

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

June 3, 2008
Woodrow Wilson Center
Washington, DC

National security and the 2008 election

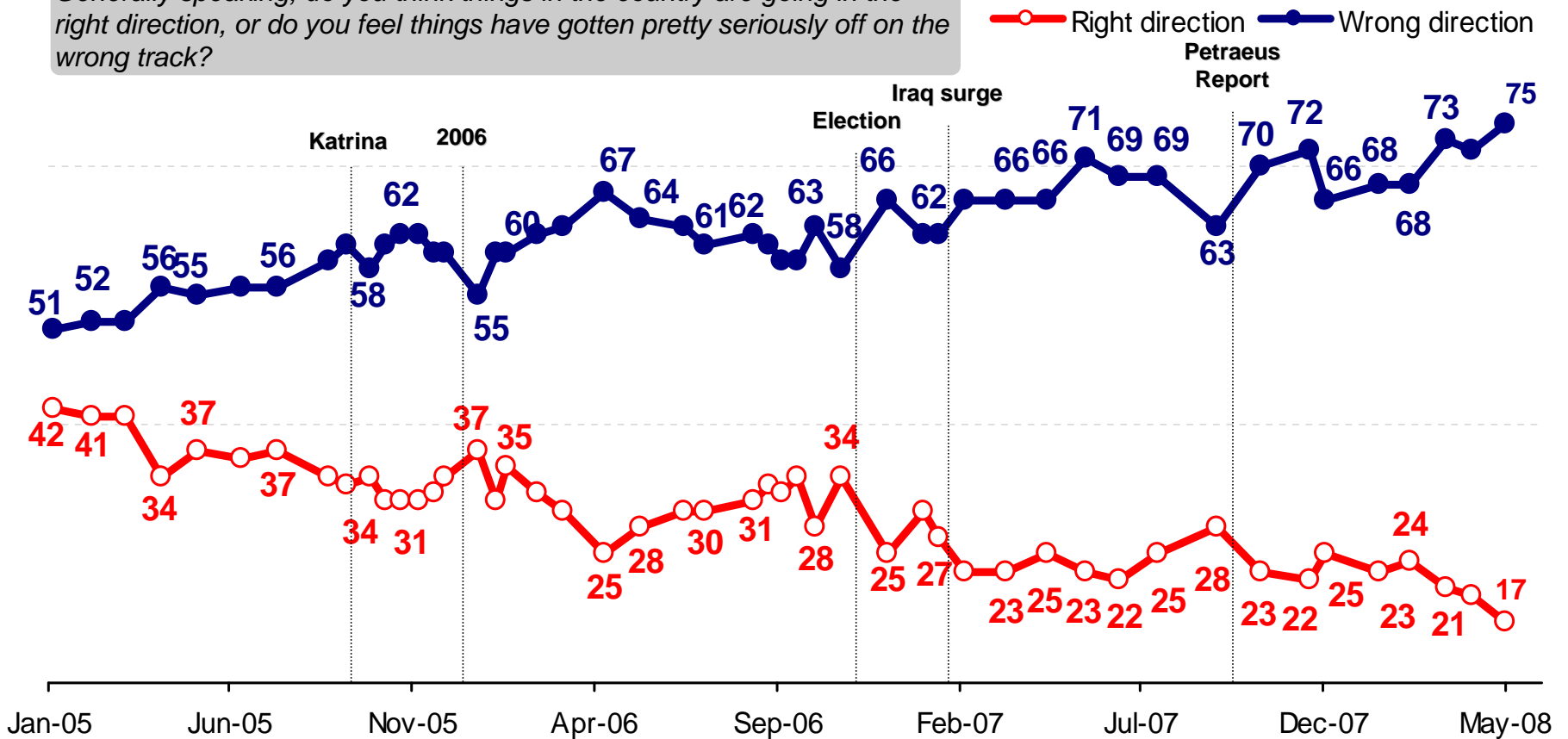
Stanley B. Greenberg



DEMOCRACY CORPS
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'Wrong Direction' at high

Generally speaking, do you think things in the country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?



