	60	38	47
Family Income				
	$75,000+	45	59	80
	$50,000-$74,999	54	54	74
	$30,000-$49,999	54	49	68
	$20,000-$29,999	53	45	63
	<$20,000	60	38	57
Region				
	East	66	42	66
	Midwest	54	48	67
	South	51	49	63
	West	53	47	66

Question: As I read the names of some leaders who may possibly run for President next year, tell me how much of a chance there is that you would vote for this person. Is there a good chance, some chance or no chance that you would vote for (Bill Clinton/Bob Dole/Colin Powell) if he is one of the candidates for president next November?

Continued ...

	Clinton %	Dole %	Powell %
Total	55	47	65
Community Size			
Large City	61	39	65
Suburb	57	50	70
Small City/Town	55	46	63
Rural Area	50	53	64
Religious Preference			
Total White Protestant	47	55	65
White Prot. Evangelical	40	60	62
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	53	49	70
White Catholic	58	49	70
Party ID			
Republican	22	74	71
Democrat	91	24	60
Independent	54	45	67
1992 Vote			
Clinton	89	24	63
Bush	18	79	72
Perot	40	57	73
1994 Congressional Vote			
Democrat	84	24	66
Republican	27	72	70
Didn't Vote	56	45	62
Presidential Approval			
Approve	89	31	64
Disapprove	16	68	68
No Opinion	60	35	60
GOP Congress Approval			
Approve	31	72	69
Disapprove	72	29	64
No Opinion	60	46	60
Listens To Talk Radio			
Regularly	51	49	70
Sometimes	54	48	64
Rarely/Never	58	46	64

TREND IN FAVORABILITY RATINGS OF PARTIES
(% Favorable)

		---Republican Party---			---Democratic Party---		
		July 1994 %	Oct 1994 %	Change	July 1994 %	Oct 1995 %	Change
Total		63	52	-11	62	49	-13
Sex							
	Male	67	57	-10	58	43	-15
	Female	60	48	-12	65	55	-10
Race							
	White	67	56	-11	59	46	-13
	Non-white	40	29	-11	79	71	- 8
	Black	33	21	-12	84	77	- 7
Age							
	Under 30	67	54	-13	58	49	- 9
	30-49	64	53	-11	61	47	-14
	50-69	62	55	- 7	66	45	-21
	65+	59	47	-12	64	59	- 5
Education							
	College Grad.	64	56	- 8	55	42	-13
	Some College	65	53	-12	60	49	-11
	High School Grad.	65	53	-12	65	50	-15
	<H.S. Grad	56	44	-12	64	57	- 7
Family Income							
	$75,000+	70	66	- 4	52	34	-18
	$50,000-$74,999	71	57	-14	53	48	- 5
	$30,000-$49,999	65	55	-10	62	45	-17
	$20,000-$29,999	64	53	-11	66	49	-17
	<$20,000	56	42	-14	68	59	- 9
Region							
	East	63	48	-15	63	54	- 9
	Midwest	62	52	-10	62	51	-11
	South	64	54	-10	61	46	-15
	West	63	53	-10	61	48	-13

Question: Now I'd like your views on some people and things in the news. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes you overall opinion of who or what I name. (First) would you say your overall opinion of (The Republican/Democratic Party) is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable or very unfavorable?

Continued ...

	---Republican Party---			---Democratic Party---		
	July 1994 %	Oct 1994 %	Change	July 1994 %	Oct 1995 %	Change
Total	63	52	-11	52	49	-13
Community Size						
Large City	57	46	-11	66	56	-10
Suburb	66	55	-11	55	47	- 8
Small City/Town	63	51	-12	63	52	-11
Rural Area	67	58	- 9	63	40	-23
Religious Preference						
Total White Protestant	70	61	- 9	56	41	-15
White Prot. Evangelical	73	67	- 6	53	35	-18
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	69	56	-13	58	46	-12
White Catholic	70	56	-14	65	52	-13
Party ID						
Republican	94	91	- 3	27	19	- 8
Democrat	37	18	-19	94	86	- 8
Independent	64	49	-15	60	47	-13
1992 Vote						
Clinton	40	24	-16	90	75	-15
Bush	90	87	- 3	33	18	-15
Perot	67	60	- 7	55	40	-15
Presidential Approval						
Approve	50	34	-16	88	73	-15
Disapprove	78	75	- 3	36	23	-13
No Opinion	59	43	-16	64	46	-18

TREND IN FAVORABILITY RATINGS OF CONGRESS AND BUSINESS CORPORATIONS

(% Favorable)

	---Congress---			---Business Corps.---		
	July 1994 %	Oct 1994 %	Change	July 1994 %	Oct 1995 %	Change
Total	53	42	-11	70	60	-10
Sex						
Male	48	42	- 6	72	65	- 7
Female	57	42	-15	68	56	-12
Race						
White	52	42	-10	70	61	- 9
Non-white	54	41	-13	66	56	-10
Black	54	39	-15	66	59	- 7
Age						
Under 30	53	48	- 5	72	65	- 7
30-49	52	39	-13	69	57	-12
50-69	54	44	-10	68	60	- 8
65+	51	41	-10	70	62	- 8
Education						
College Grad.	49	41	- 8	76	67	- 9
Some College	52	44	- 8	72	61	-11
High School Grad.	56	42	-14	70	60	-10
<H.S. Grad	52	40	-12	59	52	- 7
Family Income						
$75,000+	50	41	- 9	80	73	- 7
$50,000-$74,999	49	44	- 5	79	68	-11
$30,000-$49,999	52	41	-11	68	62	- 6
$20,000-$29,999	55	41	-14	69	56	-13
<$20,000	54	42	-12	64	53	-11
Region						
East	59	40	-19	69	58	-11
Midwest	54	41	-13	68	60	- 8
South	50	44	- 6	72	62	-10
West	48	41	- 7	69	60	- 9

Question: Now I'd like your views on some people and things in the news. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes you overall opinion of who or what I name. (First) would you say your overall opinion of (Congress/Business Corporations) is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable or very unfavorable?

Continued ...

	---Congress---			---Business Corps.---		
	July 1994 %	Oct 1994 %	Change	July 1994 %	Oct 1995 %	Change
Total	53	42	-11	70	60	-10
Community Size						
Large City	54	42	-12	67	59	- 8
Suburb	48	43	- 5	70	65	- 5
Small City/Town	54	42	-12	72	59	-13
Rural Area	54	40	-14	67	59	- 8
Religious Preference						
Total White Protestant	51	43	- 8	72	65	- 7
White Prot. Evangelical	54	49	- 5	73	65	- 8
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	49	39	-10	72	64	- 8
White Catholic	55	46	- 9	71	62	- 9
Party ID						
Republican	45	55	+10	80	72	- 8
Democrat	64	35	-29	65	55	-10
Independent	49	37	-12	69	55	-14
1992 Vote						
Clinton	63	34	-29	63	53	-10
Bush	44	56	+12	80	73	- 7
Perot	43	36	- 7	70	62	- 8
Presidential Approval						
Approve	64	40	-24	69	59	-10
Disapprove	40	45	+ 5	73	64	- 9
No Opinion	63	37	-26	55	49	- 6

TREND IN PARTY ID
(March 1995 vs. October 1995)

	---March 1995---			---October 1995---			Decrease In Rep.
	Rep %	Dem %	Indep %	Rep %	Dem %	Indep %	Affiliation
Total	35	28	32	30	30	35	- 5
Sex							
Male	37	25	35	32	24	40	- 5
Female	33	32	29	29	35	31	- 4
Race							
White	38	24	34	34	26	36	- 4
Non-white	16	55	26	11	52	33	- 5
Black	11	64	22	6	62	28	- 5
Age							
Under 30	40	23	34	29	25	42	-11
30-49	34	28	35	30	28	37	- 4
50-69	36	29	30	34	28	34	- 2
65+	31	37	25	30	42	25	- 1
Education							
College Grad.	39	29	30	37	27	34	- 2
Some College	42	24	32	33	30	33	- 9
High School Grad.	34	27	35	29	30	37	- 5
<H.S. Grad	25	37	29	23	35	36	- 2
Family Income							
$75,000+	47	21	29	50	21	28	+3
$50,000-$74,999	44	25	30	35	31	31	- 9
$30,000-$49,999	39	24	34	31	28	37	- 8
$20,000-$29,999	32	28	37	28	29	38	- 4
<$20,000	25	37	33	23	35	38	- 2
Region							
East	34	25	37	24	32	42	-10
Midwest	35	28	33	30	28	38	- 5
South	33	33	29	33	29	33	0
West	40	24	33	34	31	29	- 6

Question: In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

Continued ...

	---March 1995---			---October 1995---			Decrease In Rep.
	Rep %	Dem %	Indep %	Rep %	Dem %	Indep %	Affiliation
Total	35	28	32	30	30	35	- 5
Community Size							
Large City	26	37	33	22	34	39	- 4
Suburb	41	25	31	36	29	31	- 5
Small City/Town	36	26	34	30	30	35	- 6
Rural Area	37	29	30	33	26	37	- 4
1992 Vote							
Clinton	12	54	31	7	60	30	- 5
Bush	71	8	19	69	5	23	- 2
Perot	32	16	50	33	13	52	+ 1
1994 Congressional Vote							
Democrat	6	66	26	6	63	29	0
Republican	69	7	21	62	6	30	- 7
Didn't Vote	30	25	39	26	26	41	- 4
Presidential Approval							
Approve	17	47	33	14	48	34	- 3
Disapprove	55	12	30	51	9	36	- 4
No Opinion	29	19	40	23	31	35	- 6
GOP Congress Approval							
Approve	59	11	27	59	8	30	0
Disapprove	14	50	33	12	47	37	- 2
No Opinion	25	23	43	22	24	42	- 3
Listens To Talk Radio							
Regularly	47	22	30	33	28	36	-14
Sometimes	38	27	30	31	33	33	- 7
Rarely/Never	32	30	33	29	29	37	- 3

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 2,000 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period October 25 - 30, 1995. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=1021) or Form 2 (N=979), the sampling error is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone households in the U.S. Estimates of the number of telephone households within each county are derived from 1990 Census data on residential telephone incidence that have been updated with state-level information on new telephone installations and county-level projections of the number of households. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing three or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample.

At least three attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home". If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who lives in the household". This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 1994). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone.

The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters. After an optimum sample balancing solution is reached, the weights were constrained to fall within the range of 1 to 5. This constraint is useful to ensure that individual respondents do not exert an inordinate effect on the survey's overall results.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
OCTOBER 1995 TYPOLOGY SURVEY
-- FINAL TOPLINE--
October 25-30, 1995
N = 2,000

Hello, I am _____ calling for Princeton Survey Research Associates in Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and TV stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home. **[IF NO MALE, ASK:** May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?]

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president? **(IF "DON'T KNOW," ENTER AS CODE 9. IF "DEPENDS," PROBE ONCE WITH:** Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president?)

