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MAR 25 '91 15:39 FROM MOR DC

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Fax to Ed

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH



1400 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 650, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 | (202) 289-0420

MEMORANDUM

Chief of STAFF
has seen

From Rick Reed
Market Opinion Research

To Charlie Black

Re National Survey of Voter Attitudes

Date March 25, 1991

Below are the results of a question asked in an MOR national telephone survey of registered voters. The survey consisted of interviews with 813 randomly selected registered voters across the continental U.S. The sub-sample for this specific question is 580, a result of adding the question to the survey after it was fielded. This in no way skews the results, although the margin of error for 580 is plus or minus 4.05. For 813 it is plus or minus 3.43.

Question: "Now I'd like to ask you a question on an employment practice. Here's an example of how it works. A White, a Black, and a Hispanic apply for a position as an auto mechanic and each get 300 correct answers on the same exam used to evaluate applicants. On the referral to the potential employer, the Black would be listed as scoring 83, the Hispanic 67 and the White 44 because the scores are altered based on race. But when the potential employer receives these scores, there is no mention of race. Therefore, it might appear that the Black applicant scored almost twice as high as the White applicant.

Supporters of this practice say such a system is needed to compensate for tests that are biased against Blacks and Hispanics. Opponents say that altering test scores based on race can unfairly deny opportunity to those most qualified.

From what you know, do you support or oppose this practice?"

Support 16%
Oppose 77%
DK 6%
REF/NA 1%

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

October 9, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU
CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID M. CARNEY
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: OPINION DIGEST

Attached please find Opinion Digest. It includes the latest trends in public opinion on current issues and the most recent polls in key 1990 senate and gubernatorial races.

OPINION DIGEST

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL

- o According to the latest NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll (9/15-18), 75% of Americans approve of the job George Bush is doing as President and 15% disapprove.
 - In this NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll (9/15-18), 63% of Democrats approve of the job President Bush is doing, 75% of Independents approve, and 90% of Republicans approve.

BUDGET

- o Over half of Americans, 52%, oppose the new budget plan while 37% approve of it. [Gordon S. Black Corp. for *USA Today*, 10/2]
 - Of those who oppose the budget plan, 52% do not approve of cutting Medicare benefits, 24% disapprove of the gasoline tax hike, but only 2% disapprove most of the luxury tax. [Gordon S. Black Corp. for *USA Today*, 10/2]
- o More Americans approve of the job President Bush is doing handling the federal budget deficit than approve of the job Congress is doing with it, 44% to 31%. [ABC News, 9/30]
 - 60% of Americans disapprove of the job Congress is doing handling the federal budget deficit compared with 46% who disapprove of the way President Bush is handling the problem. [ABC News, 9/30]
- o The Democrats in Congress are blamed 42% to 28% over President Bush for the U.S.'s large deficit. [ABC News, 9/30]
- o 37% of those surveyed believe the new tax plan should have included a capital gains tax cut, compared with 56% who agree that it should not have that tax cut. [ABC News, 9/30]

ECONOMY

Presidential Approval

- o 49% of those surveyed believe President Bush is doing a below average or poor job handling the economy, compared with 44% who said the President is doing an average or above average job with this issue, and only 3% who said he is doing an excellent job handling the U.S. economy. [Hotline/KRC poll, 9/23-25]

Personal Economic Conditions

- o Americans were asked by a Hotline/KRC poll (9/23-25) to look down the road to a year from now and predict what their personal economic condition will be like. Their responses follow:

A LOT BETTER	5%
SOMEWHAT BETTER	23%
SOMEWHAT WORSE	21%
A LOT WORSE	6%
ABOUT THE SAME	42%

THE PERSIAN GULF

Presidential Approval

- o According to a recent NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll (9/15-18), 78% of Americans approve of the job President Bush is doing in handling the conflict in the Persian Gulf.

	9/15-18	9/4-5	8/18-19
Approve	78%	75%	72%
Disapprove	15%	18%	16%

Military Force?

- o 56% of Americans think the United States should use military force to get the Iraqis out of Kuwait if, after three months, the economic sanctions against Iraq do not work and 31% think we should not use military force. [NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll, 9/15-18]

U.S. Goals in the Middle East

- o A poll for Americans Talk Security (9/21-26) asked voters to name the top goal of the U.S. in the Middle East. The results follow:

US GOAL IN MIDEAST	% WHO NAMED IT
Lasting peace	22%
Remove Hussein	20%
Free oil flow	12%
No war in Mideast	12%
Iraq out of Kuwait	11%
Defend Saudi Arabia	3%

With Hindsight

- o Asked what the United States could have done to avert the crisis, 21% of voters said there should have been increased research and development of energy sources other than oil and 18% said the United States shouldn't have helped Iraq with its eight year war with Iran. [Americans Talk Security poll, 9/21-26]

Peaceful Resolution?

- o One third (33%) of Americans believe it is very or somewhat likely that the conflict with Iraq will be resolved peacefully, compared with 59% who believe it is very or somewhat unlikely it will be resolved peacefully. [Hotline/KRC poll, 9/23-25]

GUN CONTROL

Majority Oppose Total Ban on Handguns

- o Less than half, 41%, of Americans want a total ban on handguns except by police and other authorized persons; 55% agree there should not be a law banning the possession of handguns. [Gallup Poll, 9/10-11]

Stricter Controls on Guns Favored

- o The percentage of Americans who want "more strict" laws covering the sale of firearms is now 78% (an eighteen percentage point increase from 1986 when only 60% wanted these laws to be stricter). [Gallup Poll, 9/10-11]
- o 81% of those surveyed favor the registration of all handguns (an eleven percentage point increase since 1985 when only 70% favored handgun registration). [Gallup Poll, 9/10-11]
- o 80% of Americans support the idea that those carrying a gun should have a license and 95% believe there should be a seven day waiting period before a gun can be purchased. [Gallup Poll, 9/10-11]
- o Americans strongly favor (76%) a total ban on plastic guns, which are invisible to metal detectors, and on semi-automatic weapons (72%). [Gallup Poll, 9/10-11]

Guns in the Home

- o In the most recent Gallup Poll, (9/10-11), 47% of Americans have guns in the house and 52% do not. This number has been virtually unchanged since Gallup began asking this question in 1959 when 49% of Americans had guns in their home and 51% did not.
 - Only 29% of households in the East have a gun, compared with 57% in the South. [Gallup Poll, 9/10-11]

ASIAN AMERICAN DEMOGRAPHICS

The October issue of American Demographics magazine reported on the state of Asian Americans. Among its findings:

- o Asian Americans are the fastest growing minority in the United States.
 - The number of Asian Americans grew from 3.8 million in 1980 to an estimated 6.9 million in 1989 -- an 80% increase. The 2.4 million Asian immigrants who arrived in the U.S. during the 1980s contributed to this growth.
 - Since 1980, Asian Americans have grown from 1.7% to 2.8% of the U.S. population.
- o 56% of Asian Americans live on the West Coast, compared with 21% of all Americans who live there. Specifically, 39% of all Asian Americans live in California.
- o The average age of Asian Americans is 30, compared with 36 for whites.
- o Asian Americans are more affluent than any other racial or ethnic group identified in census surveys, including whites. The median household income of Asian was \$31,578 in 1988, compared with \$28,661 for non-Hispanic whites, \$20,000 for Hispanics, and \$16,004 for blacks.

**1990 SENATE RACES
TRIAL MATCH-UPS**

State	GOP Advan.	Republican	Democrat	Poll Sponsor/Dates
AL *	-33 -45	Cabaniss 27% Cabaniss 23%	Heflin 60% Heflin 68%	Mason-Dixon, 9/23-24 Southern Opinion Research 6/19-23
AK	No polling	Stevens	Beasley	
CO *	20 28	Brown 50% Brown 54%	Heath 30% Heath 26%	Denver Post-News 4 9/9-19 Rocky Mountain News 8/7-10
DE	No polling	Brady	Biden	
HI *	4 1	Saiki 45% Saiki 44%	Akaka 41% Akaka 43%	Honolulu Advertiser 9/10-14 Political/Media Research 8/29-9/2
ID	22	Craig 53%	Twilegar 31%	Greenberg-Lake, 7/26-29
IL	-15 -25	Martin 36% Martin 27%	Simon 51% Simon 52%	Political/Media Research, 9/7-11 Chicago Tribune, 8/29-9/1
IN	31 34	Coats 57% Coats 60%	Hill 26% Hill 26%	Indianapolis Star 9/10-12 Market Strategies 8/17-18
IA *	-3 -8	Tauke 41% Tauke 39%	Harkin 44% Harkin 47%	Des Moines Register, 9/10-18 Political/Media Research, 9/14-18
KA		Kassebaum	State Party Filling Spot	
KY *	20 15	McConnell 53% McConnell 51%	Sloane 33% Sloane 36%	Courier-Journal, 9/13-19 Market Opinion Research 9/4-6
LA	-38 -25 -37 -20	Bagert 8% Duke 21% Bagert 11% Duke 28%	Johnston 46% Johnston 48%	University of New Orleans, 9/2-12 Mason-Dixon, 9/2-5
ME	49 60	Cohen 69% Cohen 70%	Rolde 20% Rolde 10%	Capitol News Service 9/4-7 Capitol News Service 5/20-24
MA *	-3 -11	Rappaport 41% Rappaport 39%	Kerry 45% Kerry 50%	Boston Globe WBZ-TV, 9/23 Tarrance & Assoc., 9/22
MI *	-36 -37	Schuette 27% Schuette 26%	Levin 63% Levin 63%	Detroit News, 9/21-23 Detroit News, 9/4-6

MN *	15	Boschwitz	55 %	Wellstone	40 %	<i>Star Tribune-KSTP</i> 9/14-19 Political/Media Research 8/31-9/4
	26	Boschwitz	52 %	Wellstone	26 %	
MT *	-27	Kolstad	31 %	Baucus	58 %	Political/Media Research, 9/14-18 Garin-Hart 9/3-4
	-33	Kolstad	28 %	Baucus	61 %	
NE	-16	Daub	35 %	Exon	51 %	SRI/Gallup of Lincoln, 8/28-30 Wirthlin Group 6/11-12
	-9	Daub	41 %	Exon	50 %	
NH	4	Smith	39 %	Durkin	35 %	American Research Group, 9/12-13
NJ	-47	Whitman	17 %	Bradley	64 %	<i>The Star-Ledger</i> 7/2-10
NM	No polling	Domenici		Benevidez		
NC *	1	Helms	46 %	Gantt	45 %	<i>Charlotte Observer</i> , 9/17-19 Mason-Dixon 8/7-8
	-2	Helms	44 %	Gantt	46 %	
OK	65	Jones	11 %	Boren	76 %	Mason-Dixon, 8/21-23
OR	34	Hatfield	58 %	Lonsdale	24 %	<i>The Oregonian</i> 8/22-27 Moore Information 8/1-2
	27	Hatfield	54 %	Lonsdale	27 %	
RI *	-23	Schneider	35 %	Pell	58 %	Brown University poll, 9/16-19 Alpha Research, 8/22-29
	-12	Schneider	40 %	Pell	52 %	
SD	41	Pressler	62 %	Muenster	21 %	Wirthlin Group 7/1-2 Mellman & Lazarus 7/17-24
	17	Pressler	43 %	Muenster	26 %	
TN	No polling	Hawkins		Gore		
TX	36	Gramm	59 %	Parmer	23 %	Eppstein Group 7/31-8/11 Mason-Dixon 8/5-8
	29	Gramm	58 %	Parmer	29 %	
WV	No polling	Yoder		Rockefeller		
WY	No polling	Simpson		Helling		

Bold = Incumbent

* = New Information

Five incumbents are unopposed:

David Pryor (D-AR)

Sam Nunn (D-GA)

Thad Cochran (R-MS)

Strom Thurmond (R-SC)

John Warner (R-VA)

**1990 GOVERNORS RACES
TRIAL MATCH-UPS**

State	GOP Advan.	Republican	Democrat	Poll Sponsor/Dates
AL *	13	Guy Hunt 52%	Paul Hubbert 39%	Mason-Dixon, 9/23-26
	2	Guy Hunt 48%	Paul Hubbert 46%	Southern Opinion Research 6/19-23
AZ *	-10	Fife Symington 37%	Terry Goddard 47%	KAET-TV, 9/25
	-17	Fife Symington 32%	Terry Goddard 49%	Arizona Republic, 9/13-16
AK	No polls	Arliss Sturgulewski	Tony Knowles	
AR *	-19	Sheffield Nelson 32%	Bill Clinton 51%	Mason-Dixon, 9/24-26
	-17	Sheffield Nelson 35%	Bill Clinton 52%	KTHV, 7/21-26
CA *	-2	Pete Wilson 39%	Dianne Feinstein 41%	LA Times poll, 9/20-25
	8	Pete Wilson 48%	Dianne Feinstein 40%	Charlton Research, 9/14-16
CO	-40	John Andrews 22%	Roy Romer 62%	Denver Post-News 4, 9/9-19
	-35	John Andrews 25%	Roy Romer 60%	KUSA/Rocky Mountain News, 8/7-10
CT *	3	John Rowland 18%	Bruce Morrison 15%	"Connecticut Poll", 9/18-25
	-16		Lowell Weicker 34%	
	2	John Rowland 19%	Bruce Morrison 17%	CT Magazine/CT Public Television, 9/27
	-13		Lowell Weicker 32%	
-3	John Rowland 18%	Bruce Morrison 21%	Quinnipiac College Polling Institute, 9/12-14	
-16		Lowell Weicker 34%		
FL	0	Bob Martinez 45%	Lawton Chiles 45%	Mason-Dixon, early Sept.
	-4	Bob Martinez 41%	Lawton Chiles 45%	Florida Opinion poll, 8/25-29
GA	-26	Johnny Isakson 28%	Zell Miller 54%	Mason-Dixon, 7/31-8/1
HI	-43	Fred Hemmings 20%	John Waihee 63%	Political/Media Research 8/29-9/2
	-38	Fred Hemmings 25%	John Waihee 63%	Political/Media Research 7/25-29
ID	No polls	Roger Fairchild	Cecil Andrus	
IL	4	Jim Edgar 44%	Neil Hartigan 40%	Political/Media Research 9/7-11
	3	Jim Edgar 38%	Neil Hartigan 35%	Chicago Tribune, 8/29-9/1

IA	13	Terry Branstad	50%	Donald Avenson	37%	<i>Des Moines Register</i> , 9/10-18
	3	Terry Branstad	47%	Donald Avenson	44%	Political/Media Research, 9/14-18
KS *	-4	Mike Hayden	39%	Joan Finney	43%	<i>KC Star</i> , 9/21-23
	-12	Mike Hayden	33%	Joan Finney	45%	Political/Media Research, 9/19-22
MD	-46	Bill Shepard	21%	William Don. Schaefer	67%	Mason-Dixon, 8/31-9/3
ME	-13	John McKernan	37%	Joe Brennan	50%	Capitol News Service Poll 9/4-7
	-8	John McKernan	37%	Joe Brennan	45%	Capitol News Service Poll 5/20-24
MA *	6	William Weld	44%	John Silber	38%	Becker Institute, 9/21-24
	1	William Weld	43%	John Silber	42%	<i>Boston Globe</i> WBZ-TV 9/23
MI *	-20	John Engler	35%	James Blanchard	55%	<i>Detroit Free Press</i> , 9/21-23
	-12	John Engler	38%	James Blanchard	50%	<i>Detroit News</i> poll, 9/4-6
MN *	3	Jon Grunseth	46%	Rudy Perpich	43%	Star-Tribune/KSTP poll 9/14-19
	-9	Jon Grunseth	33%	Rudy Perpich	42%	Political/Media Research, 8/31-9/4
NE	-8	Kay Orr	36%	Ben Nelson	44%	Gallup Poll, 8/28-30
	-11	Kay Orr	36%	Ben Nelson	47%	World Herlad/SRI-Gallup 5/9-11
NV	-33	Jim Gallaway	27%	Bob Miller	60%	Tarrance & Assoc. 8/14-15
NH	33	Judd Gregg	54%	Joe Grandmaison	21%	American Research Group, 9/12-13
NM	No polls	Frank Bond		Bruce King		
NY	-45	Pierre Rinfret	15%	Mario Cuomo	60%	Marist poll, 9/10-11
	-32	Pierre Rinfret	21%	Mario Cuomo	53%	Wirthlin Group 7/8-9
OH *	11	George Voinovich	50%	Anthony Celebrezze	39%	<i>Cincinnati Post and Dayton Daily News</i> , 9/17-25
	6	George Voinovich	42%	Anthony Celebrezze	36%	<i>The Plain Dealer</i> , 9/17-19
OK	-11	Bill Price	29%	David Walters	40%	Mason-Dixon, 9/10-12

OR	8	Dave Frohnmayer	45%	Barbara Roberts	37%	KPTV Poll, 8/28-30
	12	Dave Frohnmayer	45%	Barbara Roberts	33%	<i>The Oregonian</i> , 8/22-27
PA	-40	Barbara Hafer	26%	Bob Casey	66%	Donilon & Petts Research 7/22-26
	-36	Barbara Hafer	25%	Bob Casey	61%	Bob Casey Campaign 1/9
RI	-42	Edward DiPrete	24%	Bruce Sundlun	66%	Brown University poll, 9/16-19
	-35	Edward DiPrete	21%	Bruce Sundlun	56%	Alpha Research 8/22-29
SC	51	Carroll Campbell	65%	Theo Mitchell	14%	Metromark 12/4-10/89
SD	47	George Mickelson	63%	Bob Samuelson	16%	KELO-TV 5/28-30
TN	No polls	Dwight Henry		Ned McWherter		
TX *	16	Clayton Williams	53%	Ann Richards	37%	Dresner, Sykes and Townsend, 9/26
	15	Clayton Williams	48%	Ann Richards	33%	<i>Houston Chronicle</i> , 9/5-12
VT	29	Richard Snelling	48%	Peter Welch	19%	<i>Burlington Free Press</i> , 6/27- 7/1
WI *	41	Tommy Thompson	67%	Tom Loftus	26%	<i>Milwaukee Journal</i> , 9/19-20
	32	Tommy Thompson	60%	Tom Loftus	28%	Wisconsin Public Radio/St. Norbert College, 9/16-25
WY *	-16	Mary Mead	37%	Mike Sullivan	53%	Tarrance and Associates, 9/14-16

Bold = Incumbent

002

US NATIONAL - January 16 - February 11, 1991

Market Strategies, Inc.

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Q1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction, or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Q2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

BANNER TWO	01/16	17-21	28-29	02/11	01/16	01/17	01/19	01/21	01/28	01/29	02/11
NUMBER OF CASES	401	602	400	200	401	202	200	200	200	200	200
Q1 Right direction/wrong track											
Right direction	191 48%	377 63%	233 58%	112 56%	191 48%	133 66%	126 63%	118 59%	119 60%	114 57%	112 56%
Wrong track	155 39%	161 27%	138 35%	64 32%	155 39%	55 27%	63 21%	64 32%	68 34%	70 35%	64 32%
Don't know	51 13%	55 9%	25 6%	19 10%	51 13%	11 6%	29 15%	14 7%	12 6%	13 7%	19 10%
Refused/NA	5 1%	9 1%	4 1%	5 2%	5 1%	3 1%	3 1%	4 2%	1 0%	3 1%	5 2%
Q2 Approve/disapprove Bush											
Approve	285 71%	481 80%	303 76%	158 79%	285 71%	161 80%	161 81%	159 80%	148 74%	155 78%	158 79%
Disapprove	83 21%	90 15%	71 18%	25 13%	83 21%	27 13%	29 15%	32 16%	35 17%	36 18%	25 13%
Don't know	30 7%	28 5%	23 6%	12 6%	30 7%	12 6%	10 5%	7 4%	16 8%	7 3%	12 6%
Refused/NA	3 1%	4 1%	3 1%	5 2%	3 1%	2 1%	0 0%	1 1%	1 0%	2 1%	5 2%

MARKETSTRATEGIES

13:31 FAX 313 350 3023

02/12/91

0003

MARKETSTRATEGIES

13:31 FAX 313 350 3023

02/12/91

- C6. Thinking about a year from now, do you expect the national economy will be better, worse, or about the same as now?
- C7. Have you read or heard anything about President Bush's budget and domestic proposals for the coming year?
- C8. Do you think his budget and domestic programs propose to do much, not enough, or about right?
(ASKED OF THOSE WHO HAVE HEARD ABOUT PROPOSALS)

BANNER TWO	02/11	02/11
NUMBER OF CASES	200	200
C6 A year from now ...		
Better	41 ⁸² %	41 ⁸² %
Worse	25 ⁵⁰ %	25 ⁵⁰ %
About the same	27 ⁵⁴ %	27 ⁵⁴ %
Don't know	7 ¹⁴ %	7 ¹⁴ %
C7 Read or heard anything		
Yes	48 ⁹⁶ %	48 ⁹⁶ %
No	52 ¹⁰³ %	52 ¹⁰³ %
Don't know	0 ¹ %	0 ¹ %
C8 Programs propose to do ...		
Too much	12 ¹¹ %	12 ¹¹ %
Not enough	34 ³² %	34 ³² %
Are about right	45 ⁴³ %	45 ⁴³ %
Don't know	9 ⁹ %	9 ⁹ %
Refused/NA	1 ¹ %	1 ¹ %

- Q3. Do you think we did the right thing sending troops to Saudi Arabia or should we have stayed out of the situation?
- Q4. Do you think we are doing the right thing in using military force against Iraq, or do you think we should have waited longer for the economic sanctions and diplomatic pressure to work?
- Q5. Which one of these three positions do you think we should do NOW in the Persian Gulf area?