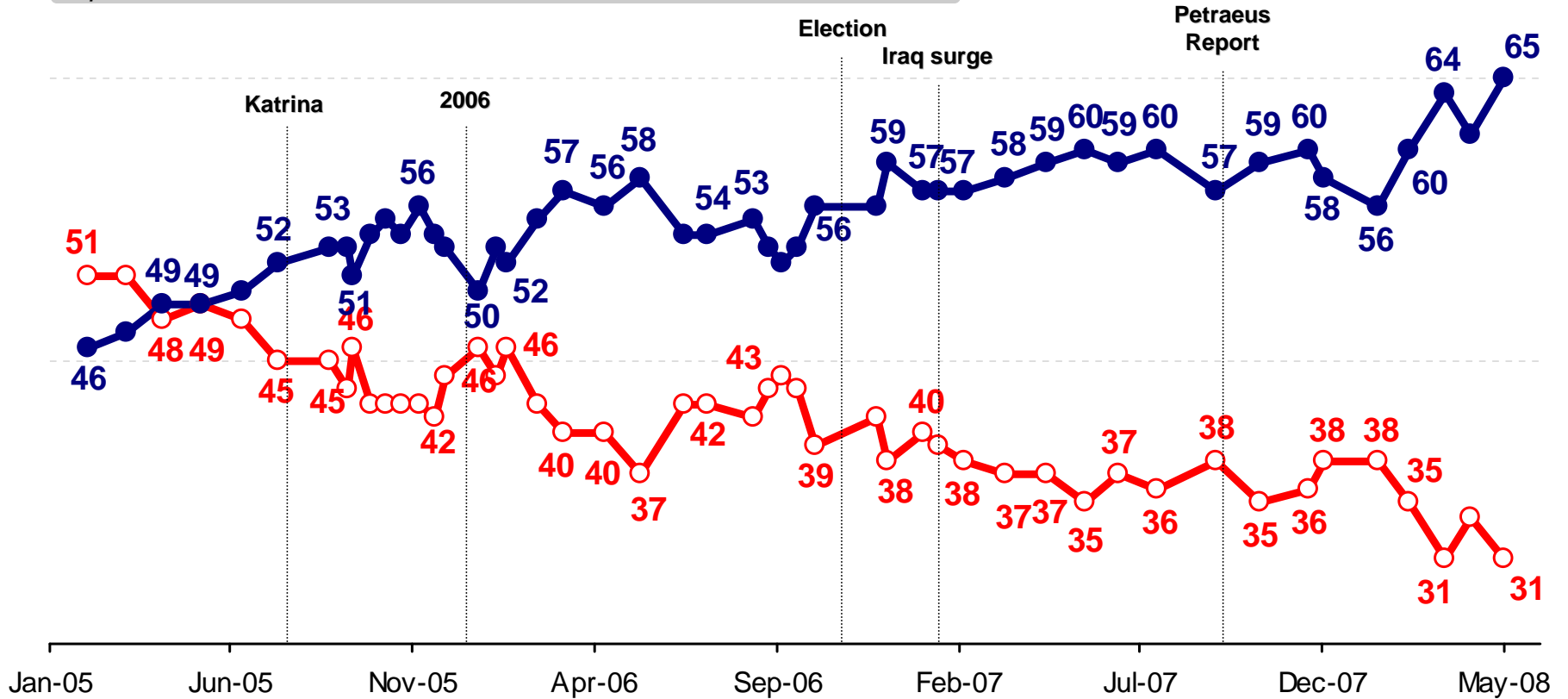
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*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last couple years.

