

Democracy Corps

Carville ♦ Greenberg

November 14, 2005

GREENBERG
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Change Mood Turning Ugly



Change Has Consequences

- **Deepening anger about direction of country – Iraq, economy, scandal and failure before major problems**
- **Bush and Republicans stabilized at a new low plateau**
- **Democrats part of the problem – politics, Washington, special interests**
- **Big political change now – but need more to win House and Senate. Voters ready for more.**

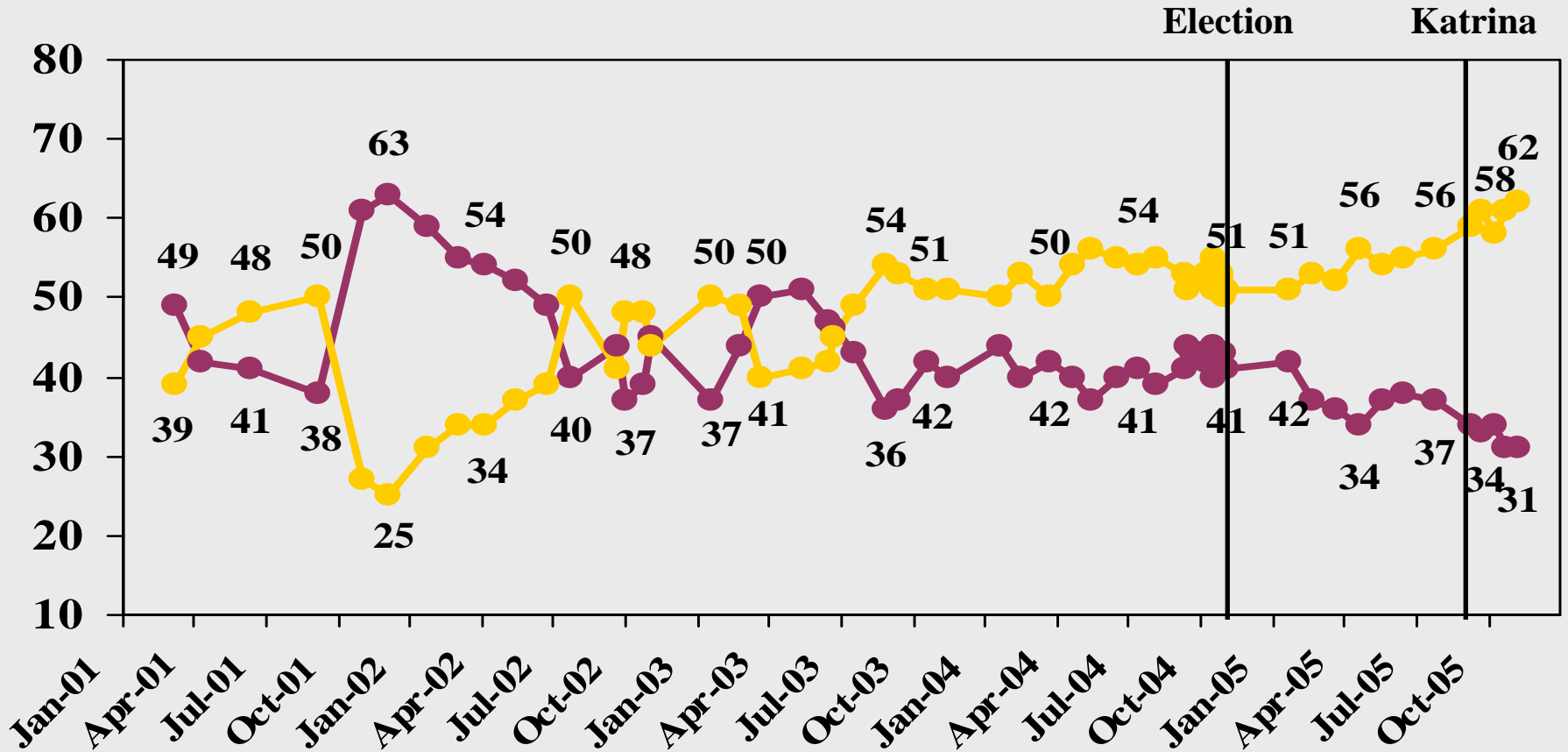


Change Has Consequences (continued)

- **The corruption scandal very serious and may be a Cheney and perhaps Bush/Cheney cover-up**
- **Democrats win every debate over issues and priorities by wide margins – double congressional vote**
- **Don't forget health care and energy**



Demand for new direction hits new high

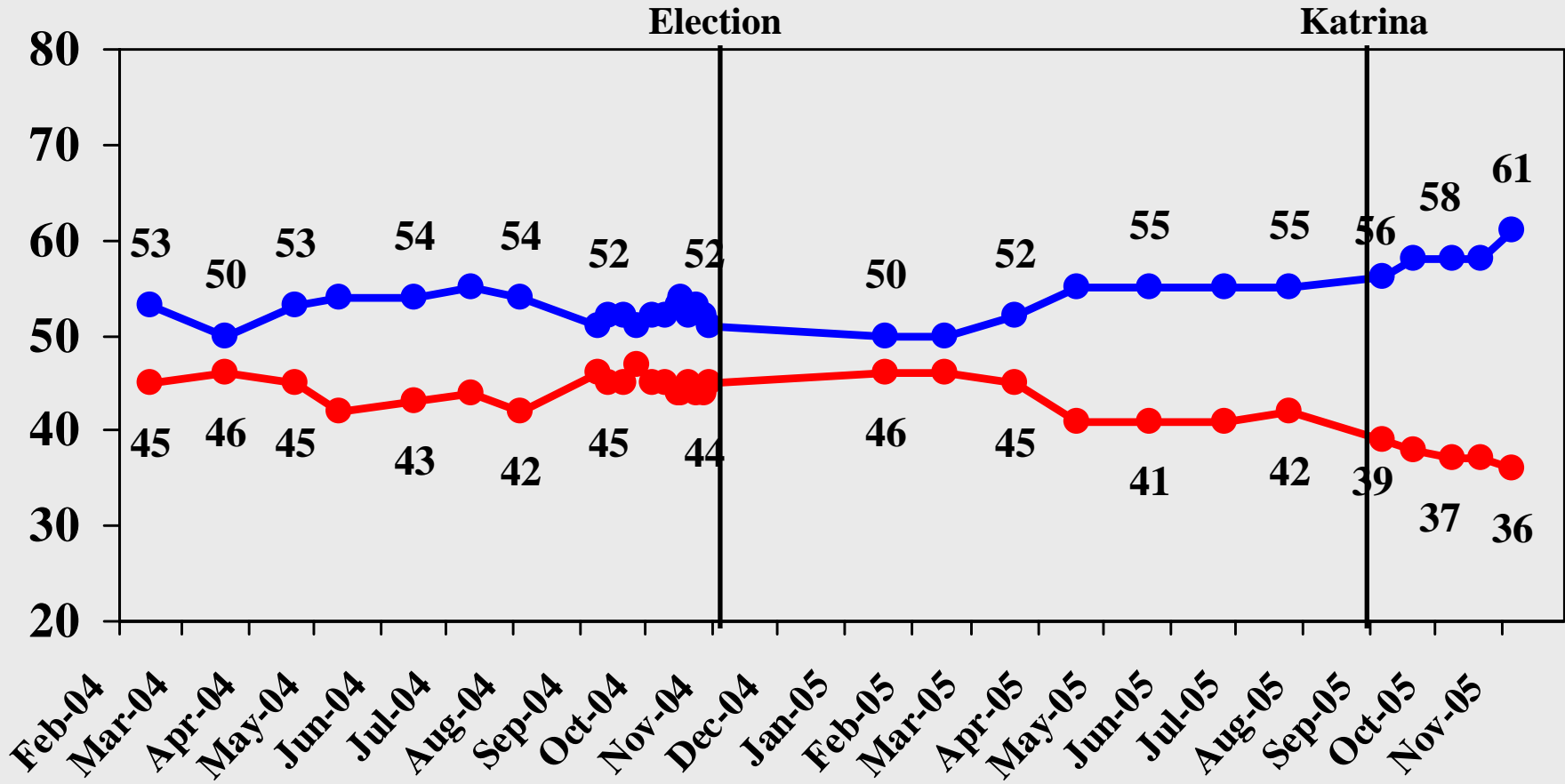


Net Difference	+10	-7	-12	+38	+20	-10	-11	-13	-9	-18	-9	-8	-13	-10	-9	-22	-19	-24	-31
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Significantly new direction from Bush also new high



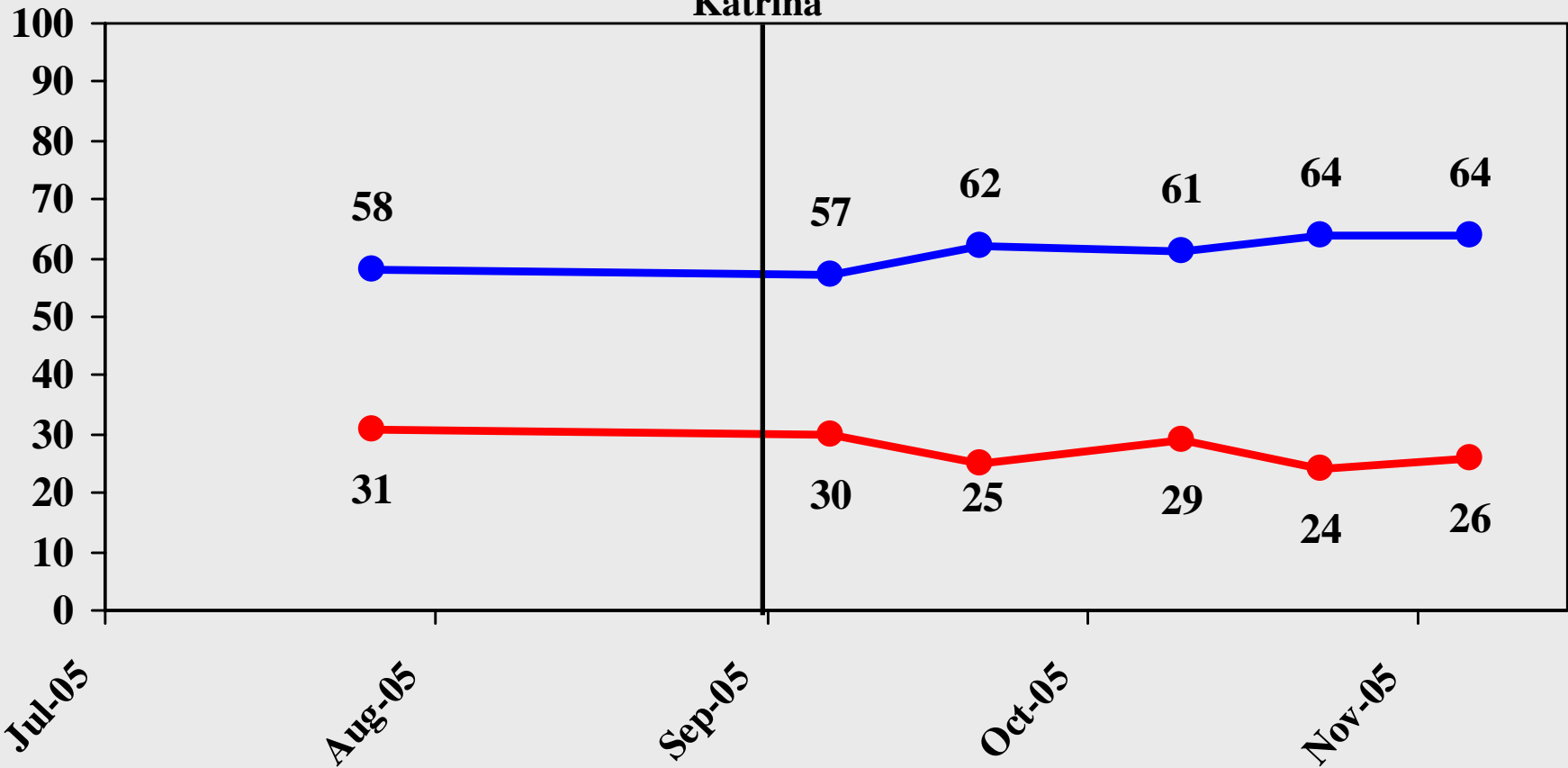
Net Difference +8 +4 +8 +11 +12 +7 +8 +4 +7 +14 +13 +17 +21 +25

● Significantly Different Direction ● Bush Direction



Even more voters want change in Congress

Katrina



**Net
Difference**

+27

+27

+37

+32

+40

+38

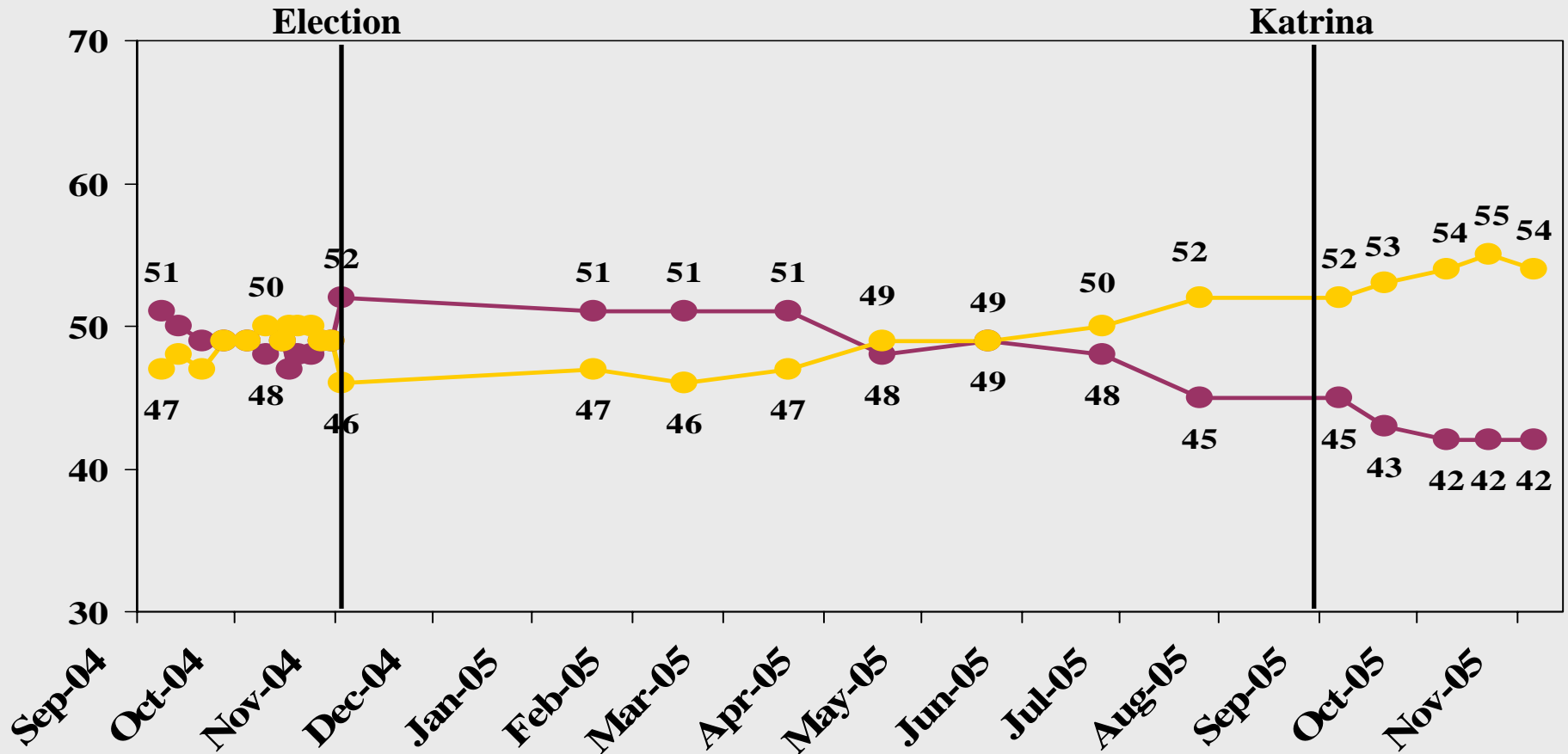
—●— Significantly Different Direction —●— Congress Direction