BANNER TWO	01/16	17-21	28-29	02/11	01/16	01/17	01/19	01/21	01/28	01/29	02/11
NUMBER OF CASES	401	602	400	200	401	202	200	200	200	200	200
Q3 Sending troops											
Did the right thing	269 67%	464 77%	310 77%	151 76%	269 67%	160 79%	151 75%	151 75%	152 76%	158 79%	151 76%
Should have stayed out of the situation	103 26%	110 18%	71 18%	29 14%	103 26%	33 16%	39 20%	39 20%	38 19%	33 17%	29 14%
Don't know	27 7%	27 4%	18 5%	16 8%	27 7%	7 4%	10 5%	9 5%	10 5%	8 4%	16 8%
Refused/NA	0 ¹ 0%	0 ² 0%	0 ¹ 0%	2 ⁴ 2%	0 ¹ 0%	1 ¹ 1%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ¹ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ¹ 0%	2 ⁴ 2%
Q4 Using military force											
We are doing the right thing	257 64%	439 73%	288 72%	0 ⁰ 0%	257 64%	152 76%	154 77%	133 66%	162 71%	146 73%	0 ⁰ 0%
Should have waited longer	119 30%	142 24%	93 23%	0 ⁰ 0%	119 30%	40 20%	40 20%	62 31%	49 25%	43 22%	0 ⁰ 0%
Don't know	20 5%	21 3%	16 4%	0 ⁰ 0%	20 5%	9 4%	6 3%	5 2%	8 4%	9 4%	0 ⁰ 0%
Refused/NA	5 ⁵ 1%	0 ¹ 0%	4 ⁴ 1%	0 ⁰ 0%	5 ⁵ 1%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ¹ 0%	0 ¹ 0%	3 ³ 1%	0 ⁰ 0%
Q5 ... we should do NOW											
Pull out of area entirely	13 3%	18 3%	10 2%	4 2%	13 3%	9 4%	3 1%	6 3%	4 2%	6 3%	4 2%
Keep military forces in area but try to negotiate an end	121 30%	136 23%	107 27%	53 26%	121 30%	38 19%	48 24%	52 26%	49 24%	58 29%	53 26%
Continue the war until Iraq is forced out of Kuwait	252 63%	433 72%	274 68%	137 68%	252 63%	151 75%	163 71%	137 68%	141 71%	133 66%	137 68%
Don't know	14 3%	12 2%	8 2%	6 3%	14 3%	3 1%	6 3%	4 2%	7 3%	2 1%	6 3%
Refused/NA	0 ¹ 0%	3 ³ 0%	1 ¹ 0%	1 ¹ 0%	0 ¹ 0%	1 ¹ 0%	1 ¹ 0%	0 ¹ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	1 ¹ 1%	0 ¹ 0%

C33. Do you think George Bush has been honest and forthright with the American people about the situation with Iraq, or do you think he has been withholding important information about the situation from the American people?

C34. Do you think he is right or not right to withhold information? (Asked of those who C33=2)

BANNER TWO	17-21	28-29	02/11	01/17	01/19	01/21	01/28	01/29	02/11
NUMBER OF CASES	602	400	200	202	200	200	200	200	200
C33. Bush honest and forthright									
Bush has been forthright with American people	376 63%	218 55%	107 54%	129 64%	124 62%	124 62%	99 50%	119 59%	107 54%
Bush has been withholding information from American people	183 30%	166 36%	73 36%	57 28%	67 33%	61 30%	87 43%	59 29%	73 36%
Don't know	41 7%	34 9%	18 9%	16 8%	8 4%	14 7%	13 6%	21 11%	18 9%
Refused/NA	0 ² 0%	0 ² 0%	1 ² 1%	0 ⁰ 0%	1 ¹ 0%	1 ¹ 1%	1 ¹ 0%	1 ¹ 0%	2 ² 1%
C34. Right or not right									
Right	81 13%	69 17%	43 21%	18 9%	33 17%	27 14%	41 21%	28 14%	43 21%
Not Right	84 14%	68 17%	20 10%	31 15%	27 14%	28 14%	41 21%	27 14%	20 10%
Don't know	14 2%	7 2%	10 5%	6 3%	5 3%	3 2%	4 2%	2 1%	10 5%
Refused/NA	4 1%	1 0%	0 0%	2 1%	1 0%	2 1%	0 0%	1 1%	0 0%
Not Asked	419 70%	254 64%	127 64%	145 72%	133 67%	139 70%	113 57%	141 71%	127 64%

Here are some other people and institutions that are playing a role in the war. For each one, please tell me if you approve or disapprove of the way most of these are handling or dealing with the war in the Middle East?

BANNER TWO	17-21	28-29	02/11	01/17	01/19	01/21	01/28	01/29	02/11
NUMBER OF CASES	602	400	200	202	200	200	200	200	200
C36. The U.S. military									
Approve	559 93%	365 91%	180 90%	187 93%	189 94%	181 90%	182 91%	183 92%	180 90%
Disapprove	30 5%	23 6%	9 4%	12 6%	9 4%	12 6%	14 7%	9 5%	9 4%
Don't know	14 2%	11 3%	10 5%	3 2%	3 1%	7 4%	4 2%	6 3%	10 5%
Refused/NA	0 0%	1 0%	1 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 1%	1 0%
C37. Congress									
Approve	418 70%	272 68%	141 71%	140 69%	141 71%	135 68%	135 68%	137 69%	141 71%
Disapprove	135 22%	76 19%	30 15%	39 19%	49 24%	50 25%	45 22%	31 16%	30 15%
Don't know	45 8%	48 12%	25 13%	22 11%	9 4%	14 7%	20 10%	29 14%	25 13%
Refused/NA	3 0%	3 1%	3 1%	1 1%	1 1%	1 1%	0 0%	3 2%	3 1%
C38. The news media									
Approve	423 70%	276 69%	114 57%	113 56%	145 72%	130 65%	113 57%	123 62%	114 57%
Disapprove	150 25%	144 36%	76 38%	45 22%	49 25%	58 29%	82 41%	62 31%	76 38%
Don't know	26 4%	20 5%	10 5%	12 6%	5 3%	12 6%	5 2%	15 7%	10 5%
Refused/NA	3 0%	0 0%	1 0%	2 1%	1 1%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 0%
C39. Our European allies									
Approve	381 63%	252 63%	0 0%	125 62%	137 68%	122 61%	126 63%	126 63%	0 0%
Disapprove	143 24%	97 24%	0 0%	48 24%	63 22%	51 26%	55 27%	42 21%	0 0%
Don't know	73 12%	48 12%	0 0%	27 13%	19 10%	25 13%	19 9%	30 15%	0 0%
Refused/NA	4 1%	3 1%	0 0%	2 1%	1 1%	1 1%	0 0%	3 2%	0 0%
C41. Our Arab allies									
Approve	360 60%	241 60%	0 0%	99 49%	133 67%	122 61%	119 59%	122 61%	0 0%
Disapprove	139 23%	80 20%	0 0%	54 27%	63 21%	48 24%	43 21%	37 18%	0 0%
Don't know	98 16%	75 19%	0 0%	47 23%	23 11%	27 14%	38 19%	37 19%	0 0%
Refused/NA	5 1%	5 1%	0 0%	2 1%	1 1%	2 1%	1 0%	4 2%	0 0%

006

MARKETSTRATEGIES

13:33 FAX 313 350 3023

02/12/91

02/12/91 13:33 FAX 313 350 3023 MARKETSTRATEGIES 007

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Here are some other people and institutions that are playing a role in the war. For each one, please tell me if you approve or disapprove of the way most of these are handling or dealing with the war in the Middle East?

BANNER TWO	17-21	28-29	02/11	01/21	01/28	01/29	02/11
NUMBER OF CASES	202	400	0	200	200	200	0
C42. Israel							
Approve	80% ¹⁶²	82% ³²⁹	0% ⁰	82% ¹⁶⁴	82% ¹⁶⁴	83% ¹⁶⁶	0% ⁰
Disapprove	10% ²⁰	11% ⁴⁴	0% ⁰	9% ¹⁸	14% ²⁸	8% ¹⁵	0% ⁰
Don't know	11% ²¹	6% ²⁵	0% ⁰	9% ¹⁸	4% ⁸	9% ¹⁷	0% ⁰
Refused/NA	0% ⁰	0% ²	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	1% ²	0% ⁰
D11. Japan							
Approve	0% ⁰	31% ⁶³	29% ⁵⁸	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	31% ⁶³	29% ⁵⁸
Disapprove	0% ⁰	42% ⁸³	40% ⁸⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	42% ⁸³	40% ⁸⁰
Don't know	0% ⁰	26% ⁵²	29% ⁵⁸	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	26% ⁵²	29% ⁵⁸
Refused/NA	0% ⁰	1% ²	2% ⁴	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	1% ²	2% ⁴
D12. Anti-war demonstrators							
Approve	0% ⁰	25% ⁵⁰	21% ⁴²	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	25% ⁵⁰	21% ⁴²
Disapprove	0% ⁰	66% ¹³²	73% ¹⁴⁵	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	66% ¹³²	73% ¹⁴⁵
Don't know	0% ⁰	8% ¹⁶	6% ¹¹	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	8% ¹⁶	6% ¹¹
Refused/NA	0% ⁰	1% ²	1% ²	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	1% ²	1% ²

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D13. Do you think our allies are OR are not paying a fair share of the financial cost of the war against Iraq?
 D14. As far as you know, have our allies promised to pay more than half the financial cost of the war against Iraq, promised less than half the cost, or are you not sure about this?

BANNER TWO	02/11	02/11
NUMBER OF CASES	200	200
D13 Are OR are not paying		
Are	27% ⁵⁴	27% ⁵⁴
Are not	53% ¹⁰⁵	53% ¹⁰⁵
Don't know	19% ³⁹	19% ³⁹
Refused/NA	1% ²	1% ²
D14 Promised to pay ...		
Promised more than half	11% ²³	11% ²³
Promised less than half	20% ⁴⁰	20% ⁴⁰
Promised about half (VOL)	6% ¹¹	6% ¹¹
Not sure	60% ¹²⁰	60% ¹²⁰
Don't know	3% ⁶	3% ⁶

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C43. Who do you think is winning the war - the U.S., Iraq, or neither side?
 C44. So far in the war, has the performance of the U.S. military been better or worse of about what you expected?

BANNER THD	17-21	28-29	02/11	01/17	01/19	01/21	01/28	01/29	02/11
NUMBER OF CASES	602	400	200	202	200	200	200	200	200
C43 Who do you think is winning									
The United States	371 62%	221 55%	129 65%	125 62%	137 69%	106 53%	111 56%	109 55%	129 65%
Iraq	1 ⁴ 1%	1 ⁴ 1%	1 ¹ 1%	0 ¹ 0%	1 ² 1%	1 ¹ 1%	1 ² 1%	1 ² 1%	1 ¹ 1%
Neither	189 31%	167 37%	52 26%	64 32%	52 26%	78 39%	71 35%	76 38%	52 26%
Don't know	36 6%	27 7%	15 7%	12 6%	4 ⁸ 4%	14 7%	15 7%	12 6%	15 7%
Refused/NA	0 ² 0%	0 ² 0%	2 ⁴ 2%	0 ⁰ 0%	1 ¹ 1%	0 ¹ 0%	1 ² 1%	0 ⁰ 0%	2 ⁴ 2%
C44 Performance of U.S. Military									
Better	359 60%	182 46%	95 48%	129 64%	117 59%	115 58%	94 47%	88 44%	95 48%
Worse	15 2%	18 4%	8 4%	3 2%	5 2%	6 3%	6 3%	11 6%	8 4%
About what you expected	127 33%	184 46%	89 44%	57 28%	72 36%	66 33%	92 46%	93 46%	89 44%
Don't know	30 5%	16 4%	6 3%	13 6%	6 3%	12 6%	8 4%	8 4%	6 3%
Refused/NA	0 ¹ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	1 ³ 1%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ¹ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	1 ³ 1%

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Q8. How long do you think the war will last -- a few weeks, a month or two, several months, OR a year or longer?

C46. Have the number of American casualties been higher, lower, or about what you expected?

BANNER TWO	01/16	17-21	28-29	02/11	01/16	01/17	01/19	01/21	01/28	01/29	02/11
NUMBER OF CASES	401	602	400	200	401	202	200	200	200	200	200
Q8. How Long war will Last											
A few weeks	102 25%	95 16%	10 3%	6 3%	102 25%	57 28%	25 13%	13 6%	7 4%	3 1%	6 3%
A month or two	85 21%	137 23%	54 14%	30 15%	85 21%	55 27%	44 22%	39 20%	23 12%	31 16%	30 15%
Several months	101 25%	227 38%	209 52%	104 52%	101 25%	40 20%	83 42%	102 51%	117 58%	93 46%	104 52%
A year or longer	55 14%	65 11%	86 21%	43 22%	55 14%	14 7%	22 11%	28 14%	34 17%	51 26%	43 22%
Don't know	57 14%	76 13%	40 10%	16 8%	57 14%	35 17%	25 13%	17 9%	18 9%	22 11%	16 8%
Refused/NA	0 ¹ 0%	0 ¹ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	1 ² 1%	0 ¹ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ¹ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	1 ² 1%
C46. American casualties											
Higher	0 ⁰ 0%	19 3%	0 ⁰ 0%	13 6%	0 ⁰ 0%	6 3%	6 3%	8 4%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	13 6%
Lower	0 ⁰ 0%	435 72%	0 ⁰ 0%	135 68%	0 ⁰ 0%	145 72%	142 71%	169 74%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	135 68%
About what you expected	0 ⁰ 0%	93 16%	0 ⁰ 0%	39 19%	0 ⁰ 0%	27 13%	37 19%	27 14%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	39 19%
Don't know	0 ⁰ 0%	54 9%	0 ⁰ 0%	11 6%	0 ⁰ 0%	24 12%	15 7%	15 7%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	11 6%
Refused/NA	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ¹ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	1 ² 1%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	1 ¹ 1%	0 ⁰ 0%	0 ⁰ 0%	1 ² 1%

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- C47. How well do you think the U.S. Military has AVOIDED harming the civilian population in Iraq - extremely well, very well, somewhat well, or not very well?
- C49. Do you think a ground war against the Iraqi army is or is not necessary to achieve our objectives?

BANNER TWO	02/11	02/11
NUMBER OF CASES	200	200
C47 AVOIDED harming civilian		
Extremely well	36 ⁷³ %	36 ⁷³ %
Very well	36 ⁷² %	36 ⁷² %
Somewhat well	17 ³⁵ %	17 ³⁵ %
Not very well	2 ⁵ %	2 ⁵ %
Don't know	7 ¹³ %	7 ¹³ %
Refused/NA	1 ² %	1 ² %
COLLAPSED CODES:		
Ext./Very well	73 ¹⁴⁵ %	73 ¹⁴⁵ %
So./Not very well	20 ⁴⁰ %	20 ⁴⁰ %
Don't know/Refused	8 ¹⁵ %	8 ¹⁵ %
C49 Ground war necessary		
Is	68 ¹³⁶ %	68 ¹³⁶ %
Is not	22 ⁴⁵ %	22 ⁴⁵ %
Don't know	8 ¹⁶ %	8 ¹⁶ %
Refused/NA	1 ³ %	1 ³ %

Q61. How much information on the war do you get from watching C-N-N News -
a great deal, some, not very much, or none at all?

BANNER TWO	02/11	02/11
NUMBER OF CASES	200	200
A great deal	109 54%	109 54%
Some	33 17%	33 17%
Not very much	21 10%	21 10%
None at all	34 17%	34 17%
Don't know	1 1%	1 1%
Refused/NA	2 1%	2 1%

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Here are some positions people are taking on the war. For each one, please tell me if you favor or oppose it?

- Q10. Stop our attack, hold our current positions, and negotiate a settlement
 Q11. Call a cease fire for two weeks and restart diplomatic efforts to resolve the dispute
 Q12. Agree to an international conference on Arab-Israeli problems in return for Iraq withdrawing from Kuwait

BANNER TWO	01/16	17-21	28-29	02/11	01/16	01/17	01/19	01/21	01/28	01/29	02/11
NUMBER OF CASES	401	602	0	0	401	202	200	200	0	0	0
Q10 Hold current positions											
Favor	44% ¹⁷⁸	29% ¹⁷⁶	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	44% ¹⁷⁸	32% ⁶⁵	29% ⁵⁸	29% ⁵⁷	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰
Oppose	50% ²⁰⁰	67% ⁴⁰⁴	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	50% ²⁰⁰	65% ¹³¹	66% ¹³²	68% ¹³⁶	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰
Don't know	5% ¹⁸	6% ²²	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	5% ¹⁸	3% ⁶	5% ⁹	3% ⁷	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰
Refused/NA	1% ⁴	0% ¹	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	1% ⁴	0% ⁰	0% ¹	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰
Q11 Call a cease fire											
Favor	0% ⁰	24% ¹⁴⁵	30% ¹²¹	25% ⁴⁹	0% ⁰	26% ⁵²	22% ⁴⁴	25% ⁵⁰	29% ⁵⁸	32% ⁶³	25% ⁴⁹
Oppose	0% ⁰	71% ⁴²⁹	66% ²⁶⁵	68% ¹³⁷	0% ⁰	69% ¹³⁹	73% ¹⁴⁷	71% ¹⁴²	70% ¹³⁹	63% ¹²⁶	68% ¹³⁷
Don't know	0% ⁰	5% ²⁸	3% ¹²	6% ¹²	0% ⁰	5% ¹¹	5% ⁹	4% ⁸	1% ³	5% ⁹	6% ¹²
Refused/NA	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	1% ²	1% ²	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	1% ²	1% ²
Q12 International conference											
Favor	0% ⁰	53% ³¹⁹	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	51% ¹⁰²	54% ¹⁰⁸	54% ¹⁰⁸	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰
Oppose	0% ⁰	39% ²³⁵	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	37% ⁷⁵	40% ⁸⁰	40% ⁸⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰
Don't know	0% ⁰	8% ⁴⁶	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	12% ²³	6% ¹¹	6% ¹²	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰
Refused/NA	0% ⁰	0% ²	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	1% ¹	0% ¹	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰

Here are some positions people are taking on the war. For each one, please tell me if you favor or oppose it?

Q13. Agree to giving Iraq part of Kuwait in return for Iraq withdrawing from the rest of Kuwait?

Q15. Continue using military force until Iraq surrenders completely

Q16. Continue using military force until Saddam Hussein is removed from power

BANNER TWO	01/16	17-21	28-29	02/11	01/16	01/17	01/19	01/21	01/28	01/29	02/11
NUMBER OF CASES	401	602	0	0	401	202	200	200	0	0	0
Q13 Give Iraq part of Kuwait											
Favor	13% ⁵³	8% ⁵⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	13% ⁵³	10% ²⁰	8% ¹⁷	7% ¹⁵	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰
Oppose	79% ³¹⁹	87% ⁵²¹	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	79% ³¹⁹	86% ¹⁷³	86% ¹⁷²	88% ¹⁷⁶	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰
Don't know	6% ²⁶	5% ²⁹	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	6% ²⁶	4% ⁸	6% ¹²	5% ⁹	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰
Refused/NA	1% ⁴	0% ¹	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	1% ⁴	1% ¹	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	0% ⁰
Q15 Force until Iraq surrenders											
Favor	77% ³⁰⁹	80% ⁴⁷⁹	77% ³⁰⁷	0% ⁰	77% ³⁰⁹	80% ¹⁶²	81% ¹⁶²	75% ¹⁵⁰	76% ¹⁵²	78% ¹⁵⁵	0% ⁰
Oppose	18% ⁷⁰	17% ¹⁰³	18% ⁷²	0% ⁰	18% ⁷⁰	16% ³²	16% ³²	22% ⁴⁴	18% ³⁷	18% ³⁵	0% ⁰
Don't know	5% ¹⁹	3% ¹⁶	4% ¹⁷	0% ⁰	5% ¹⁹	3% ⁶	3% ⁶	2% ³	6% ¹¹	3% ⁶	0% ⁰
Refused/NA	0% ²	1% ⁴	1% ³	0% ⁰	0% ²	1% ¹	0% ⁰	1% ³	0% ⁰	2% ³	0% ⁰
Q16 Hussein removed from power											
Favor	0% ⁰	87% ⁴⁸⁹	80% ³¹⁸	82% ¹⁶⁴	0% ⁰	76% ¹⁵³	84% ¹⁶⁸	81% ¹⁶³	82% ¹⁶³	78% ¹⁵⁵	82% ¹⁶⁴
Oppose	0% ⁰	14% ⁸⁷	16% ⁶⁴	11% ²²	0% ⁰	17% ³⁴	11% ²²	17% ³⁴	17% ³⁴	15% ³⁰	11% ²²
Don't know	0% ⁰	4% ²⁵	3% ¹³	5% ¹¹	0% ⁰	7% ¹³	5% ⁹	1% ³	2% ³	5% ¹⁰	5% ¹¹
Refused/NA	0% ⁰	0% ²	1% ⁵	2% ³	0% ⁰	1% ¹	1% ¹	0% ⁰	0% ⁰	2% ⁵	2% ³

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C66. Do you think the removal of Saddam Hussein from power should or should not be one of our objectives in the war against Iraq?

BANNER TWO	02/11	02/11
NUMBER OF CASES	200	200
Should	166 83%	166 83%
Should not	20 10%	20 10%
Don't know	12 6%	12 6%
Refused/NA	3 2%	3 2%

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Q68 Suppose we successfully drive Iraq out of Kuwait, but Saddam Hussein REMAINS IN POWER. If that were the case, do you think using military force was a mistake or the right thing to have done?

BANNER TWO	28-29	02/11	01/28	01/29	02/11
NUMBER OF CASES	400	200	200	200	200
A mistake	85 21%	38 19%	45 23%	40 20%	38 19%
Right thing to have done	283 71%	145 72%	143 72%	140 70%	145 72%
Don't know	28 7%	13 7%	11 5%	17 8%	13 7%
Refused/NA	4 1%	4 2%	1 0%	3 2%	4 2%

MARKETSTRATEGIES

02/12/91 13:38 FAX 313 350 3023

TO: Ed Rogers
FROM: Fred Steeper
RE: Highlights of RNC and Public Poll Results
DATE: February 20, 1991

Almost a majority of the public (49%) favors continuing the war to remove Hussein from power even if he agreed to withdraw from Kuwait. This attitude is especially found among our voters.

The public polls over the last few days have also shown that the public places a high importance on Hussein's removal.

However, our additional questioning has found there would not necessarily be a backlash if Hussein remained in power.

The public is not anxious to start the ground war. They support continuing the air war to reduce U.S. casualties once the ground war starts even if that means postponing the end of the war by several months.

The public, however, does not support delaying the ground war or calling a cease fire to allow for a negotiated settlement.

The public does believe that the U.S. is carrying more than its fair share of the financial costs of the war. This could be a problem for the Administration in the aftermath of the War.

All other perceptions and opinions remain very positive of current policy and performance in regard to the War.

Their perceptions of the U.S. military's performance is very positive.