Bush job disapproval at all time high

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

○ Approve ● Disapprove



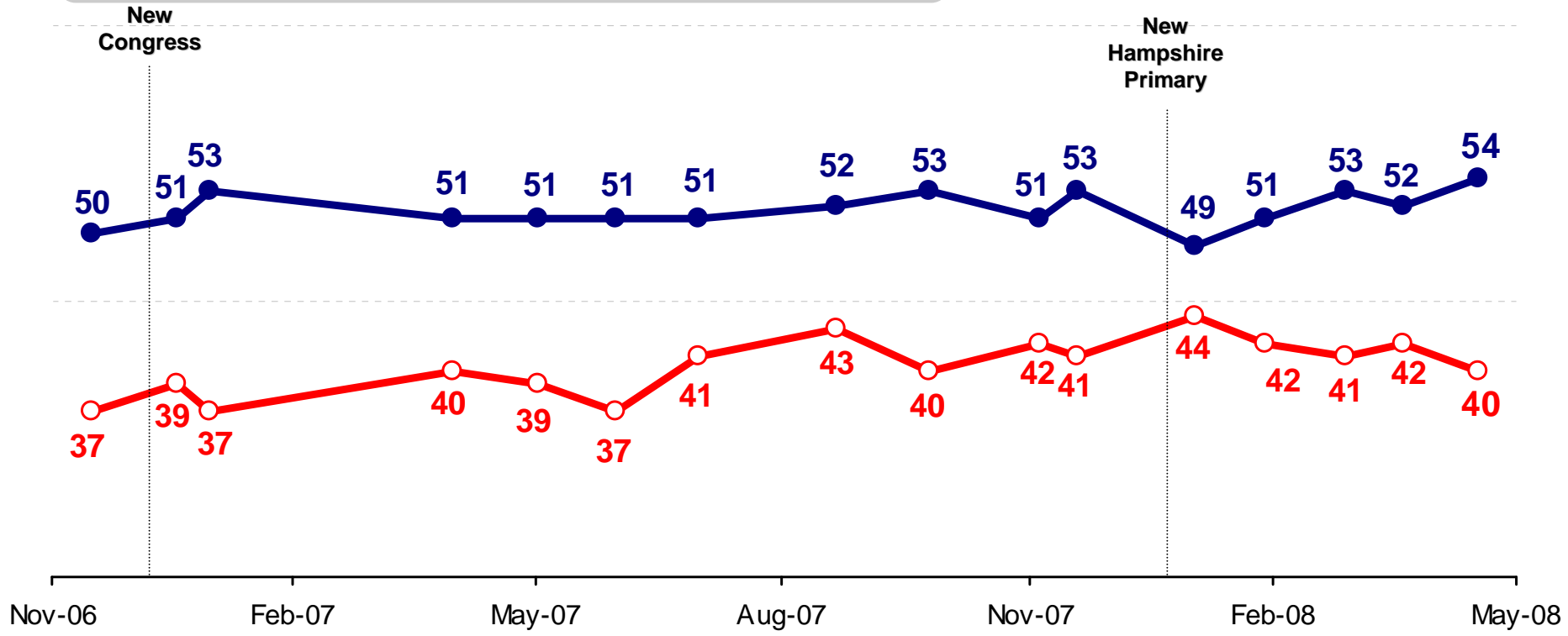
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*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last couple years.

The presidential generic vote: stable landslide

I know it is a long way off, but thinking about the election in 2008, if the election for president were held today, for whom would you vote – the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