Disengagement from Bush stabilizes at low level



The new plateau for Bush approval



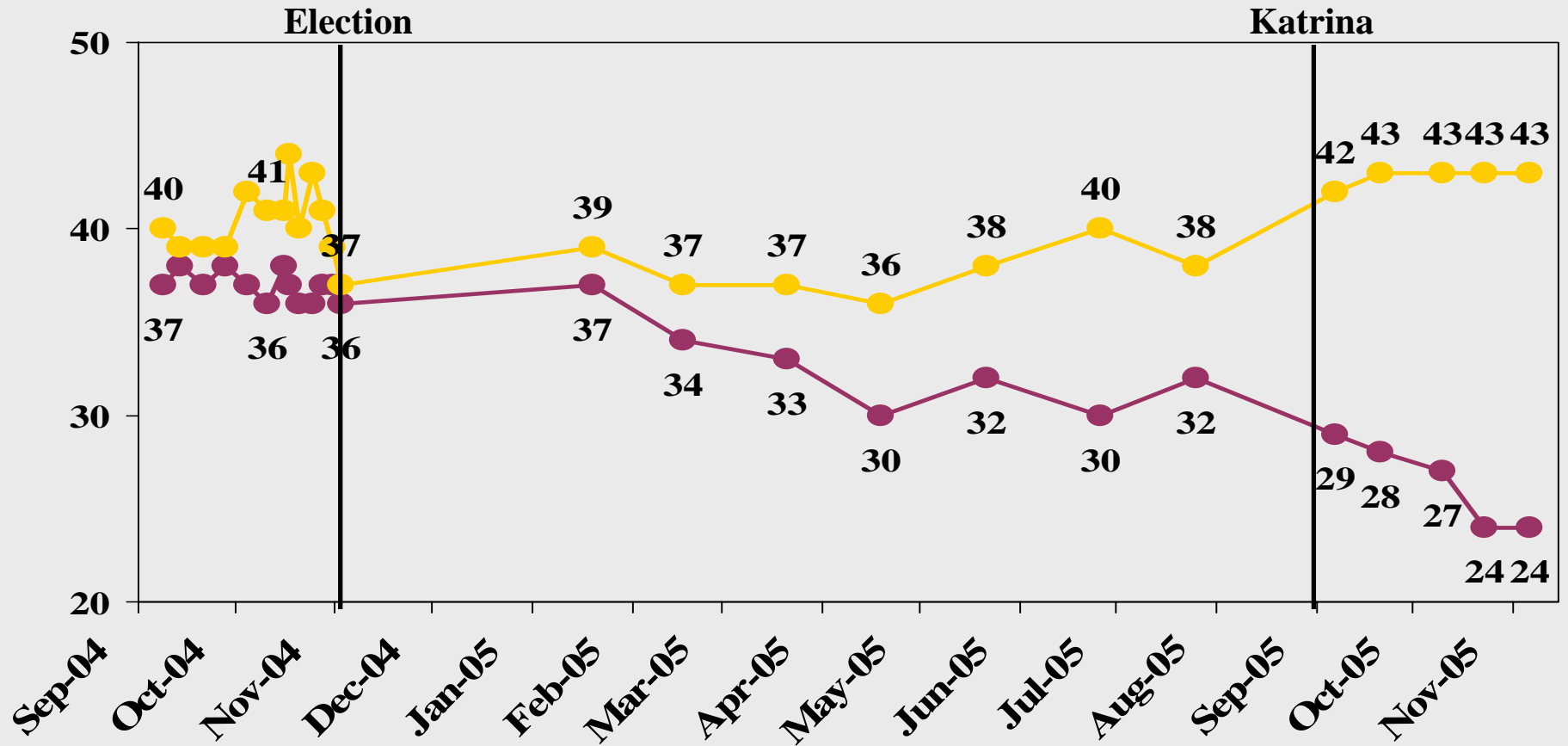
Net Difference	+4	-2	+6	+4	+5	+4	-1	0	-2	-7	-7	-10	-12	-13	-12
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—●— Approve —●— Disapprove



Bush enthusiasts gone

Haters exceed 2004; Lovers are 12 points lower



Net
Difference

-3

-5

-1

-2

-3

-4

-6

-6

-10

-6

-13

-15

-16

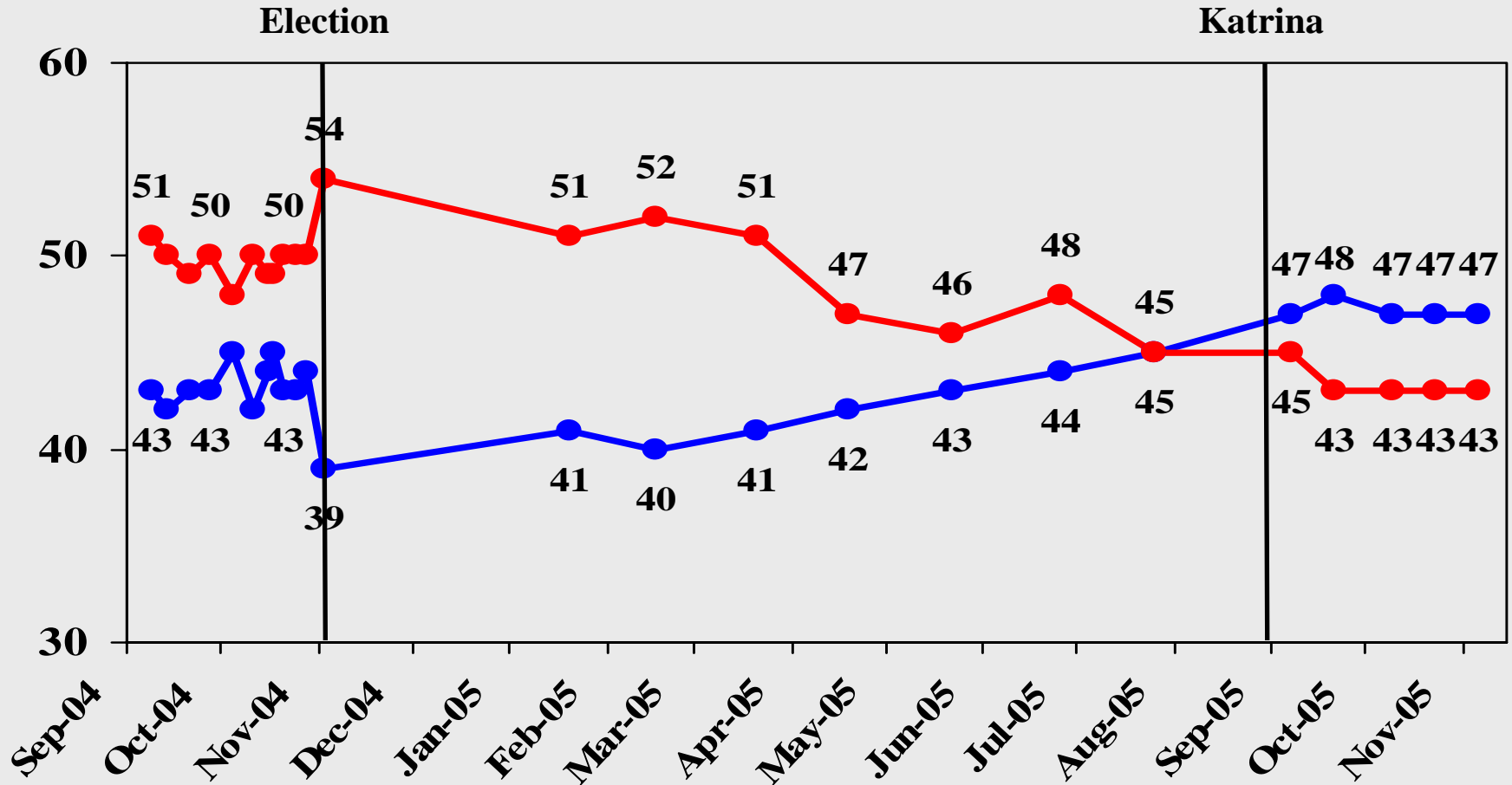
-19

-19

● Approve strongly ● Disapprove strongly



Personal detachment locks in



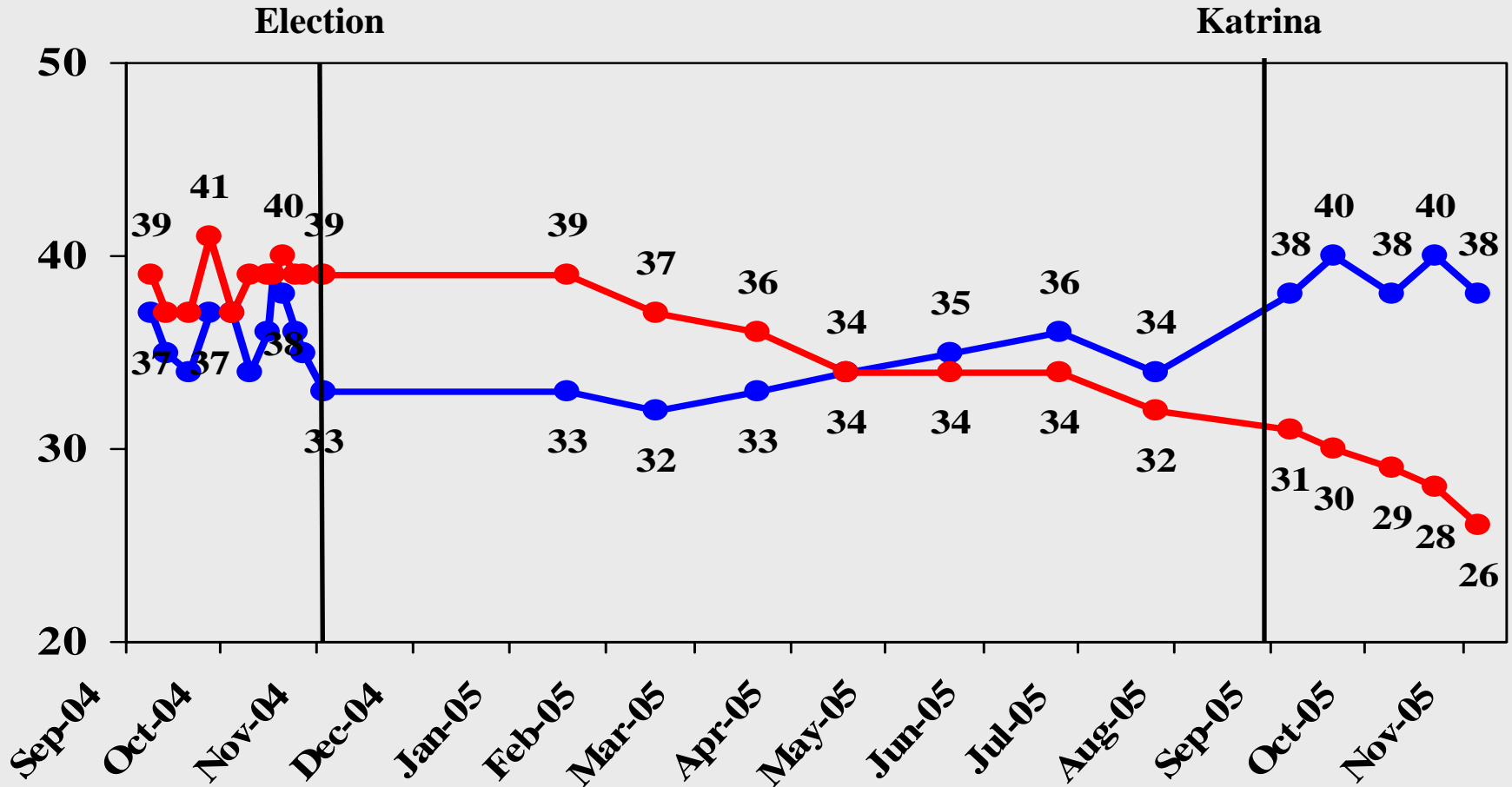
Net Difference	Sep-04	Oct-04	Nov-04	Dec-04	Jan-05	Feb-05	Mar-05	Apr-05	May-05	Jun-05	Jul-05	Aug-05	Sep-05	Oct-05	Nov-05			
Net Difference	+8	+7	+7	+15		+10	+12	+10	+5	+3	+4	0		-2	-5	-4	-4	-4





Deep Bush attachment continues down

Where is the Bush base?



Net Difference	+2	+4	+2	+6	+6	+5	+3	0	-1	-2	-2	-7	-10	-9	-12	-12
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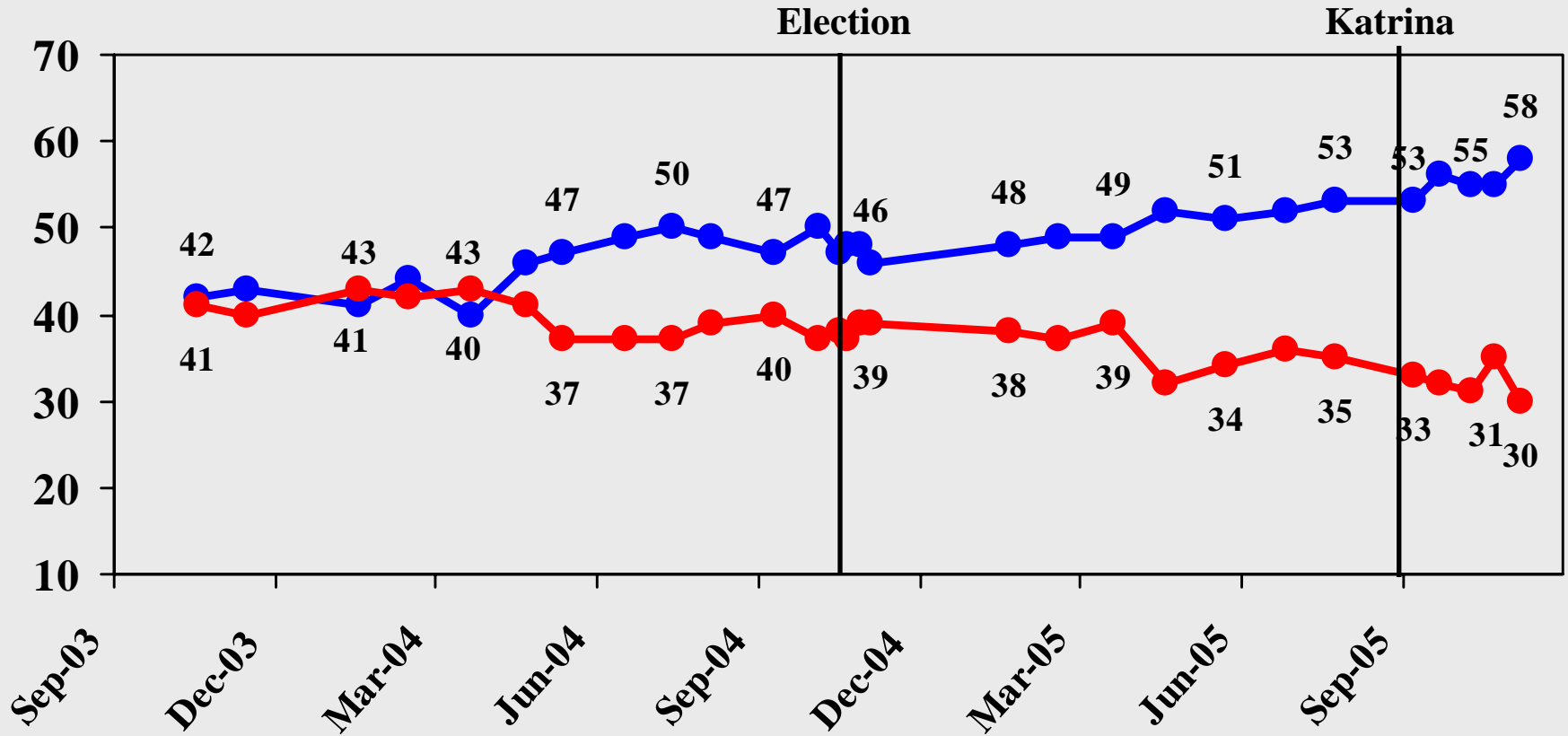
● Very cool ● Very warm