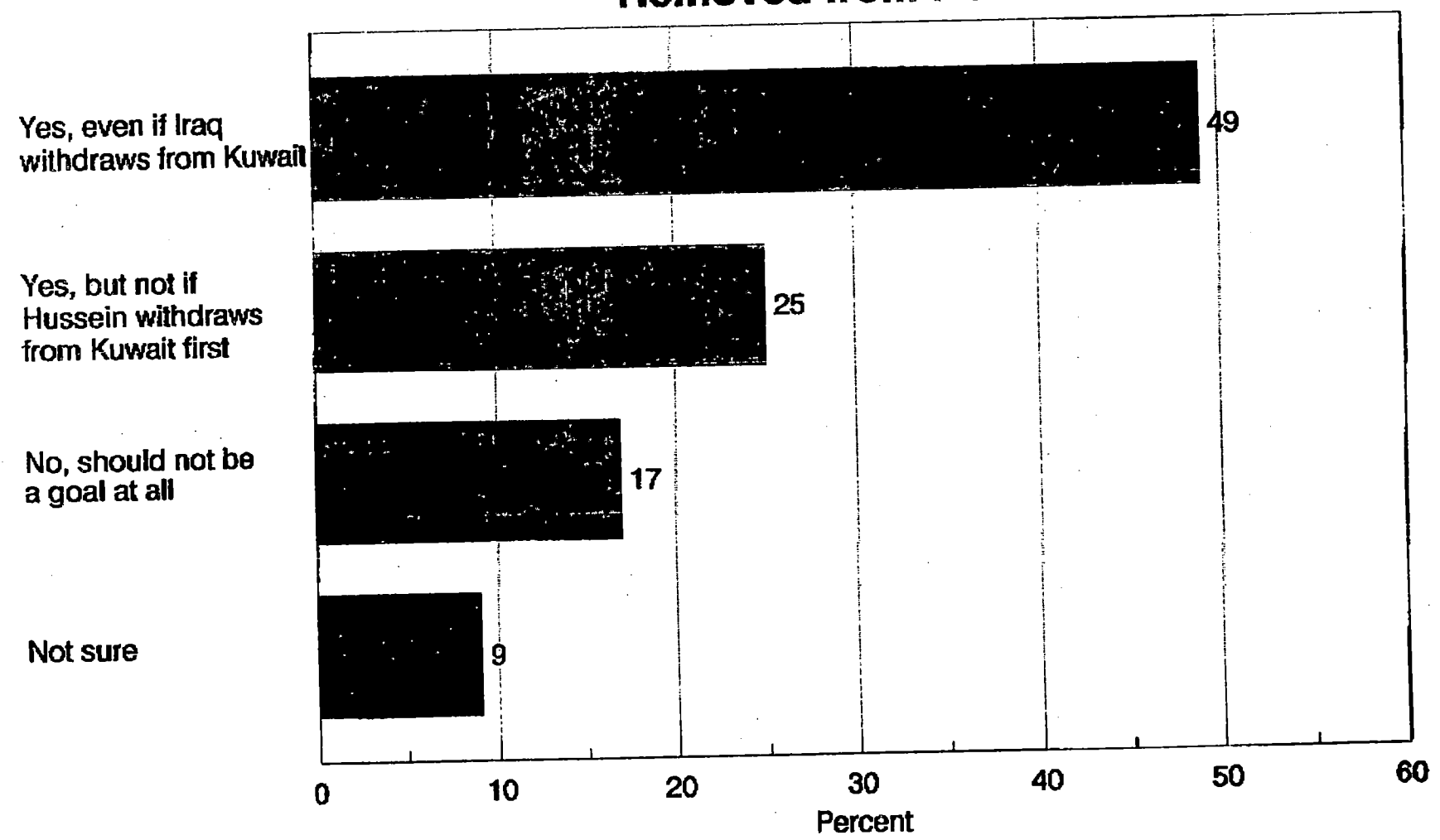
They believe they are receiving enough information about the war and that the restrictions on the media are justified.

The public thinks the military is doing a very good job avoiding civilian casualties and that military targets should be hit even if there are civilians located there.

The public believes that the country is largely united behind the war. The anti-war protestors have not created a sense of national strife.

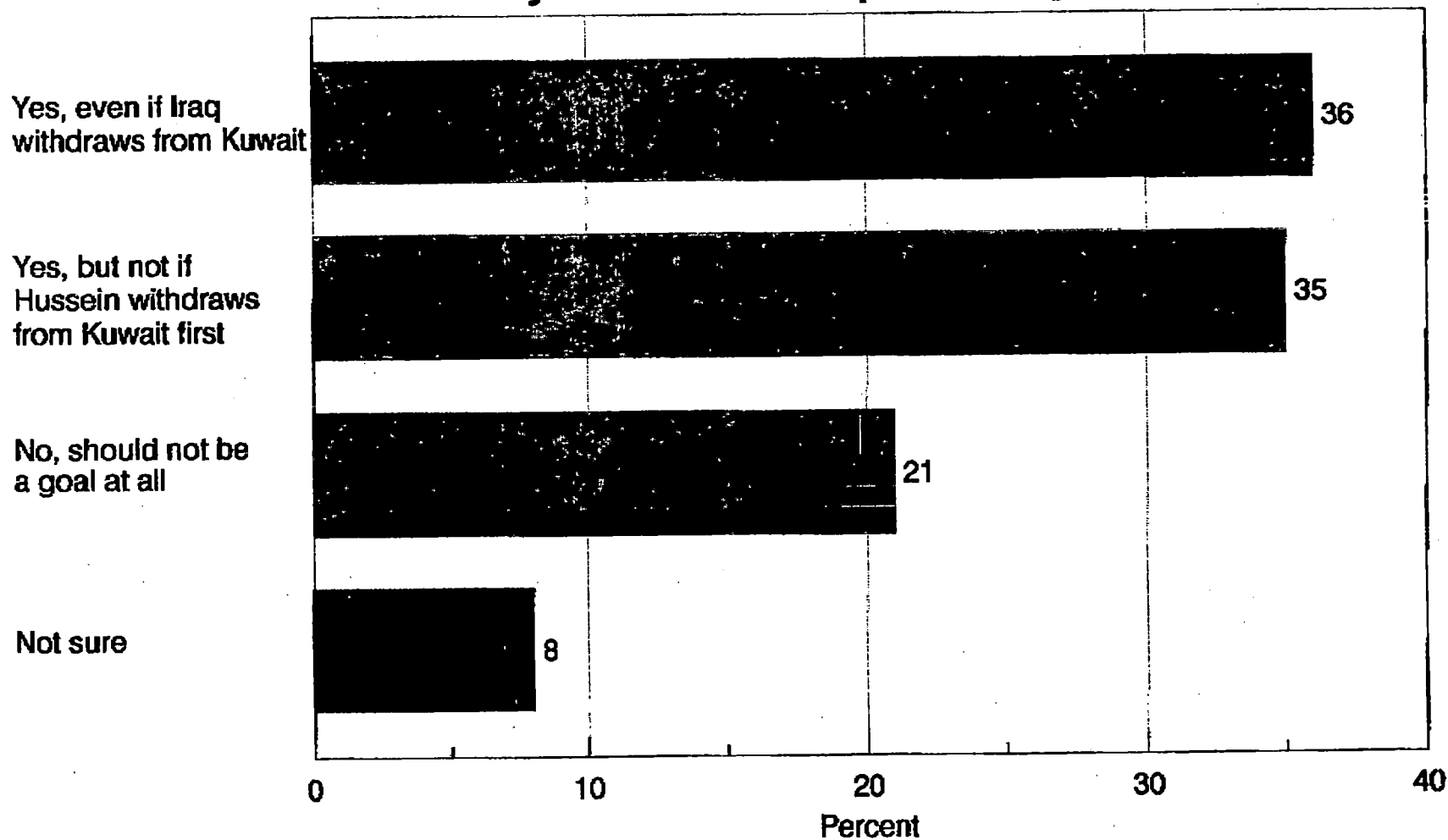
The public does not expect a quick end to the war.

Should We Continue the War Until Hussein is Removed from Power



Source: RNC National Surveys 2/18

Should We Continue the War Until We Have Destroyed Most of Iraq's Military Capability?



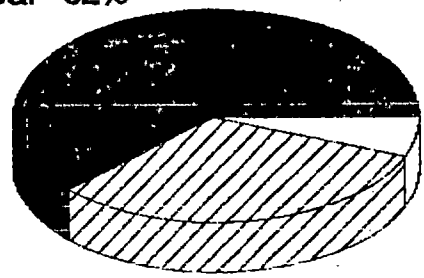
Source: RNC National Surveys 2/18

Two Views of the Ground War

Some people say we should now start the ground war against the Iraqi army in order to get the war over as soon as possible even if that increases American and allied casualties. Others say that we should delay the ground war and rely on more bombing of the Iraqi army because that might mean fewer casualties when the ground war starts even if that means putting off the end of the war for several months.

Which of these two opinions is closest to your own?

Rely on air war 62%

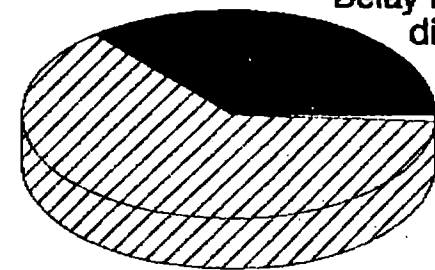


No opinion 6%

Start ground war now 32%

Do you think we should delay the ground war to give more time for current diplomatic efforts to end the war, or should we start the ground war as soon as the U.S. military thinks the time is right?

Delay for diplomatic efforts 36%



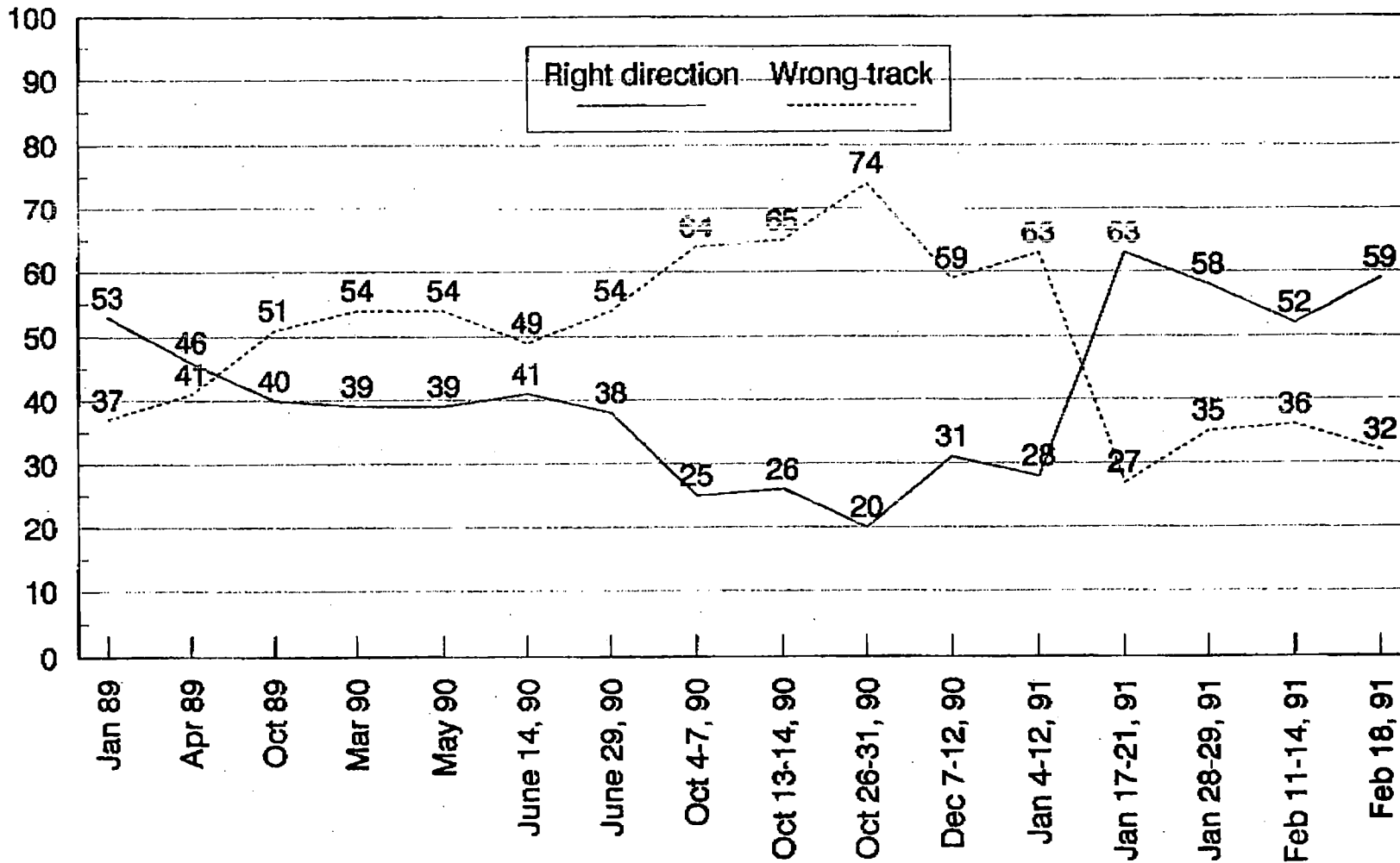
No opinion 1%

Start ground war 63% when military says time is right

Source: RNC National Surveys 2/18

National Direction: 1989-1991

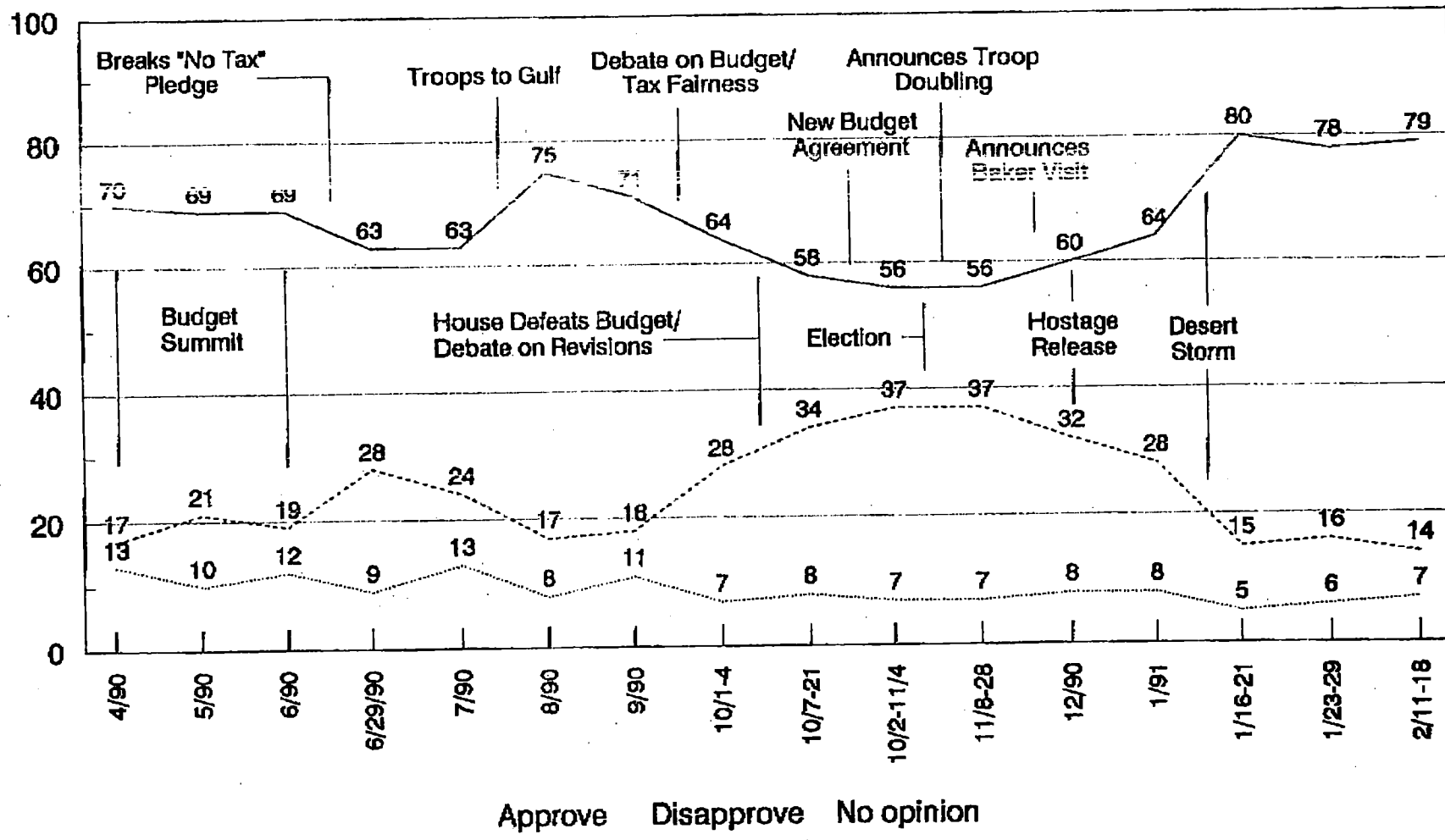
Percent



Source: RNC National Surveys

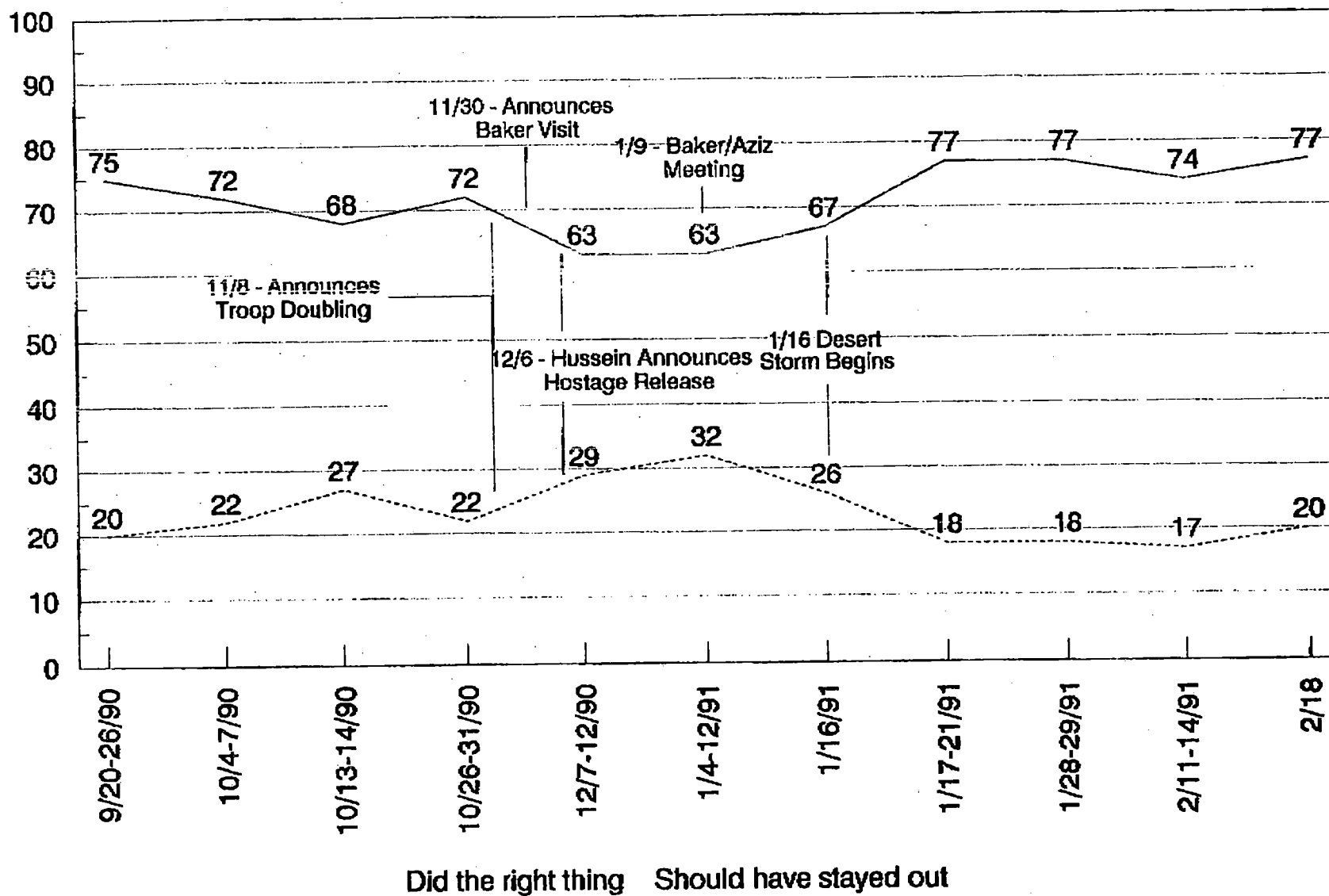
Trend to Approval of President Bush's Overall Job Performance

Summary: Public and Private Polls



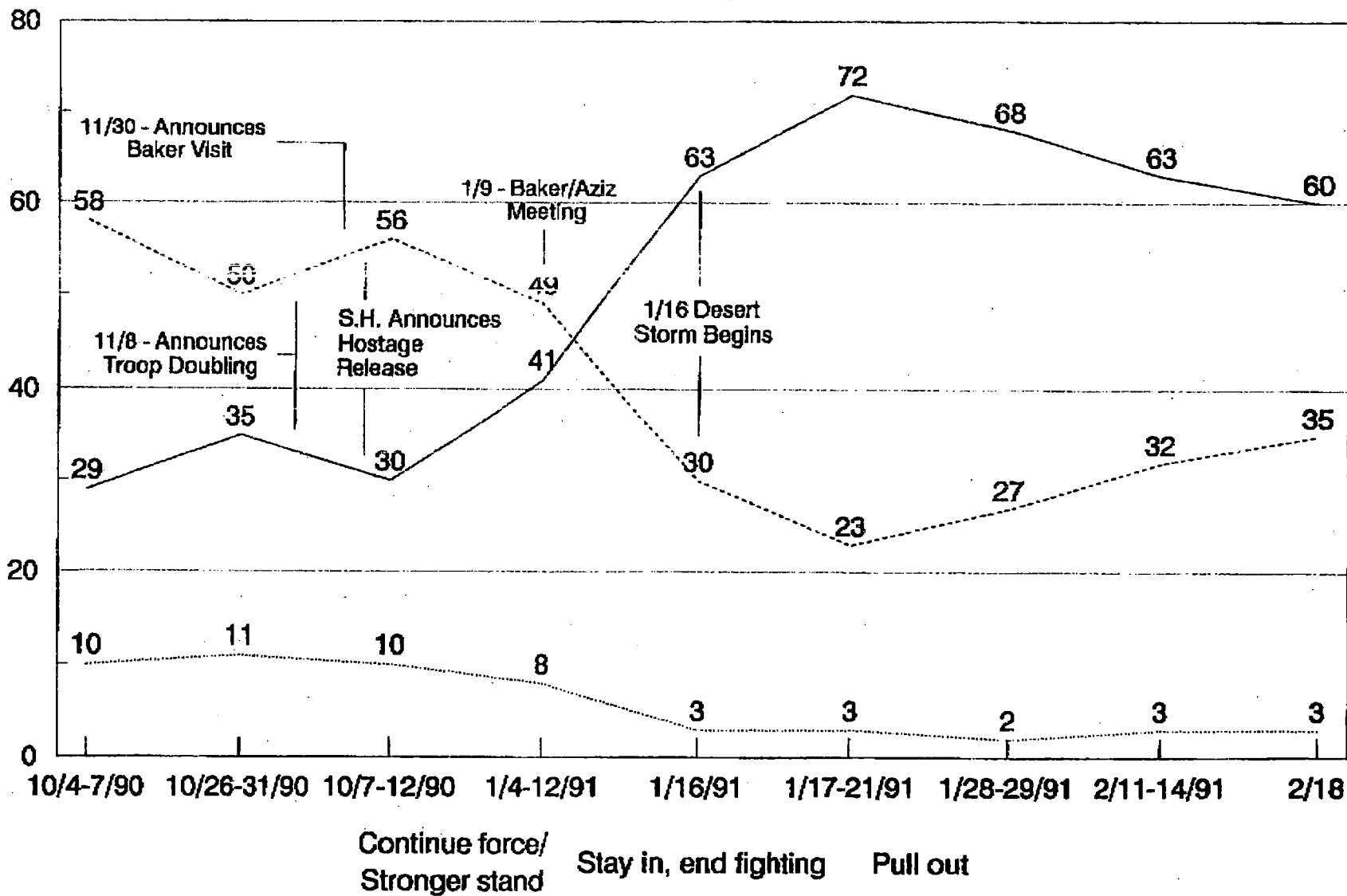
(Average results of several public and private polls shown)