○ Republican ● Democrat



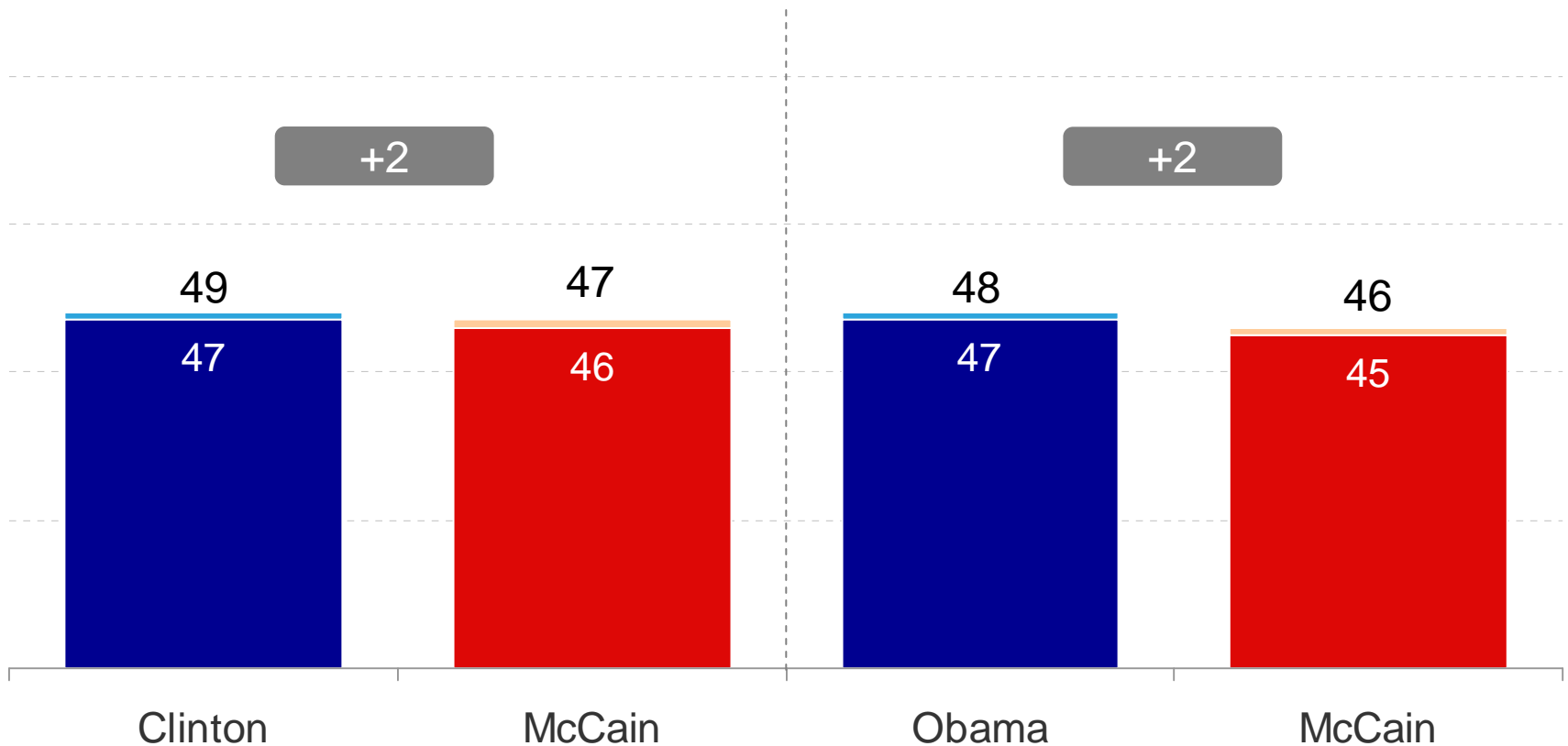
Net Difference	+13	+12	+16	+11	+12	+14	+10	+9	+13	+9	+12	+5	+9	+12	+10	+14
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*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last year and a half.

Named presidential vote is even match

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president but with candidate names. I know it is a long way off, but if the election for president were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama/Hillary Clinton and Republican John McCain, for whom would you vote?