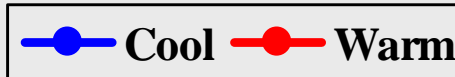
Iraq Worsens



Iraq war thermometer

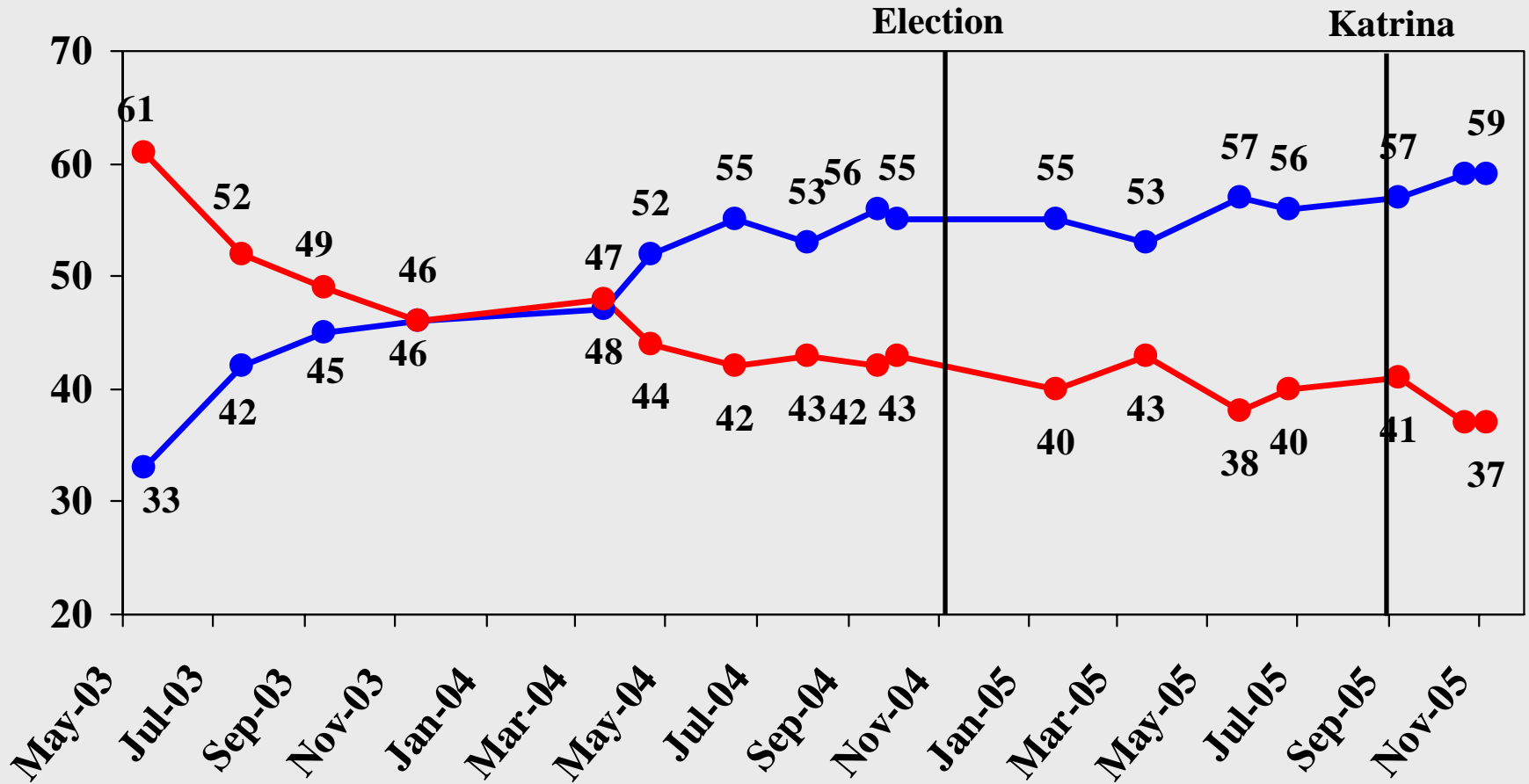


Net Difference	-1	+2	+3	-10	-13	-7	-7	-10	-10	-17	-18	-20	-24	-28
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Iraq war not worth costs



Net
Difference

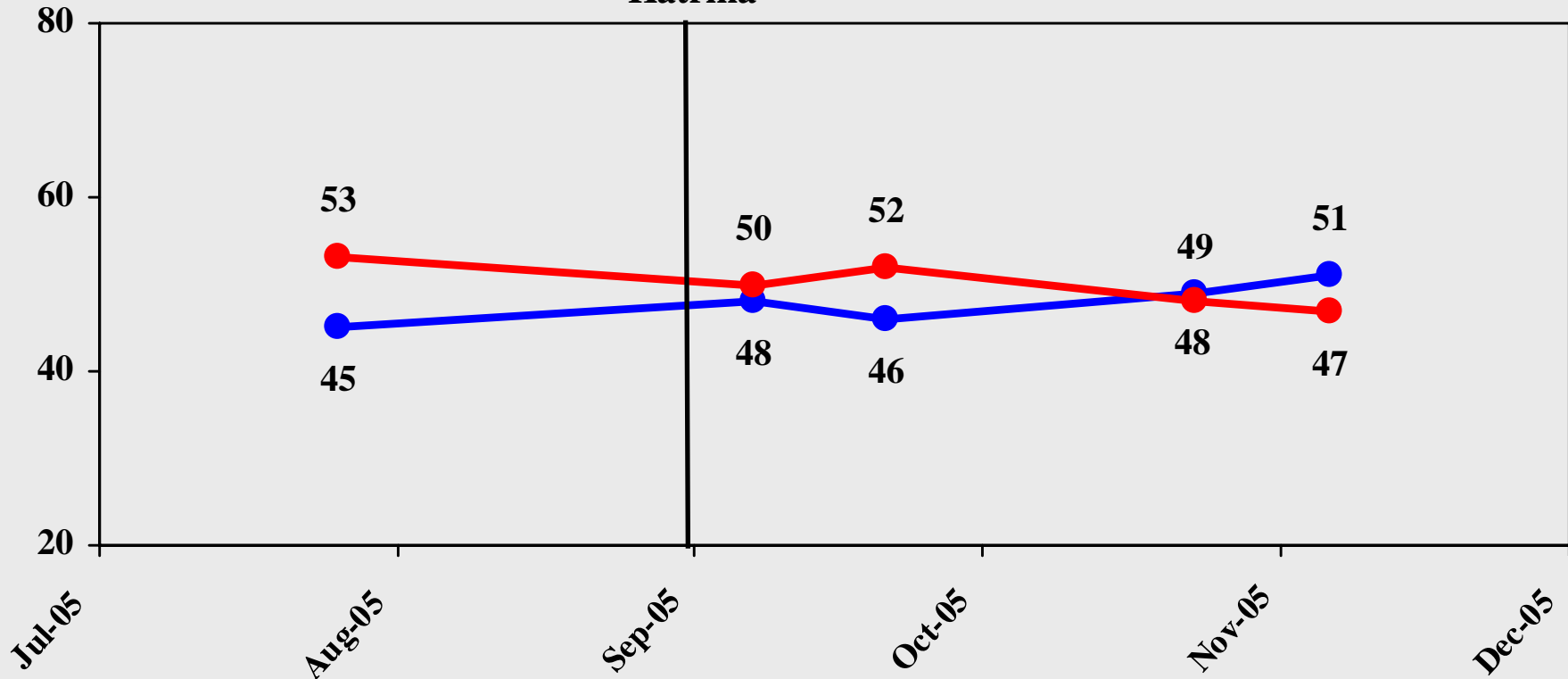
-28 -10 -4 -- -1 +8 +13 +10 +14 +12 +15 +10 +19 +16 +16 +22

● Not worth the cost of U.S. lives and dollars
● Worth the cost of U.S. lives and dollars



Country still divided on reducing troops

Katrina



Net
Difference



-8

-2

-6

+1

+4

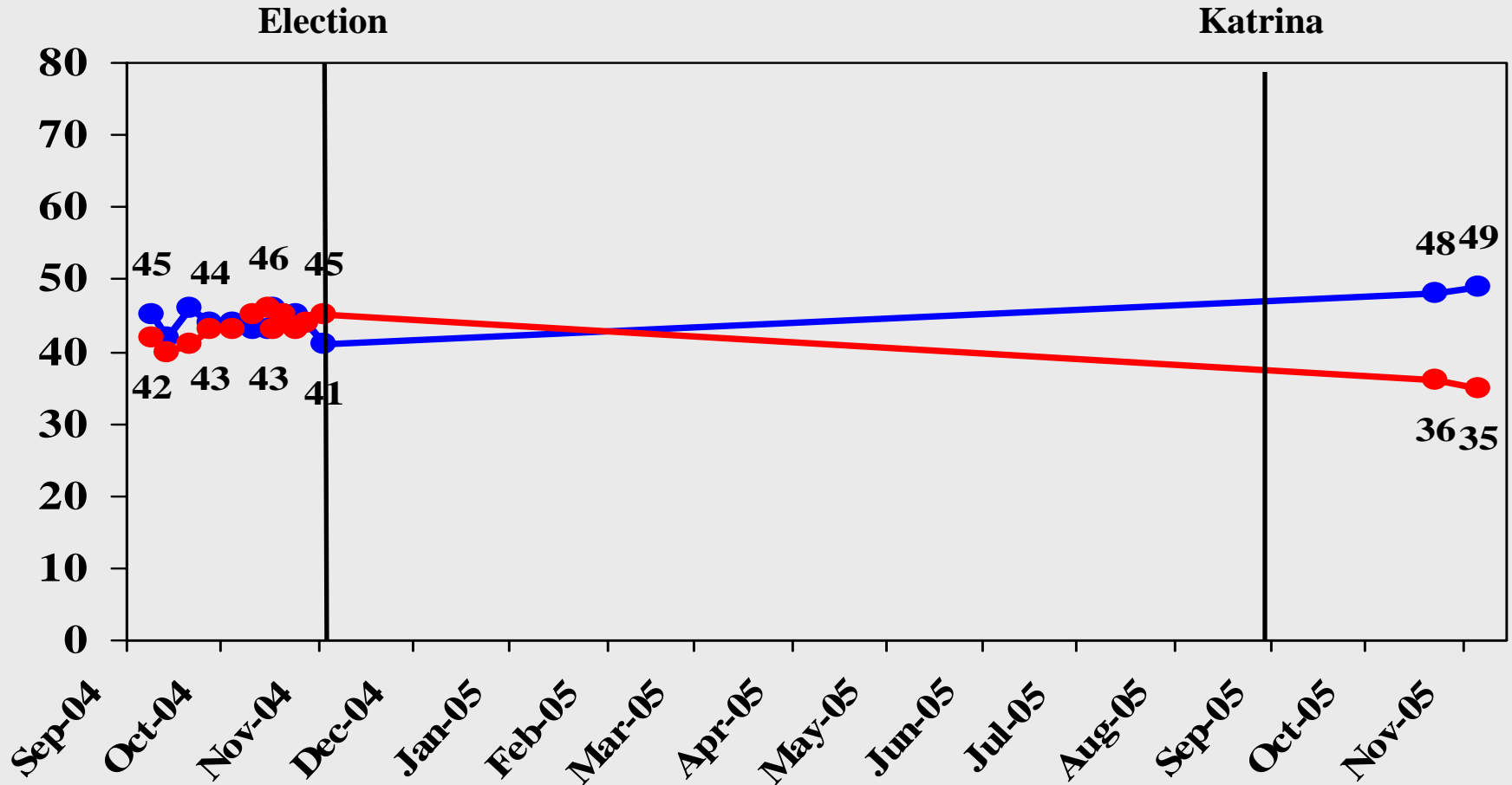
-  The current course cannot bring stability and we need to start reducing the number of U.S. troops in Iraq.
-  We must stay the course to achieve stability and finish the job in Iraq.