		Sept 1995	Aug 1995	June 1995	April 1995	Feb 1995	Dec 1994	Early Oct 1994	Sept 1994	July 1994	May 1994	Mar 1994	Jan 1994	Early Jan 1994	Dec 1994	Oct 1993	Sept 1993	Aug 1993	June 1993	May 1993	April 1993	Feb 1993
48	Approve	45	44	50	47	44	41	38	41	45	46	45	51	48	48	44	49	39	39	45	49	56
42	Disapprove	42	44	40	43	44	47	47	52	46	42	42	35	35	36	42	35	46	43	37	29	25
10	Don't know	13	12	10	10	12	12	15	7	9	12	13	14	17	16	14	16	15	18	18	22	19
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.1a Do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Republican leaders in Congress? **(IF DON'T KNOW," ENTER AS CODE 9. IF "DEPENDS," PROBE ONCE WITH:** Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Republican leaders in Congress?)

		Sept 1995	Aug 1995	June 1995	April 1995	March 1995	Dec 1994[6]
36	Approve	36	38	41	44	43	52
51	Disapprove	50	45	45	43	39	28
13	Don't know/Refused	14	17	14	13	18	20
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

[6] In December the question asked "As best you can tell, do you approve or disapprove of Republican congressional leaders' policies and plans for the future?"

Q.2 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

		April 1995	July 1994	Mar 1994	Oct 1993	Early Sept 1993	June 1993	Jan 1993	Jan 1992	Nov 1991	May 1990	Feb 1989	Oct 1988	May 1988	Jan 1988
23	Satisfied	23	24	24	22	20	22	39	28	34	41	45	56	41	39
73	Dissatisfied	74	73	71	73	75	71	50	68	61	54	50	40	54	55
4	No Opinion	3	3	5	5	4	7	11	4	5	5	5	4	5	6
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK Q.3 AND Q.4 ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAY DISSATISFIED:

Q.3 What things are you most dissatisfied with? **(OPEN-ENDED: ACCEPT UP TO 3 MENTIONS)**

21	The health care system/lack of health care
20	Crime
17	The political system/Washington politics
14	Taxes are too high
13	The economy
13	Moral crisis/Lack of family values/Too many babies being born out of wedlock
12	Government spends too much/Government is too big
9	Welfare reform
9	The educational system
8	Lack of jobs
8	Don't like cuts being made in social spending
8	Foreign Policy
5	The deficit
5	Race relations
5	Judicial system/Court system
2	Low wages
12	Other **(SPECIFY)**
3	Don't know/Refused
1	None/Nothing

21 ECONOMY (NET)

(N=1440)

Q.4 Generally, who do you think is most responsible for... **(IF RESPONDENT ONLY GAVE ONE ANSWER IN Q.3, INSERT "THIS"; IF MORE THAN ONE ANSWER, INSERT FIRST MENTION FROM Q.3)? (READ LIST AND ROTATE)**

7	The President
35	The Congress
8	Business corporations
6	The news media
3	The entertainment industry
2	Wall Street banks and investment companies
27	The people themselves
8	Or who? **(SPECIFY)**
4	Don't know/Refused
100	

(N=1392)

(NO QUESTION 5)

NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THE 1996 ELECTIONS...
ASK FORM 1 ONLY: (N=1021)

Q.6
F1 Generally speaking, would you say that <u>you personally</u> care a good deal who wins the 1996 presidential election OR that you don't care very much?[7]

		Oct 1991	May 1987
78	Care a good deal	73	76
19	Don't care very much	22	20
3	Don't know/Refused	5	4
100		100	100

[7] Question worded "the 1992 presidential election" in October 1991 and "the presidential election in 1988" in May 1987.

ASK FORM 2 ONLY: (N=979)

Q.6a

F2 Generally speaking, would you say that <u>you personally</u> care a good deal which party wins the 1996 presidential election OR that you don't care very much?[8]

		Oct 1991	May 1987
61	Care a good deal	55	54
36	Don't care very much	39	40
3	Don't know/Refused	6	6
100		100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.7 Looking ahead, would you like to see Bill Clinton re-elected, or would you like to see a Republican candidate, or an Independent candidate be elected President in 1996?

		Aug 1995	March 1995	Dec 1994	Dec 1993
31	Clinton	29	29	28	28
28	Republican	32	33	35	22
22	Independent	23	20	15	12
19	Don't know/Refused	16	18	22	38
100		100	100	100	100

IF ANSWERED "DON'T KNOW" IN Q.7, ASK:

Q.7a Do you LEAN most to Clinton, a Republican candidate or an Independent candidate?

		Aug 1995	March 1995	Dec 1994
34	Clinton/Lean Clinton	32	31	33
33	Republican/Lean Republican	35	38	40
26	Independent/Lean Independent	26	23	18
7	Don't know/Refused	7	8	9
100		100	100	100

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[8] Question worded "the 1992 presidential election" in October 1991 and "the presidential election in 1988" in May 1987.

ASK ALL:

Q.8 As I read the names of some leaders who may possibly run for President next year, tell me how much of a chance there is that you would vote for this person. First **(INSERT ITEM: READ AND ROTATE)**, is there a good chance, some chance or no chance that you would vote for him if he is one of the candidates for president next November? What about **(NEXT ITEM)**... is there a good chance, some chance or no chance that you would vote for him?

		Good Chance	Some Chance	No Chance	DK
a.	Bill Clinton	30	25	44	1=100
	September, 1995	29	24	45	2=100
b.	Bob Dole	17	30	48	5=100
	September, 1995	19	31	46	4=100
c.	Ross Perot	12	21	65	2=100
	September, 1995	11	20	68	1=100
d.	Colin Powell	27	38	28	7=100
	September, 1995	28	39	27	6=100
e.	Newt Gingrich	6	17	70	7=100
	September, 1995	7	18	70	5=100
f.	Patrick Buchanan	4	20	67	9=100
	September, 1995	3	17	71	9=100
g.	Phil Gramm	5	20	61	14=100
	September, 1995	6	18	62	14=100

Q.9 What one issue would you most like to hear presidential candidates talk about? **(OPEN-ENDED: ACCEPT UP TO THREE MENTIONS)**

		Oct 1991
20	Health care reform/Health care in general	8
14	The economy	43
14	Balancing the budget/Budget deficit/National debt	8
9	Crime/Drugs	5
8	The moral crisis in this country	-
8	Cutting taxes/Taxes	6
8	Welfare reform	-
6	The job situation/Unemployment/Protecting US jobs	15
6	Education/Education reform	11
5	Foreign Policy	-
4	Reforming/Cleaning up the political system/Term limits/Campaign finance reform	-
2	Race relations	-
*	Bosnia	-
10	Other **(SPECIFY)**	27
6	Don't know/Refused	13
3	None	
28	**DOWNSIZING GOVERNMENT (NET)**	
19	**ECONOMIC CONDITIONS (NET)**	
26	**SOCIAL ISSUES (NET)**	
5	**FOREIGN POLICY (NET)**	

Q.10 Suppose the 1996 elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

Q.10a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:

		Aug 1995	Nov 1994	Oct 1994	Early Oct 1994	Sept 1994	July 1994
48	Republican/Lean Republican	50	45	47	52	48	45
48	Democrat/Lean Democrat	43	43	44	40	46	47
4	Other candidate/Undecided **(VOL.)**	7	12	9	8	6	8
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

(N=1505)

ASK ALL:
ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT:

Q.11 In your opinion, what is the biggest threat to people like yourself in the future... The actions of... **(INSERT ITEM: READ AND ROTATE)**

50	Government
13	Business corporations
15	The news media
5	The entertainment industry (OR)
8	Wall Street Banks and investment companies
3	None of the above **(VOL.) (DO NOT READ)**
6	Don't know/Refused
100	

(NO QUESTION 12)

NOW I HAVE A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY...

Q.13 First, I'm going to read you a list of personal characteristics or qualities. If "5" represents an ***absolutely essential*** quality in a President and "1" a quality that is *not too important*, where on this scale of 5 to 1 would you rate... **(INSERT ITEM: READ AND ROTATE)**

		(5)	(4)	(1-3)	DK
a.	Sound judgment in crisis	76	12	10	2=100
b.	High ethical standards	67	18	13	2=100
c.	Compassion for the average citizen	64	19	16	1=100
d.	Willingness to compromise	34	29	35	2=100
e.	Experience in public office	30	23	46	1=100
f.	Experience in Washington	21	23	54	2=100
g.	Saying what one believes, even if unpopular	59	21	18	2=100
h.	Forcefulness and decisiveness	50	30	18	2=100
i.	Political savvy and know-how	31	26	41	2=100
j.	Having consistent positions on issues	51	28	19	2=100
k.	Loyalty to one's party	25	15	58	2=100

IF NO QUALITIES RATED 5, GO TO Q.18
FOR EACH QUALITY RATED 5 IN Q.13:

Q.14 Of all the qualities you think are absolutely essential **(READ BACK ALL RESPONSES WHICH WERE CODED 5 IN Q.13)**, which ONE would you say is the most important for a President to have?

97	**MENTIONED ONE OR MORE**
22	High ethical standards
19	Compassion for average citizens
18	Sound judgement in crisis
9	Saying what one believes, even if unpopular
8	Having consistent positions on issues
6	Forcefulness and decisiveness
5	Willingness to compromise
4	Loyalty to one's party
2	Political savvy and know-how
2	Experience in public office
2	Experience in Washington
3	Not sure/Refused
100	

(N=1904)

(NO QUESTION 15)

Q.16 Thinking of the candidates who are running or may run for President in 1996, who do you most identify with **(READ FIRST CHOICE, FROM Q.14)? (DO NOT READ LIST OF CANDIDATES)**

23	Bill Clinton
12	Bob Dole
9	Ross Perot
22	Colin Powell
3	Newt Gingrich
2	Patrick Buchanan
3	Phil Gramm
*	Malcolm Steve Forbes
*	Richard Lugar
*	Lamar Alexander
3	Other **(SPECIFY)**
23	Don't know/Refused
100	

(N=1844)

(NO QUESTION 17)

ASK ALL:

Q.18 Now, as I read from a list, tell me which ONE of the following items is the most important thing for the next President to do? Please wait until I read the entire list before you respond. **(INSERT ITEM: READ AND ROTATE)**

Q.18a And which should be the President's second highest priority? **(READ ITEMS AGAIN, IF NECESSARY – SAME ORDER USED IN Q.18)**

	First Priority	Second Priority
Balance the budget/Reduce the federal budget deficit	20	14
Improve the job situation	11	12
Reform Medicare/Control health care costs	7	10
Improve the educational system	14	16
Deal with the moral breakdown in the country	17	10
Work to reduce crime	11	15
Deal with racial tensions	5	9
Deal with the problems of poor and needy people	12	11
Other/None/Don't know	3	3
	100	100

ASK QUESTIONS 19, AND 19a OF FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.19
F1 Thinking about problems such as families not staying together and children being born out of wedlock, do you think WHO is elected President can make a difference in dealing with these problems or not?

34 Yes -- **GO TO Q.19a**

62 No -- **GO TO Q.21**

4 Don't know/Refused -- **GO TO Q.21**
100

(N=1021)

ASK THOSE WHO ANSWERED "YES" IN Q.19:

Q.19a

F1 In which way can the President make the biggest difference... **(READ RESPONSES)**

19 By drawing national attention to these problems, OR

52 By proposing policies that deal with these problems, OR

26 By serving as a role model?

3 Don't know/Refused

100

(N=357)

ASK QUESTIONS 20 AND 20a OF FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.20

F2 Thinking about problems such as low moral and ethical standards and a lack of respect for religion, do you think WHO is elected President can make a difference in dealing with these problems or not?