- Democrat
- Republican
- Lean Democrat
- Lean Republican

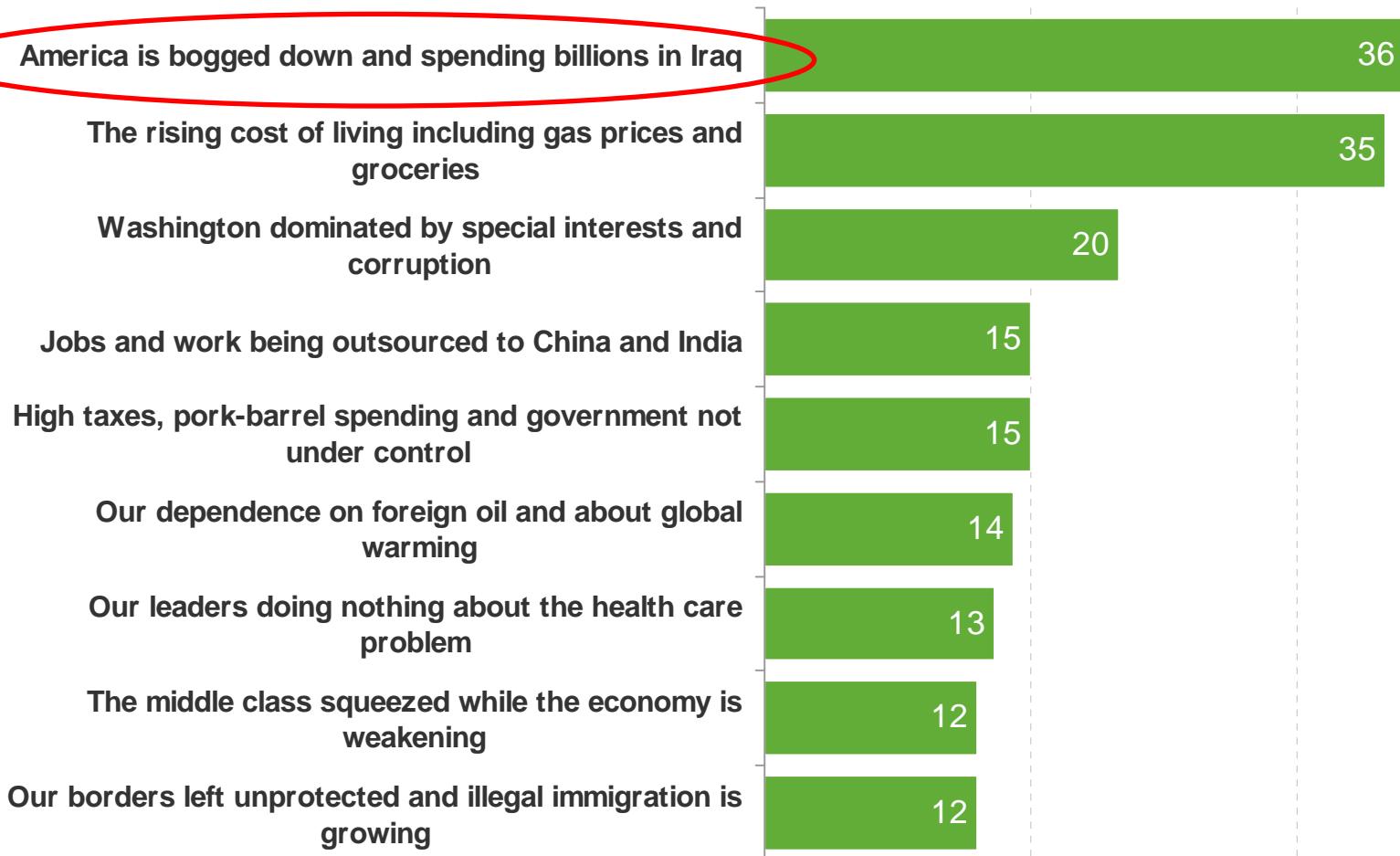


*Note: From Democracy Corps survey conducted May 13-15, 2008 of 1,014 likely voters nationwide.

National drivers of wrong track

Why is America on the wrong track?