The Scandals Worsen

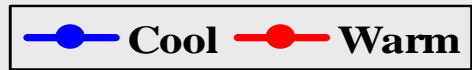


Cheney newly unpopular



Net
Difference -3 -1 +3 +4

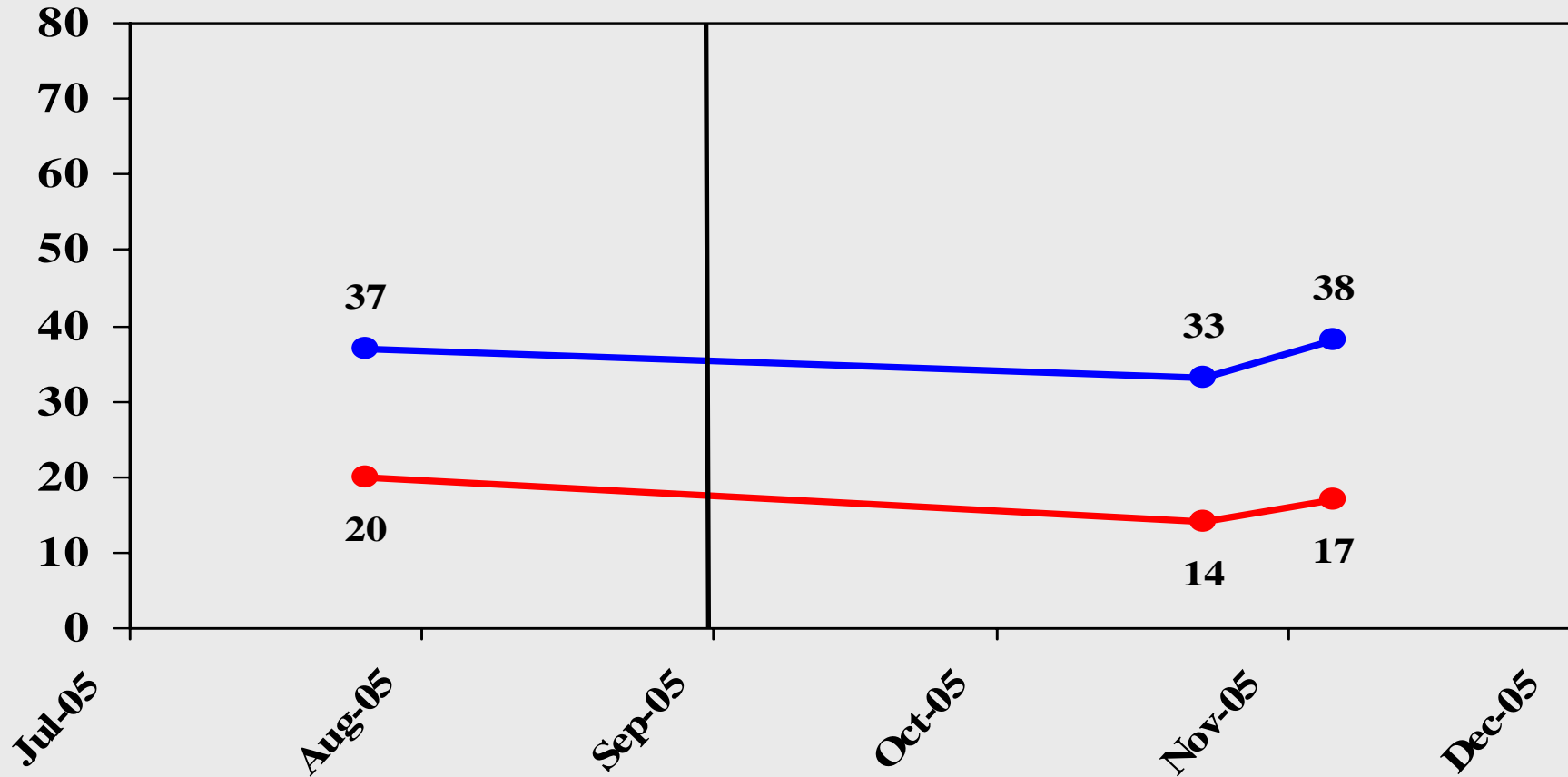
-12 -14





Rove unfavorable rating also increases

Katrina

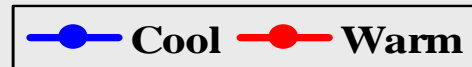


**Net
Difference**

-17

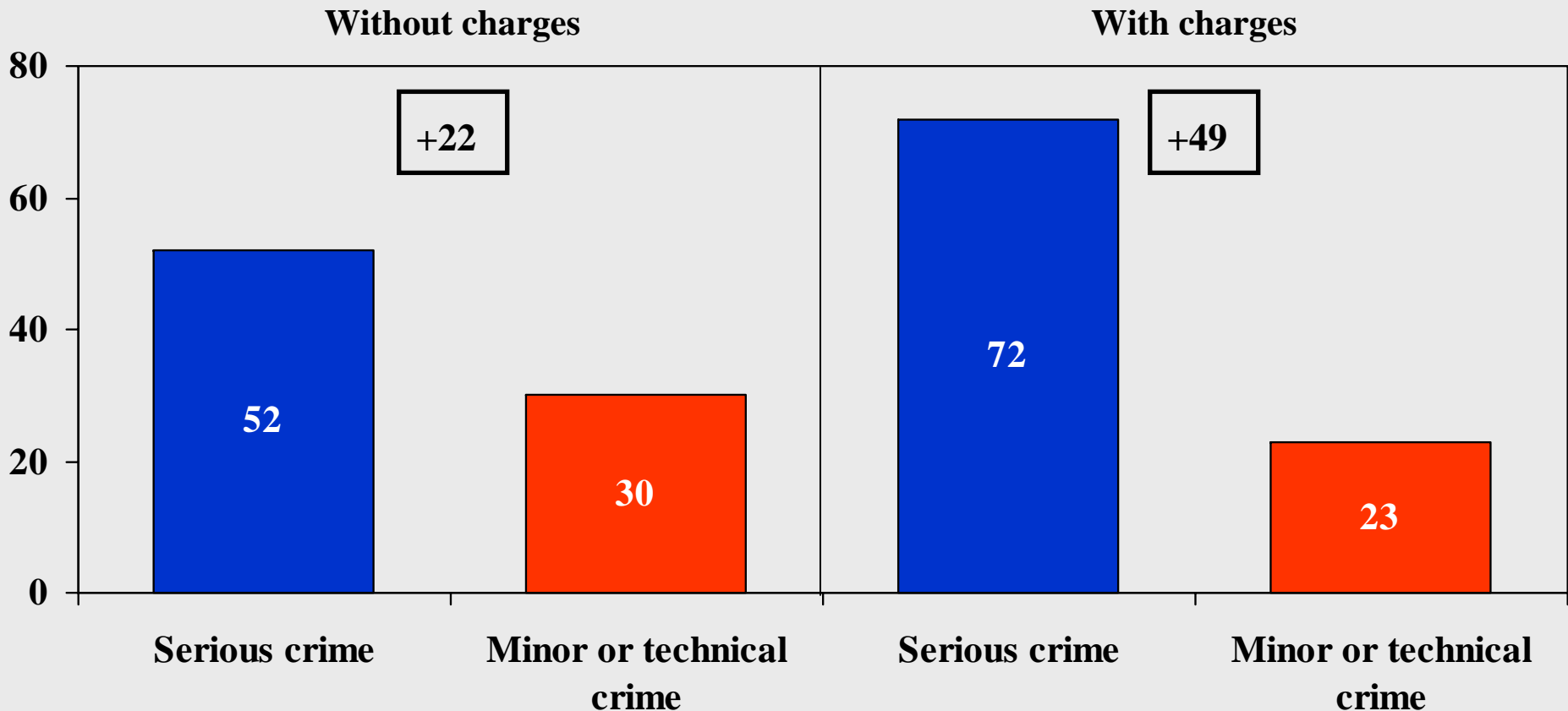
-19

-21





Libby charge viewed as a serious crime



As you may know, a federal grand jury has indicted Lewis "Scooter" Libby, chief of staff for Vice President Dick Cheney. In your opinion, do you think the charge against Libby represents a serious crime or a minor or technical crime?

As you may know, a federal grand jury has indicted Lewis "Scooter" Libby, chief of staff for Vice President Dick Cheney, on charges of obstruction of justice and perjury in connection with the case in which the identity of an undercover CIA agent was disclosed to news reporters. Libby has resigned his White House position. In your opinion, do you think the charge against Libby represents a serious crime or a minor or technical crime?



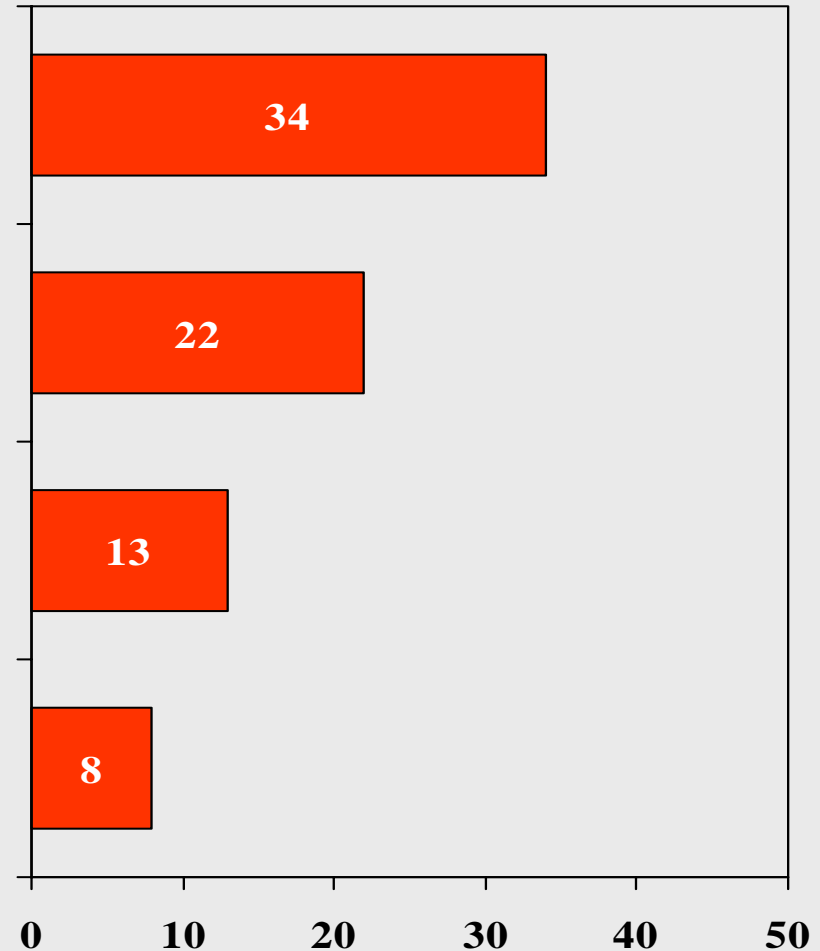
Intelligence cover-up central to Libby matter

Part of cover-up by Vice-President Cheney over manufactured intelligence for Iraq war

Attempt to damage the reputation of a whistle blower on Iraq intelligence

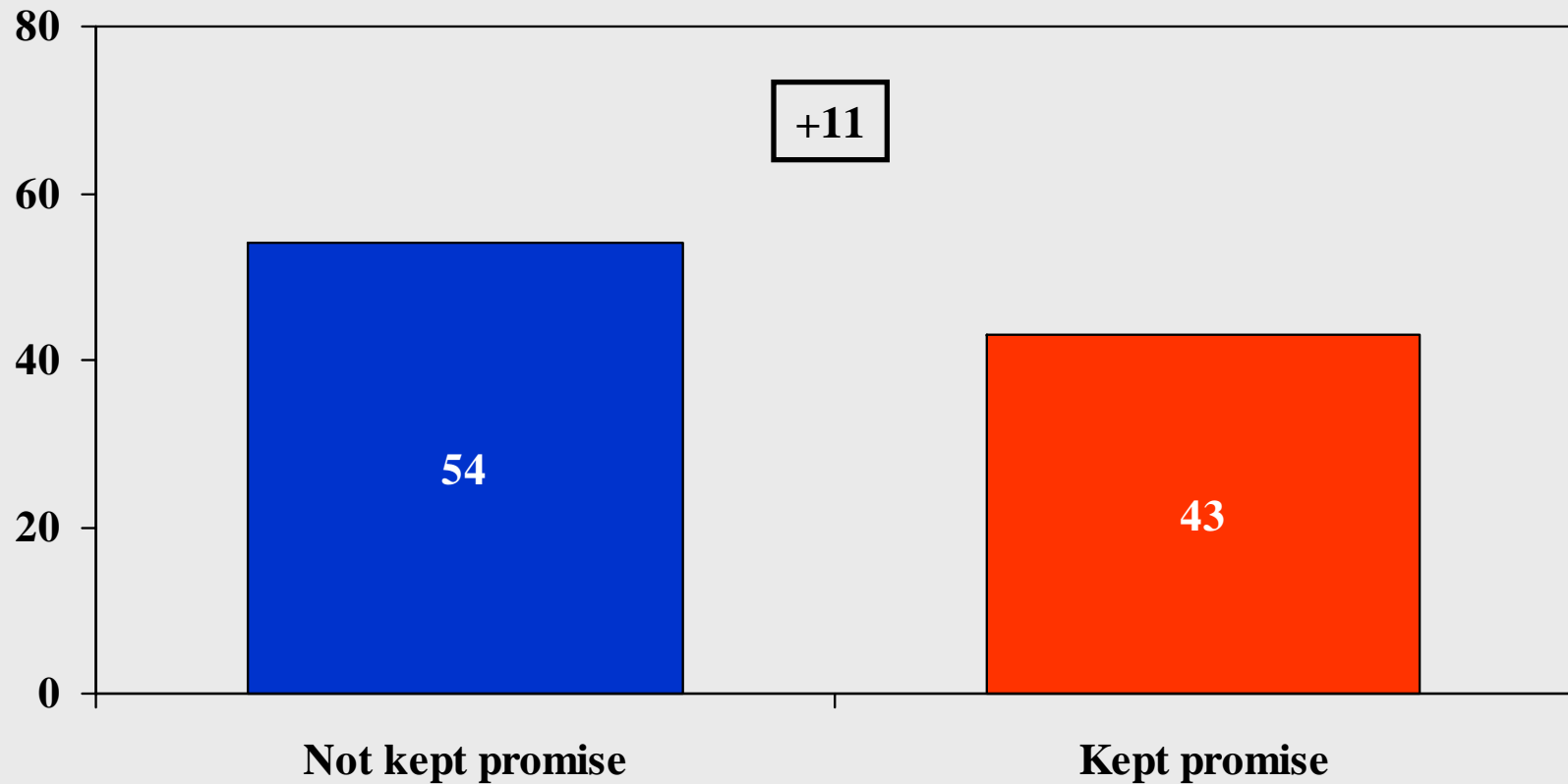
Attempt to get the truth out about an unreliable critic

Attempt by the White House to get the best "spin" and news stories on Iraq





Bush broke promise to restore honor and dignity



“As you remember when President Bush ran for president 5 years ago, he promised to restore honor and dignity to the White House. Do you think he has kept or not kept that promise?”



The 2006 Fallout



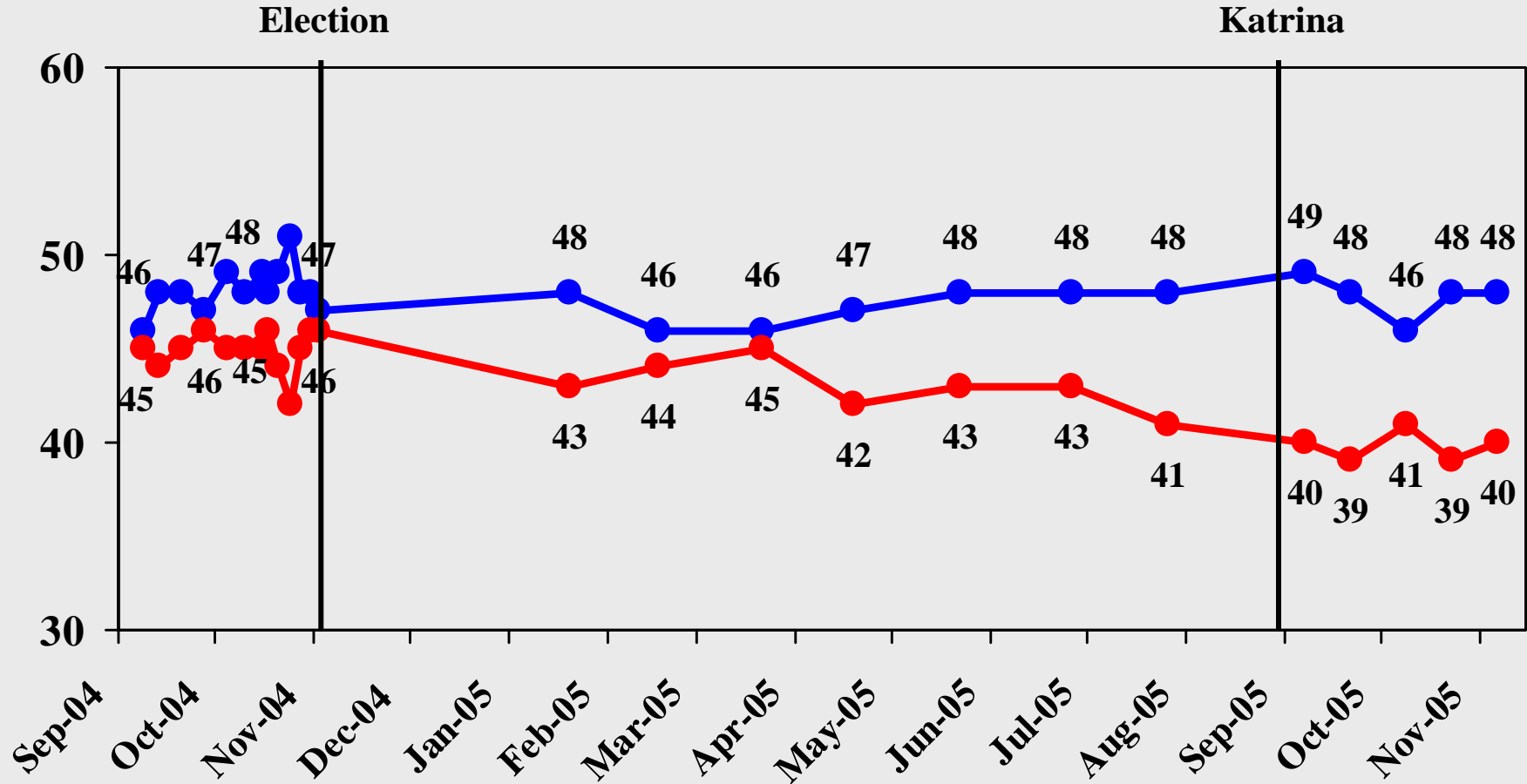
Vote summary

- **Democrats settle into 48-40 lead but not good enough to win control**
- **Many ready to vote “no.” Independents ready for a revolution**
- **U.S. Senate encouraging but House needs further breakthrough**
- **Both parties part of the mess – and Democrats well short of 1994 pattern**