54 Yes -- **GO TO Q.20a**

40 No -- **GO TO Q.22**

6 Don't know/Refused -- **GO TO Q.22**

100

(N=979)

ASK THOSE WHO ANSWERED "YES" IN Q.20:

Q.20a.

F2 In which way can the President make the biggest difference... **(READ RESPONSES)**

18 By drawing national attention to these problems, OR

33 By proposing policies that deal with these problems, OR

47 By serving as a role model?

2 Don't know/Refused

100

(N=532)

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.21

F1 Thinking about the problems between racial and ethnic groups, do you think WHO is elected President can make a difference in dealing with these problems or not?

54	Yes
42	No
4	Don't know/Refused
100	

(N=1021)

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.22

F2 Thinking about the problem of the amount of violence in our society, do you think WHO is elected President can make a difference in dealing with this problem or not?

65	Yes
31	No
4	Don't know/Refused
100	

(N=979)

ASK ALL:
ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.23 I'm going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views -- even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is... **(READ AND ROTATE) AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE:** Do you feel STRONGLY about that, or not?

			April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994
a.	63	Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient	63	64	66
	53	Strongly	51	54	54
	10	Not Strongly	12	10	12
	34	Government often does a better job than people give it credit for	34	32	31
	20	Strongly	19	19	17
	14	Not Strongly	15	13	14
	3	Neither/Don't know	3	4	3
	100		100	100	100
b.	45	Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest	43	38	41
	28	Strongly	25	24	24
	17	Not Strongly	18	14	17
	50	Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good	51	55	54
	37	Strongly	38	41	39
	13	Not Strongly	13	14	15
	5	Neither/Don't know	6	7	5
	100		100	100	100
c.	54	Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return	52	48	53
	36	Strongly	37	35	37
	18	Not Strongly	15	13	16
	36	Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently	39	41	39
	25	Strongly	28	31	27
	11	Not Strongly	11	10	12
	10	Neither/Don't know	9	11	8
	100		100	100	100
d.	47	The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt	46	50	48
	35	Strongly	33	39	35
	12	Not Strongly	13	11	13
	47	The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy	47	43	47
	31	Strongly	34	31	32
	16	Not Strongly	13	12	15
	6	Neither/Don't know	7	7	5
	100		100	100	100

Q.23 con't ...

			April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994
e.		The position of blacks in American society has improved			
	69	in recent years	70	67	72
	52	Strongly	52	50	52
	17	Not Strongly	18	17	20
		There hasn't been much real progress for blacks in			
	27	recent years	26	27	25
	20	Strongly	19	20	18
	7	Not Strongly	7	7	7
	4	Neither/Don't know	4	6	3
	100		100	100	100
f.		Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black			
	37	people can't get ahead these days	34	34	32
	25	Strongly	21	24	20
	12	Not Strongly	13	10	12
		Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly			
	53	responsible for their own condition	56	54	59
	38	Strongly	40	40	43
	15	Not Strongly	16	14	16
	10	Neither/Don't know	10	12	9
	100		100	100	100
i.	36	The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	35	40	36
	28	Strongly	27	32	28
	8	Not Strongly	8	8	8
	59	Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace	58	52	58
	49	Strongly	46	43	46
	10	Not Strongly	12	9	12
	5	Neither/Don't know	7	8	6
	100		100	100	100
j.		We should all be willing to fight for our country,			
	49	whether it is right or wrong	49	47	52
	38	Strongly	39	39	43
	11	Not Strongly	10	8	9
		It's acceptable to refuse to fight in a war you believe			
	48	is morally wrong	47	47	45
	38	Strongly	38	37	35
	10	Not Strongly	9	10	10
	3	Neither/Don't know	4	6	3
	100		100	100	100

Q.23 con't ...

			April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994
m.		Too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few			
	77	large companies	75	73	76
	62	Strongly	59	58	59
	15	Not Strongly	16	15	17
	18	The largest companies do NOT have too much power	20	20	19
	9	Strongly	10	10	9
	9	Not Strongly	10	10	10
	5	Neither/Don't know	5	7	5
	100		100	100	100
n.	53	Business corporations make too much profit	51	50	52
	44	Strongly	42	40	43
	9	Not Strongly	9	10	9
	43	Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit	44	44	43
	27	Strongly	26	28	27
	16	Not Strongly	18	16	16
	4	Neither/Don't know	5	6	5
	100		100	100	100
o.		Elected officials in Washington lose touch with			
	73	the people pretty quickly	76	74	71
	60	Strongly	64	61	58
	13	Not Strongly	12	13	13
	24	Elected officials in Washington try hard to stay in touch with voters back home	21	22	25
	14	Strongly	12	13	14
	10	Not Strongly	9	9	11
	3	Neither/Don't know	3	4	4
	100		100	100	100
p.	33	Most elected officials care what people like me think	32	29	34
	18	Strongly	18	17	18
	15	Not Strongly	14	12	16
	64	Most elected officials don't care what people like me think	64	68	64
	53	Strongly	53	56	51
	11	Not Strongly	11	12	13
	3	Neither/Don't know	4	3	2
	100		100	100	100

Q.24 Now I'd like your views on some people 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. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... **(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE ALWAYS STARTING WITH EITHER HILLARY CLINTON OR COLIN POWELL)** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? **(INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND CAN'T RATE")**

		Very Favor-able	Mostly Favor-able	Mostly Unfavor-able	Very Unfavor-able	Never Heard of	Can't Rate
a.	Hillary Clinton	14	44	24	14	-	4=100
	August, 1995	16	33	25	22	*	4=100
	July, 1994	19	38	22	18	1	2=100
	May, 1993	19	41	18	11	1	10=100
b.	Congress	4	38	42	13	-	3=100
	August, 1995	5	40	34	13	*	7=100
	June, 1995	8	45	31	11	*	5=100
	February, 1995	10	44	27	10	0	9=100
	July, 1994	7	46	34	9	*	4=100
	May, 1993	8	35	35	13	0	9=100
	November, 1991	7	44	34	9	0	6=100
	May, 1990	6	53	25	9	1	6=100
	May, 1988	8	56	23	5	0	8=100
	January, 1988	6	58	25	4	0	7=100
	May, 1987	10	64	16	4	*	6=100
	January, 1987	7	52	23	8	0	10=100
	June, 1985	9	58	21	5	*	7=100
c.	Colin Powell	21	55	11	3	2	8=100
	August, 1995	26	36	12	5	7	14=100
	February, 1995	31	36	8	3	12	10=100
	December, 1994	31	38	7	2	11	11=100
	July, 1994	33	41	6	2	10	8=100
	June, 1992	30	35	11	4	10	10=100
	March, 1991	51	28	2	1	7	11=100
d.	The Republican Party	10	42	28	16	*	4=100
	July, 1994	12	51	25	8	*	4=100
	May, 1993	12	42	25	10	0	11=100
	July, 1992	9	37	31	17	*	6=100
e.	The Democratic Party	9	40	37	11	-	3=100
	July, 1994	13	49	27	7	*	4=100
	May, 1993	14	43	25	9	0	9=100
	July, 1992	17	44	24	9	*	6=100
f.	Business Corporations	6	54	29	7	-	4=100
	July, 1994	8	62	19	5	*	6=100
	November, 1991	8	57	22	6	0	7=100
	January, 1988	6	53	27	5	*	9=100
	June, 1985	8	50	24	7	1	10=100

SPLIT FORM QUESTIONS 25 AND 26.
NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU TO RATE YOURSELF AND OTHER PEOPLE ON A SCALE OF 1 TO 6.
FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.25/26 If "1" represents someone who believes that government programs should be cut back very much in order to lower taxes and reduce the power of government, and "6" represents someone who feels that government programs that help needy people and deal with important national problems should be maintained, where on the scale of 1 to 6 would you place yourself? And where on the scale would you place...? **(INSERT NAME, ROTATE b-f)**

		Anti-Government	Government Activist	Don't know	Average Rating[9]
a.	Self	45	53	2=100	4
	August, 1995	45	53	2=100	4
b.	Bill Clinton	36	61	3=100	4
	August, 1995	35	61	4=100	4
c.	Bob Dole	55	35	10=100	3
	August, 1995	55	30	15=100	3
d.	Newt Gingrich	62	27	11=100	3
	August, 1995	59	23	18=100	3
e.	Colin Powell	39	45	16=100	4
	August, 1995	32	34	34=100	4
f.	Al Gore	38	52	10=100	4
	August, 1995	33	53	14=100	4

	SUMMARY OF SELF vs. CLINTON		*SUMMARY OF SELF vs. DOLE*		*SUMMARY OF SELF vs. GINGRICH*		*SUMMARY OF SELF vs. POWELL*
	Oct 1995	Aug 1995	Oct 1995	Aug 1995	Oct 1995	Aug 1995	Oct 1995
Self more "Conservative"	40	40	28	24	23	21	28
Self less "Conservative"	33	35	44	43	49	48	31
Self same	23	19	17	18	15	13	24
Other	4	6	11	15	13	18	17
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

[9] Based among those who could rate each.

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT:

Q.27 Thinking about the Democratic and Republican Parties, would you say there is a great deal of difference in what they stand for, a fair amount of difference, or hardly any difference at all?

		July 1994	May 1990	May 1987
34	A great deal	23	24	25
46	A fair amount	51	45	45
18	Hardly at all	24	27	25
2	No opinion/Don't know	2	4	5
100		100	100	100

Q.27a This year, have Republicans and Democrats in Washington been working together more to solve problems, OR have they been bickering and opposing one another more than usual?

		Aug 1993
21	Working together more	20
72	Opposing each other more	57
3	Same as in past **(VOL.)**	13
4	Don't know/Refused	10
100		100

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT:

Q.28 Overall, what's your impression of the candidates running for the Republican presidential nomination? As a group, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates or poor candidates?[10]

		Democratic		*Republican*
		Oct 1991	Jan 1988	Jan 1988
3	Excellent	2	3	3
29	Good	18	27	34
46	Fair	38	44	42
18	Poor	15	17	11
4	Don't know/Refused	27	9	10
100		100	100	100

Q.29 So far, do you think news organizations are giving too much coverage to the 1996 presidential campaign, too little coverage to the campaign, or the right amount of coverage?[11]

		Sept 1992	Feb 1992	Oct 1991	May 1988	Nov 1987
18	Too much	22	19	12	24	21
18	Too little	11	15	22	7	16
60	Right amount	62	62	58	62	58
4	Don't know/Refused	5	4	8	7	5
100		100	100	100	100	100

---

10 In trends the questions were asked about the men running for the Democratic presidential nomination.

11 In trends the questions were asked about the 1992 and 1988 Presidential elections.

ASK ONLY OF FORM 1:

Q.30

F1 In reporting on a presidential candidate, what <u>one</u> factor do you think news organizations should pay the most attention to: **(READ CATEGORIES 1-3)**

		Oct 1991	Nov 1987
9	A candidate's personal character,	7	9
66	A candidate's stand on issues, OR	46	41
24	A candidate's past experiences and qualifications	42	45
1	Don't Know/Refused **(DO NOT READ)**	5	5
100		100	100

(N=1021)

ASK ONLY OF FORM 2:

Q.30a

F2 In reporting on a presidential candidate, what <u>one</u> factor do you think news organizations should pay the most attention to: **(READ CATEGORIES 1-3)**

6	What a candidate is like as a person,
69	What a candidate believes about important issues, OR
23	What a candidate has accomplished in the past
2	Don't know/Refused **(DO NOT READ)**
100	

(N=979)

ASK ALL:

Q.31 Thinking about the issue of crime, do you think the press exaggerates the amount of crime there is in the country these days, or do you think the press accurately reflects how much crime there is?