Attitudes Toward U.S. Military Action in Persian Gulf



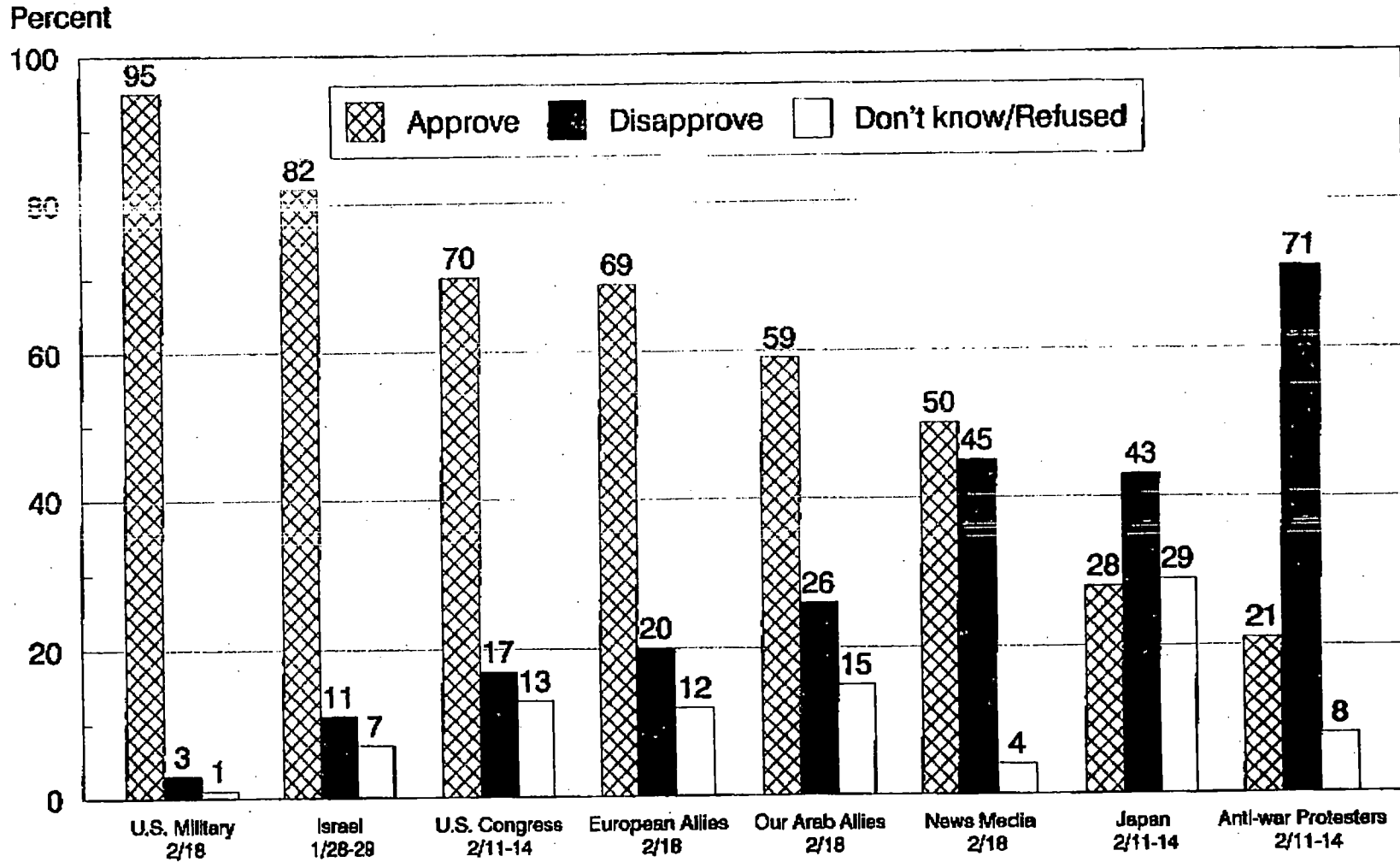
Source: RNC National Surveys

Attitudes Toward U.S. Military Action in Persian Gulf



Source: RNC National Surveys

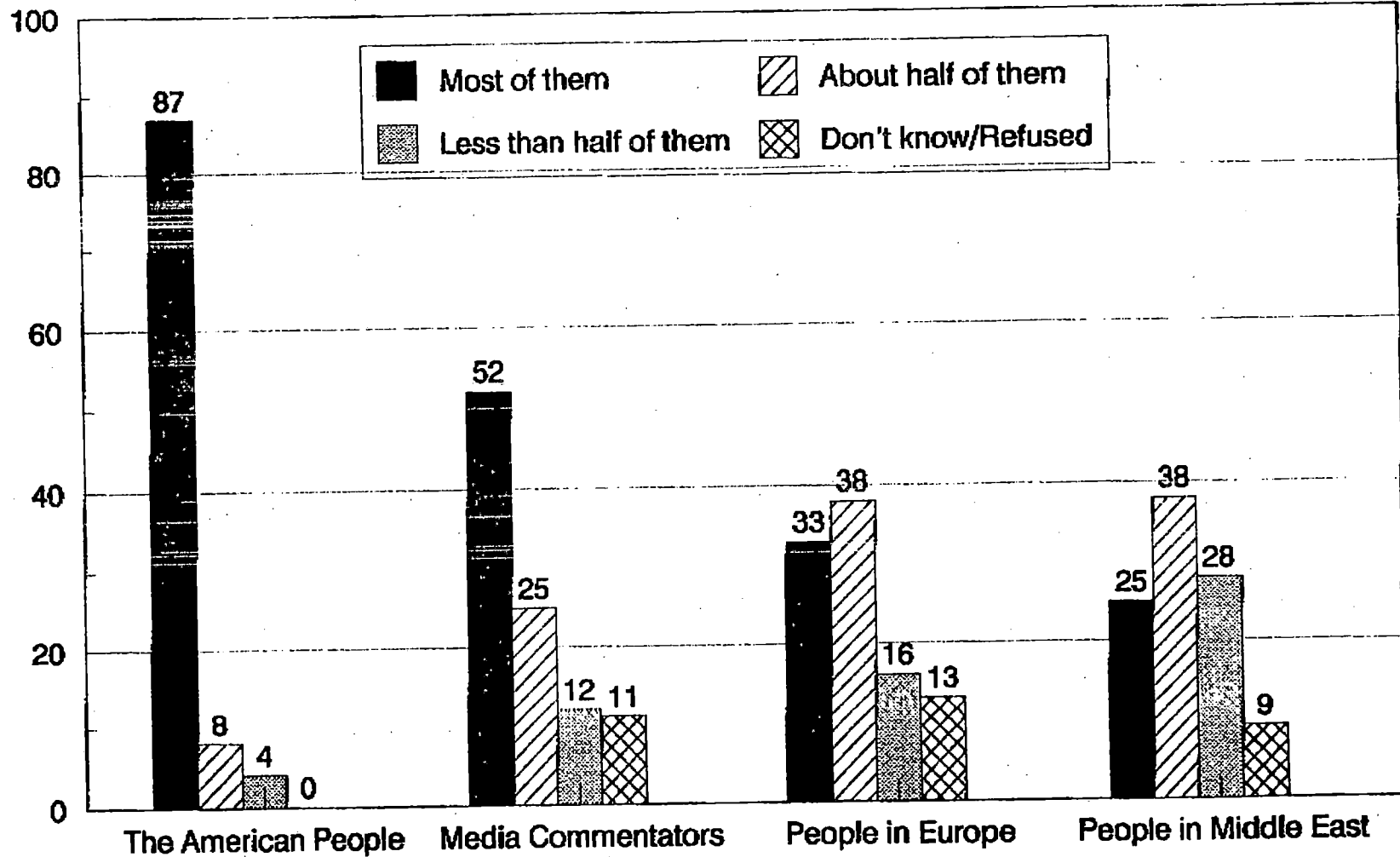
Public Approval of the Role of Various Groups and Institutions in the War



Source: RNC National Surveys

Perception of Support Among Different Groups

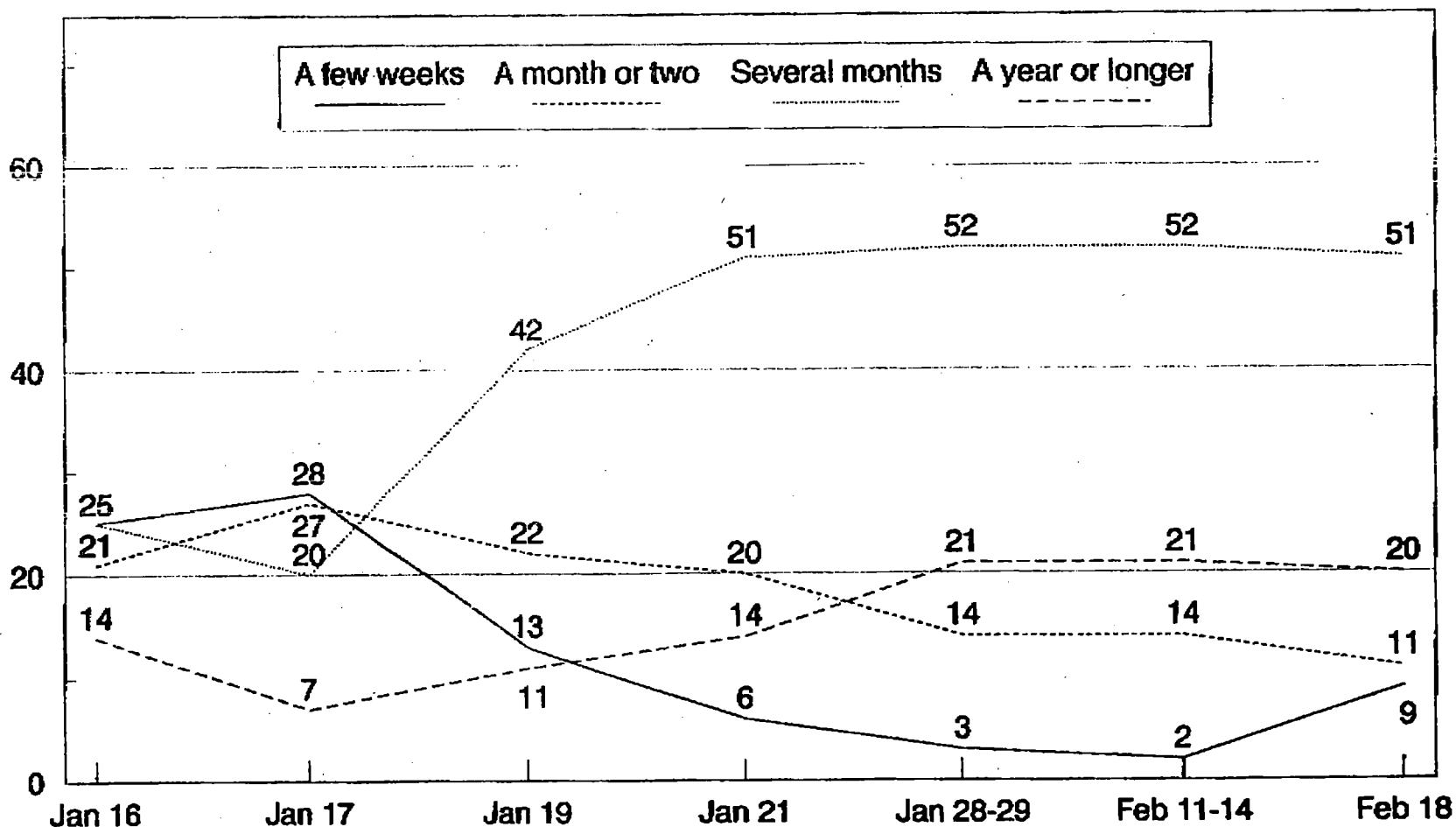
Percent



Source: RNC National Surveys

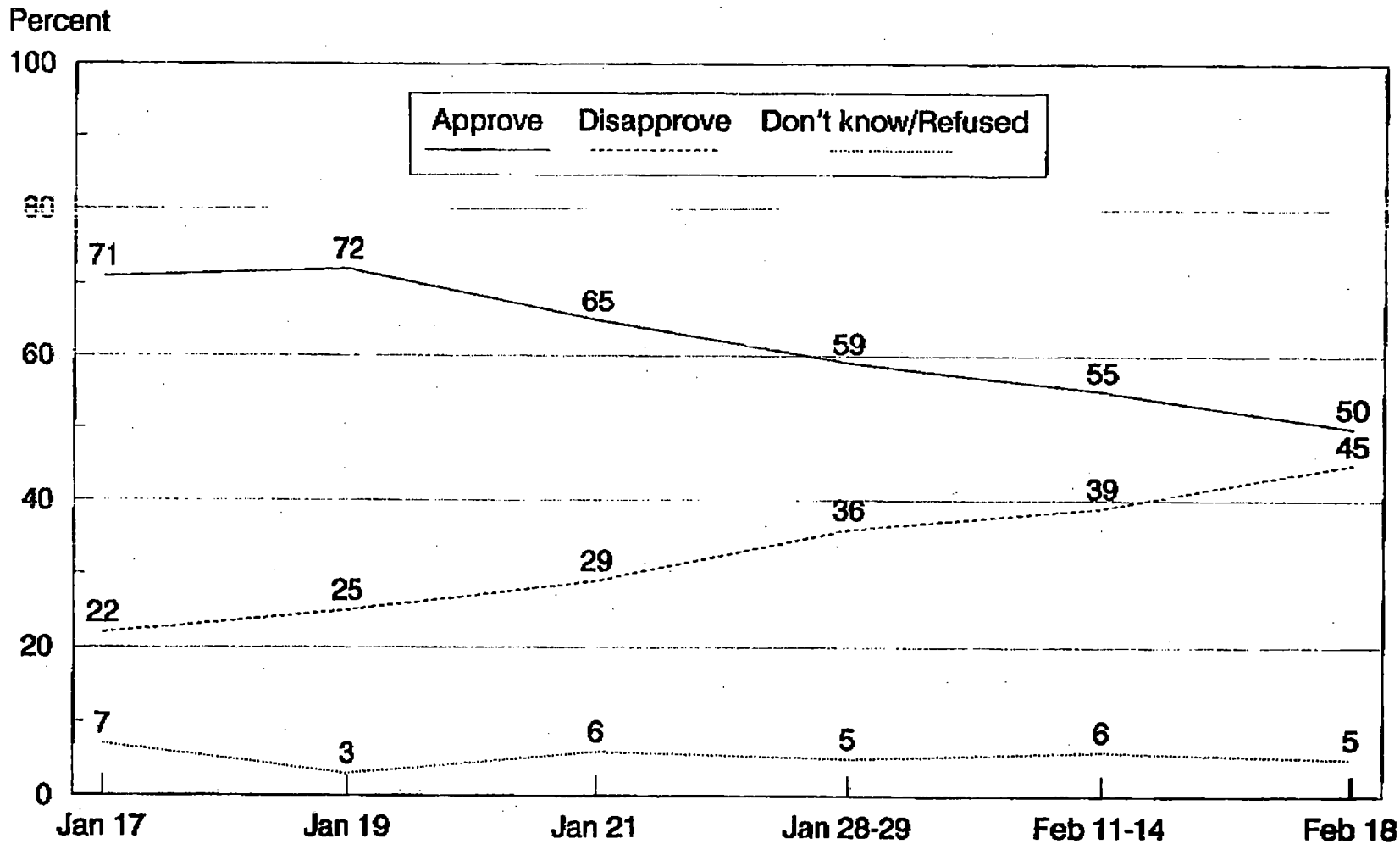
Trend to Perceptions of How Long the War Will Last/Continue (2/18)

Percent



Source: RNC National Surveys

Trend to Public Approval of the Role of the News Media in the War

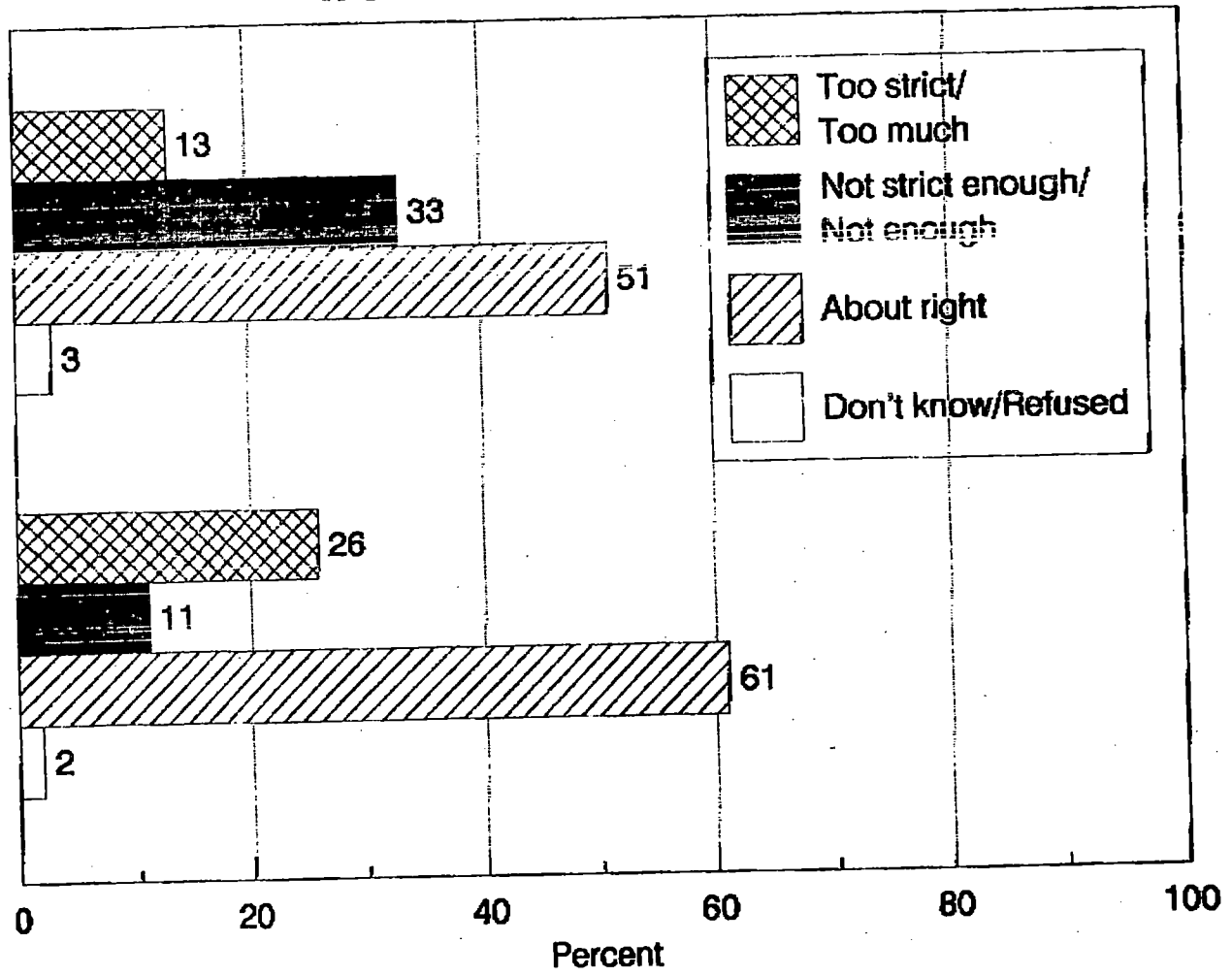


Source: RNC National Surveys

Public Attitude Toward Information Flow from the Persian Gulf

Restrictions placed on the news media covering the war

Quantity of information given by U.S. Military at briefings



Source: RNC National Surveys

MEMORANDUM

TO: Robert M. Teeter

FROM: Fred Steeper
Elizabeth Sarvello Jamett

RE: Bombing of Iraqi Civilians on February 13th

DATE: 15 February 1991

Within 24 hours of the incident, an impressive 92% were aware of the bombing of an Iraqi building which resulted in civilian casualties, and a resounding 80% believe the U.S. military's explanation that the building was being used as a command and control center by the Iraqi military. Only 10% think that the U.S. military made a mistake and bombed a building that was used only as a bomb shelter for civilians.

Moreover, there is majority support for bombing military targets even if Iraqi civilians are located there. About 60% think the U.S. should still bomb these military sites, while 27% believe the targets should not be bombed.

In general, 73% of the people think that the U.S. military has done "extremely well" or "very well" avoiding harming the civilian population in Iraq. One in five (20%) think the military has done only "somewhat well" or "not very well" avoiding civilians.

In contrast to many other perceptions on the war, there is not a significant difference between men and women on the military's decision to bomb the Iraqi building where civilians were located, with 78% of women and 83% of men believing the military's reasoning.

On the general issue of bombing military targets where civilians are located, the gender gap is significant. Three-quarters (74%) of men support such bombing, compared to a bare majority (50%) of women. Young people are more split on this issue with 48% agreeing that the bombing should be done, and 39% saying we should not bomb military targets that contain civilians.

Men think that the military is doing a better job of avoiding the civilians in their attacks (85% "extremely well" or "very well") than women (63% "extremely well" or "very well").