Democratic Lead Also at New Plateau

The 48 percent ceiling



Democratic margin

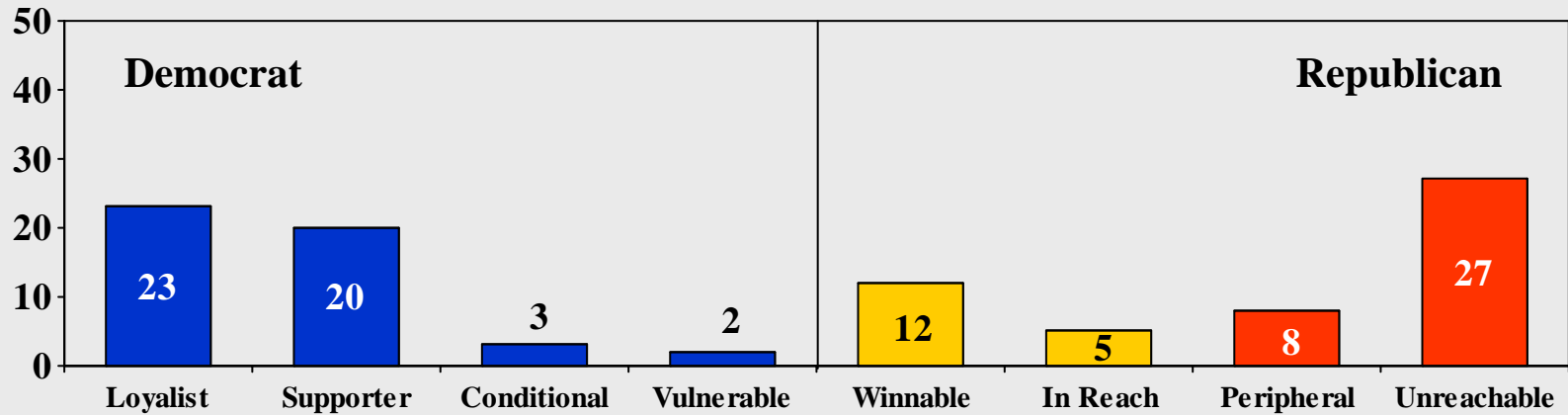
+1 +1 +3 +1 +5 +2 +1 +5 +5 +5 +7 +9 +9 +5 +9 +8

● Democratic Congressional Candidate
● Republican Congressional Candidate

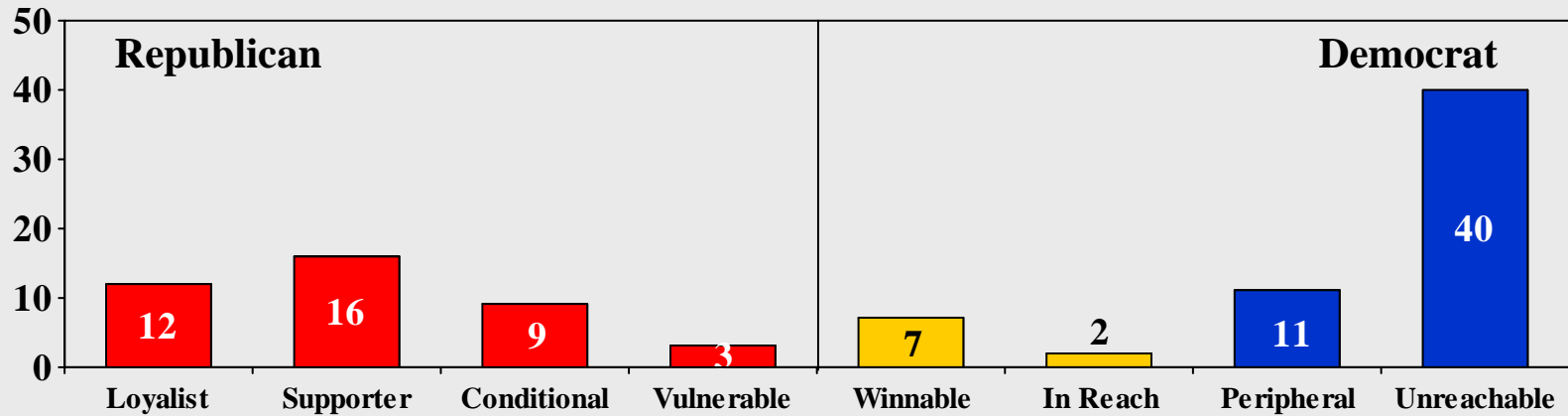


Voter Choice Scale

Democratic VCS

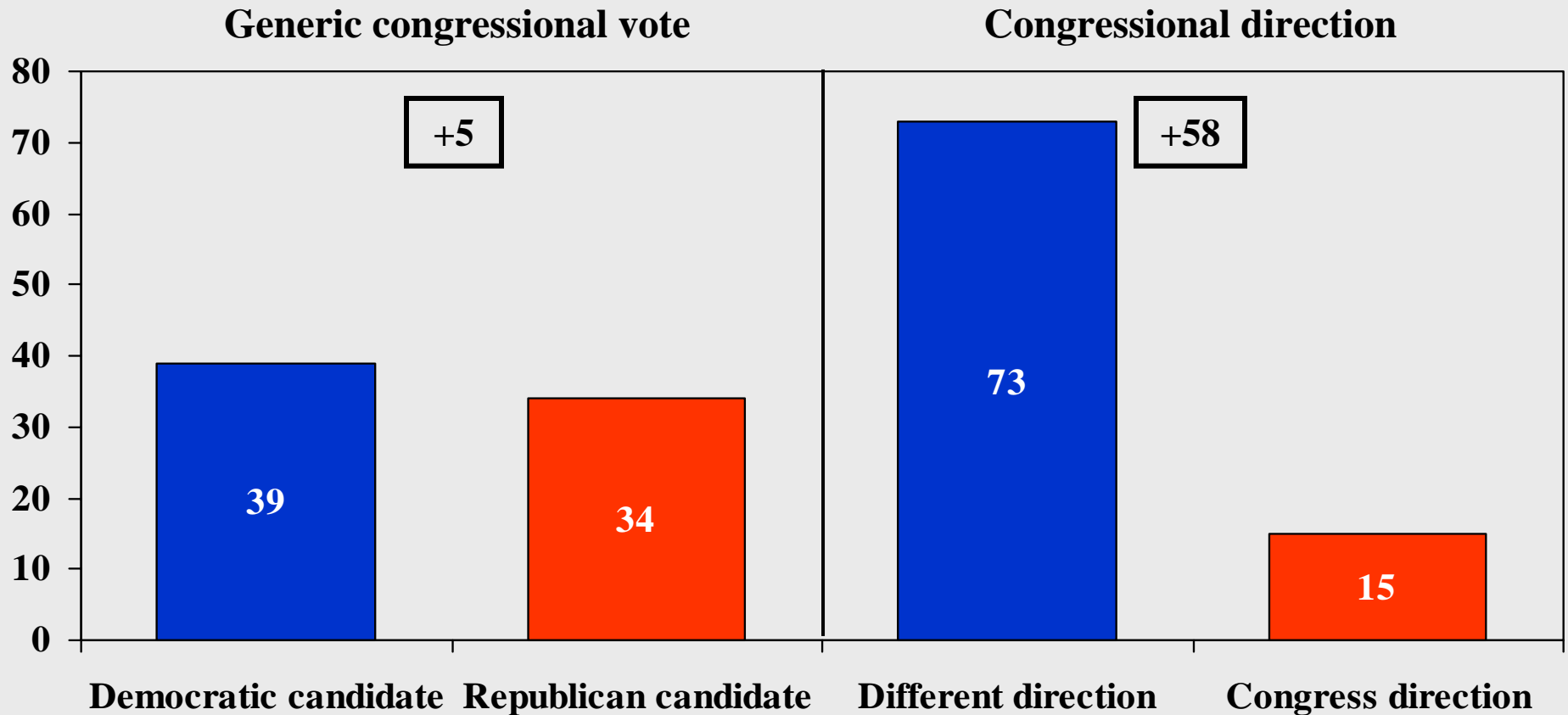


Republican VCS





Independent vote dramatically lags view of Congress



“I know it is far ahead, but thinking about next year’s elections, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate in your district where you live?”

“Now let me ask overall about the direction of Congress, do you think it should continue in its current direction or should Congress go in a significantly different direction?”



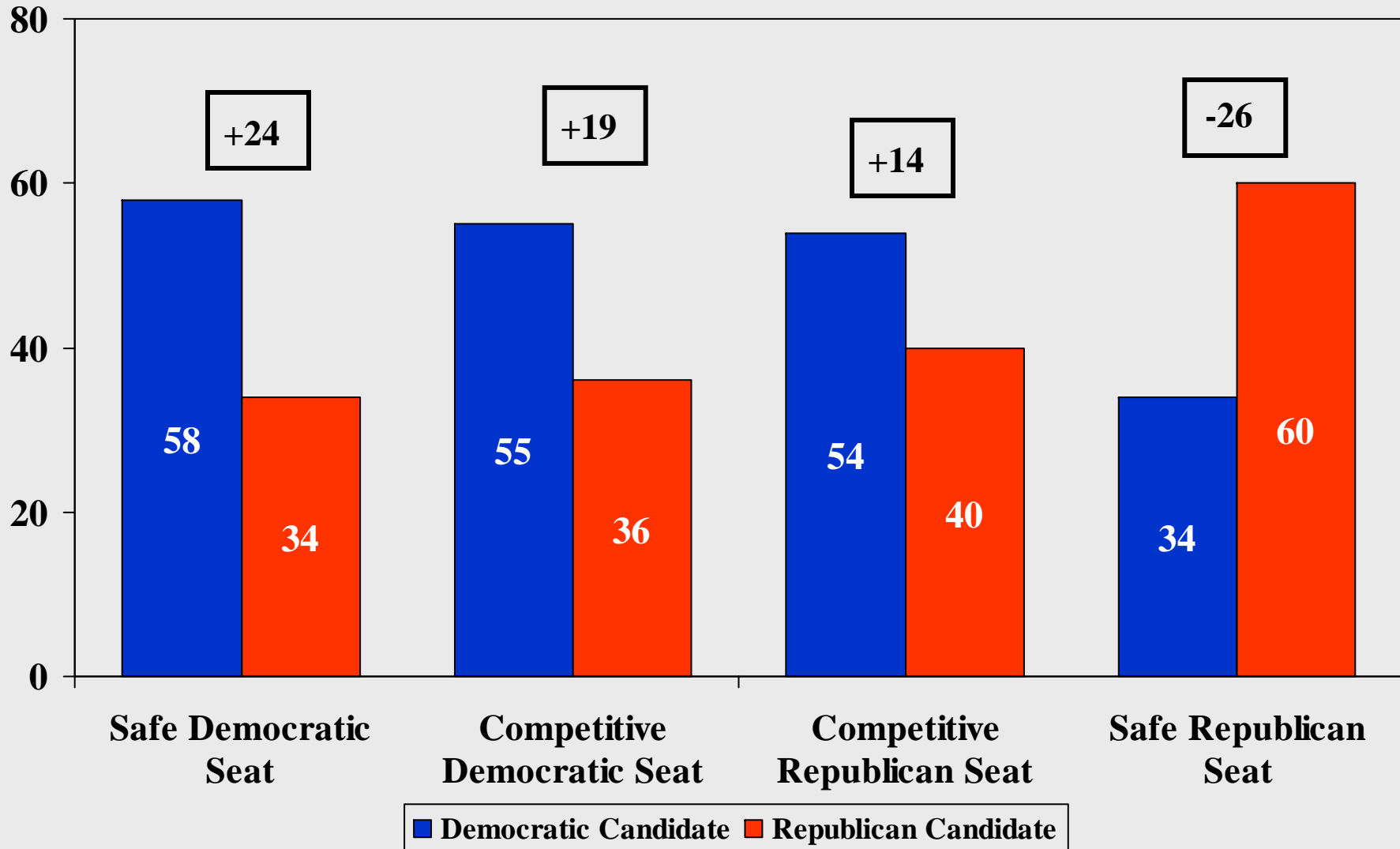
The Winnables

- **Broad and representative. More to be gained in defining the choice than in targeting**
- **More married (66 percent vs. 57 percent of current supporters)**
- **Somewhat younger**
- **More likely to own a gun (38 percent versus 27 percent)**
- **Significantly more rural (25 versus 17 percent)**



Senate Actual Vote

Both candidates named if known – 6,000 interviews*

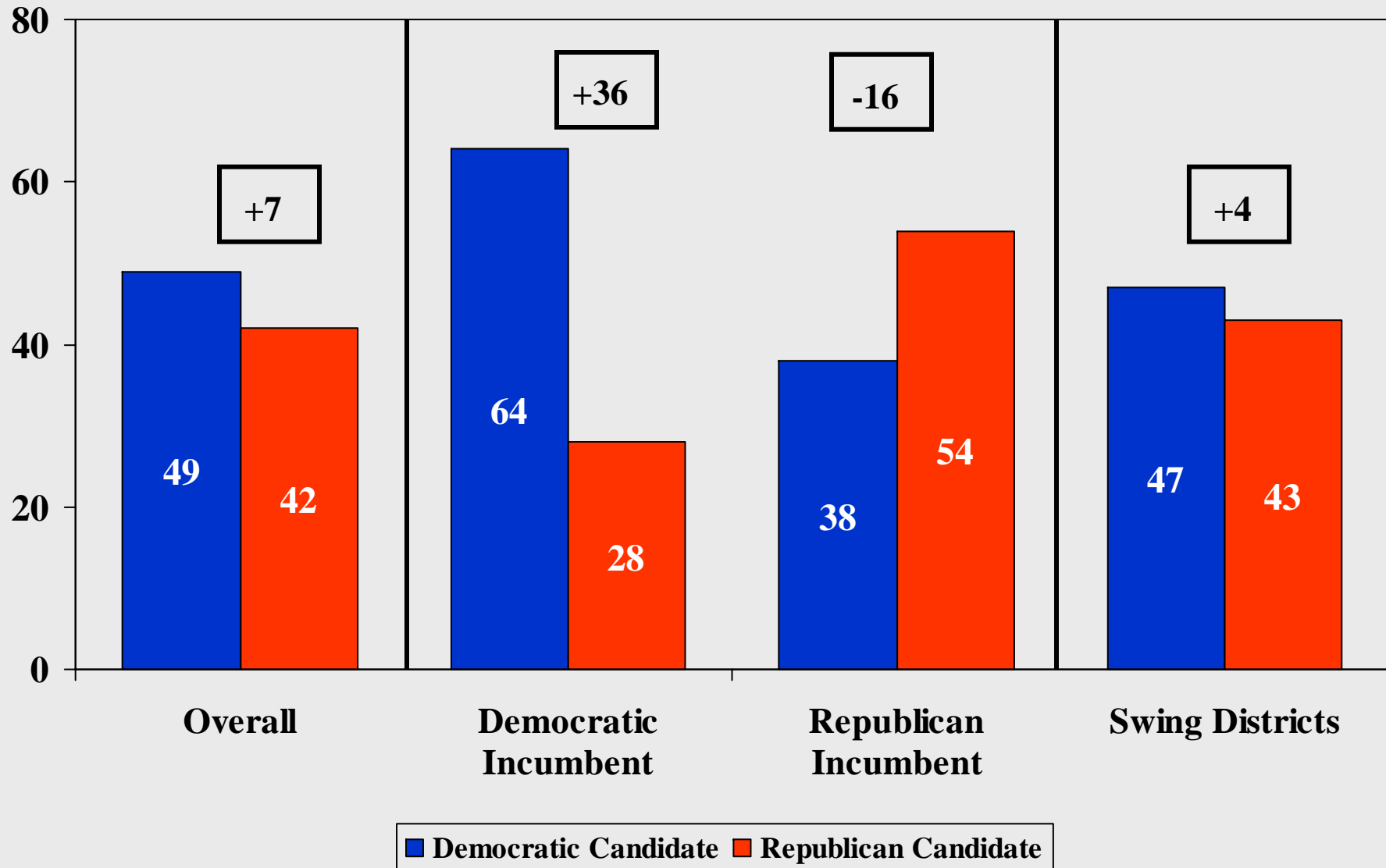


*From combined database of 6,047 interviews, conducted September 5th – November 6th 2005