		March 1994	Jan 1994
31	Exaggerates	29	28
64	Accurate	63	64
5	Don't know/Refused	8	8
100		100	100

Q.31a Some people feel that the freedom of the press portion of the Constitution mainly protects news organizations and their interests. Others feel that the freedom of the press portion protects the people and the public interest more. Which position is closer to your opinion?

		Aug 1989
48	Protects news organizations more	32
46	Protects public interest more	56
2	Both equally **(VOL.)**	6
4	Don't know	6
100		100

NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT BUSINESS CORPORATIONS...

Q.32 How much confidence do you have in business living up to its responsibility to the American public -- a great deal of confidence, some confidence, or no real confidence?

		Time-Yankelovich Dec. 1979
10	Great deal of confidence	14
65	Some confidence	57
23	No real confidence	25
2	Don't know/Refused	4
100		100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.33

F1 These days, whose interests do business corporations put first,...the interests of... **(READ)**?

46	Their stockholders
34	Their top executives
4	Their employees
6	Their customers, OR
6	The communities they are located in?
1	None of the above **(VOL. -- DO NOT READ)**
3	Don't know/Refused **(DO NOT READ)**
100	

(N=1021)

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.34

F2 In your opinion, whose interests should business corporations put FIRST,...the interests of...**(READ)**?

15	Their stockholders
4	Their top executives
30	Their employees
31	Their customers, OR
18	The communities they are located in?
*	None of the above **(VOL. -- DO NOT READ)**
2	Don't know/Refused **(DO NOT READ)**
100	

(N=979)

ASK ALL:

Q.35 Now I'd like to ask how things are going in your personal life today. Some of these things may not apply to you. First, how satisfied are with... **(INSERT ITEM: ROTATE STARTING POINT)**: Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not too satisfied or not at all satisfied?

		Very Satisfied	Some-what Satisfied	Not too Satisfied	Not at all Satisfied	Does Not Apply	Don't Know
a.	The amount of money you earn?	17	43	19	14	7	*=100
	March, 1994	23	39	15	14	8	1=100
b.	The kind of work you do?	46	28	6	4	16	*=100
	March, 1994	45	25	5	5	20	*=100
c.	The amount of leisure time you have?	36	36	18	9	1	*=100
	March, 1994	41	32	16	10	*	1=100
d.	Your ability to balance your job and your family life?	38	35	10	5	12	*=100

Q.36 Now I'd like you to think about some concerns that people may have. How concerned are you, if at all, about **(INSERT ITEM: ROTATE)**? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not at all concerned about this? What about **(NEXT ITEM)**...?

		Very Concerned	Somewhat Concerned	Not too Concerned	Not at all Concerned	Does Not Apply	Don't Know
ASK ITEMS a.-d. OF FORM 1 ONLY: (N=1021)							
a.F1	Not having enough money for your retirement?	48	29	10	8	4	1=100
	March 1994	42	29	14	12	3	1=100
	May 1988	34	35	15	8	4	4=100
b.F1	Being unable to save enough money to put a child through college?	44	19	9	12	15	1=100
	March, 1994	37	16	8	12	26	1=100
	May, 1988	23	22	11	11	29	4=100
c.F1	Losing your home because you can't afford to keep it or Being able to own your own home	38	19	20	19	4	*=100
	March, 1994	31	16	20	28	4	1=100
d.F1	Losing your job or taking a cut in pay?	34	17	16	17	16	*=100
	March, 1994	28	16	14	21	21	*=100
	May, 1988[12]	18	16	23	18	22	3=100
ASK ITEMS e.-h. OF FORM 2 ONLY: (N=979)							
e.F2	Becoming a victim of crime?	51	30	15	4	*	*=100
	March, 1994	50	30	14	6	*	*=100
	May, 1988	36	36	21	5	*	2=100
f.F2	Not having adequate child care when you go to work?	30	15	11	15	29	*=100
	March, 1994	21	13	9	16	40	1=100
	May, 1988	17	11	10	12	47	3=100
g.F2	Being unable to afford necessary health care when a family member gets sick?	66	17	9	7	1	*100
	March, 1994	50	22	15	11	1	1=100
h.F2	Your children not having good job opportunities?	57	23	6	4	10	-=100
	March, 1994	51	21	8	8	12	*=100

[12] In 1988 question asked only about losing your job.

ASK ALL:

Q.37 On another subject, how do you think more free trade agreements with other countries, such as NAFTA, would affect the job situation here? Would they help the job situation a lot, help it a little, HURT it a little, or hurt the job situation a lot?

		March 1994[13]
9	Help a lot	20
27	Help a little	32
28	Hurt a little	14
27	Hurt a lot	18
1	Would not affect **(VOL.)**	1
8	Don't know/Refused	15
100		100

13 1994 question was part of a series: Tell me how you think each of the following measures would affect the countries overall job situation ... more free trade agreements with other countries, such as NAFTA?

Q.38 Now I'm going to read you some more pairs of statements. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views -- even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is... **(READ AND ROTATE) AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE:** Do you feel STRONGLY about that, or not?

			April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994
q.		This country should do whatever it takes to protect			
	77	the environment	74	77	78
	65	Strongly	63	65	62
	12	Not Strongly	11	12	16
		This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect			
	20	the environment	22	19	19
	13	Strongly	15	13	12
	7	Not Strongly	7	6	7
	3	Neither/Don't know	4	4	3
	100		100	100	100
r.		Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too			
	35	many jobs and hurt the economy	39	32	33
	23	Strongly	28	23	21
	12	Not Strongly	11	9	12
		Stricter environmental laws and regulations are			
	61	worth the cost	57	62	62
	47	Strongly	44	49	45
	14	Not Strongly	13	13	17
	4	Neither/Don't know	4	6	5
	100		100	100	100
u.		Homosexuality is a way of life that should be			
	45	accepted by society	47	46	46
	29	Strongly	30	33	26
	16	Not Strongly	17	13	20
		Homosexuality is a way of life that should be			
	50	discouraged by society	48	48	49
	41	Strongly	40	41	41
	9	Not Strongly	8	7	8
	5	Neither/Don't know	5	6	5
	100		100	100	100
v.		Books that contain dangerous ideas should be			
	46	banned from public school libraries	45	42	46
	37	Strongly	40	36	37
	9	Not Strongly	5	6	9
		Public school libraries should be allowed to			
	52	carry any books they want	53	55	51
	41	Stronlgy	44	47	39
	11	Not Strongly	9	8	12
	2	Neither/Don't know	2	3	3
	100		100	100	100

Q.38 con't ...

				April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994
w.	84	Miracles are performed by the power of God		83	82	84
		75	Strongly	76	73	72
		9	Not Strongly	7	9	12
	11	There is no such thing as a miracle performed by God		12	12	12
		7	Strongly	7	8	7
		4	Not Strongly	5	4	5
	5	Neither/Don't know		5	6	4
	100			100	100	100
x.		We will all be called before God on Judgment				
	83	Day to answer for our sins		81	80	80
		76	Strongly	75	74	71
		7	Not Strongly	6	6	9
		I don't believe we will have to answer for our				
	13	sins on Judgment Day		14	14	16
		9	Strongly	9	10	9
		4	Not Strongly	5	4	7
	4	Neither/Don't know		5	6	4
	100			100	100	100

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.39 I am going to read some statements that candidates may be making next year in the election campaign. For each statement tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(READ AND ROTATE)**.

		Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
ASK ITEMS a.-d. OF FORM 1 ONLY: (N=1021)						
a.F1	There should be a limit on how many terms a person can serve in Congress.	45	34	12	8	1=100
	November, 1991	55	25	10	8	2=100
b.F1	Government should play an active role in improving health care, housing and education for middle income families.	36	42	16	4	2=100
	November, 1991	52	32	10	4	2=100
c.F1	A woman's right to decide about abortion should be preserved.	49	22	10	17	2=100
	November, 1991	55	19	8	15	3=100
d.F1	Illegal immigrants and their children should NOT be allowed to receive education, health and welfare benefits.	29	29	25	15	2=100
ASK ITEMS e.-i. OF FORM 2 ONLY: (N=979)						
e.F2	Government should play an active role in improving health care, housing and education for low income families.	35	46	14	5	*=100
	November, 1991	53	35	7	4	1=100
f.F2	Everyone should be taxed at the same rate, regardless of how much money they make.	26	26	22	24	2=100
g.F2	In order to overcome the effects of past discrimination, qualified blacks, women and other minorities should be given special preferences in hiring and education.	8	28	37	25	2=100

Q.39 con't ...

		Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
h.F2	The U.S. should play a leading role in dealing with the world's problems.	15	49	27	8	1=100
i.F2	Mergers of big companies should be looked at more closely by the government.	28	44	20	6	2=100

ASK ALL:
ROTATE Q.40 AND Q.41: ELIMINATE INTRODUCTORY CLAUSE ("THINKING ABOUT THE MAJOR PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY") FOR SECOND QUESTION.

Q.40 Thinking about the major problems facing the country, would you say President Clinton has made progress toward solving these problems, tried but failed to solve these problems, not addressed these problems, or made these problems even worse?

24	Made progress
50	Tried but failed
11	Not addressed
12	Made problems worse
3	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.41 (Thinking about the major problems facing the country,) would you say the Republican leaders in Congress have made progress toward solving these problems, tried but failed to solve these problems, not addressed these problems, or made these problems even worse?

20	Made progress
40	Tried but failed
14	Not addressed
21	Made problems worse
5	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.42 In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

		April 1995	Mar 1995	Feb 1995	Dec 1994	Nov 1994	Oct 1994	Early Oct 1994	July 1994	June 1992	May 1990	Feb 1989	May 1988	Jan 1988	May 1987
30	Republican	30	35	33	35	28	31	33	29	28	28	31	28	27	25
30	Democrat	29	28	30	31	31	32	30	33	32	33	38	38	39	37
35	Independent	37	32	33	30	35	33	32	35	36	28	23	26	26	28
3	No preference	3	-	-	-	4	3	-	2	1	9	7	6	6	8
*	Other party	*	2	2	2	*	*	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
2	Don't know	1	3	2	2	2	1	3	1	3	2	1	2	2	2
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.43 Do you consider yourself a STRONG Republican, or NOT a strong Republican?

		April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994	June 1992	May 1990	Feb 1989	May 1988	Jan 1988	May 1987
11	Strong	15	16	13	11	13	15	13	12	11
19	Not strong	15	15	16	17	15	16	15	15	14
30		30	31	29	28	28	31	28	27	25

Q.44 Do you consider yourself a STRONG Democrat, or NOT a strong Democrat?