February 15, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

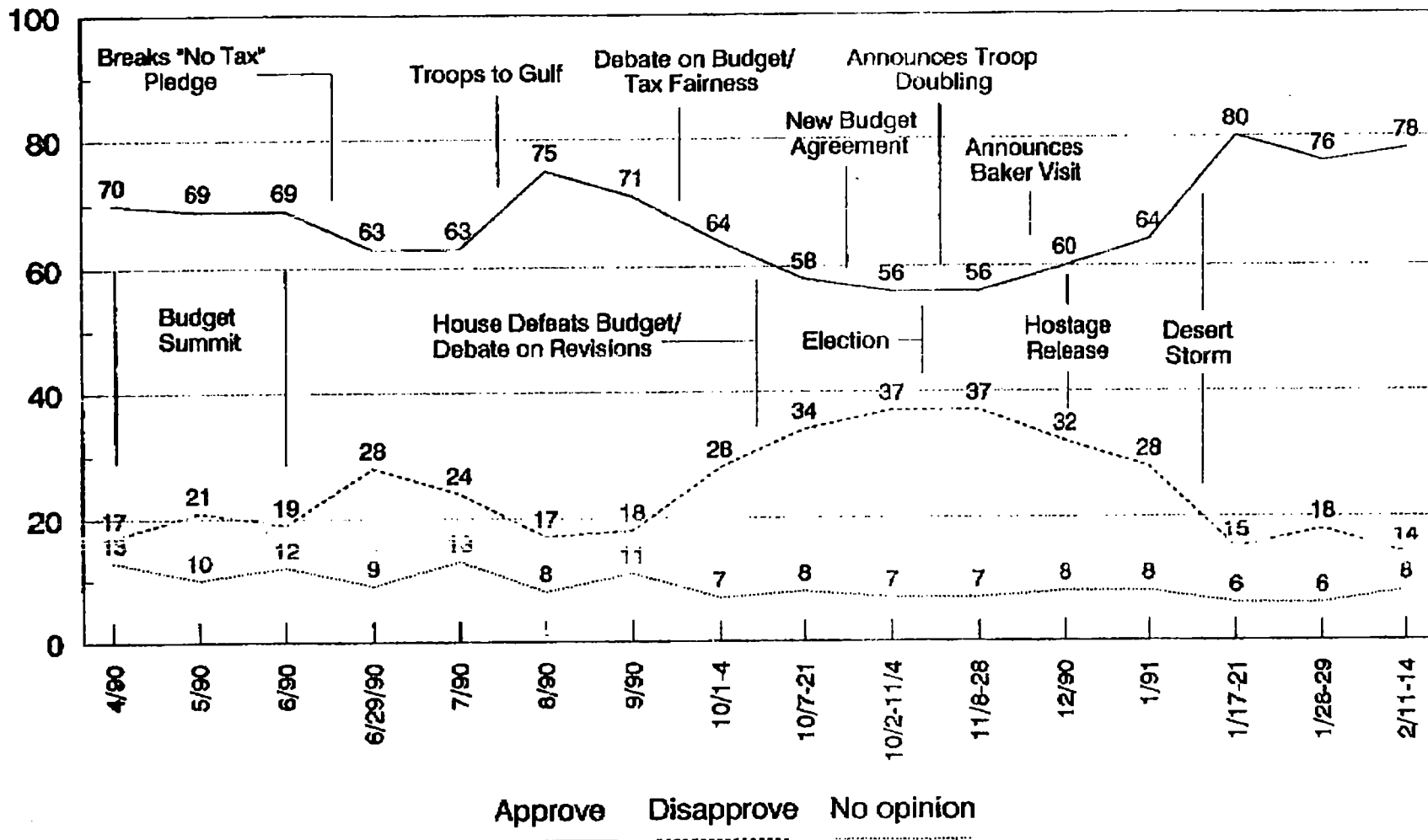
FROM: Bob Teeter

Following is a memo from Fred Steeper concerning opinions about the February 13th bombing incident. Also attached are some graphs on questions Fred has been tracking over the last four weeks.

cc: Governor Sununu

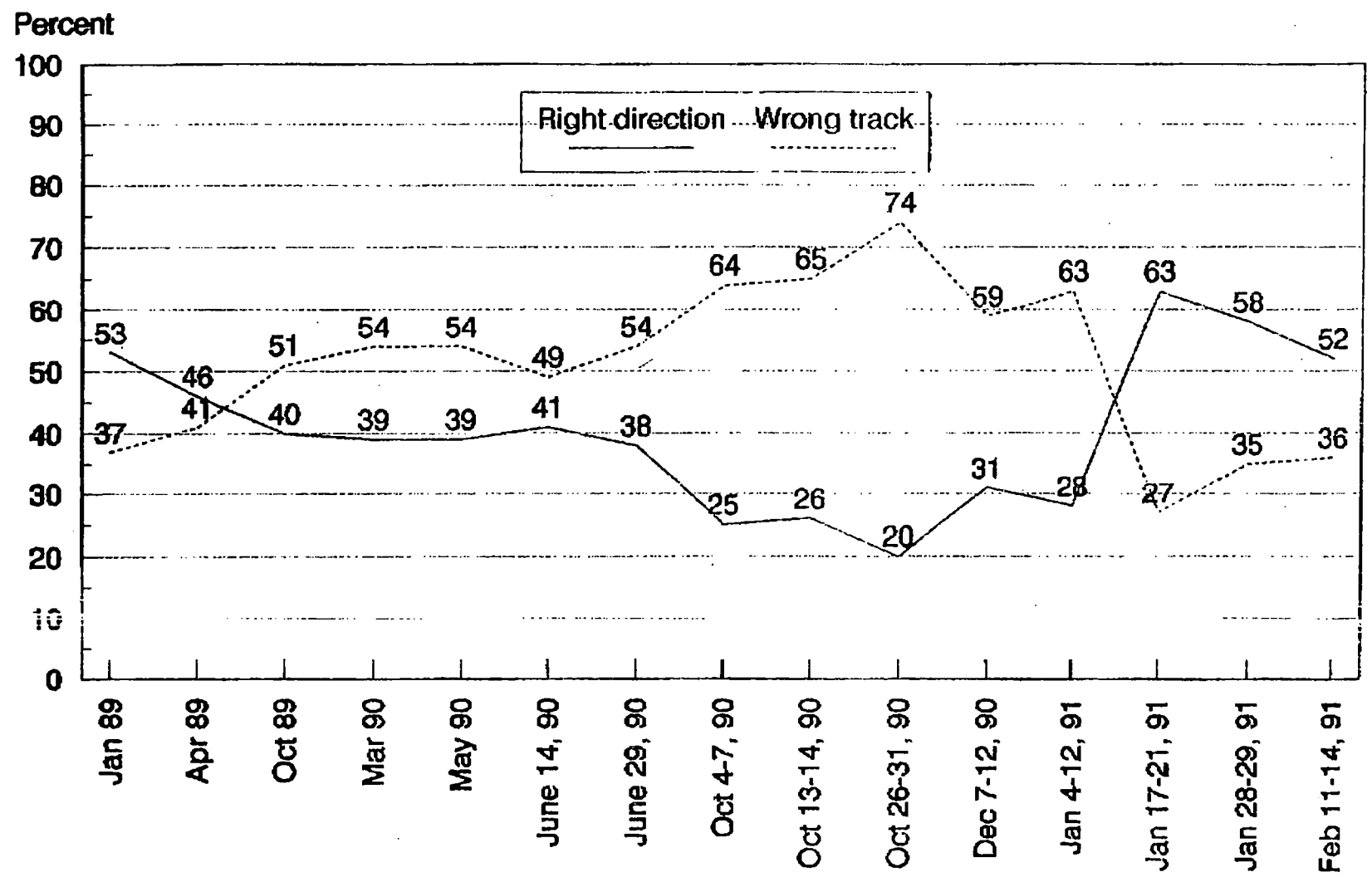
Trend to Approval of President Bush's Overall Job Performance

Summary: Public and Private Polls



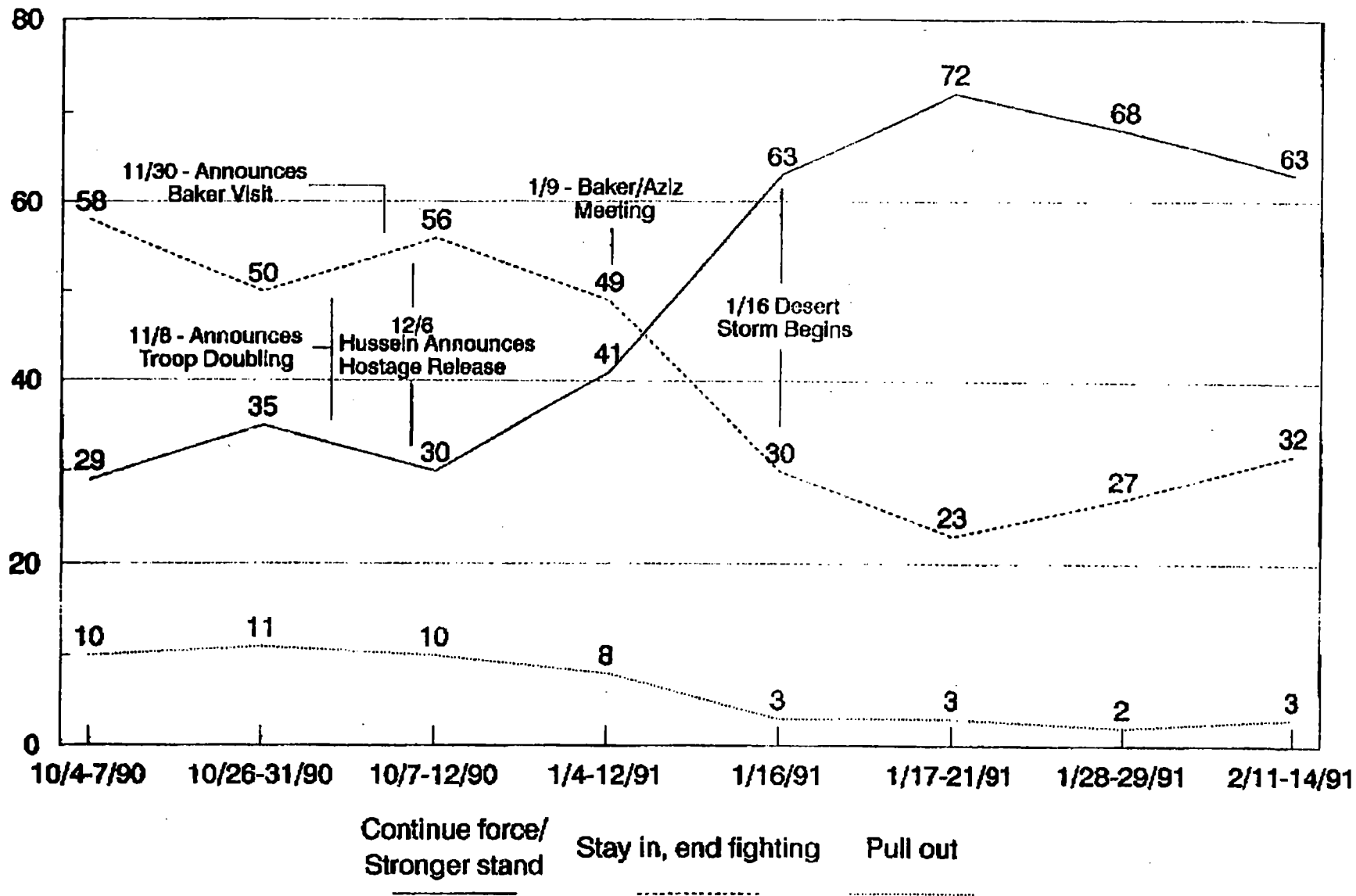
(Average results of several public and private polls shown)

National Direction: 1989-1991



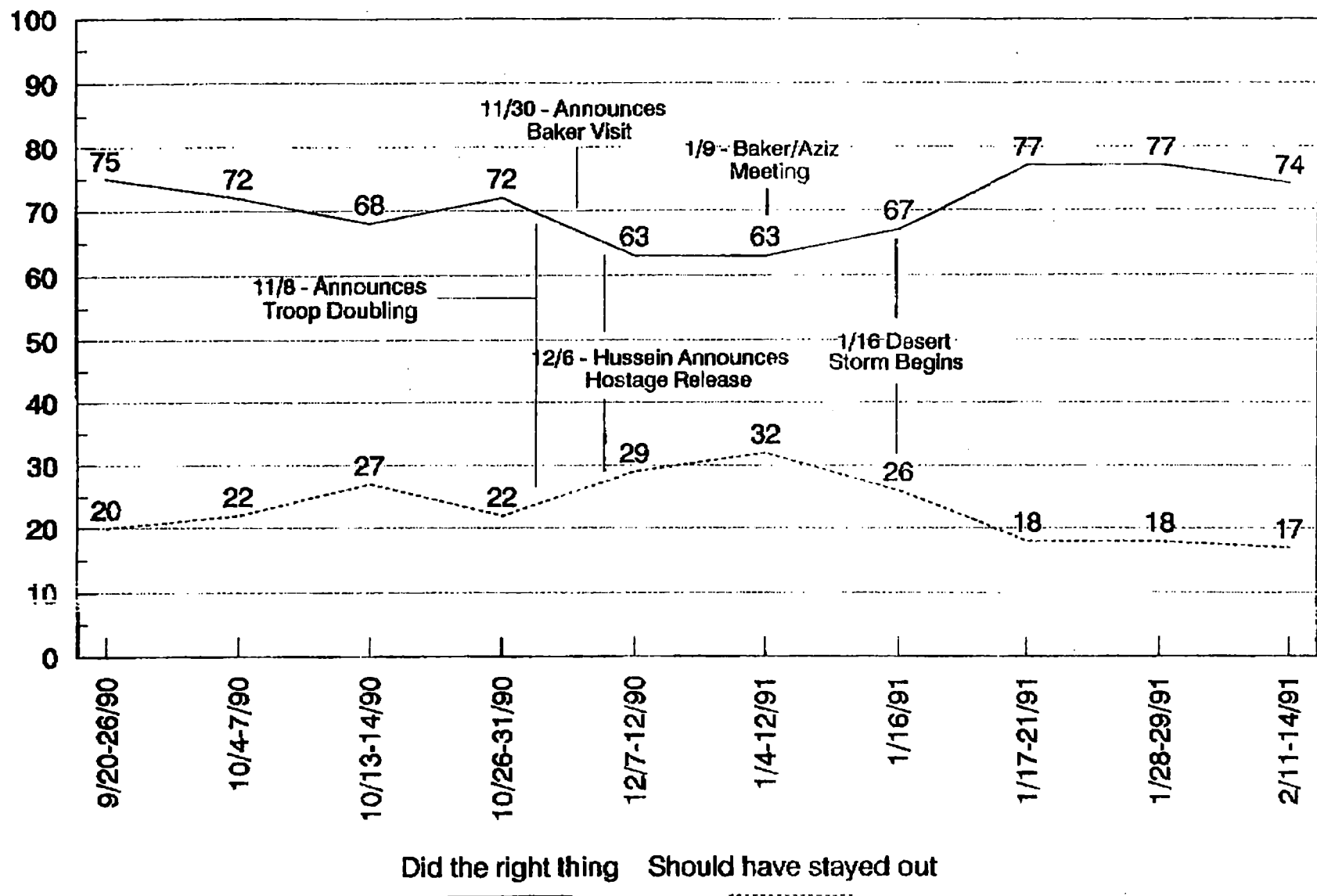
Source: RNC National Surveys

Attitudes Toward U.S. Military Action in Persian Gulf



Source: FNC National Surveys

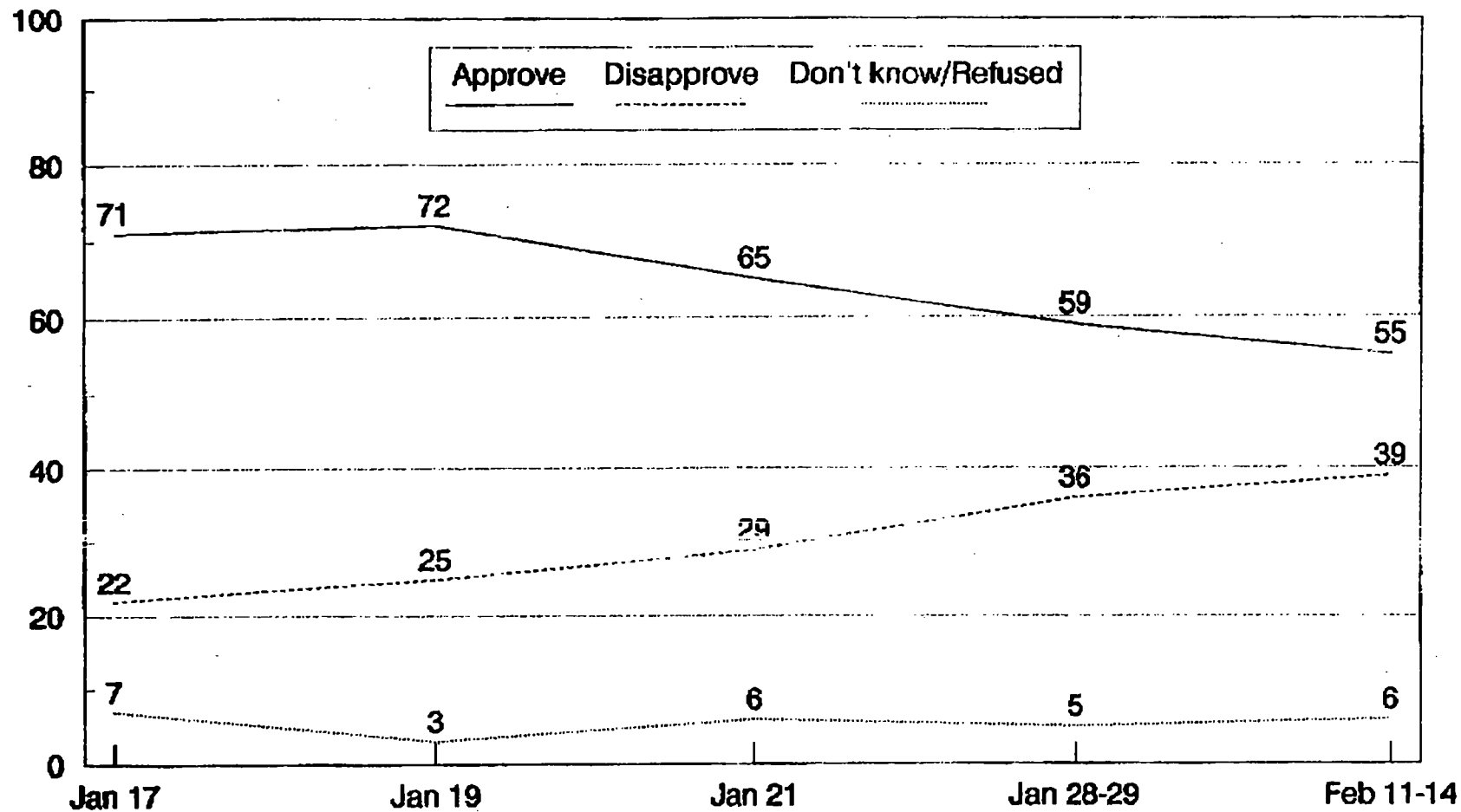
Attitudes Toward U.S. Military Action in Persian Gulf