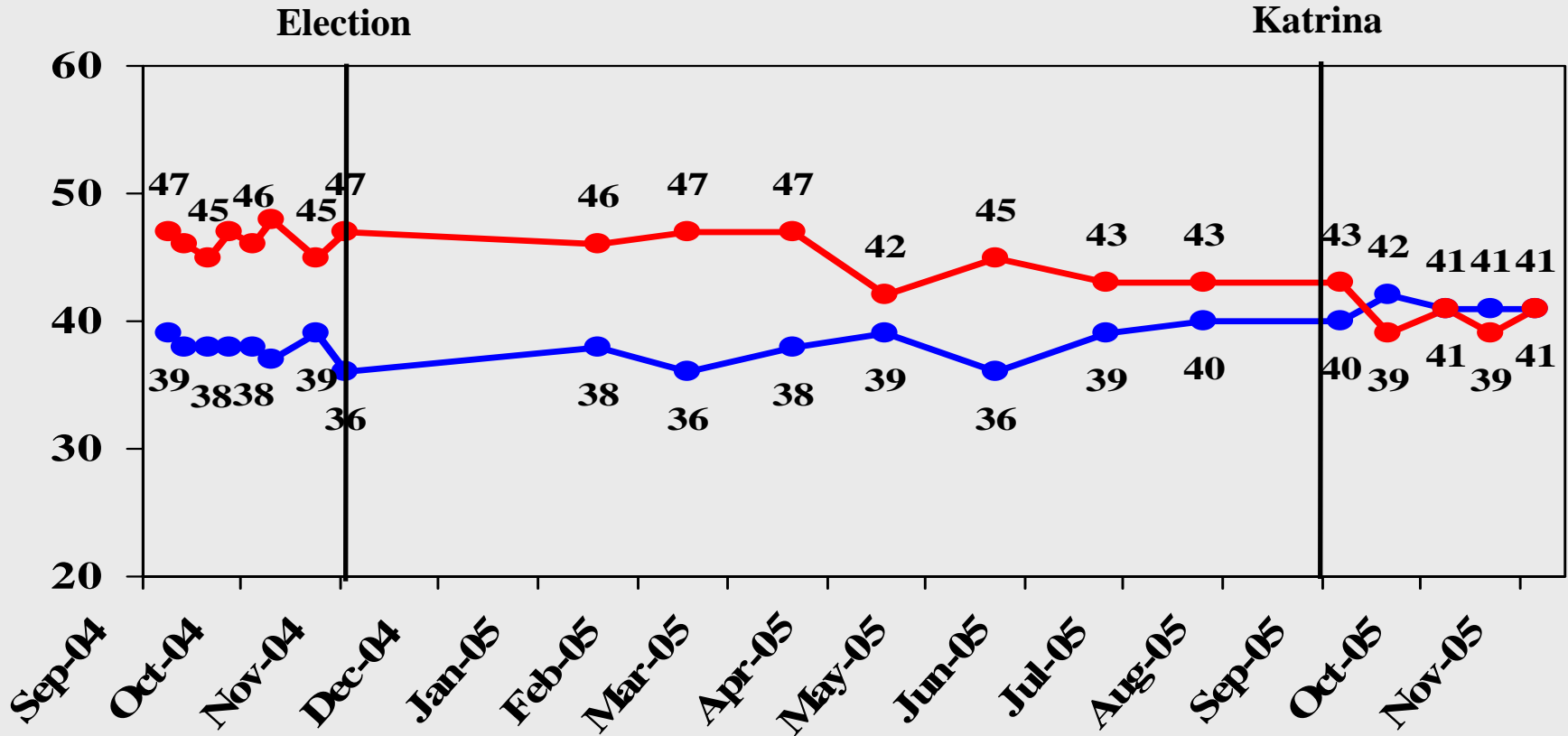
Congressional Actual Vote

With incumbents named – 6,000 interviews*

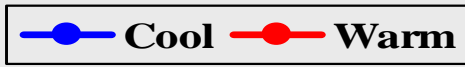




Republican image stable at low level

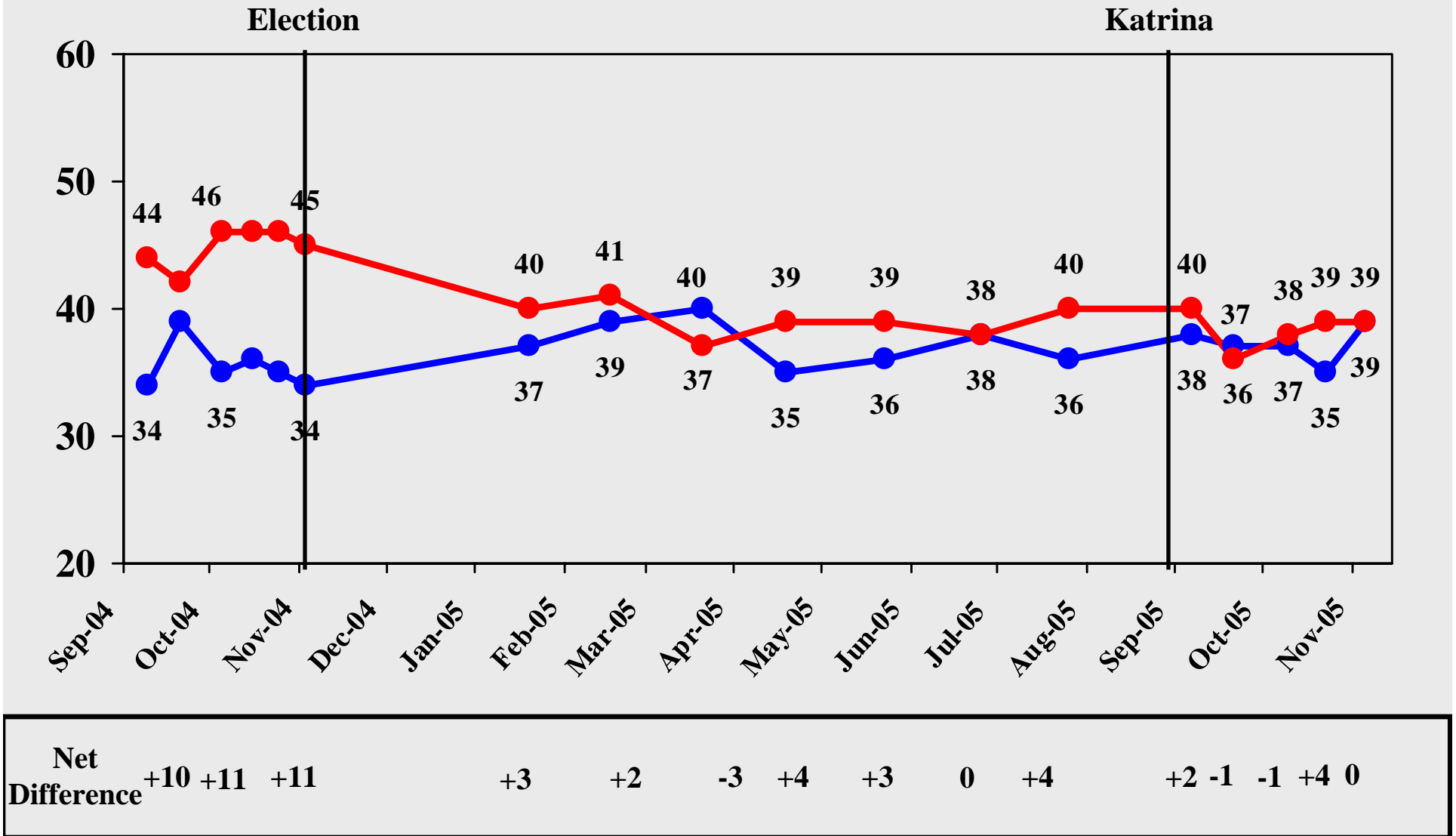


Net Difference	Sep-04	Oct-04	Nov-04	Dec-04	Jan-05	Feb-05	Mar-05	Apr-05	May-05	Jun-05	Jul-05	Aug-05	Sep-05	Oct-05	Nov-05			
Net Difference	+8	+6				+8	+11	+9	+3	+9	+4	+3		+3	-3	0	-2	0