		April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994	June 1992	May 1990	Feb 1989	May 1988	Jan 1988	May 1987
14	Strong	14	18	15	14	16	17	19	19	18
16	Not strong	15	14	18	18	17	21	19	20	19
30		29	32	33	32	33	38	38	39	37

Q.45 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

		April 1995	Nov 1994	Oct 1994	July 1994	June 1992	May 1990	Feb 1989	May 1988	Jan 1988	May 1987
14	Republican	18	13	14	17	14	13	9	12	11	13
16	Democratic	14	13	12	14	13	13	11	12	13	13
10	Neither	9	15	8	7	13	13	11	10	10	12
40		41	41	34	38	40	39	31	34	34	38

ASK ALL:

Q.46 How often, if ever, do you listen to radio shows that invite listeners to call in to discuss current events, public issues and politics... **(READ)**

18 Regularly

33 Sometimes

25 Rarely

24 OR never?

* Don't know/Refused **(DO NOT READ)**

100

(NO Q.47)

Q.48 Some people say we should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans. Do you agree or disagree?

				ABC/Washington Post[14]	
		April 1995	July 1994	Jan 1984	Sept 1982
59	Agree	57	53	41	44
37	Disagree	38	43	48	44
4	Don't know/Refused	5	4	11	12
100		100	100	100	100

[14] Trends based on a somewhat different question wording: "Tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with [the following statement], or if perhaps, you have no opinion about the statement -- 'We should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans.'"

Q.49 Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs... **(READ)**

		April 1995	Nov 1994	Oct 1994	July 1994	May 1990	Feb 1989	May 1988	Jan 1988	May 1987
46	Most of the time	43	49	45	46	39	47	37	37	41
35	Some of the time	35	30	35	33	34	34	37	35	35
14	Only now and then	16	13	14	15	18	14	17	18	15
5	Hardly at all	6	7	6	6	9	4	6	8	7
*	Don't know	*	1	*	*	*	1	3	2	2
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.50 In the 1992 Presidential election, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? **IF VOTED, ASK:** Did you vote for Clinton, Bush or Perot?

35	Yes, Clinton
25	Yes, Bush
11	Yes, Perot
1	Yes, other candidate
1	Yes, don't remember which candidate
22	No, didn't vote/Too young
1	Don't remember if voted
4	Refused
100	

Q.51 In the 1994 elections for Congress last November, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

		April 1995
62	Yes, voted	62
35	No, didn't vote/Too young -- **GO TO Q.43**	37
3	Don't Remember if voted/Refused -- **GO TO Q.43**	1
100		100

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED YES IN Q.51, ASK:

Q.52 Are you absolutely certain you voted, or is there a chance you may not have?

		April 1995
57	Absolutely certain	58
5	Didn't vote/may not have voted -- **GO TO Q.43**	4
62		62

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED YES, CERTAIN, IN Q.52, ASK:

Q.53 Did you happen to vote for a Republican candidate or a Democratic candidate for U.S. Congress in your district?

		April 1995
47	Republican	50
43	Democrat	40
1	Other/Independent candidate	2
*	Didn't vote for Congress	1
6	Don't Remember which candidate	5
3	Refused	2
100		100
(N=1219)		**(N=1101)**

ASK ALL:

Q.54 These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register... Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district, or haven't you been able to register so far?

Q.55 Are you absolutely certain you are registered to vote, or is there a chance your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

			April 1995	Nov 1994	Oct 1994	Early Oct 1994	July 1994	June 1992
76	Yes, registered		76	73	77	76	79	76
	73	Absolutely sure	74	70	74	72	75	73
	3	Chance	2	2	3	4	4	3
	*	Don't know	0	1	0	*	0	0
23	No		23	26	22	23	20	23
1	Not sure/Don't know		1	1	1	1	1	1
100			100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.56 If there is a primary election in your state next year, how likely is that you will vote in either the Republican or Democratic primary for President? Is it very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not at all likely?

		Sept 1987	May 1987
63	Very likely	60	65
20	Somewhat likely	23	18
6	Not too likely	6	7
8	Not at all likely	9	6
1	No primary **(VOL.)**	*	1
2	Don't know/Refused	2	3
100		100	100

Q.57 How often would you say you vote... **(READ)**

		April 1995	Nov 1994	Oct 1994	July 1994	June 1992	May 1992	Nov 1991	May 1990	Feb 1989	Jan 1988	May 1987
41	Always	42	43	43	40	47	41	38	33	45	39	34
32	Nearly always	29	24	28	30	26	32	37	35	30	33	37
12	Part of the time	12	11	13	14	10	13	13	12	10	12	11
11	Seldom	11	13	10	11	11	11	9	10	8	8	6
*	**(VOL.)** Other	*	1	5	*	1	*	0	1	1	1	2
3	**(VOL.)** Never vote	6	8	1	5	5	3	3	8	6	6	9
1	Don't know	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	*	1	1
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 7, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR JODIE TORKELSON
Assistant to the President
for Management and Administration

FROM: TODD D. STERN
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary

SUBJECT: State Place Parking Permit for Helen Howell

As you know, Helen Howell has joined our staff as Deputy Staff Secretary. At the present time, Helen has Ellipse parking. Given that she will be working fairly late, it would be highly desirable if she could get a State Place parking permit. I know that Paul Richard, Helen's predecessor, had State Place privileges and I would appreciate it if we could return to that status quo. I realize that there is escort service but frequently there are no Secret Service officers available to escort staff members.

As always, many thanks for your help.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-6-95

Barcelona

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate the reply.

12-6-95

[redacted]
Original to Jim Dorskind

November 29, 1995

The Honorable Bill Clinton
Embassy of the United States
Madrid, Spain

Dear Mr. President,

Enclosed herewith you will find a token of friendship from my partner, Ware Travelstead, the employees at Planet Hollywood-Barcelona, and me. We saw this model of an instrument that you are so proficient at several months ago, and bought it thinking of you, and forwarding it to you, but fate has it that you are arriving in Spain on the very day that we are holding our opening party and celebration with numerous Hollywood and U.S. personalities attending.

As you know, Planet Hollywoods around the world are a museum of U.S. film-making, and we believe that we assist in creating a good image of America around the world, just as you are doing with your trip here, on which we wish you the success that we hope you will have.

I, personally, as a former official of the U.S. Treasury and U.S. Department of Justice, know how important visits like the one you are making now can be for our country and for the free world, and for that I congratulate you.

Sincerely,

Ray Velazquez

Ray Velázquez

Centro Comercial Marina Village • Marina 19-21 • 08005 Barcelona • Spain
Tel. (34-3) 221 11 11 • Fax (34-3) 221 35 53

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
STATE OF MISSOURI
JEFFERSON CITY
65101

95 NOV 28 P2:29

MEL CARNAHAN
GOVERNOR

STATE CAPITOL
ROOM 216
(314) 751-3222

November 22, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

During your upcoming meeting with British Prime Minister John Major, I urge you to discuss options for securing an additional airline route between New York-JFK and London-Heathrow airports. As we have discussed, successful resolution of this issue could determine the future of Trans World Airlines (TWA). I believe it is imperative that we do everything possible to assist TWA and the airline's 13,000 Missouri employees.

As always, I appreciate your support. I look forward to celebrating a victory for TWA and both of our administrations.

Very truly yours,

Mel Carnahan

Mel Carnahan

12/6/95
To Jim Dorskind
to prepare response
Coordinate w/ NSC
Marcia Hale –

Carol Alvord
Per Phil Caplan
12-7-95
Original to Jim Dorskind.
M.

Colin Marshall, Chairman and CEO of British Airways, has recently expressed his view that further mini deals with the U.S. are unlikely.

However, he believes the two governments should support "open skies."

On the assumption that this is not feasible in the near term, the President should privately explain to Prime Minister Major there is indeed a feasible short term solution.

The selection of TWA, asking for a single daily flight from JFK to Heathrow, is a simple solution to a mini deal.

The British get a relatively small carrier to compete against, as opposed to Delta, N.W., or Continental.

Agreement on this deal would preclude the necessity of another negotiation for the immediate future.

BA's 8 to 10 daily flights would be little threatened by TWA's single daily flight.

It would be a win win situation.

LUNDE & BURGER

CAMPAIGN CONSULTING • COMMUNICATIONS

LUNDE & BURGER, INC. FAX TRANSMISSION

DATE: 11/28/95

TIME:

FROM: Brian Lunde

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER PAGE: 3

TO: Nancy Hernreich

ORGANIZATION:

FAX NUMBER:

COMMENTS: I've sent this to a number of people in the administration just to make sure the President sees it before his trip to Europe later today. I think it is important for him to see it.

SHOULD THERE BE ANY QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS REGARDING THIS TRANSMISSION, PLEASE CALL 703/749-0575. OUR FAX NUMBER IS 703/749-0595.

Thanks!

11/28/95

Phil,

This issue isn't covered in briefing book and Secretary Pena apparently raised it with the President at Highway Bill signing.

I showed it to Sandy Berger who in turn showed it to Bob Kyle who says talking points are fine.

I'd show it to Tony with this note and see how he wants to handle it.

Todd

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-5-95

THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

MEMORANDUM TO: The President

FROM: Federico Peña

140739

SUBJECT: United Kingdom Aviation Negotiations

In contrast to their trade position in other economic sectors, the British maintain a protectionist approach on U.S.-U.K. aviation issues. Since the beginning of this Administration, we have been seeking to liberalize what is the most restrictive aviation agreement between the United States and a developed aviation partner. The present Agreement strictly regulates airline entry, U.S. cities that can receive service, the number of flights operated, access to London's premier airport (Heathrow), and pricing decisions.

We initially sought "up-front" British agreement to an open aviation regime, even if it had to be phased in. That initiative ended with a suspension of aviation liberalization talks in December 1993. In 1995, we switched to an incremental approach, and on June 5, the U.S. and the U.K. reached agreement on a first-step liberalization package that included, among other things, new U.S. air carrier entry on the Chicago-London route and additional rights for the British. Agreement on this first step also included negotiations on a second phase of talks, focused on cargo, pricing, and charter liberalization, limited Heathrow and/or Gatwick access, and access to U.S. Government-funded traffic.

After four rounds of negotiations, the second-phase talks were suspended on October 20, primarily because, after senior-level Administration consideration, the British offer on new Heathrow access was judged to be inadequate. The British had put forward a proposal for two new Heathrow opportunities, but one was highly restricted as to potential carriers and cities. The second, which would not be available until mid-1997, would have precluded U.S. authorities from even considering awarding a new Heathrow opportunity to one U.S. carrier (TWA) to begin a New York (JFK) - Heathrow route.

TALKING POINTS

- It is unfortunate that the restrictive U.S.-U.K. aviation relationship is at such variance with our approach in other economic sectors.

- We were pleased with the first step towards aviation liberalization agreed to in early June.

- I hope that your Government can show additional flexibility

2.

to accommodate the U.S. need for three new services at Heathrow without restriction on which U.S. carrier can use them.

- Our request for one additional Heathrow service represents a small addition to what is a large and productive aviation relationship.