Source: FNC National Surveys

Trend to Public Approval of the Role of the News Media in the War

Percent

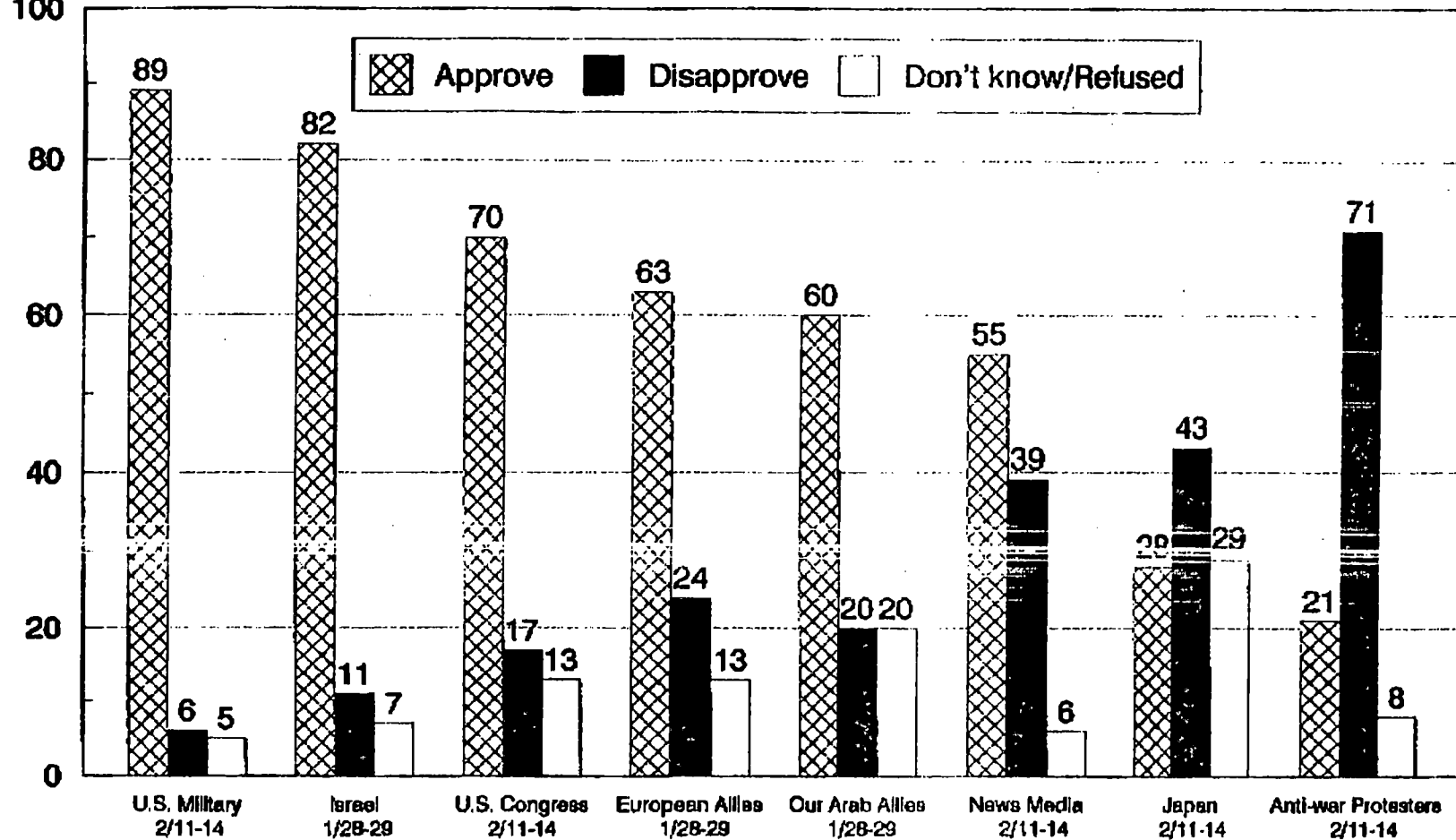


Source: RNC National Surveys

Public Approval of the Role of Various Groups and Institutions in the War

Percent

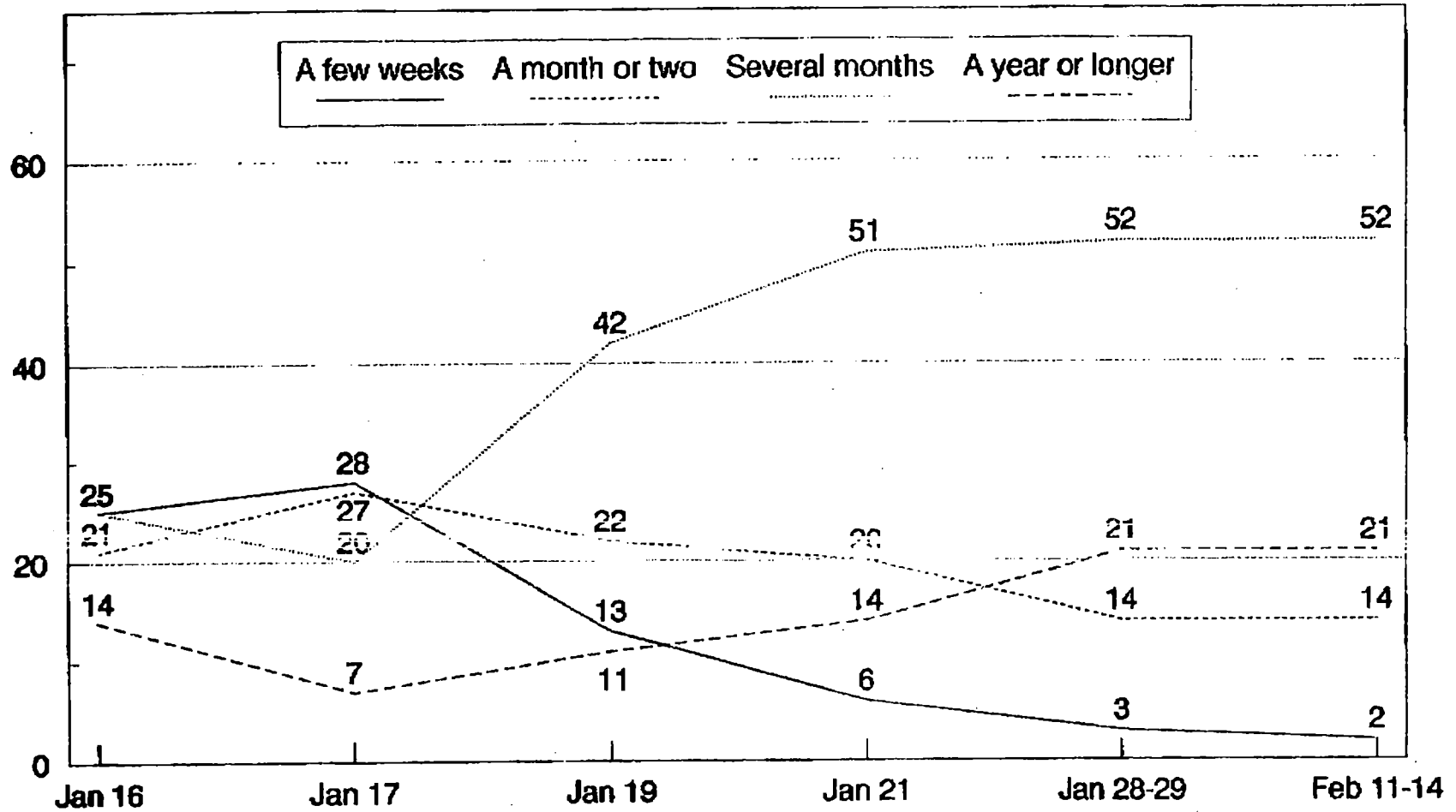
100



Source: RNC National Surveys

Trend to Perceptions of How Long the War Will Last

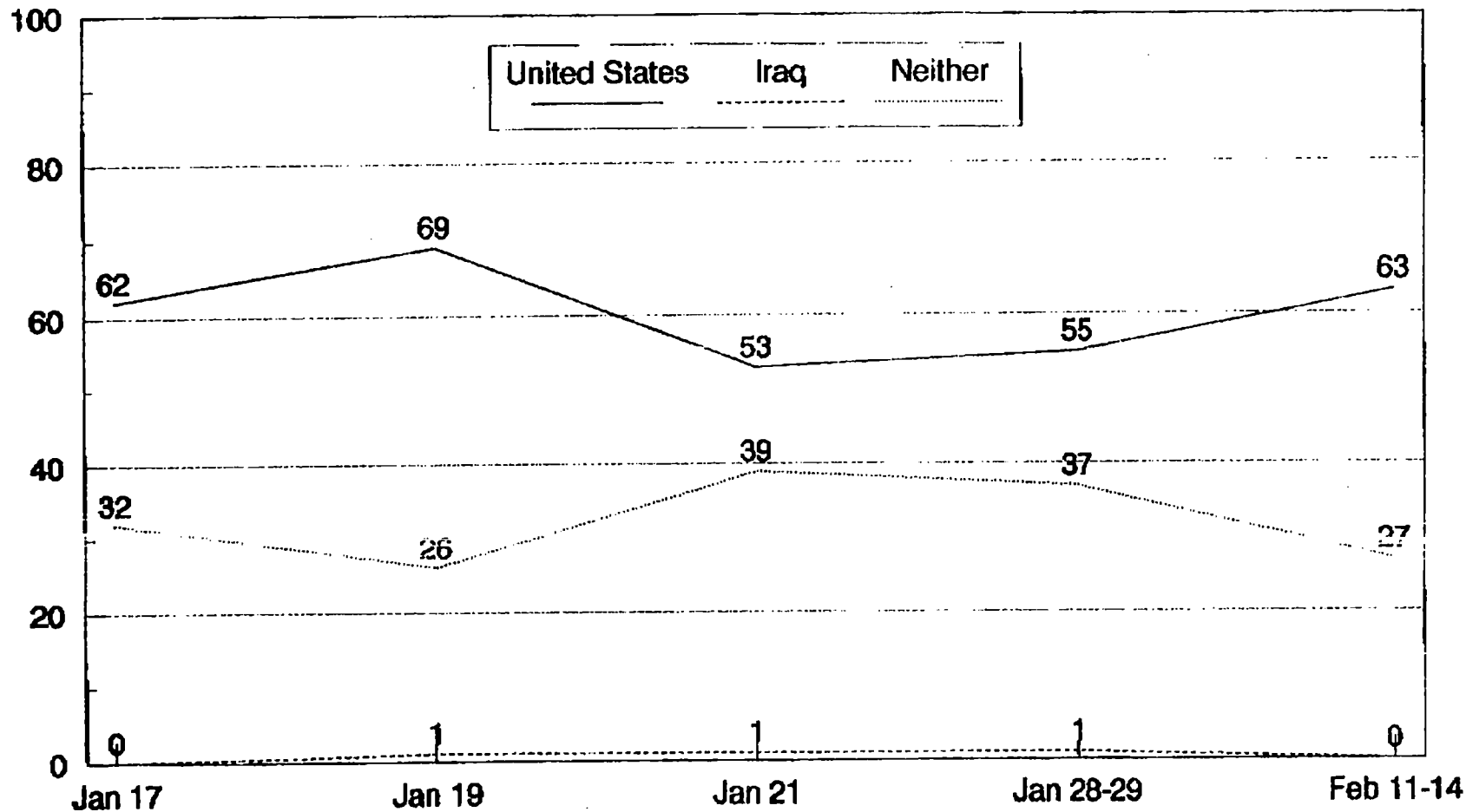
Percent



Source: RNC National Surveys

Trend to Perceptions of Who is Winning the War

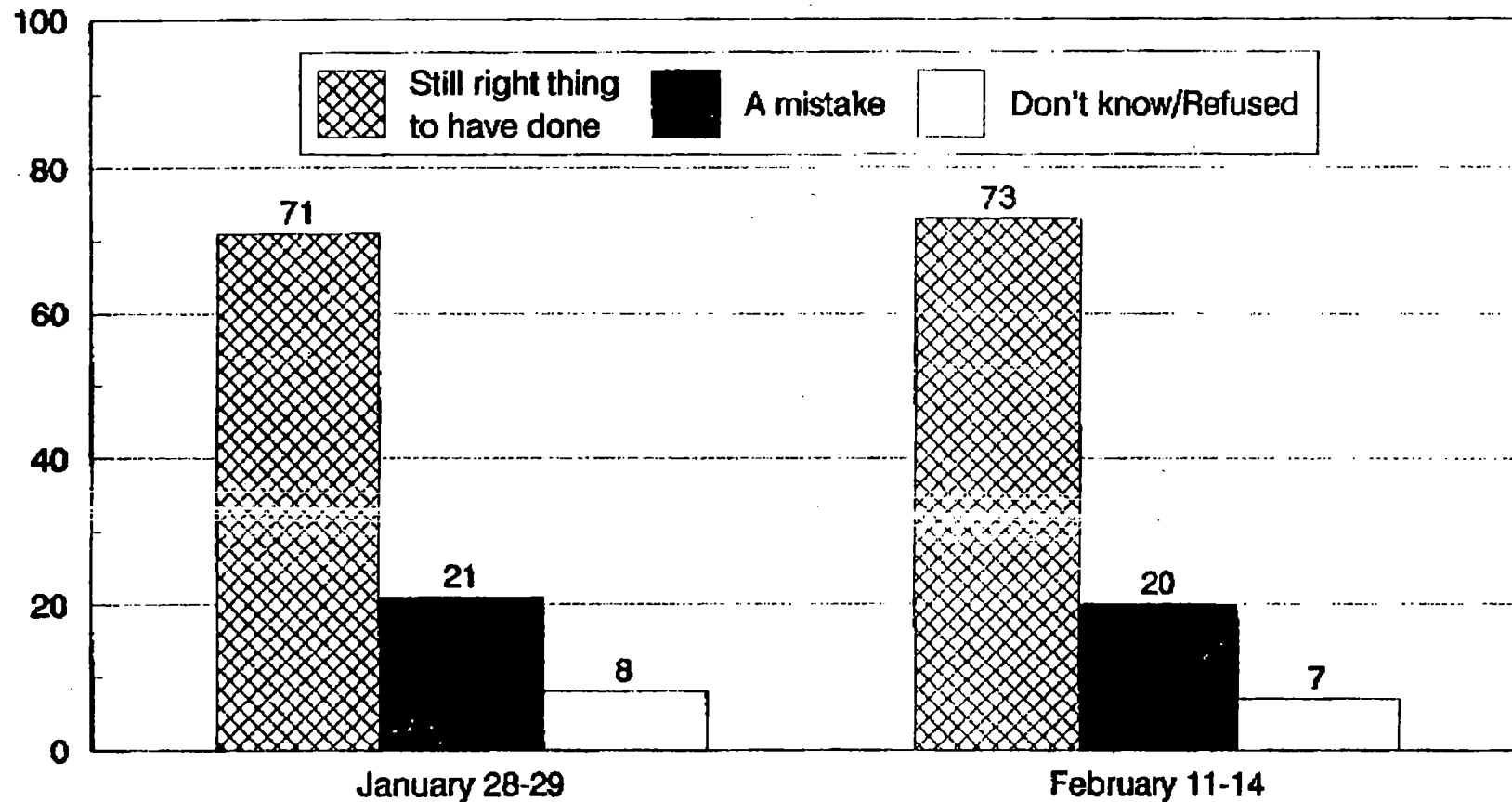
Percent



Source: RNC National Surveys

Public Perception of Military Force if Coalition Drives Iraq Out of Kuwait, but Hussein Remains in Power

Percent



Source: RNC National Surveys

NRCC
February 20-21, 1990
N-300
±5.66

MASSACHUSETTS 01
FEBRUARY 1991
FINAL

Hello, this is _____ with Western Research, a national research firm. We're talking with people in Massachusetts today and would like to ask you a few questions about public leaders and issues facing us all.

A. Are you registered to vote in Massachusetts?

YES (CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW)
NO (ASK QUESTION B)

IF "NO" IN Q.A, ASK:

B. Is there anyone else in your household who is registered to vote in Massachusetts?

(IF "NO," THANK AND TERMINATE)

(IF "YES," ASK:) May I speak with that person please? (REPEAT Q.A WITH NEW PERSON)

1. Generally speaking, would you say that things in Massachusetts are going in the right direction, or have they pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

RIGHT DIRECTION.....17%
WRONG TRACK.....69%
DON'T KNOW/REFUSED...14%

2. What would you say is the most important problem facing your local area today, that is, the one that you, yourself are most concerned about? (PROBE)

3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

(WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:)
Do you strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

STRONGLY APPROVE.....46%
SOMEWHAT APPROVE.....27%
SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE.....9%
STRONGLY DISAPPROVE.....13%
NO OPINION (DO NOT READ) .5%

4. Do you approve or disapprove of President Bush's handling of the war in the Persian Gulf?

(WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:)
Do you strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

STRONGLY APPROVE.....59%
SOMEWHAT APPROVE.....19%
SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE.....4%
STRONGLY DISAPPROVE.....13%
NO OPINION (DO NOT READ) .5%

5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Weld is handling his job as Governor?

(WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:)
Do you strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

STRONGLY APPROVE.....12%
SOMEWHAT APPROVE.....20%
SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE.....9%
STRONGLY DISAPPROVE.....13%
NO OPINION(DO NOT READ) .46%

As you may know, Congressman Silvio (Sil-vee-OH) Conte (CON-tee) recently passed away. His seat in the U.S. House of Representatives will have to be filled by a special election. . .

6. Thinking ahead to the special election, if the election for U.S. Congress were being held today, would you be voting for (ROTATE)

the Republican candidate

...or...

the Democratic candidate

...from this district?

REPUBLICAN.....25%
DEMOCRAT.....24%
DON'T KNOW/UNDECIDED (DO NOT READ).....51%

Now, I would like to read you a list of names of people who are involved in politics here in the area and please tell me, for each one, first whether you've heard of the person; then, if so, please tell me whether you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of that person.

	<u>Heard Fav</u>	<u>Heard Unfav</u>	<u>Heard No Opin</u>	<u>Never Heard</u>
(ROTATE NAMES)				
7. Christopher Hodgkins	16%	4%	14%	67%
8. Carmen Massimiano (MASS-uh-me-ahno)	14%	4%	9%	72%
9. Steve Pierce	31%	12%	19%	38%
10. Dan Quayle	33%	40%	20%	8%
11. Jane Garvey	21%	4%	16%	58%
12. Corinne Conte (Kuh-RIN CON-tee)	37%	5%	35%	23%
13. James Collins	16%	3%	13%	68%

14. Besides honesty, what one quality or characteristic would you most like to see in your next Congressman? (PROBE)

15. Now, thinking about the special election for U.S. Congress, do you know what date the special election will be? (DO NOT READ CHOICES, RECORD RESPONSE ONLY	APRIL 30.....1%
	APRIL.....6%
	JUNE 4.....7%
	JUNE.....13%
	NAMED OTHER MONTH.....6%
	DON'T KNOW.....67%

Now, I would like to read you another list of people who are involved in politics here in the area and please tell me, for each one, first whether you've heard of the person; then, if so, please tell me whether you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of that person.

	<u>Heard Fav</u>	<u>Heard Unfav</u>	<u>Heard No Opin</u>	<u>Never Heard</u>
(ROTATE NAMES)				
16. Micheal Dukakis (Dew-KAW-kiss)	24%	71%	5%	*
17. Peter Weber	26%	3%	14%	57%
18. Jane Fitzpatrick	24%	5%	21%	50%
19. Joe Malone	31%	10%	21%	38%
20. John Olver	27%	7%	8%	58%
21. Shannon O'Brien	26%	6%	21%	47%
22. Linda Melconian	28%	8%	9%	55%
22a. John Burke	13%	8%	16%	62%

(ROTATE QS.23-27)

23. If the special election for Congress were being held today, and the candidates were (ROTATE) Steve Pierce, Republican and Carmen Massimiano, Democrat -- for whom would you vote?

STEVE PIERCE.....	42%
CARMEN MASSIMIANO.....	23%
UNDECIDED.....	35%

24. If the special election for Congress were being held today, for whom would you vote if the candidates were. . .

(ROTATE)

Corinne Conte, Republican.....51%

...and...

James Collins, Democrat.....22%

UNDECIDED (DO NOT READ).....28%

25. And, if the elections for United States Congress were being held today, for whom would you vote if the candidates were. . .

(ROTATE)

Steve Pierce, Republican.....41%

...and...

Jane Garvey, Democrat.....26%

UNDECIDED (DO NOT READ).....33%

26. And, if the elections for United States Congress were being held today, for whom would you vote if the candidates were. . .

(ROTATE)

Corinne Conte, Republican.....52%

...and...

Jane Garvey, Democrat.....17%

UNDECIDED (DO NOT READ).....31%

27. And, if the elections for United States Congress were being held today, for whom would you vote if the candidates were. . .

(ROTATE)

Peter Weber, Republican.....37%

...and...

Carmen Massimiano, Democrat.....19%

UNDECIDED (DO NOT READ).....44%

28. Now, I'd like to read you the beginning of a sentence and have you finish it using your own words.

Now, here's the sentence. . .

If I have one hesitation or concern about electing Steve Pierce to Congress, it is. . .(PROBE)

29. Now, I'd like to read you the same sentence about a different person, and please finish it using your own words.

Now, here's the sentence. . .

If I have one hesitation or concern about electing Corinne Conte to Congress, it is. . .(PROBE)

Now, I'd like to read you descriptions of potential candidates, and please tell me, based on that information, which one you would be more likely to support:

30. On the issue of the War in the Gulf. . .

Candidate A supported the President and supports continued use of military force against Iraq.

Candidate B opposed the use of force, and supports an immediate ceasefire, the continuation of economic sanctions, and negotiations.

CANDIDATE A.....72%
CANDIDATE B.....23%

NO OPINION (DO NOT READ).....4%

Now, thinking about some issues. . .

32. Which one of the following statements most closely describes your position on the issue of abortion?

(ROTATE TOP-TO-BOTTOM AND BOTTOM-TO-TOP ONLY)

- Abortions should be prohibited in all circumstances.....5%
- Abortions should be legal only to save the life of the mother.....6%
- Abortions should be legal only in the cases of rape, incest or to save the life of the mother.....28%
- Abortions should be legal for any reason, but not after the first three months of pregnancy.....36%
- Abortions should be legal at any time during a woman's pregnancy and for any reason.....20%
- DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ).....5%

Thinking further about the issue of abortion. . .

33. If a candidate's position on abortion differs from your own, how likely is it that this particular difference alone would determine your vote on election day? Is it. . .extremely likely. . . very likely. . .somewhat likely. . .or. . .not very likely?

- EXTREMELY LIKELY.....11%
- VERY LIKELY.....12%
- SOMEWHAT LIKELY.....33%
- NOT VERY LIKELY.....40%
- DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ).....3%

Thinking about the issue of defense spending. . .

34. Do you favor or oppose increased funding for defensive military systems such as the Patriot missile?

(WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:) And, do you feel strongly about that?

FAVOR/STRONGLY.....	38%
FAVOR.....	23%
OPPOSE.....	15%
OPPOSE/STRONGLY.....	19%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ).....	5%

35. And, do you favor or oppose increased funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative, which has been proposed to protect American cities from nuclear missiles?

(WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:) And, do you feel strongly about that?

FAVOR/STRONGLY.....	31%
FAVOR.....	26%
OPPOSE.....	12%
OPPOSE/STRONGLY.....	22%
DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ).....	9%

Thinking now about some issues facing Massachusetts. . .

36. As you may know, there are 10 Democrat Congressmen, two Democrat Senators, and Silvio Conte was the only Republican member of Congress in Washington from Massachusetts.

I'd like to read you a statement some people have made, and please tell me if you agree or disagree. Here's the statement. . .

This district should elect another Republican to Congress, so that Massachusetts has someone who can work with Republican President George Bush.

(WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:)	AGREE/STRONGLY.....	20%
And, do you feel strongly about this?	AGREE.....	18%
	DISAGREE.....	28%
	DISAGREE/STRONGLY.....	26%
	NO OPINION.....	8%

37. Would you be more likely or less likely to vote for a candidate who had worked closely with former Governor Micheal Dukakis?

(WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:)
Would you be much (more likely/
less likely) or just somewhat
(more likely/less likely)?

MUCH MORE LIKELY.....3%
SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY...9%
SOMEWHAT LESS LIKELY..19%
MUCH LESS LIKELY.....40%

NO DIFFERENCE (DO NOT
READ).....24%
NO OPINION(DO NOT READ)6%

38. Do you approve or disapprove of Bill Weld's new state budget, which cuts \$850 million from state programs, but does not raise taxes?

(WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:)
Is that strongly (approve/disapprove)
or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

STRONGLY APPROVE.....14%
SOMEWHAT APPROVE.....22%
SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE....18%
STRONGLY DISAPPROVE....33%

DON'T KNOW.....14%

39. As you may know, Corinne (Kuh-RIN) Conte (CON-tee) is the widow of Congressman Silvio Conte. I'd like to read you four statements people have made about her running for Congress, and please tell me which one comes closest to your own opinion.

(ROTATE READING TOP-TO-BOTTOM, BOTTOM-TO-TOP)

I probably would not vote for Corinne Conte because I did not like the job Silvio Conte was doing in Congress.....2%

I probably would not vote for Corinne Conte because I do not think she has the political experience this area needs in Congress.....30%

I would consider voting for Corinne Conte out of respect if she plans to finish out Silvio's term in 1992.....23%

I would definitely vote for Corinne Conte, because she knows how Washington, D.C. works and would continue the Silvio Conte tradition.....33%

DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION (DO NOT READ).....13%

40. Now, I'd like to read you some information about Steve Pierce, and please tell me if it would make you less likely to vote for him or if it makes no difference to your vote.

In 1989 Steve Pierce filed four years of late income tax returns.

(IF "LESS LIKELY," THEN ASK:)
Would you be much less likely
or just somewhat less likely
to vote for Steve Pierce?

NO DIFFERENCE.....40%
SOMEWHAT LESS LIKELY...24%
MUCH LESS LIKELY.....30%

NO OPINION (DO NOT READ) 5%

40a. Now, I'd like to read you some information about Corrine Conte, and please tell me if it would make you less likely to vote for her, or if it makes no difference to your vote.

In a special Congressional election, Corinne Conte would not debate her opponent.

(IF "LESS LIKELY," THEN ASK:)
Would you be much less likely
or just somewhat less likely
to vote for Corinne Conte?

NO DIFFERENCE.....52%
SOMEWHAT LESS LIKELY...25%
MUCH LESS LIKELY.....18%

NO OPINION (DO NOT READ) 5%

Finally, I would like to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only. . .

41. What is your age, please?

18 - 24.....	7%
25 - 29.....	10%
30 - 34.....	9%
35 - 44.....	27%
45 - 54.....	15%
55 - 64.....	12%
65 AND OLDER.....	19%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ).....	1%

42. In which political party do state records show that you are registered to vote -- (ROTATE) -- the Republican party, the Democratic party -- or are you registered as an Independent?