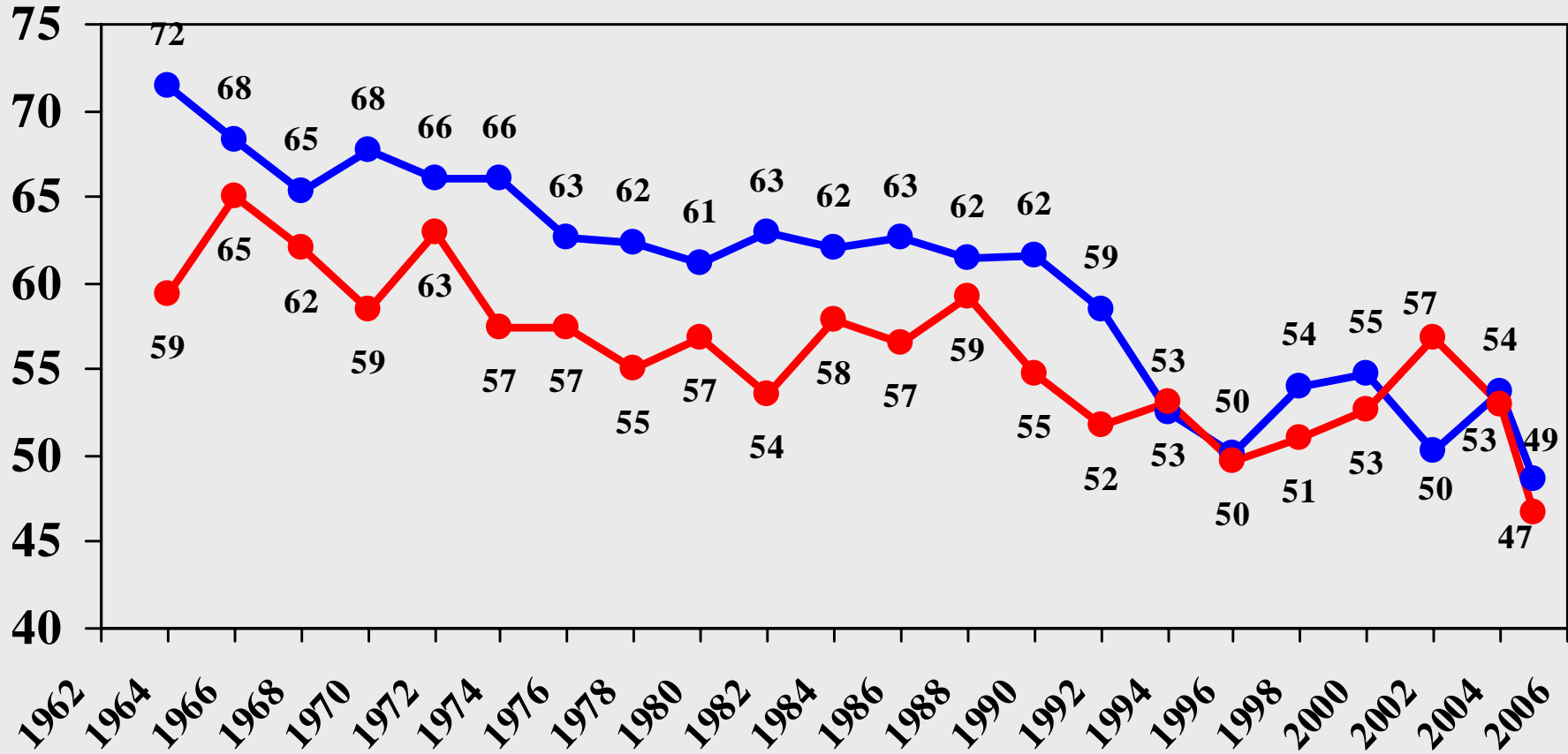
Democrats also stable at same low level





Party Thermometers Since 1964

Mean Thermometer Scores



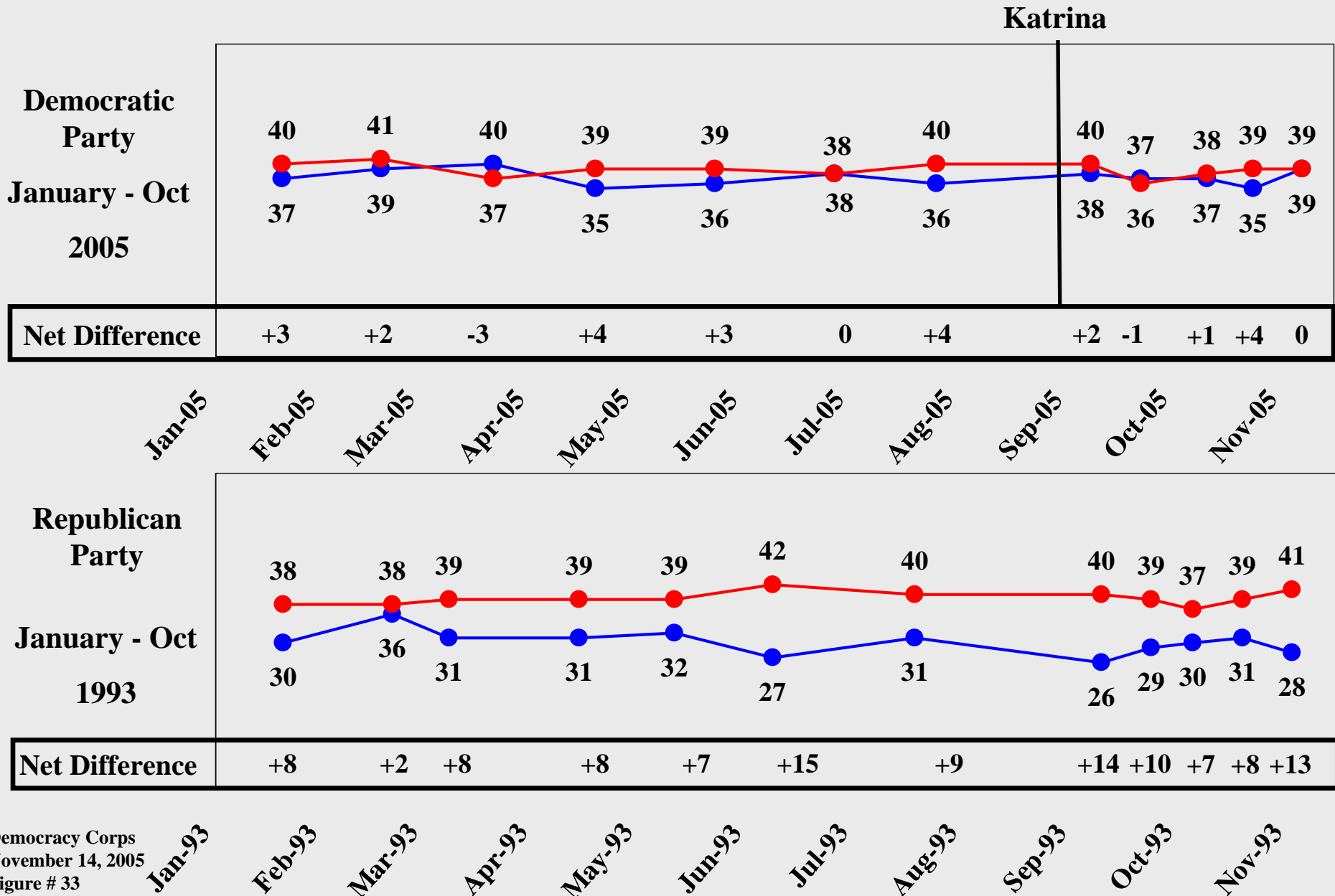
Net
Difference

+13 +3 +3 +9 +3 +9 +6 +7 +4 +9 +4 +6 +3 +7 +7 0 0 +3 +2 -7 +1 +2





Comparing now and 1993

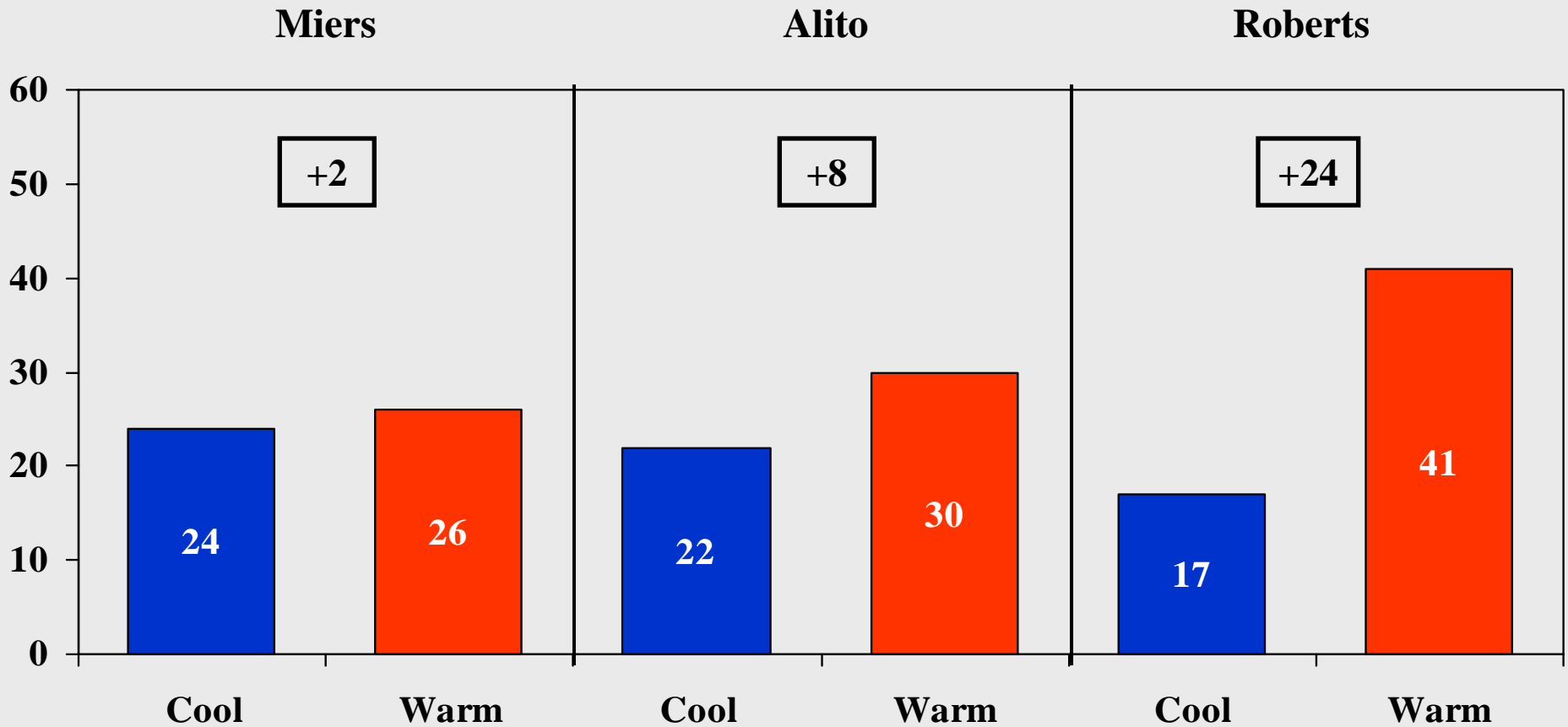




The Alito Nomination

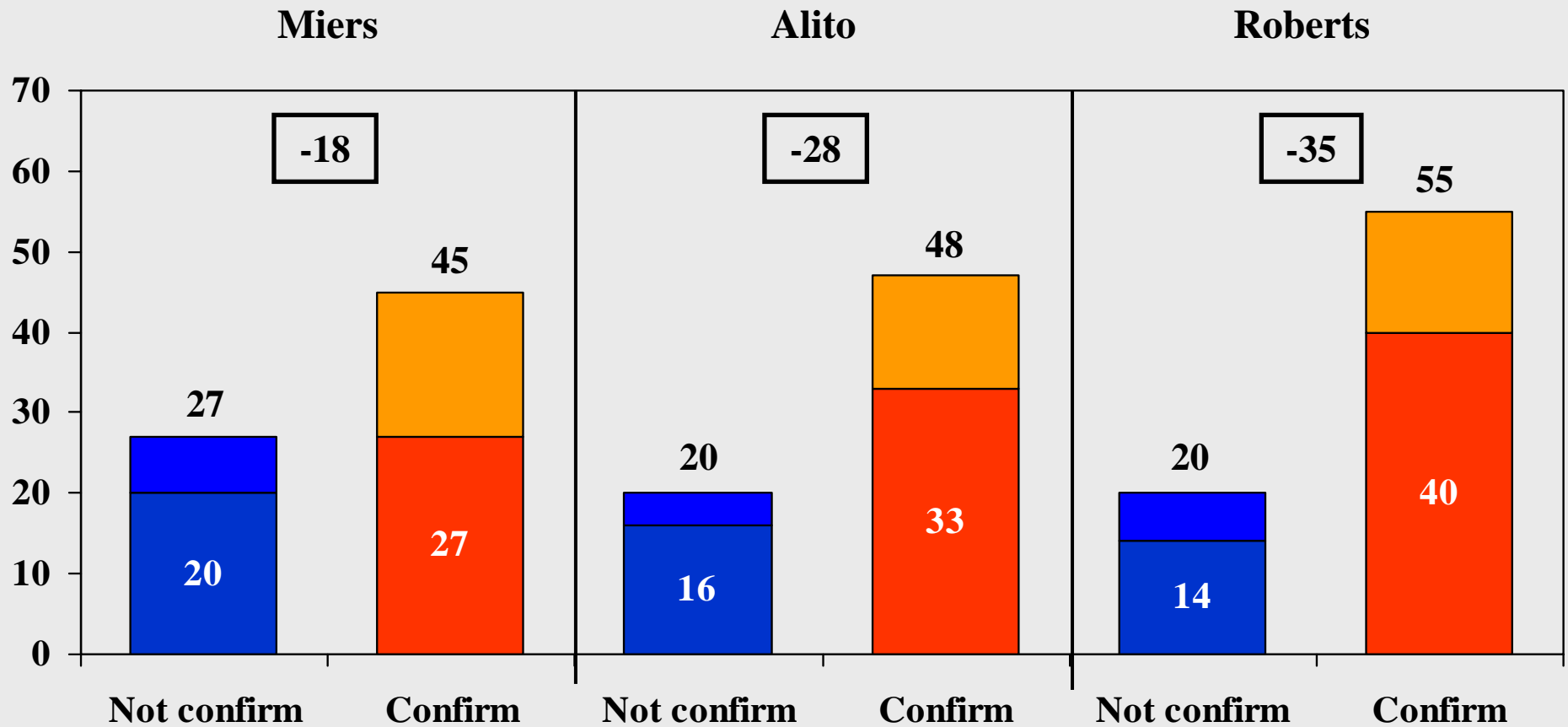


Alito favorability closer to Miers than Roberts





As with Miers, under half say confirm Alito



As you know, President Bush has nominated Samuel Alito to the U.S. Supreme Court. Do you think the Senate should confirm or should not confirm his nomination to the United States Supreme Court?



Democrats Dominate Every Issue Debate

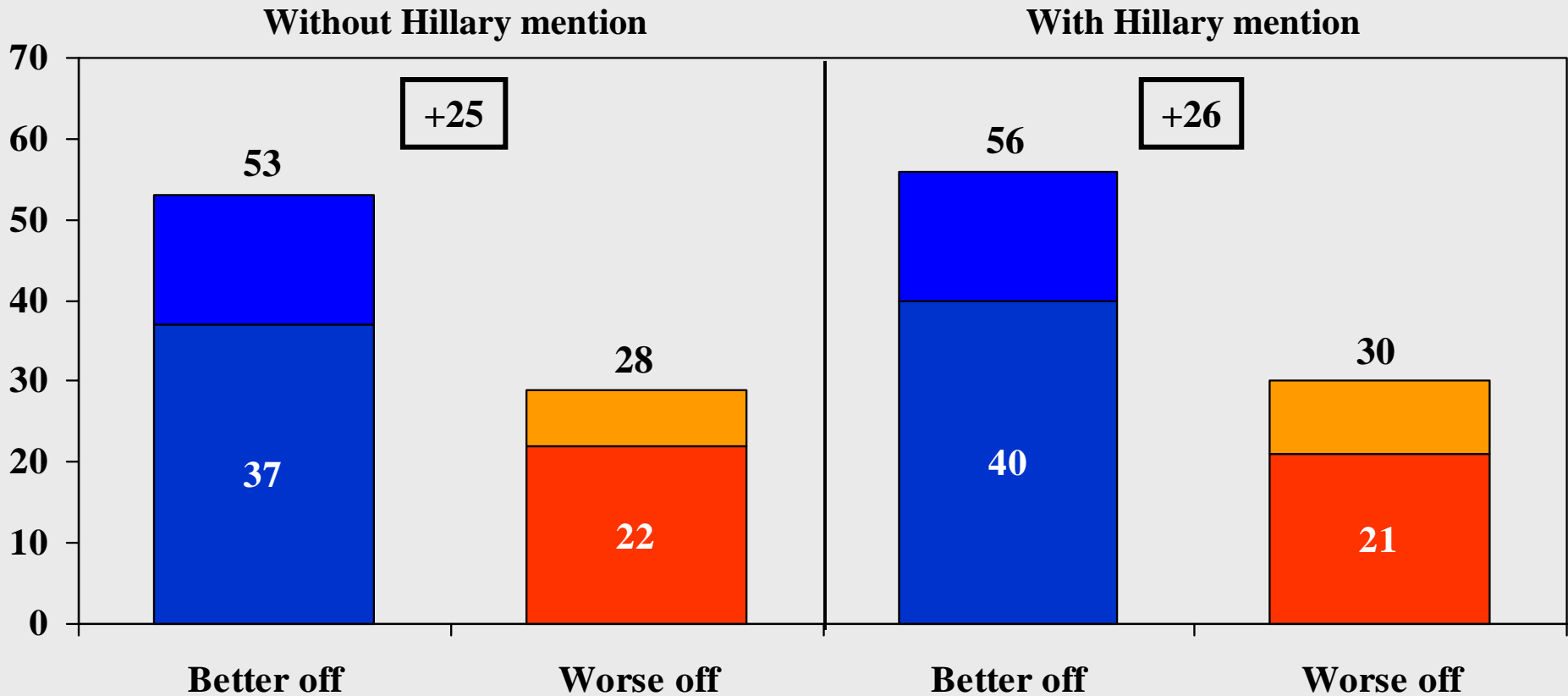


Dominance on the issues

- **Democrats' dominant on policy and issues. Country desperate for new direction.**
- **“Hillary care.” Bring ‘em on.**
- **Democratic priorities and change vs. Republican priorities and progress. A slaughter.**
- **Energy – public jumps at any big idea.**
- **Gay marriage – proactive marginalizes a Republican strategy**



Clinton health care plan looks better in hindsight



As you may remember, Bill Clinton proposed a national health care reform plan in 1993 that was never passed by Congress. Given what we have seen with health care, do you feel our country would be better off or worse off today if we had passed the Clinton health care plan?

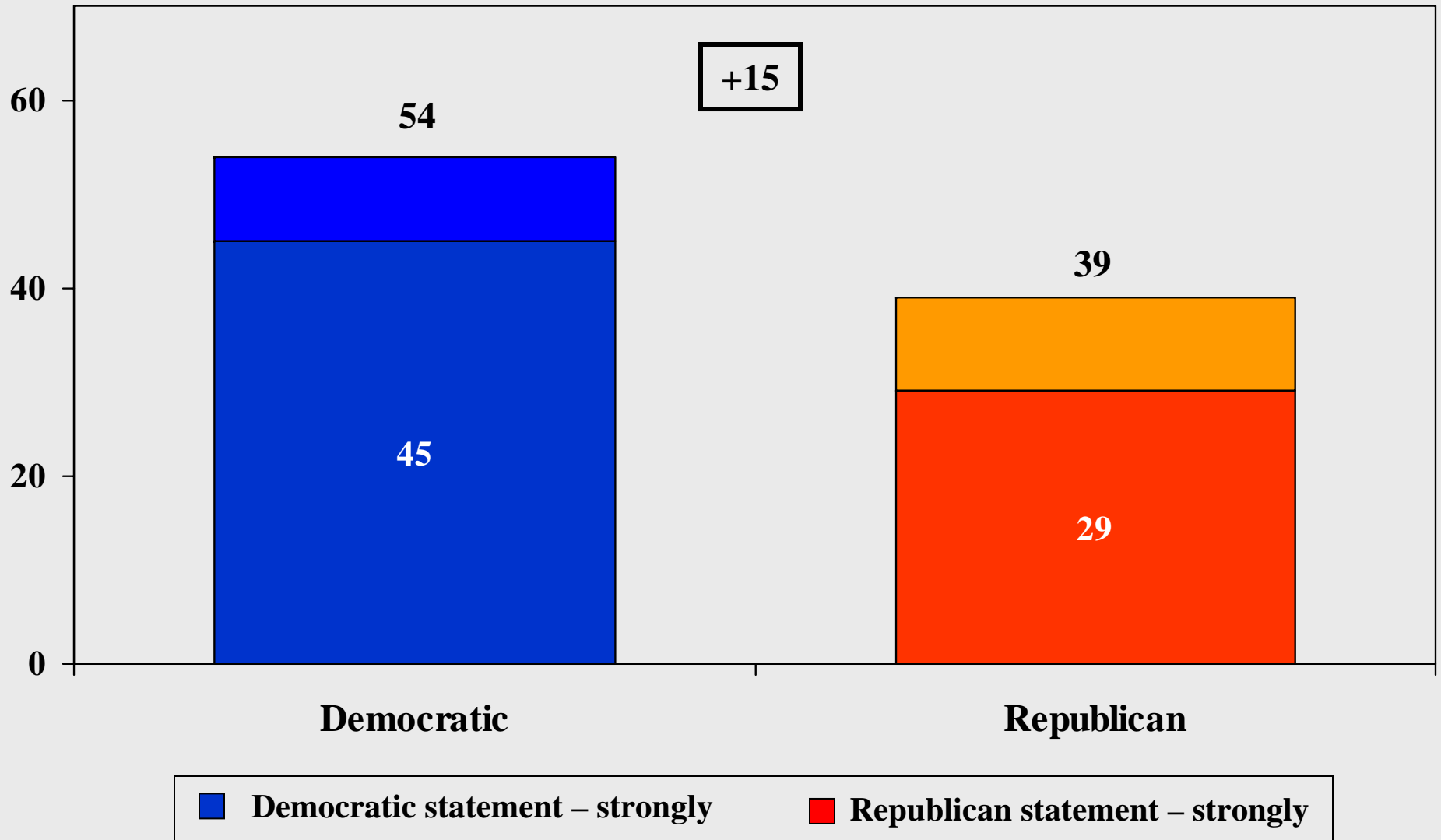
As you may remember, Bill Clinton proposed a national health care reform plan in 1993 that was never passed by Congress. Hillary Clinton was in charge of the health care initiative then. Given what we have seen with health care, do you feel our country would be better off or worse off today if we had passed the Clinton health care plan?

 Better off – strongly

 Worse off – strongly



Strong preference for Democratic narrative



“Which of those statements comes closer to your own view, the Democratic statement or the Republican statement?”



The Democratic issue priorities

New policies for first 100 days

Much
more
likely

Much/
smwt
more
likely

The Democrat says, Republicans have been in control of Congress for over a decade now, and they've failed to address critical issues such as rising health care costs or our dependence on foreign oil. Yet this Congress took extraordinary measures to interfere in the Terry Schiavo case, voted themselves pay raises, changed ethics rules to protect Tom DeLay, opposed stem cell research, and cut veterans' benefits. Democrats say it's time for a change in priorities and guarantee that if they are in control of Congress, they will hold votes in the first 100 days to raise the minimum wage, require Medicare to negotiate lower drug costs for seniors, and impose a windfall profits tax on oil companies to fund the development of alternative fuels.

32 **52**

“Now let me read you a statement from a Democratic candidate. After the statement please tell me whether this would make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, a little more likely, no more likely, or less likely to support this candidate.”



The Republican issue priorities

Progress in insecure times

Much more likely	Much/ smwt more likely
------------------------	---------------------------------

The Republican says, America has faced extraordinary times with our country attacked by a foreign power for the first time since World War II, which hurt our economy and our budget plans. But we are making progress. The president's tax cuts have helped families, helped create 3 million new jobs and now homeownership is at an all-time high. In our schools, test scores are improving thanks to our education reforms. In the aftermath of 9/11 we have also made the country more secure by creating the department of Homeland Security, improving our intelligence capabilities and working vigilantly to hunt down terrorists abroad before they can attack us at home. We are not ashamed to say we helped restore respect for faith and family and restored honor and dignity to the White House.