IF ASKED:

- U.K. negotiators have thus far only offered two new service opportunities at Heathrow, and those are substantially restricted.

- In addition, the offer was conditioned to preclude one U.S. carrier from even competing for the new rights.

- We are prepared to move forward on aviation liberalization incrementally. However, as our Transportation Secretaries have discussed, for the United States, individual deals can withstand the intense political scrutiny to which they are subjected only if they are perceived to meet the minimum U.S. needs.

95 NOV 27 A9:37

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
STATE OF MISSOURI
JEFFERSON CITY
65101

MEL CARNAHAN
GOVERNOR

STATE CAPITOL
ROOM 216
(314) 751-3222

November 22, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

During your upcoming meeting with British Prime Minister John Major, I urge you to discuss options for securing an additional airline route between New York-JFK and London-Heathrow airports. As we have discussed, successful resolution of this issue could determine the future of Trans World Airlines (TWA). I believe it is imperative that we do everything possible to assist TWA and the airline's 13,000 Missouri employees.

As always, I appreciate your support. I look forward to celebrating a victory for TWA and both of our administrations.

Very truly yours,

Mel Carnahan

MC/dk

11-27-95

Send to WSC for appropriate handling?

Yes ✓

No —

cc: Marcia Hale
Harold Ickes
Higgins
Carol

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

95 NOV 29 AM 9:36

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12/5/95

November 28, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR TODD STERN

FROM: SUE BACHTEL, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO DR. GIBBONS

The enclosed photo (taken on November 23, 1993 when the President signed the Executive Order establishing the new National Science and Technology Council as well as the President's Committee of Advisors on Science and Technology) is a very favorite of Dr. Gibbons's. At the time of the signing he also received the pens the President used (he has given one to John Young, Co-Chair of PCAST).

May we ask that the President himself sign the photo (we will also ask the Vice President). As you know, Dr. Gibbons would never ask for himself, so we are trying to surprise him--I know he will be very pleased.

Your consideration is much appreciated. I can be reached at 6-7116 if you need more information. Many thanks.

To Ted Gibbons — With appreciation for your outstanding service to America —

Bill Clinton

OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 23NOV93 P010079 -001

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November 10, 1995

Jim Dorskind
for Reply

yes ✓

no

12-6-95
Original to Jim Dorskind
M.

President Bill Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington DC 20500

REPLY REQUESTED: MAN OF THE YEAR - 1995

Dear President Clinton:

I am delighted to announce your nomination for the prestigious title MAN OF THE YEAR - 1995 The Institute's International Board of Research decided on your nomination due to your overall accomplishments and contributions to society.

We have the pleasure of reviewing the endeavors of men around the world because of our list of recognized who's who titles. Singling out a limited number to receive the accolade MAN OF THE YEAR has been difficult indeed. Much deliberation was held to choose those whose achievements and dedication toward exemplary goals were among the best we have seen. My congratulations to you on your nomination.

President Clinton, the enclosed document describes the Award we have chosen to commemorate the occasion. I wish you much continued success and look forward to hearing from you concerning your nomination for the 1995 MAN OF THE YEAR.

Sincerely,
J.M. Evans

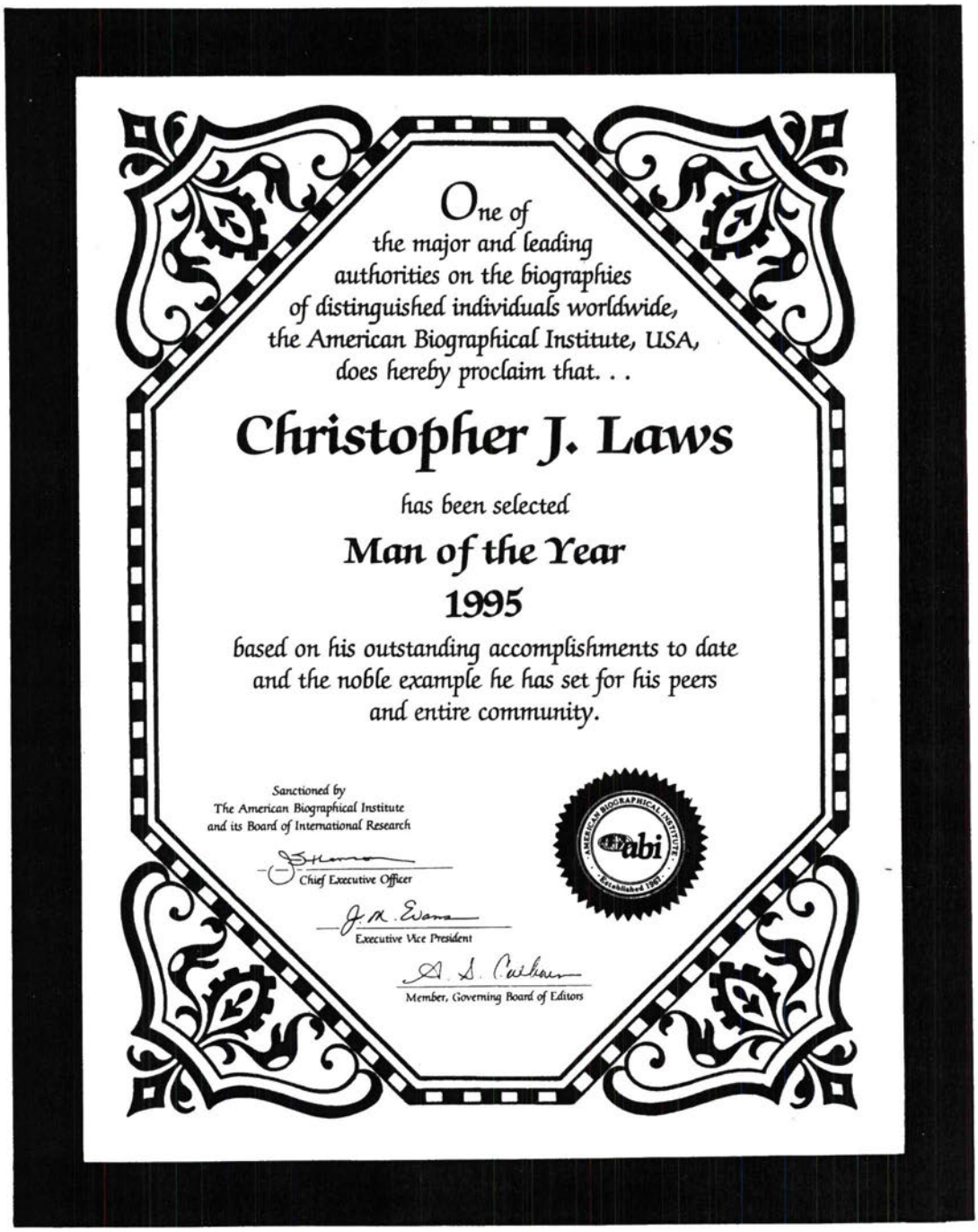
J. M. Evans
Executive Vice-President

Enclosures

PLEASE RETURN BY: DEC 1 0 1995

The
American Biographical Institute Board of International Research
has nominated you for

Man of the Year



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Limited and Signed

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ENHANCED WORLD COMMUNITIES AND PROFESSIONS

The American Biographical Institute's

Man of the Year - 1995

As a prominent man listed in one or more nationally or internationally-recognized biographical reference volumes you should be proud of your accomplishments. There are not many who are selected for such an honor. It is obvious that you have worked hard to obtain the position you are in today.

The American Biographical Institute wishes to confer on a small number of men the accolade, ***Man of the Year***. In order to do so the Institute has chosen an exquisite pale blue parchment to serve as the background for a Decree designating you as a man of remarkable achievement. This impressive document is personalized with recipient's name, year of the Decree and a suitable citation by the Institute's Board of International Research. The Board, one of very few in the world, testifies that the recipient has been selected a ***Man of the Year***.

The Decree is beautifully done in two ink colors, in addition to the ink used by the calligrapher. The sizable document can be laminated (optional) onto Finland Birch wood that is stained a rich dark walnut and is ready to hang. Or, you may wish to use your own frame to match a particular decor in your home or office in which case the Decree can be shipped to you fully protected. If lamination is requested, there is a moderate charge required for postage due to the award's substantial weight.

The expense of the design and preparation of the Decree along with the inscription including all hand-lettered penning by a skilled scribe is noted below. Your Decree will be endorsed personally by senior officials of the ABI and affirmed by the Institute's internationally recognizable seal.

A limited number of men will hold the ABI's title ***Man of the Year***. Reserve your Decree now while the special craftsman and scribe are in our employ. You truly will be proud of the honor for which you have been chosen and that is reflected in the Decree. Over the decades only a special group of men have been able to claim the honor, ***Man of the Year***, and have such a beautiful reminder of the occasion.

Congratulations to you on your selection!

☐ YES, please send me the ***Man of the Year*** Decree that has been designed selectively for me. My contribution fee applies toward all crafting processes outlined above; and, postage and handling to anywhere in the world. All ABI awards are guaranteed against material defect during shipment. Delivery will be approximately 14-16 weeks (delivery may vary depending on destination, especially outside the USA). Lamination requires an additional two weeks.

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95 DEC 4 P6:54

George Soros
Chairman

Aryeh Neier
President

Karen J. Greenberg
Vice President
for Programs

November 27, 1995

Dorshind
for
Reply
12-6-95
Original to Dim Dorshind
M.

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Bill,

Thank you for your invitation to participate in the symposium "The Marshall Legacy: Partnerships for the Future" to be held on January 8-12, 1996. I very much regret that prior commitments in Europe prevent me from attending.

With best wishes for an entirely successful meeting.

Yours sincerely,

George Soros

ys

Trustees

John Allen

Leon Botstein

Aryeh Neier

Andrew Romay

George Soros

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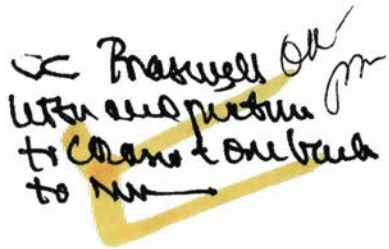

enclose DLC speech

cc: w/inc.
- Supporter File
- IGA

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 28, 1995

The Honorable Charlotte Schexnayder
Post Office Box 220
Dumas, Arkansas 71639-0220

Dear Charlotte:

Thank you so much for your letter of November 16 and for your kind words about my speech to the DLC. I do think we're moving in the right direction, and I agree that this is a fight worth making for all our citizens -- especially for the Bradley Braswells and others who need assistance to make the most of their lives.

Thanks, too, for letting me know about Rhule Guidry. I've dropped him a note, as you suggested.

Your continued support and encouragement mean so much to me, and I hope you'll keep speaking out on my behalf. May you and Melvin have a joyous and fulfilling holiday season.

Sincerely,

Bill

REMARKS TO THE DEMOCRATIC
LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

Washington Convention Center
Washington, D.C.
November 13, 1995

Thank you very much, Senator Lieberman, for your work, your example, and your wonderful introduction. You know, I knew 25 years ago when I worked for that guy that I'd have a big payoff some day.