REPUBLICAN.....	18%
DEMOCRAT (ASK Q43).....	34%
INDEPENDENT.....	46%
OTHER/REFUSED (SKIP TO Q44).....	2%

IF "DEMOCRAT" IN Q.42, ASK:

43. For whom would you vote in the Democratic primary election for Congress if the candidates were: (ROTATE) Jane Garvey, Christopher Hodgkins, Carmen Massimiano (MASS-uh-me-ahno), James Collins, Shannon O'Brien, John Olver. . .John Burke?

JAMES COLLINS.....	6%
JANE GARVEY.....	7%
CHRISTOPHER HODGKINS.....	5%
CARMEN MASSIMIANO.....	12%
SHANNON O'BRIEN.....	7%
JOHN OLVER.....	17%
JOHN BURKE.....	6%
UNDECIDED (DO NOT READ).....	41%

44. What, if any, newspapers do you read most frequently? (DO NOT READ CHOICES)

ATHOL DAILY NEWS.....	2%
BERKSHIRE EAGLE.....	20%
BOSTON GLOBE.....	7%
DAILY HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE.....	13%
THE NEWS (Westfield).....	1%
THE RECORDER (Greenfield).....	6%
TELEGRAM-GAZETTE(Worcester)....	3%
TRANSCRIPT (North Adams).....	3%
TRANSCRIPT-TELEGRAM (Holyoke)...	3%
UNION-NEWS/SUNDAY REPUBLICAN (Springfield).....	31%

45. Which local television news do you watch the most often?

WBZ (NBC -- Channel 4/Boston)	6%
WCVB (ABC -- Channel 5/Boston)	5%
WFSB (CBS -- Channel 3/Hartford)	7%
WFXT (FOX -- Channel 25/Boston)	*
WGGB (ABC -- Channel 40/Springfield)	18%
WHDH (CBS -- Channel 7/Boston)	2%
WNYT (NBC -- Channel 13/Albany)	3%
WRGB (CBS -- Channel 6/Albany)	6%
WTEN (ABC -- Channel 10/Albany)	7%
WTIC (FOX -- Channel 61/Hartford)	*
WTNH (ABC -- Channel 8/Hartford)	0%
WVIT (NBC -- Channel 30/Hartford)	0%
WWLP (NBC -- Channel 22/Springfield)	33%
WXXA (FOX -- Channel 23/Albany)	0%

46. Do you regularly watch Cable Television such as CNN or ESPN?

YES	63%
NO	37%

47. And, what do you consider your main ethnic or racial origin?
 (READ ENTIRE LIST SLOWLY, ACCEPT ONE RESPONSE ONLY)

ENGLISH	24%
IRISH	18%
ITALIAN	11%
POLISH	7%
FRENCH-CANADIAN	13%
GERMAN	6%
EASTERN EUROPEAN/RUSSIAN	3%
SCANDINAVIAN	2%
BLACK AMERICAN	1%
HISPANIC	1%
ASIAN	0%
WHITE (DO NOT READ)	9%
OTHER (DO NOT READ)	4%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	1%

48. And, do you consider your religion to be Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

PROTESTANT	29%
CATHOLIC	51%
JEWISH	3%
OTHER CHRISTIAN	8%
OTHER NON-CHRISTIAN	1%
ATHEIST/AGNOSTIC	1%
NONE/DON'T KNOW	6%

49. Of the following types of work, which one best describes what the head of household does? (READ LIST)

SELF-EMPLOYED.....15%
 WHITE COLLAR.....22%
 BLUE COLLAR.....19%
 GOVERNMENT WORKER.....5%
 EDUCATOR.....5%
 FARMER.....1%
 STUDENT.....2%
 HOMEMAKER.....2%
 RETIRED.....20%
 UNEMPLOYED.....4%
 OTHER (SPECIFY).....3%
 DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ).....2%

50. Which of these statements best describes how you have usually voted in past elections? (READ LIST, ROTATE TOP TO BOTTOM, BOTTOM TO TOP)

MOSTLY REPUBLICAN.....17%
 A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN
 DEMOCRATS.....18%
 A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN
 REPUBLICANS.....23%
 MOSTLY DEMOCRAT.....30%
 INDEPENDENT/THE MAN (DO NOT
 READ).....7%
 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DON'T READ)6%

51. When thinking about politics and government, do you consider yourself to be. . .(READ LIST, ROTATE TOP TO BOTTOM, BOTTOM TO TOP)

VERY CONSERVATIVE.....6%
 SOMEWHAT CONSERVATIVE.....49%
 SOMEWHAT LIBERAL.....29%
 VERY LIBERAL.....10%
 MODERATE (DO NOT READ).....3%
 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DON'T READ)2%

52. Sex (BY OBSERVATION)


MALE.....48%

FEMALE/NO OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT..27%

(IF FEMALE, ASK:) And, are
you employed outside the home?

FEMALE/WORKS OUTSIDE THE HOME.25%

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

 **Date:** March 4, 1991

FOR: GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: ED ROGERS

- Action
- Your Comment
- Let's Talk

FYI

See pages 2-3.

David
PFI
Norm

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

MEMORANDUM TO: NORM CUMMINGS, JILL JACKSON, JIM NATHANSON

FROM: JOHN LONG

DATE: FEBRUARY 23, 1991

RE: DUPONT ACTIVITY

#####

While in Delaware this past week I picked up information concerning Pete DuPont's organization.

- The PAC is called the Committee for Republican Leadership.
- The PAC is chaired by Glenn Kenton, who was chairman of DuPont's presidential campaign.
- Steve Meyers is the chief fundraiser for the PAC. He was finance director for the presidential campaign.
- Sources within the PAC have said that it's primary purpose is grass roots organization. However, all organizational efforts have been put on the backburner until the PAC can raise \$750,000. Only after reaching this goal will any field work begin.
- People within Delaware say that it was DuPont's intention to use this as a serious 92 presidential vehicle, however, the war has taken the steam out of it. They expect he will continue to use the PAC as a presidential organizational tool, but his eyes are on 1996.
- Attached is a copy of the prospectus the PAC distributes, along with a copy of his remarks to CPAC '91.

COMMITTEE FOR REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

P.O. Box 1300
Wilmington, DE 19899
(302)651-7804

Remarks by:

PETE DU PONT

Chairman
Committee for Republican Leadership

CPAC '91
18th ANNUAL CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION CONFERENCE
February 9, 1991
Washington, D.C.

Thank you very much. I'm delighted to be here, and particularly delighted to see so many friends, so many allies, and so many that I hope to call friends in the future. I feel that I am among kinsmen. Ours is not a kinship of blood, nor of race, nor of region. Ours is a kinship of faith -- faith in the future, faith in conservative principles, faith in ideas, and above all, faith in the idea of America.

We forged this kinship through many battles -- and as I look around this room I see faces that remind me of every one. We have suffered some defeats, but we have savored some glorious victories. My friends, when the Berlin Wall fell, it gave way to the pressure we conservatives have been exerting for thirty years!

My friends, the message of freedom has reached East Berlin, and Prague, and Warsaw, and Budapest, and Managua, but it hasn't yet penetrated Berkeley, or Cambridge, the upper West Side of Manhattan, or parts of Capitol Hill. We still have our work cut out for us.

Part of that work is being done in the Persian Gulf today.

When Saddam Hussein's tanks rolled into Kuwait, he presented a challenge to the region, a challenge to the world community, and a challenge to the United States of America. It was a rude shock to those who had solemnly declared a golden age of peace. And it was a harsh reminder that while we are transcending communism, we have not yet repealed evil.

Benjamin Disraeli once said, "Success is the child of audacity and constancy of purpose." George Bush, to his credit, and to America's credit, has shown both throughout this crisis. President Bush has appealed to the best that is America -- the willingness to do what is right and necessary in the world, and not just what is convenient or easy.

This doesn't mean that we will now field armies to thwart every thug who crosses a border. It does not mean that the United States is the world cop. But it does mean that when it is in America's national interest, America will protect its future.

At the same time, history will show, the Democratic Party again proved its timidity and weak-mindedness. Perhaps some were sincere in believing that sanctions would work. But I think the American people know that the Democratic Party has become the "peace at any price" party -- that ducking their heads in the sand is still a Vietnam reflex, and that in their hearts they don't believe that America should assert her interests abroad.

But what about us? All of us are conservatives. Most of us

are Republicans. I doubt that any of us feel confident that the leadership of the Democratic Party will ever let it be a reliable vehicle for conservative change. But how many of us are fully confident that the Republican Party and its leadership can be counted upon--reliably--to serve as the political apparatus of the conservative cause?

The liberals have captured the Democratic Party, and that is the donkey's problem. But have we conservatives nailed down the Republican Party? I am a conservative. I am a Republican. But I, like many of you, have wondered what my Party's leaders were doing last Fall.

Let me be blunt. President Bush should have shown the same "constancy of purpose" on the budget that he has shown to Iraq. And that constancy of purpose is even more important here at home because the foreign policy of the left is not in danger of becoming the foreign policy of the United States. On the other hand, liberal policies have come to dominate our domestic life, and will continue to do so until the Republican leadership regains its compass and returns the Party to conservative roots.

The President, perhaps out of a misplaced respect for the power of his old colleagues in Congress, has let the conservative standard fall. And without the anti-tax banner flying high over Republican headquarters three things happen. First, the nation's conservative majority finds itself without a political party to advance its cause. Second, the Republican Party finds itself without a reason for being. And, third, the country finds itself governed by the left.

Political parties are but empty shells available to be filled by people with aspirations for their democracy. Tonight, I want to talk to you about making sure that the Republican Party continues to be filled by conservative aspirations, conservative ideas and conservative leaders.

The 1980s were the beginning of what can be an economic triumph for the United States. Ronald Reagan's tax cuts led to the creation of twenty million new jobs, nearly eighty consecutive months of economic growth, and the creation of five million new businesses. Families of all income levels were better off at the end of the decade than at the beginning. And far from causing deficits, tax cuts caused revenue growth: revenues increased 76 percent over the decade, prices only 43 percent.

There was every reason to continue the principles that were producing the unprecedented growth and opportunity Americans deserve. But, there the President faltered. When George Bush reversed those golden words "no new taxes" he surrendered the charter of the Republican Party.

The press has misunderstood the battle over taxes. It is far more than a dispute over the best way to balance the books -- though, as a matter of fact, we do know that cutting taxes creates growth which in turn brings in more money to the treasury. But the battle over taxes is more--it is a struggle for power.

It is a struggle between liberals who haven't the least idea how to create growth and opportunity, and conservatives who know how easily those gains can be erased. It is a struggle over who will speak for those who pay the taxes and carry the rifles and bear the burdens. Will the American people take back control over their own lives, or will we roll over and let ourselves be governed by principles that we do not support?

If the American people perceive that the Republican Party talks about controlled spending and low taxes on the stump, but then huddles in private with the liberals in Washington to contrive business-as-usual tax and spending increases, the Republican Party will lose all credibility. And it will deserve to.

Consider the example of Richard Darman's 1992 budget. It is the predictable result of Republican's allowing taxes to rise in last October's budget deal. Now spending will rise--in fact to 25 percent of the nation's gross national product. One dollar in four will now cycle through Washington. If that was the opening bid in the budget game, imagine what the final agreement will be next September.

If we permit the Republican Party to embrace a budget that consumes a larger share of our economy than any budget since World War II, we should be ashamed. The Darman budget is not our budget.

It was only by adhering to the values of the conservative majority -- low taxes, limited government intrusion into our lives, respect for the family, the sanctity of life and traditional values -- that the Republican Party earned the trust of the people. And it is only by sticking to those principles that Republicans will keep that trust. The Republican Party will not win by saying that it is appalled by those on the left unless it makes it equally clear that it stands steadfast with us on the right.

Two of those Republican leaders have recently tried to diminish the importance of principles in the future of the Republican Party.

Clayton Yeutter told the Republican National Committee moments after he was confirmed as its chairman that ideologues were okay, he supposed, but they seldom accomplish much.

And Newt Gingrich, a dear friend of mine, who now has the very important post of Chairman of GOPAC as well as moonlighting someplace else, Newt actually told this very audience on Thursday,

and I quote, "It is a huge disservice to America when conservatives spend 60-80% of their time fighting over the level of perfection in their own party."

Well, Clayton, but I would take the accomplishments of Ronald Reagan the ideologue over those of Jimmy Carter the technocrat any day of the week.

And Newt, Ronald Reagan said it best when he told us, and I paraphrase, don't paint in pale pastels, we must display our vision in the boldest colors if we are to succeed. Conservatives are not demanding perfection, Newt, we are trying to avoid drowning in a sea of baby blue.

That is why a group of us--including Newt, I might add-- have formed the Committee for Republican Leadership. Our platform is clear. It is the Republican Party's platform of 1988--a brilliant compendium of conservative wisdom. Our agenda is simple. We want the Republican Party to be America's conservative Party, America's anti-tax party. That is what the words "Republican Leadership" have meant for a decade and that is what they must continue to mean in the future.

Our first task is to conduct a Campaign Against Tax Increases. It will have two objectives. First, we are going to counter the propaganda that can kill us if left unanswered. We are going to fight back with the facts. And if anyone believes that the Republican Party is better off as something other than the anti-tax party, we are going to show them the error of their ways.

How are we going to do this? The best way I know how. With the help of lots of people like you, we are going to raise enough money to buy enough advertising to give the American people the information they need. We are going to remind Americans who has been right and who has been wrong.

And when we are done, Americans will be reassured that we began to follow that right path in the 1980s, although we have a long way to go.

And when we are done, Republican leaders are going to be reminded that staying on that path is not only the key to prosperity for people, it is the key to political success for candidates.

If the Committee for Republican Leadership can help keep our minds above the fog of phony history, I am confident the conservative majority in America can put the Republican Party back where it belongs.

Peter Drucker once said "governments do only two things well: Wage war and inflate the currency." For conservatives, the

challenge is to get government to do one thing more: stand aside! During the 1980s, conservatives began the job of getting government out of the people's way. We began the job of identifying the Republican Party with individual freedom and opportunity -- and the prosperity those policies created.

But that perception of Republicans as the party for the American majority, the party that provides prosperity and creates opportunity for all Americans, is soft. If Republicans capitulate now by agreeing to tax increases and huge spending increases, the promising profile of the Republican Party in the 1980s will soften like clay that was never exposed to the fire of a kiln. The Party apparatus which should be the political extension of the conservative movement will instead slide back into its old image of country club Republicanism or simply fade into the mists of time with no one remembering why it was there.

So the first task of the Committee for Republican Leadership is to help Americans face the 1990s with a clearer understanding of the 1980s than is being offered by Bryant Gumbel.

You know, conservatives must keep working together and helping each other discover what works and what doesn't, what is right and what isn't.

We need to do this not only because the other side so insidiously muddles the truth, but also because sound conservative ideas are not as straightforward or easily understood as a policy of grants, a program of subsidies or a promise of a free lunch. Baking bread is just more complicated than dispensing slices.

I am a living example of the value of education. My degree in political reality came from undergraduate and post-graduate work as the Governor of Delaware starting in 1977.

My friend Jack Kemp told you yesterday that the problem with conservative Republicans in the 1970s was that we talked a lot about taxes, but never did anything about them. Well, Jack knows Washington. But, as Mr. Diddle would say, Jack "don't know" Delaware!

When I arrived in the Governor's office in 1977, our State faced catastrophe. Twenty-two tax increases had been enacted in five years; in four of the five the budget was in deficit. Unemployment was the second highest in the nation; our credit rating was the lowest. Oh, and our income tax rates were the highest of all the fifty states.

Advice was plentiful. Deficits? Raise taxes, the liberals said. High unemployment? Expand government programs, the press advised. As for those high marginal tax rates, the Democrats assured us they only impacted the wealthy.

We chose none of the above. Instead, we tried a different and unstylish concept that seemed right: constitutionally limit spending, then reduce tax rates, and economic growth will generate revenue, jobs and opportunity.

It did. Tax rates were reduced, once, twice, three times. Revenues climbed. Jobs increased by 25 percent. Welfare rolls decreased by 35 percent. State spending, adjusted for inflation, never grow for eight years. Deficits vanished and never reappeared.

The theory may have been untested in 1977, its adoption may have been driven more by ideology than experience, but it worked. And we learned. And now we understand.

So opposition to tax increases is the first agenda of the Committee for Republican Leadership but it is not the only agenda for conservatives, as you know so well. Conservatives know what works and yet our ideas are not controlling the government the way they should. Our marketplace ideology has triumphed as we have rolled back communism in Eastern Europe. But we have yet to roll back liberalism at home. And wherever the liberal minority has gained control of the debate, disaster has followed. Look at the Clean Air Act, conceived by people who would not recognize a market if they fell over one -- and pushed to passage by people who showed a breathtaking indifference to the truth.

Congress itself commissioned a \$500 million dollar, ten year study to examine the acid rain problem. Thirty thousand scientists worked on the research. Three hundred scientists wrote the report. And what did they find? Acid rain is not a significant environmental problem. And what did the liberals in Congress do? They ignored their own report, and passed the Clean Air Act, which will cost us \$4 billion a year. Four billion dollars to fix a problem that scarcely exists.

How did this happen? Simple. The Republican Party leadership starting with the bureaucracy and ending on the Hill was not serving as the political apparatus of the conservative majority. They were on the other team. Add to that the propaganda campaign to persuade us that the 1980s fouled the environment like none before it and our cause was doomed. It did not matter that the propaganda was erroneous. It did not matter that the air and the water became cleaner during the 80s. It did not matter that the honest environmental challenges facing America are best solved by market solutions. What mattered was that our cause had no political apparatus worth the name to champion it. So the majority loses and the country pays.

We must not allow this to happen. The conservatives and the Republican Party must be connected at the heart and made inseparable. It is, indeed, the only way we conservatives will win

fight over policy and it is the only way we Republicans will win enough elections across America to truly govern.

And let's be realistic. We can meet in wonderful conferences like this forever. We can even elect Republican presidents forever. But we will not start governing America until our conservative majority becomes the governing majority across this land. We owe it to our country to make sure that the conservative majority seizes back the Republican Party. Because the battle of ideas is more than cerebral exercise. There are real lives at stake.

You need only look at our nation's cities to see the full consequences of liberal government. They have been nothing less than tragic. Misguided social engineering has created generations of Americans who live and die on welfare, never knowing the satisfactions of a job and a piece of the American dream. Those same liberal policies are also systematically undermining the family, bussing our children to distant schools, and ushering criminals back onto our streets.

We have better ideas. We would start at the heart of the problem. We would replace welfare with work. We would replace failing education monopolies with competition and choice and jam the revolving door of liberal justice. We would shrivel bloated bureaucracies and grow enterprise in its stead. And, finally, we would protect urban neighborhoods from the government art of John Frohnmayer.

And perhaps as important as anything else, we would establish the distinction between fairness and playing favorites. Some now claim that "civil rights" is the privilege of being granted a job or a college education merely on the grounds of membership in a minority population. But we are not a nation of groups, we are a nation of individuals. When Martin Luther King Jr. led his great crusade for justice, he didn't ask that black people be judged as black, he demanded that each of us be judged by "the content of our character" and not "the color of our skin." We agree. And when we govern, that will be the rule.

We will frame a future that builds upon the soundness of the American heart and the creativity of the American mind. We will build upon our strengths, moral and technological. The deadly accuracy of the Patriot missiles has done more than just protect the homes of Israeli children. It has destroyed the logic of Ted Kennedy's "star wars" derision and damaged the liberals' Luddite school of defense preparedness.

We will keep faith with those who are still struggling for freedom. Today, in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and throughout the Soviet Union, the truncheon of totalitarianism falls again on the backs of the oppressed. TIME magazine's "Man of the Decade,"

the Nobel committee's peace laureate, is unleashing the KGB. While smiling in the direction of the West, Mikhail Gorbachev is confiscating newspapers, closing down television towers and opening fire on those who march for freedom.

The Nobel Peace Prize, a symbol of the West's self-delusion about Gorbachev, is blood-stained now. But my friends, there is a way to restore its luster. There is a way to restore the meaning and symbolism of a prize in the cause of peace. The Nobel Committee should rescind the award to Gorbachev and award it to its rightful owner -- Ronald Wilson Reagan.

But we would also move beyond symbolism. We would formally state what the United States has always maintained quietly: We would recognize the independent governments of the Baltics. They were Hitler's gift to Stalin. We must not stand silent as Stalin's heirs again assert his fraudulent title.

If Gorbachev brutally imposes the the terror of totalitarianism upon innocent people aspiring for freedom, he must not do so with American grants, American loan guarantees or American rationalizations. We must stand, we will stand on freedom's side.

My friends, I said at the outset that we had our work cut out for us, and we do. Conservatives must always be more than critics, we must be leaders. And we must become more effective than ever. We must win more than debates, we must win more than converts, we must win even more than the Presidency. We must win enough elections to govern America as she wishes to be governed. We conservatives, we Republicans can make that happen. But we conservatives cannot prevail, if we put party ahead of principle. And we Republicans cannot win unless we keep the banners of conservatism flying.

Thank you very much.

===== CALIFORNIA CABLE =====

*16 CALIFORNIA POLL: GOOD GRADES FOR BUSH -- QUAYLE'S A "DRAG"
 The California Poll, conducted 2/7-12 by the Field
 Institute, surveyed 977 registered voters (444 Dems, 423 GOPers,
 110 others); margin of error +/- 3.2%. (Field release, 2/26).

	BUSH RE-ELECT	REAGAN RE-ELECT (3/83)
YES	58%	39%
NO	28	48

JOB PERFORMANCE	BUSH	QUAYLE	REAGAN (3/83)
Excellent/Good	66%	25%	36%
Fair	21	30	33
Poor/Very Poor	13	29	30

INCLINATION TO VOTE GOP IN THE 1992 ELECTION WHEN BUSH IS PAIRED
 WITH VARIOUS POSSIBLE VP RUNNING MATES

	MORE INCLINED	LESS INCLINED	NO DIFFERENCE/ NO OPINION
Baker	50%	22%	28%
Dole	44	27	29
Powell	44	24	32
Cheney	41	24	35
Wilson	32	41	27
Quayle	21	56	23

"Moreover, by a 65% to 30% margin [CA] voters still wish Bush had picked another [GOPer] to be his running mate in 1988. This proportion registering dissatisfaction with Bush's selection of Quayle as his VP ... has actually increased over time, from a 56% dissatisfied to 35% satisfied ratio found in [1/89] when Bush and Quayle were first assuming their White House duties" (Field release, 2/26). S.F. CHRONICLE notes Californians, "strongly inclined" to support Bush's reelection, "express deep and growing dissatisfaction" with Quayle: "Quayle, who has been designated as the administration's political point man in California, continues to decline in popularity, despite a large number of visits to the state." Pollster Mervin Field: "There is one dark cloud hanging over Bush's rosy prospects for re-election, and that is the California electorate's low regard for his ostensible running mate in 1992." Field cited numbers showing Californians less likely to back Bush if Wilson was his VP: "It may be a pat on the back for Wilson. He just got elected governor, they have high expectations of him as governor and with the state in critical condition, they don't want to send him back to Washington right now" (Jerry Roberts, CHRONICLE, 2/26).