19	36
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Democratic initiatives

Much
more
likely

Much/
smwt
more
likely

ENERGY INDEPENDENCE – ALTERNATIVE FUELS

Our economy and national security require that America breaks our dependence on Middle East oil. We must get serious about energy independence with tax incentives for hybrid cars, stricter fuel efficiency standards for all new vehicles, and major investment in American technologies to develop alternative energy sources.

49

79

WINDFALL TAX ON OIL COMPANIES

While Americans are forced to endure rising gas prices, Exxon Mobil reported 10 billion dollars in profits this quarter. It's time that we imposed a windfall profits tax on oil companies in order to fund an American-based effort to develop more affordable sources of energy. By taxing just a portion of oil companies' record profits, we can take real steps to reduce our dependence on foreign oil and cut the cost of energy.

45

75

HEALTH CARE – PRESCRIPTION DRUGS

America's health care crisis can no longer go unaddressed. Millions of Americans are seeing their benefits cut while the costs of health insurance and prescription drugs skyrocket. We must get prescription drug costs under control by making it easier to import drugs from Canada and putting a price cap on prescription drugs that makes them profitable for pharmaceutical companies but affordable for consumers.

44

75



Democratic initiatives

	Much more likely	Much/ smwt more likely
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SPECIAL INTERESTS – LOBBYING REFORM

In order to make serious progress on the issues that affect regular Americans, we must reduce the influence of corporations and special interests in Washington. It is time for comprehensive lobbying reform that requires all meetings with members of Congress and lobbyists to be made public and makes it illegal for members of Congress to accept campaign contributions on the basis of a vote.

45	73
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RAISE MINIMUM WAGE

Despite steep increases in the cost of living, the minimum wage has not increased in eight years and is now at its lowest level relative to average wages since 1949. Over 60 percent of the benefits from increasing the minimum wage would go to low income households and the nearly 2 million parents currently earning minimum wage. Instead of more tax breaks for CEOs and big corporations, let's raise the minimum wage.

45	70
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STOP TAX CUTS – FUND PROGRAMS

The Republicans are proposing to cut home heating and health care relief for the poor, student loans and funding for child support programs. They are cutting these programs in order to fund Katrina rebuilding and to pay for new tax cuts for the wealthiest. Well, that's upside down. We need to stop the new tax cuts for those earning over \$200,000 and use the funds to support education, health care and help us improve our energy situation.

36	63
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Republican initiatives

	Much more likely	Much/ smwt more likely
<p>ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION</p> <p>The politicians in Washington are not doing enough to stop the illegal immigration that threatens our economy and national security. Our lack of secure borders allows thousands of illegal immigrants to enter our country each week and means that terrorists could enter our country at any time. We need to make a real effort to defend our country by dramatically increasing security along the border, immediately deporting those who are here illegally and cracking down on those who employ illegal immigrants.</p>	46	70
<p>MAKE TAX CUTS PERMANENT</p> <p>The Republican tax cuts are creating jobs but there is still more to do. We understand that Americans are working hard to make ends meet and that is why we continue to push for policies that create jobs and oppose Democratic tax increases that would add a burden to working families and hurt our economy. In order to keep our economy growing, we must make the tax cuts permanent, cut unnecessary spending and pass a comprehensive energy bill that reduces our dependence on foreign oil.</p>	35	64
<p>COMPREHENSIVE ENERGY PLAN</p> <p>In the past three years, Republicans in the House have passed four comprehensive energy plans that would reduce our dependence on foreign oil, but each time they have been blocked by Democrats in the Senate who put the interests of Alaskan caribou ahead of working Americans. As Democrats continue to refuse to seriously address our energy problems, we will keep pushing for an energy plan that takes real steps to reduce costs, promote conservation and develop renewable energy sources.</p>	30	60

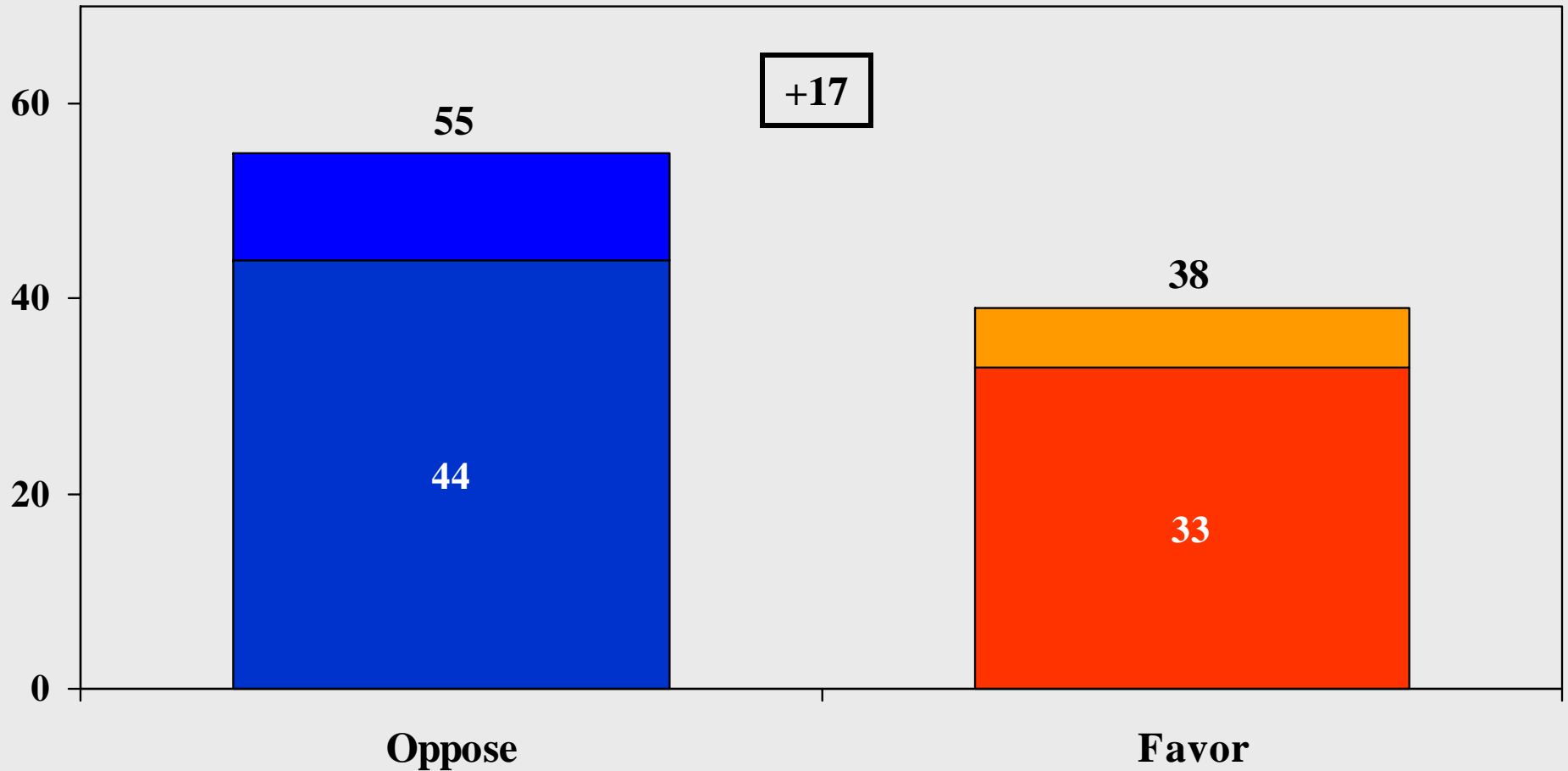


Gay Marriage

- **Republicans will go there before 2006 is done.**
- **Democrats win when are pro-active and confident – with a focus on real priorities.**
- **Strongest attack stresses opposition to gay marriage but no interest in making it a priority**



Majority opposes gay marriage amendment

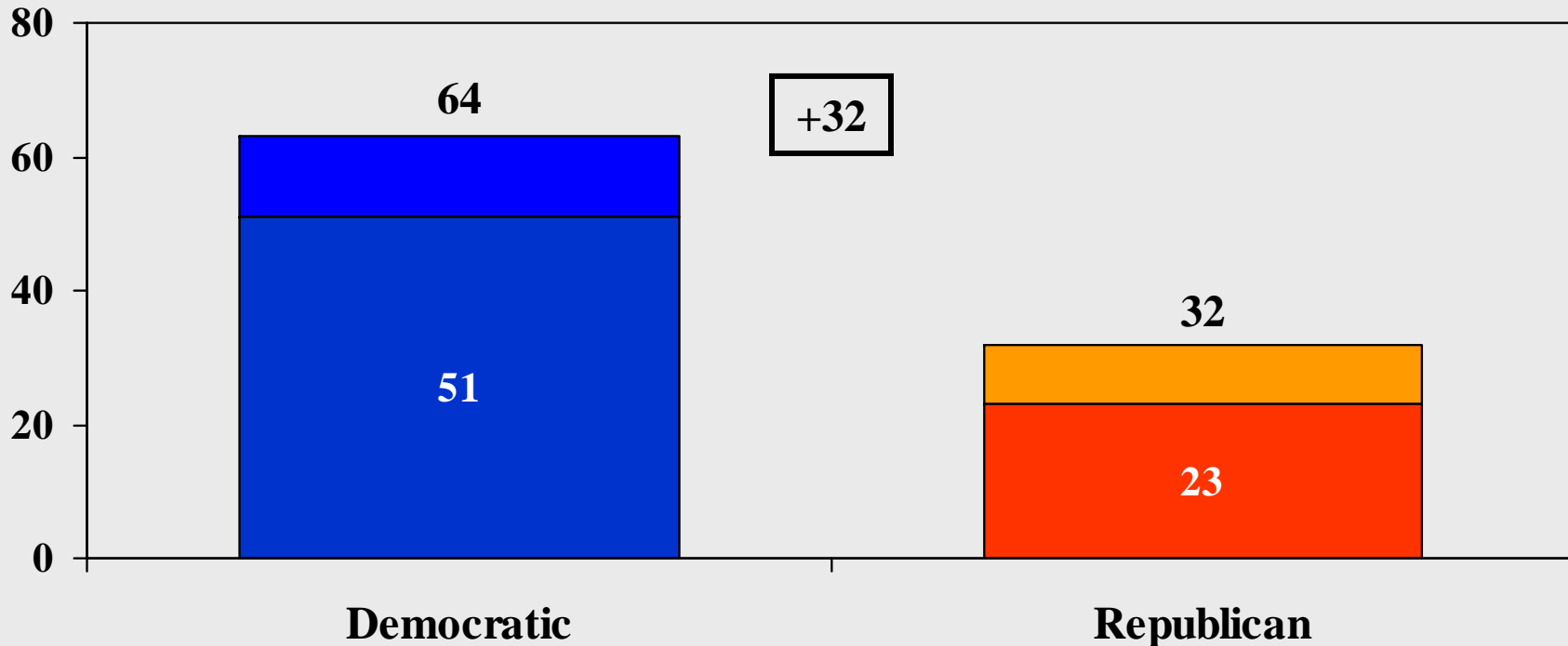


-  I oppose amending the U.S. Constitution to bar gay marriages – strongly
-  I favor amending the U.S. Constitution to bar gay marriages – strongly



Pro-active on gay marriage wins

Opposed to gay marriage but priority is cleaning up mess in Washington



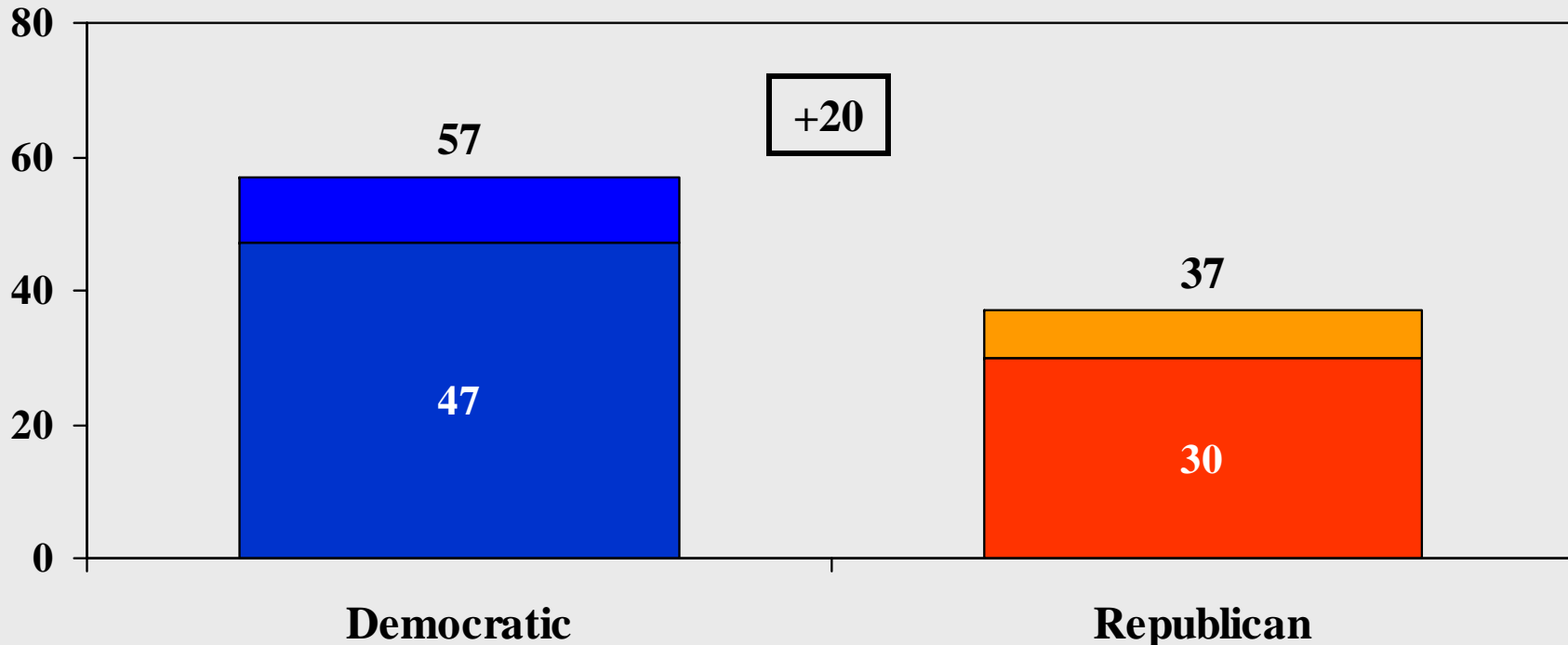
“The Democrat says, there are a lot of things that need to be changed in this country, but marriage is not one of them. I oppose gay marriage, but I'm not running for Congress to stop gay marriage. I'm running because we need to clean up the mess in Washington and focus on the issues that affect all Americans - reduce health care costs, decrease our dependence on foreign oil, and create jobs here at home.”

“The Republican says, our country faces many threats, but few threaten us as much as the breakdown of the family unit and the liberal effort to overturn laws defining marriage as the union of a man and a woman. In Congress, I will fight to lower taxes and decrease government regulation so that individual Americans can prosper, but I will never forget that we can not prosper if we sacrifice our moral foundation.”



Pro-active on gay marriage

Don't divide the country and tell people what to do; address real issues



“The Democrat says, politicians like to focus on issues that divide us, like gay marriage, but I say “who cares?” I don't want the government in Washington telling two consenting adults whether they can marry anymore than I want it telling people whether they can own a gun or how they should worship. Gay marriage is not my priority.

My priorities are reducing health care costs, decreasing our dependence on foreign oil, and creating jobs here at home.”

“The Republican says, our country faces many threats, but few threaten us as much as the breakdown of the family unit and the liberal effort to overturn laws defining marriage as the union of a man and a woman. In Congress, I will fight to lower taxes and decrease government regulation so that individual Americans can prosper, but I will never forget that we can not prosper if we sacrifice our moral foundation.”



2006



2006

- **Change and against the Washington mess**
- **Define the scandal: Vice President Cheney and President Bush cover-up on misleading public on Iraq war**
- **Big ideas and policies, starting with energy, energy, energy**
- **In January, use Alito to show our convictions: on being for a court for ordinary citizens, respect for women and privacy**