Thank you, Al From, for your long and devoted work for the DLC. To you and all the other staff members; to the other leaders of the DLC who are here -- my good friends, Senator Robb and Governor Romer. I see Congressman McCurdy and others in the crowd who have worked so hard for this organization for so many years.

A week ago today I was in Israel, representing America at the funeral of Prime Minister Rabin. As I reflected on the terrible events that took his life, it was clear to me, again, how in the world of the global village, the post-Cold War world, the information technology age, we are both coming together and coming apart. Precisely because Prime Minister Rabin tried to unite his portion of the world in peace, an assassin took his life.

Last night I went to Ford's Theater for its annual benefit performance. And as I looked at the balcony where President Lincoln lost his life to an assassin, because he was determined to preserve the Union and end slavery, I was struck by the fact that the entire history of our great land has been dominated by three great ideas -- love of liberty, belief in progress, and the struggle to find common ground.

We have worked throughout this entire life of our country to make our motto, E pluribus unum -- from many, one -- more than a slogan; instead, a driving force of unity and of strength. We have now to face the fact that we cannot achieve the first two objectives -- liberty and freedom -- or progress and prosperity -- unless we can achieve the third, common ground.

We established in our country a Constitution and a rule of laws, limitations of powers, separation of powers, authority at the state and local level. All these things were designed to give us a way to resolve our differences in a lawful, reconciling manner so that we could preserve our liberty and always make progress. It's worked pretty well for us for well over 200 years now.

If you look at the world and the problems it faces, and you look at home and the problems we face, it is clear that the responsibility of the United States today is to lead the world away

from division; to show the world that the center can hold; that a free and diverse people, through democratic means, can form a lasting union. This is the challenge of our time and our responsibility as Americans.

That is, in a larger sense, why you and I joined the Democratic Leadership Council. We knew that to keep America strong, the old ways of governing would have to be abandoned. We wanted a government committed to standing up for the values and interests of ordinary Americans, a government that offers more opportunity with less bureaucracy, that insists on responsibility from all its citizens, that strengthens our sense of community, the idea that we are all in this together and that everyone counts.

I ran for President in 1992 to restore the American Dream for all our people, to bring the American people together, and to assure that America would remain the world's strongest force for peace and freedom, democracy and prosperity, into the 21st century. I have pressed that vision with a simple strategy rooted in economic growth, common-sense government and mainstream values. And, my fellow Americans, this country is in better shape than it was three years ago.

Of course, we still have formidable challenges. But America is on the move. We passed our economic plan, and when we did, our critics said it would bring on a deep recession. But they were wrong. Today the economy is growing. The American people have produced 7.5 million new jobs, a 15-year high in homeownership, an all-time high in new business formation, and the lowest combined rates of inflation and unemployment in 25 years. It is a good thing for the country.

A child born today has a better chance of going to college and getting a good job. It's a little easier for people to be good parents and good workers. The infant mortality rate is at an all-time low. Every day there are more opportunities for more Americans to tap into the technological marvels of the information economy and to build a prosperous future.

Common-sense government is moving forward, thanks in no small measure to the DLC members who have come to work at the White House. According to the Office of Management and Budget this morning, there are now 200,000 fewer people working for the United States government than on the day I became President. And I might say, almost no Americans have noticed that for two very good reasons. One is, as an employer the United States treated the federal employees with dignity and respect, with genuinely good severance packages and early retirement packages. And I am proud of that. We didn't just throw those people into the street.

The second is that the federal employees who stayed behind working for you are doing more with less, and they deserve our respect and appreciation. If no one noticed that 200,000 are gone, it's because those who are left are doing their jobs better. And

I'm proud of that.

It is not only true that we are now moving quickly to the smallest federal government we have had since President Kennedy was here, but listen to this: Today, federal employees are a smaller percentage of the civilian work force than at any time since 1933, before the New Deal. That is an astonishing statistic. Does it mean that government still never does anything it shouldn't, or that there's never a regulation that doesn't make sense? No, it doesn't. But it means that the Democrats have taken the lead in reducing the deficit and reducing the burden of unnecessary government, while keeping a government strong enough to advance our values and our interests. That is our mission, and we are achieving it, and you should be proud of it.

This country is stronger and safer. For the first time since the dawn of the Nuclear Age, there is not a single nuclear missile pointed at an American child. And from Northern Ireland to Haiti to the Middle East, the United States is leading the world to peace.

Now, we are working for peace in Bosnia, to stop the slaughter of innocents, to prevent the war from spreading, to bring real peace to Europe. Our military might, through NATO, stopped the Bosnian Serb attacks on the safe areas. Our mediators helped the parties to reach a cease-fire and agree on principles of a settlement, and now have come to Dayton, Ohio, to forge a lasting peace. If this peace is achieved, my fellow Americans, our responsibility does not end, for NATO must help to secure it, and as NATO's leader, the United States must participate.

The war of ethnic and religious hatred in Bosnia strikes at the heart of our ideal. It's the sort of thing that led to hatred in the hearts of people in the Middle East and cost Prime Minister Rabin his life. It's the sort of thing that cost Abraham Lincoln his life. We have to stand against this.

It's convenient now to forget, but there was a time when Bosnia, too, found unity in its diversity; when Sarajevo was one of the most beautiful and peaceful, multi-ethnic cities in all of Europe. It can happen again if we stand up for our principles and stand up for our interests; if we are willing to be leaders for peace.

That responsibility extends to the other threats in the world today that are related to racial and ethnic and religious divisions, especially to terrorism. Just this morning, the terrorist attacks against American citizens in Saudi Arabia provided a brutal reminder that our people are not immune -- not immune here at home as we learned at the World Trade Center and Oklahoma City -- and not immune abroad.

Our thoughts and prayers are with the victims and their loved ones at this time of their loss. We owe it to them, and to all of

our citizens, to increase our efforts to deter terrorism, to make sure that those responsible for this hideous act are brought to justice, to intensify and pressure the isolation of countries that support terrorism. And we must spare no effort to make sure our own law enforcement officials have what they need to protect our citizens.

That's why, even before Oklahoma City, I sent legislation to Capitol Hill asking for additional resources to deal with the threat of terrorism. The Senate passed the bill quickly, but the bill has stalled for months and months in the House. I ask again for the House of Representatives to pass the anti-terrorism legislation.

Just as we try to advance our principles abroad, we know we have, first and more importantly, to stand by them at home. Our nation is coming together around traditional values even as we move forward economically and try to bring more common sense to our government. All across America, though they are still too high, the American people should know that the crime rate is down, the welfare rolls and food stamp rolls are down, teen pregnancy has dropped for two years in a row, and for the first time in more than a decade, the poverty rate is down.

We still have a lot to do; you know that better than anyone. And I encourage the development of the new ideas that you are pushing, how you are going beyond what we are advocating now in the G.I. Bill of Rights and tax benefits for child rearing and education. I encourage this project.

There are still too many people who are in trouble. There are too many young people without parents or others to teach them right from wrong who are turning to drugs and to violence. There are too many places in our country that still have both too little opportunity and too little responsibility. But we are coming together.

And I'm proud of what we did in the administration with welfare reform efforts to support 35 states, with the crime bill that Senator Lieberman mentioned, with a 40-percent increase in child support collections and a cut in the student loan default rate by 50 percent since this administration took office. I am proud of that.

My fellow Americans, we have to see this debate about the budget in the context of the remarks I have just made. This is a very great country. No one is so well-positioned for the 21st century as the United States, as long as we stick to our strategy of economic growth, common-sense government and mainstream values. There is no country so well-positioned.

But we now have to make a fundamental choice. In 1992, most voters believed the choice was between an active approach to our problems and a more passive one. Today, in the budget debate you

see two very different active approaches to America's challenges. We face a choice that will be a test of our values, a test of our vision; a choice that goes to the very heart of our identity as a nation and to the very core of the future we will chart.

What is the vision of the congressional Republicans as manifest in their budget? Their budget would render our government incapable of supporting our values and advancing our common interests. It is bereft of the simple understanding that we rise or fall together. They would support policies that would make us a far more divided, winner-take-all society; a community with fewer connections and less common purpose, in which we say to all Americans without regard to opportunity or obligation, fend for yourselves.

Ours is a vastly different vision. We know government cannot do everything. We know there is not a program for every problem. We know we should not ask government to do for people what they ought to be doing for themselves. We know more must be done at the state and local level and in partnership with private citizens. But we know our government has fundamental responsibilities to lead, to act, to move forward.

We know that the government of the 21st century must be a constant challenge to our people to seize opportunities and assume responsibilities. We know that, above all, we must give people the tools, the skills, the opportunities they need to make the most of their own lives -- not through a one-size-fits-all, old-style bureaucracy, but by liberating the creative energies of millions and millions of Americans in their homes, their businesses, their schools and their communities. This must be the vision that animates our nation. We don't want a winner-take-all society. We want a society in which all have a chance to win together.

I think it is very important that you understand that this great debate in Washington is not about balancing the budget. It is about balancing our values as a people.

The American people want and deserve a balanced budget. Since I took the oath of office, we have cut the federal deficit in half. And listen to this. When I became President, we had the highest deficit we've had ever. And the prospect was for it to keep getting larger. Today, the United States of America has the smallest deficit of any industrialized country in the world except Norway. Every other country has a deficit that is a larger percentage of its income than we do. You should be proud of that, my fellow Democrats. And I am, too.

Five months ago, I proposed a balanced budget that eliminates the deficit, cuts hundreds of wasteful and outdated programs, but preserves Medicare and Medicaid, invests in education, technology and research, protects the environment and defends and strengthens working families. And it maintains the ability of the United States to lead the world toward peace and freedom and democracy and

prosperity. My budget reflects those values and fulfills our interest. The Republican congressional budget simply does not.

I believe we have a duty to care for our parents so that they can live their lives in dignity. That duty includes securing Medicare, slowing the rate of growth of inflation, protecting our senior citizens and giving them every opportunity to maximize the options that are out there.

But the Republican budget rests on massive cuts -- three times bigger than any previous ones in our history -- designed apparently to let the system wither away. We believe our children should have the opportunity to make the most of their own lives. We think schools should be run by teachers and principals, not by bureaucrats in the central office or in Washington, D.C. But the Republican budget slashes college scholarships and college loans, funds to cut class size and provide computers, and rewards schools which agree to be held accountable for meeting the highest standards, in direct contradiction to the work that Democrats and Republicans have done to establish national education goals, high standards and more accountability -- the things that Governor Romer has led this country in for five or six years. The last Congress was supporting that direction; this budget would undermine it.

We believe we have a duty to preserve God's earth for future generations. We are committed to reform so that environmental protection doesn't trap business in a tangle of red tape. And, indeed, we are now reducing by 25 percent the time businesses have to spend in filling out compliance forms with the EPA. But we must not abandon our commitment to clean air, clean water, safe drinking water, safe food. These things are at the core of the quality of life we owe to ourselves and, most important, to our future.

And we believe, as Senator Lieberman says, that we should not tax working people into poverty. The working family tax cut is something the DLC supported for years. But I want to make it clear that we were building on an idea supported by Republicans at least as much as Democrats.