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THE COUNTRY AND THE PRESIDENT: BASIC PERCEPTIONS

Which ONE of these three statements do you most agree with?

	Feb. 26 1991	March 1990
It is important for the United States to be the NUMBER ONE economic power in the world.	38%	32%
It is important for the United States to be ONE OF SEVERAL world economic powers.	59	63
It is NOT important for the United States to be a world economic power.	2	3
Don't know	--	1
Refused/NA	1	*

Which ONE of these three statements do you most agree with?

	Feb. 26 1991	March 1990
It is important for the United States to be the NUMBER ONE military power in the world.	54%	38%
It is important for the United States to be ONE OF SEVERAL world military powers.	42	55
It is NOT important for the United States to be a world military power.	3	5
Don't know	1	1
Refused/NA	--	*

PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE WAR

President Bush has said that the U.S. wants an UNARMED withdrawal of Iraqi forces. If Iraqi forces are retreating with their weapons, do you think we should continue to attack them until they lay down their arms, or should the U.S. let them retreat WITH their arms so the war can come to an end?

	Feb. 26 1991
Continue attacking	84%
Let them retreat	13
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	*

President Bush is insisting that Iraq must accept all the United Nation's resolutions including giving up it's claim to Kuwait and agreeing to pay Kuwait for damages it did to Kuwait. Do you think President Bush is right to insist that Iraq agree to these conditions, or should he drop these conditions so the war can come to an end?

	Feb. 26 1991
Right to insist Iraq agree to these conditions	87%
Should drop these conditions	9
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	--

GOALS OF THE WAR

Overall, do you think the U.S. and its allies are or are not the clear winners in the war against Iraq, or is it too early to tell?

	Feb. 26 1991	Feb. 25 1991
Are	56%	44%
Are not	1	2
Too early to tell	41	52
Don't know	2	*
Refused/NA	--	1

President Bush has said that we have three objectives in the Persian Gulf: the withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait, restoring the legitimate government of Kuwait, and preserving the security and stability of the region. As part of or in addition to those objectives, do you think each of the following also should or should not be objectives of our policy in the Persian Gulf?

	Should	Should Not	DK/ Ref.
Removing Saddam Hussein from power.			
February 26, 1991	80%	18	3
February 24, 1991	80%	18	2
February 18, 1991	79%	17	3
Destroying most of Iraq's military capability.			
February 26, 1991	72%	24	4
February 24, 1991	70%	25	5
February 18, 1991	75%	21	5

GOALS OF THE WAR

Desert Storm U.S. National (RNC) January 16 - February 26, 1991

(If should) If Iraq withdraws its forces from Kuwait or is driven out of Kuwait, do you think we should or should not continue the war until Saddam Hussein is removed from power?

	Feb. 26 1991	Feb. 24 1991	Feb. 18 1991
Should	58%	47%	49%
Should not	19	27	25
Don't know	2	4	4
Refused/NA	--	1	*
	<u>80%</u>	<u>79%</u>	<u>79%</u>

(If should) If Iraq withdraws its forces from Kuwait or is driven out of Kuwait, do you think we should or should not continue the war until we have destroyed most of Iraq's military capability?

	Feb. 26 1991	Feb. 24 1991	Feb. 18 1991
Should	51%	39%	36%
Should not	19	26	35
Don't know	2	5	4
Refused/NA	--	*	--
	<u>72%</u>	<u>69%</u>	<u>75%</u>

GOALS OF THE WAR

Desert Storm U.S. National (RNC) January 16 - February 26, 1991

Marist Institute for Public Opinion

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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This Marist College Institute for Public Opinion poll reports:

- Polling*
1. Governor Mario Cuomo's job performance rating has declined in New York State. Governor Cuomo currently receives an excellent or good score from 48.1% of the New York electorate. Among those who express an opinion on Governor Cuomo's performance in office, 6.9% rate the job he is doing as excellent, 41.2% as good, 25.1% as fair, and 26.8% as poor.

In a similar poll conducted in February, 1990, 64.2% of New York voters approved of the job Mario Cuomo was doing as Governor. In addition to the overall decline in Governor Cuomo's approval rating, the percentage of voters who rate him as doing a poor job has risen from 12.1% in the previous poll to 26.8% at present.

2. Negotiations over this year's budget have not gone unnoticed by New York voters. Although the New York electorate continues to express a variety of concerns when asked what they believe is the number one problem facing the state, the state budget is currently the number one issue in the opinion of the state's voters. New Yorkers also cite cutbacks in programs and services, taxes, unemployment, poverty, crime, and the drug problem as important concerns.

3. The views of many New Yorkers on spending priorities are at odds with the direction of this year's budget negotiations. In assessing state budget priorities, most of the state's voters prefer a tax increase to cuts in social programs and services or the layoff of state workers. 51.5% of the electorate prefer a tax increase in order to reduce the state budget deficit compared to 20.6% of the state's voters who prefer cuts in social programs and services, and 20.1% of the electorate who prefer the layoff of state workers.

In addition, 70.8% of New Yorkers believe that it is very likely and 20.4% of the state's voters believe it is somewhat likely that state taxes will have to be raised this year compared to 3.9% of the electorate who believes that it is not very likely and 4.1% of New Yorkers who do not believe it is likely at all.

If New York State needs to raise taxes in order to close the state budget deficit, New Yorkers favor an increase in the state tax on alcohol and tobacco by 68.7% to 29.7%, an income tax increase only for upper income individuals by 65.3% to 32.2%, and an increase in the state tax rate for corporations by 63.0% to 32.4%.

The state's voters oppose an income tax increase for all state taxpayers by 31.0% to 66.1%, an increase in the state sales tax by 30.7% to 67.0%, and a ten cent a gallon increase for gasoline by 27.4% to 70.8%.

4. The public's spending priorities are further reflected in the view that the majority of New Yorkers are willing to pay an added \$100 a year in state taxes to fund education for the mentally retarded and people with handicaps, housing for the homeless, the care of AIDS patients, public schools at the elementary, secondary, and high school levels, and New York's roads and bridges. 69.2% would support an added \$100 in state taxes to fund education for the mentally retarded and

people with handicaps; 64.1% would pay for increases in funding for housing for the homeless; 59.5% would support increased care for AIDS patients; 53.3% would pay for increased support for public schools at the elementary, secondary, and high school levels; and, 51.9% would be willing to pay an added \$100 a year in state taxes for New York's roads and bridges.

5. In assessing the condition of New York's economy, 84.4% of New Yorkers think that the state is currently in a recession compared to 12.7% of the state's voters who do not think so. In addition, 49.6% of the electorate think that the state is currently in an economic depression compared to 45.5% who do not think so.

The state of the economy is also reflected in the public's view of their own economic circumstances. 51.6% of New Yorkers indicate that it is harder for them to make ends meet than it was a year ago compared to 5.9% of the state's voters who report that it is easier to make ends meet. In addition, 9.3% of the electorate believes that they are facing similar circumstances as last year and are dissatisfied compared to 29.0% who indicate that their situation is unchanged and are satisfied.

Overall, when asked about the way things are going in New York State, 20.3% of New Yorkers currently believe that things are going in the right direction, 67.9% of the state's voters believe that things are going in the wrong direction, and 11.8% of the electorate are unsure.

6. In the contest for the U.S. Senate seat in 1992, 32.4% of New Yorkers definitely plan to vote for incumbent Alfonse D'Amato compared to 31.8% of the state's voters who definitely plan to vote against him. 21.3% of the electorate reports that it depends on who runs against him, and 14.5% of New Yorkers are unsure.

Republican Alfonse D'Amato currently trails Democrat Robert Abrams. D'Amato and potential challenger Elizabeth Holtzman are closely matched. D'Amato is ahead of Mark Green and Geraldine Ferraro.

Regarding the potential Democratic challengers to Senator D'Amato, Geraldine Ferraro, Robert Abrams, and Elizabeth Holtzman are best known by Democratic voters, followed by Mark Green, Gail Shuffa and Robert Mrazek. Abrams and Holtzman have the best favorable/unfavorable ratios among the better known Democrats.

7. In terms of the job performance ratings for New York's two U.S. Senators, Senator Alfonse D'Amato currently receives an excellent or good grade from 42.1% of the New York electorate. This result is statistically unchanged from the 42.3% approval rating he received last September.

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan currently has a 59.8% approval rating compared to 61.7% who rated him positively in a similar poll conducted last September. This result does not represent a statistically significant change in his approval rating.

* * * * *

This survey was conducted on February 28th and March 4th, 1991. 383 registered voters were interviewed at random in proportion to the voter registration in each county in New York State. All interviews were conducted by telephone. The results are statistically significant at $\pm 4\%$. The margin for error increases for cross-tabulations.

All Marist College polls are done as a public service. Interested individuals may contact Marist College for further information.

New Yorkers Assess:
Cuomo, D'Amato, Moynihan
Performance in Office
The Economy and Budget Priorities
D'Amato Re-election Prospects
March, 1991
Additional Data*

Nature of Sample: 583 New York State Registered Voters

Race		Party	
White	86.6%	Democrat	46.5%
Black	9.7%	Republican	33.2%
Hispanic	2.4%	Non-Enrolled	17.9%
Asian	1.1%	Conservative	1.1%
Other	0.2%	Liberal	0.6%
		Other	0.7%
Religion		Ideology	
Protestant	31.7%	Liberal	30.3%
Catholic	47.1%	Moderate	40.5%
Jewish	11.9%	Conservative	29.2%
Other	9.4%		
Sex (weighted)		Region	
Male	44.9%	Upstate	43.1%
Female	55.1%	New York City	33.8%
		Suburbs	23.1%

*Percentages may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Governor Mario Cuomo's Performance Rating

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
March 1991	6.9%	41.2%	25.1%	26.8%
February 1990	10.0%	54.2%	23.8%	12.1%
September 1989	15.4%	48.6%	27.0%	9.0%
April 1989	7.3%	50.7%	23.1%	18.8%
September 1988	17.2%	51.7%	23.0%	8.1%
January 1988	25.4%	51.7%	18.8%	4.1%
October 1987	22.9%	49.9%	20.1%	7.1%
June 1987	20.3%	52.0%	21.8%	5.9%
September 1986	18.9%	50.6%	23.4%	7.1%
June 1986	19.4%	51.2%	23.4%	5.9%
January 1986	15.7%	52.7%	25.0%	6.6%
October 1985	16.0%	52.1%	25.4%	6.6%
June 1985	18.4%	51.2%	22.3%	8.1%
January 1985	15.1%	49.3%	26.5%	9.1%
September 1984	21.9%	44.2%	25.9%	8.0%
June 1984	8.3%	50.7%	32.3%	8.6%
January 1984	11.6%	49.0%	31.5%	8.0%
May 1983	11.6%	45.4%	34.1%	8.8%

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Region				
Upstate				
March 1991	6.0%	37.9%	20.7%	35.3%
February 1990	5.6%	59.8%	22.3%	12.3%
New York City				
March 1991	11.0%	44.1%	28.1%	16.8%
February 1990	14.0%	51.4%	23.3%	11.2%
Suburbs				
March 1991	2.6%	42.8%	28.9%	25.6%
February 1990	12.0%	48.6%	26.6%	12.8%

Governor Cuomo's Performance Rating (Continued)

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Party				
Democrat				
March 1991	10.7%	45.0%	28.3%	16.1%
February 1990	12.5%	58.3%	20.5%	8.7%
Republican				
March 1991	3.4%	36.7%	19.8%	40.1%
February 1990	4.7%	30.6%	25.1%	19.5%
Non-Enrolled				
March 1991	5.3%	37.1%	27.1%	30.5%
February 1990	11.9%	51.1%	31.2%	5.9%
Ideology				
Liberal				
March 1991	11.1%	49.9%	25.6%	13.4%
February 1990	16.0%	60.0%	19.3%	4.6%
Moderate				
March 1991	4.4%	42.6%	24.3%	28.7%
February 1990	8.6%	54.1%	29.6%	7.8%
Conservative				
March 1991	4.8%	28.8%	26.4%	40.0%
February 1990	7.1%	48.0%	22.1%	22.8%
Religion				
Protestant				
March 1991	7.9%	36.8%	23.2%	32.2%
February 1990	5.9%	57.5%	23.8%	12.9%
Catholic				
March 1991	6.7%	39.7%	25.1%	28.6%
February 1990	8.8%	52.8%	25.2%	13.3%
Jewish				
March 1991	9.4%	56.8%	19.8%	13.9%
February 1990	21.2%	49.6%	22.4%	6.9%
Race				
White				
March 1991	6.8%	39.6%	24.3%	29.2%
February 1990	9.2%	53.7%	24.2%	12.9%
Black				
March 1991	13.7%	50.2%	27.6%	8.4%
February 1990	18.3%	52.1%	25.8%	3.8%
Gender				
Male				
March 1991	6.9%	35.0%	22.1%	36.0%
February 1990	8.7%	53.9%	23.5%	13.8%
Female				
March 1991	6.9%	46.3%	27.6%	19.2%
February 1990	11.0%	54.4%	23.9%	10.7%

"What do you consider to be the number one problem now facing New York State?"

	March 1991	September 1990	February 1990
Economy	5.1%	8.8%	5.3%
Jobs	10.6%	3.0%	2.9%
Taxes	13.4%	14.6%	13.2%
The State Budget	21.7%	8.4%	8.1%
Curbacks in Prog. & Services (including poverty, homelessness, & education)	15.3%	n.a	n.a
Poverty (including homelessness)	9.2%	8.3%	15.5%
Education	1.3%	3.3%	3.1%
Infrastructure	0.8%	1.3%	1.0%
Environment	1.5%	4.5%	5.4%
Crime	8.4%	24.7%	6.4%
Drugs	8.0%	13.9%	32.6%
Race Relations	0.5%	0.8%	0.3%
Other	3.2%	5.9%	2.3%
Unsure	1.1%	2.5%	4.0%

"In order to reduce the state budget deficit would you prefer one, a tax increase, two, cuts in social programs and services, or three, the layoff of state workers?"

	Increase Taxes	Cut Programs	Layoff Workers	None	All Three	Unsure
March 1991	51.5%	20.6%	20.1%	3.4%	0.2%	4.2%

"New York State is currently facing a budget deficit. From what you have seen or read recently, how likely do you think it is that state taxes will have to be raised this year: very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not likely at all?"

	Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Not Very Likely	Not Likely at All	Unsure
March 1991	70.8%	20.4%	3.9%	4.1%	0.8%

"If New York State needs to raise taxes in order to close the state budget deficit, would you favor or oppose each of the following?"

	Favor	Oppose	Unsure
Increase in the NYS sales tax	30.7%	67.0%	2.3%
Income tax increase for all state taxpayers	31.0%	66.1%	2.9%
Income tax increase only for upper income individuals	65.3%	32.2%	2.5%
A ten cent a gallon increase for gasoline	27.4%	70.8%	1.8%
Increase in state tax on alcohol & tobacco	68.7%	29.7%	1.5%
Increase in the state tax rate for corporations	63.0%	32.4%	4.6%

"Would you pay an added \$100 a year in state taxes to increase funding for:"

	Would pay added \$100	Would not pay added \$100	Unsure
Public schools	53.3%	42.7%	4.0%
Education of the mentally retarded & people with handicaps	69.2%	25.8%	5.0%
Housing for the homeless	64.1%	29.2%	6.6%
Care for patients with AIDS	59.5%	36.3%	4.3%
New York's roads & bridges	51.9%	45.6%	2.5%

"Do you think that New York State is currently in a recession, or not?"

	Yes	No	Unsure
March 1991	84.4%	12.7%	2.9%

"Do you think that New York State is currently in an economic depression, or not?"

	Yes	No	Unsure
March 1991	49.6%	45.5%	4.9%

"Thinking about your own economic circumstances, do you find it easier to make ends meet than you did a year ago, harder to make ends meet, or is it about the same?" (Those who responded "about the same" were asked the follow-up question: "Is that a good thing or a bad thing?")

	Easier	Same Good	Same Bad	Harder	Unsure
March 1991	5.9%	29.0%	3.5%	51.6%	0.7%

"In general, thinking about the way things are going in New York State, do you feel things are going in the right direction, or that things are going in the wrong direction?"

	Right Direction	Wrong Direction	Unsure
March 1991	20.3%	67.9%	11.8%
October 1990	24.7%	59.4%	15.8%

"If Alfonse D'Amato runs for re-election to the US Senate in 1992, do you definitely plan to vote for him, or do you definitely plan to vote against him?"

	Definitely Vote for Him	Definitely Vote Against Him	Depends on Who is Running	Undecided
March 1991	32.4%	31.8%	21.3%	14.5%

"If the 1992 election for the US Senate was held today, who would you support if the candidates are Alfonse D'Amato the Republican, and Robert Abrams the Democrat?"

	D'Amato	Abrams	Undecided	Don't Know Enough About Abrams
March 1991	42.1%	46.7%	8.9%	2.4%

"If the 1992 election for the US Senate was held today, who would you support if the candidates are Alfonse D'Amato the Republican, and Elizabeth Holtzman the Democrat?"

	D'Amato	Holtzman	Undecided	Don't Know Enough About Holtzman
March 1991	43.5%	41.6%	9.4%	5.5%

"If the 1992 election for the US Senate was held today, who would you support if the candidates are Alfonse D'Amato the Republican, and Geraldine Ferraro the Democrat?"

	D'Amato	Ferraro	Undecided	Don't Know Enough About Ferraro
March 1991	53.2%	33.7%	11.4%	1.7%

"If the 1992 election for the US Senate was held today, who would you support if the candidates are Alfonse D'Amato the Republican, and Mark Green the Democrat?"

	D'Amato	Green	Undecided	Don't Know Enough About Green
March 1991	43.0%	30.8%	8.3%	17.9%

"Please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of each of the following political figures. If you know a person but are unsure how to rate him, or if you have never heard of someone, please say so." (Registered Democrats only)

	Favorable	Unfavorable	Unsure	Never Heard
Robert Abrams	56.4%	9.6%	20.8%	13.2%
Geraldine Ferraro	47.5%	33.1%	17.4%	2.0%
Mark Green	27.1%	5.6%	13.7%	53.5%
Elizabeth Holtzman	51.1%	16.2%	11.2%	21.5%
Robert Mrazek	9.1%	5.4%	8.0%	77.5%
Gail Shaffer	13.8%	4.9%	11.2%	70.1%

Performance Ratings

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Don't Know/ Unsure
D'Amato					
March 1991	7.8%	34.3%	32.8%	19.3%	5.5%
September 1990	6.8%	35.5%	34.9%	14.7%	8.2%
February 1990	2.8%	34.1%	36.4%	18.8%	7.9%
September 1989	5.9%	35.6%	34.6%	15.1%	8.7%
April 1989	8.5%	41.2%	30.0%	6.7%	13.5%
September 1988	9.5%	47.3%	27.9%	8.0%	7.3%
January 1988	11.5%	47.7%	25.6%	5.8%	9.4%
October 1987	11.7%	49.5%	24.2%	7.0%	7.7%
June 1987	11.5%	48.3%	27.9%	5.0%	7.3%
September 1986	12.8%	49.8%	23.8%	6.3%	7.3%
June 1986	13.8%	46.5%	23.0%	6.8%	10.0%
January 1986	13.0%	44.1%	25.5%	6.8%	10.6%
June 1985	8.9%	39.2%	31.0%	4.3%	16.6%
January 1985	6.1%	37.6%	29.1%	6.7%	20.5%
June 1984	7.5%	38.2%	30.9%	7.6%	15.8%
January 1984	8.0%	37.3%	31.0%	7.3%	16.3%
September 1983	5.2%	37.3%	31.1%	8.0%	18.3%
June 1983	5.5%	36.6%	31.9%	7.1%	18.9%

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Don't Know/ Unsure
Moynihan					
March 1991	13.5%	46.3%	26.3%	6.2%	7.6%
September 1990	15.9%	45.8%	26.3%	5.5%	6.5%
February 1990	12.4%	43.6%	27.9%	7.5%	8.5%
September 1989	13.4%	40.1%	31.1%	4.2%	11.2%
April 1989	12.3%	41.9%	27.2%	5.3%	13.0%
September 1988	12.9%	42.3%	28.7%	5.6%	10.4%
January 1988	14.2%	43.1%	25.1%	7.8%	9.9%
October 1987	16.1%	44.3%	23.6%	6.3%	9.2%
June 1987	13.3%	42.6%	26.5%	7.3%	10.4%
September 1986	14.6%	39.5%	27.4%	5.7%	12.6%
June 1986	16.2%	44.4%	22.7%	6.2%	10.5%
January 1986	11.3%	44.3%	27.9%	6.3%	10.2%
June 1985	10.0%	40.1%	26.6%	9.4%	13.9%
January 1985	10.7%	41.4%	29.5%	6.4%	12.1%
June 1984	11.1%	38.8%	29.5%	8.6%	12.1%
January 1984	10.1%	37.0%	30.2%	9.7%	13.0%
September 1983	8.9%	40.4%	30.2%	8.9%	11.6%
June 1983	11.2%	38.4%	32.7%	7.7%	10.0%

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Don't Know/ Unsure
Conno					
March 1991	6.9%	40.8%	24.9%	26.5%	0.9%
February 1990	9.9%	53.7%	23.5%	12.0%	0.9%
September 1989	15.1%	47.6%	26.5%	8.8%	2.0%
April 1989	7.2%	49.8%	22.7%	18.5%	1.9%
September 1988	16.9%	50.8%	22.7%	7.9%	1.7%
January 1988	25.0%	50.9%	18.5%	4.0%	1.6%
October 1987	22.6%	49.1%	19.7%	7.0%	1.7%
June 1987	19.9%	51.0%	21.4%	5.8%	2.0%
September 1986	18.6%	49.7%	23.0%	7.0%	1.8%
June 1986	19.2%	50.5%	23.1%	5.8%	1.4%
January 1986	15.5%	52.2%	24.7%	6.6%	1.0%
October 1985	15.7%	51.1%	24.9%	6.5%	1.8%
June 1985	18.0%	50.3%	21.9%	8.0%	1.8%
January 1985	14.7%	48.0%	25.8%	8.8%	2.8%
September 1984	21.1%	42.6%	25.0%	7.7%	3.6%
June 1984	8.1%	49.1%	31.3%	8.3%	3.2%
January 1984	11.1%	47.3%	30.4%	7.7%	3.5%
June 1983	10.1%	39.5%	29.7%	7.7%	13.0%