President Ford signed the Earned Income Tax Credit into law. President Reagan said it was the best anti-poverty program ever designed because it rewarded work. It was increased under President Bush. The DLC idea was simple. We would simply double it so we could say to everybody in America: If you are willing to work 40 hours a week and you have children in the home, you will not be in poverty. Therefore, there is no incentive to be on welfare. Move to work. Your tax system will not put you in poverty, it will lift you out of it. That is what we did, and it was the right thing to do.

Now, the Republican budget would cut the tax credit by even more than we raised it -- raising taxes on 17 million working families, rising to an average of $574 a year for families with two or more children. If you've got a breadwinner out there trying to

feed two children on $12,000 a year or $13,000 a year, $574 is a lot of money. And it is wrong, and I will fight it.

I support a balanced budget, but I oppose the Republican budget plan. I had looked forward to working with this Congress to achieve a balanced budget consistent with our values and consistent with our obligation to keep this economy growing. This week, instead of following a path of reconciliation, they have gone their own way and brought the government to the brink of two serious problems.

They're following a strategy announced by the Speaker last April. In an unprecedented move, they have passed one bill and sent it to me, and apparently are about to send another that says that we will keep the government going, and we will raise the debt limit so America can meet its financial obligations, if and only if we can in this interim legislation increase Medicare premiums on all senior citizens by 25 percent, have deep cuts in education and the environment, and repeal 30 years of bipartisan Republican and Democratic commitments to protect the environment and the public health in ways that will increase pollution and decrease support for clean air, clean water and safe food. This is irresponsible and it is wrong.

For example, if Congress forces the government to default on its obligations and interest costs rise, they will rise for government; thereby undermining the ability of the Republicans to meet their balanced budget targets. One-tenth of one percent interest rate increase adds $42 billion to the deficit over a 10-year period. But interest rates would also rise for businesses, and for the 10 million American homeowners whose variable mortgage rates are tied to federal interest rates, and for consumers.

Here we are trying to drive interest rates down so we can keep the economic recovery going. That is what we should be doing. Not putting a ball and chain on every American who is trying to soar in the global economy.

The Republican Congress has said to me with brutal simplicity, you will sign our cuts in Medicare, education, the environment, or we will shut the government down. You will agree to support our budget and all of its major elements. You will agree to support what we have called regulatory reform, repealing 30 years of bipartisan commitment to a clean environment and a safe food supply, or we will push the government into default.

Well, America doesn't respond very well to those kind of pressure tactics. It's no way to find common ground. So, this morning, just before I came here, I vetoed their bill on the debt ceiling. I did not relish doing this. My job as President is to take care of the American people. And I have done my best to take good care of this country. We are safer. We are more secure. We are more prosperous. We have a government that helps more and costs less in the last three years. That is what I want for

America.

But in the end, what we stand for, the values we embrace and the things we fight for will shape the future that we will all live with. I will do everything I can to minimize disruption in these next several days. There are limits to what we can do until Congress does its job and allows us to resolve our budget differences in a forthright manner.

But I was elected President to restore the American Dream for all of our people, to keep our nation the strongest in the world and to bring our people together. I cannot, and will not, under pressure sign a budget that will rob the American Dream for millions of Americans, divide our people instead of uniting them, and undermine our ability to remain the strongest nation in the world and the greatest force for those things we believe in.

You have to understand what is going on here. The strategy that was adopted and announced last April was to precipitate this crisis in the hope of forcing me to accept the budget and the other priorities in their Contract. They have not done the normal work of budgeting.

Here we are, six weeks into the new budget year and this Congress has only passed three of the 13 required budget bills. The Senate and the House have each passed balanced budget plans, which I find objectionable but which are different from one another, and they have not met, resolved their differences and sent it to me.

The Founding Fathers set up a system to deal with this. The Congress passes bills. The President signs or vetoes them. Then the Congress can either override the veto or work with the President to find a bill that either the President will sign or they can get two-thirds of the Congress to support so they can override the veto. That is the wisdom of the Founding Fathers. This strategy is nothing more or less than an attempt to evade that system.

As long as they insist on plunging ahead with a budget that violates our values in a process that is characterized more by pressure than constitutional practice, I will fight it. I am fighting it today. I will fight it tomorrow. I will fight it next week and next month. I will fight it until we get a budget that is fair to all Americans.

And let me say to you that I am honored to have been given the opportunity to wage this contest, to stand up for the values and the interests of ordinary Americans. And I ask you to think about this, as I close, in two ways. This struggle is about things that the Founding Fathers knew we would always have to face, so it is as old as our history. It is also about our challenge as Americans and as leaders in the world moving to the 21st century.

Our Founding Fathers had this dream that people of different religious backgrounds and beliefs could build a strong nation together. They knew it was flawed; Thomas Jefferson knew it was flawed on slavery. But they set up a system where we could just keep working on it, year in and year out, decade in and decade out, as we work through the problems and became better, and fashioned a life that was a purer and purer and purer example of the values which they enshrined.

We are now called upon to be faithful to the vision of our founders: The vision that Andrew Jackson had that true and lasting prosperity rests on equal opportunity for all and special privileges for none. The wisdom of Abraham Lincoln that a house divided against itself cannot stand. The wisdom of Theodore Roosevelt that the heritage of America is in no small measure the heritage of the natural resources and bounty that God gifted us with here in our own land.

This is also the challenge of the modern times. The forces of integration which offer so much hope are pitted against the forces of disintegration -- the people who killed Americans in Iraq, the fanatic who killed that brave and good Prime Minister in Israel, our partner for peace; the people who everywhere would sow discord over harmony.

At the end of this month, I hope I will be going to Great Britain and to Ireland to do what I can to continue to further the peace process there. How many people have died in Ireland in the 20th century because of religious hatred and division? In his great poem, "The Second Coming," about the Irish civil war, William Butler Yeats said this: "Things fall apart. The center cannot hold. Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world. The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere the ceremony of innocence is drowned. The best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity."

My fellow Americans, we have worked too hard for too long to bring our country to this point. If we have our convictions and we stand for them firmly, reasonably, responsibly; if we hold out our hands in cooperation, but always stand up for what we know is right, this country's future will be even brighter than its brilliant past. It is our responsibility to make that happen.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 28, 1995

Rhule Guidry
202 South Church Street
Carencro, Louisiana 70520

Dear Rhule:

I heard from a good friend about your support for our efforts here, and I just wanted to thank you.

We're continuing to work very hard, and I'm confident we'll be able to accomplish a great deal in the months ahead.

Again, thanks.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Representative
CHARLOTTE SCHEXNAYDER
Assistant Speaker Pro Tem
P. O. Box 220
DUMAS, AR 71639-0220
501-382-4925 Business
501-382-5255 Residence
501-382-6421 FAX

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Part of Lincoln County

STATE OF ARKANSAS
House of Representatives

COMMITTEES

MEMBER
Revenue and Taxation
State Agencies and Governmental Affairs
Rules
Joint Budget

November 16, 1995

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Your speech to the Democratic Leadership Council surely is among the best I have heard, and Melvin and I were proud to be among those applauding your thoughts and cheering your veto. Monday afternoon and Tuesday, I talked to as many as I could in the city of Washington to gain their views and found them genuinely supportive of your political courage and resolve. I happened to be in Senator Pryor's office Tuesday morning when the well-known columnist, Mary McGrory, arrived, and I told her of the support I had heard for your position and how much I admired you.

When I arrived back in Dumas, I had the enclosed letter on my desk. I think it speaks volumes of support for your efforts to protect those who have the least.

I continue to speak out in your behalf as we travel. We were in Louisiana for a wedding in October, and met Lynn Guidry, a member of the Parish Council in Lafayette. He is a solid supporter of yours and says his 80-year-old father, Rhule Guidry, always gives a thumbs-up and says, ''President Clinton is doing a good job.'' Would it be possible for you to send a note to Mr. Rhule Guidry, 202 S. Church St., Carencro, La. 70520 as he is such a grand backer for you?

Melvin and I hope you and your dear family have a grand Thanksgiving and Christmas...and enough rest to cope with the stress heaped upon you. God bless you!

Cordially,

Charlotte

November 10, 1995

Correspondence

Charlotte Tillar Schexnayder
P O Box 220
Dumas, AR 81639

Dear Ms. Schexnayder,

My name is Brenda Braswell and I am a parent of Bradley Braswell. Bradley is a young man that is 8 years old. I have Bradley in public school and in the regular classroom with supports and a full-time aid. Bradley has a rare disorder that is called Klipped Trenauny Weber Syndrome, Cerebral Palsy and has seizures. Brad is a very hyperactive child and has a learning disability. The left side of Bradley body is larger than the right side. Brad cannot function in this world without help in all areas of his life. As a Medicaid percipient, he can not afford to be without Medicaid. Medicaid takes care of all of his doctor bills, medicine and (AFO) foot and leg supports. His supports last for only six (6) months. His father's insurance will only pay for one (1) pair per lifetime. These supports cost a thousand dollars ($1,000). His father's yearly income is $17,000 which makes it difficult to support a family of four. Brad sees about five (5) doctors every six (6) to twelve (12) months. When Brad has dental work he must be sedated. We, as a family, could not survive if it wasn't for Medicaid. TEFRA, a part of Medicaid, is what Brad receives. We do not qualify for SSI because of a settlement received from an injury his father sustained on his job. This settlement is in the amount of $4,000 and is to be paid over the next three years.

State and Federal Officials, I ask each of you to help children and adults that cannot live without Medicaid.

Thank you.

Brenda Braswell

Brenda Braswell
51 South Richard Drive
Pine Bluff, AR 71602

1990

Bradley's family

1994 & 95

Bradley Braswell

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-6-95

November 30, 1995

TO: The Baumholder Headquarters Publicity Office

FROM: Patricia Dengel, 7th Grade English teacher, Baumholder High School

RE: Letters to President Clinton and letters to parents deploying to Bosnia

Since speaking with you on November 28th, all 7th grade students have written a letter either to President Clinton or to their parents who will deploy to Bosnia. In our conversation, you assured me that letters for President Clinton would be handed to one of his assistants. Could you also see that these letters are given to the commanders of the parents named on the envelope and distributed by the commanders to deploying parents of 7th graders? It has helped student morale tremendously to be considered an important part of the ceremonies on Saturday. We thank you for the opportunity to assist in the process of this send off for deploying parents.

Below are several quotes from the letters to parents that President Clinton might wish to include in his address to the troops:

1. Erin Gainey: "I'll try not to be worried about you Dad because I know you are trained to handle this."

2. Dionne Englert: "Daddy, the people of the world should respect you and all our soldiers for their bravery."

3. Cerise Lake: (Both parents are deploying!!) "Mom and Dad, I love you both and want you to take good care of each other in Bosnia."

4. Courtney Lumpkin: "I'm proud to have a brave and honest father like you."

5. Jeremy Green: "Not only are you a great father, but also a great soldier."

6. RAchel Bybee: "I'm proud of your job which is to help others. It must make you feel great to know you've saved lives."

7. Justin Zimmerman: "Dad, I know you'll be fine in Bosnia because of all the training you've had. I'll miss you and count the days until we see you again."

RM

Managing the Taiwan Issue

Key Is Better U.S. Relations with China

Report of an Independent Task Force

Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations

Stephen Friedman, Chairman

Elizabeth Economy, Project Director

to NSC

12-6-95

Original to NSC