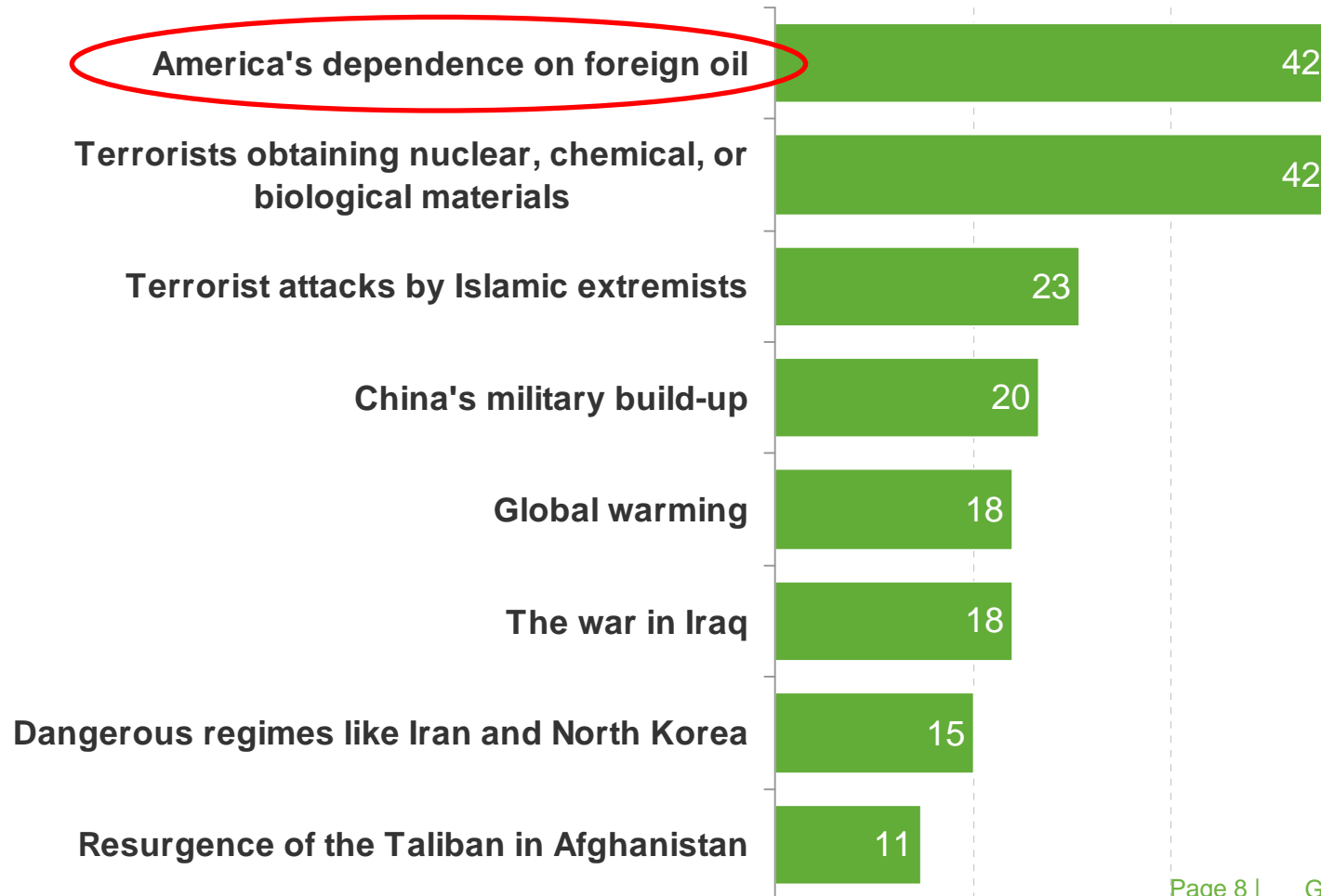
Now I am going to read a list of phrases people use to describe why our country is going in the wrong direction. After I read the list, please tell me which TWO come closest to your own view of why the country is going in the wrong direction.



Note: Question asked only of those who responded that the country was going in the wrong direction. Data from national Democracy Corps poll of 1,014 likely voters conducted May 13-15, 2008

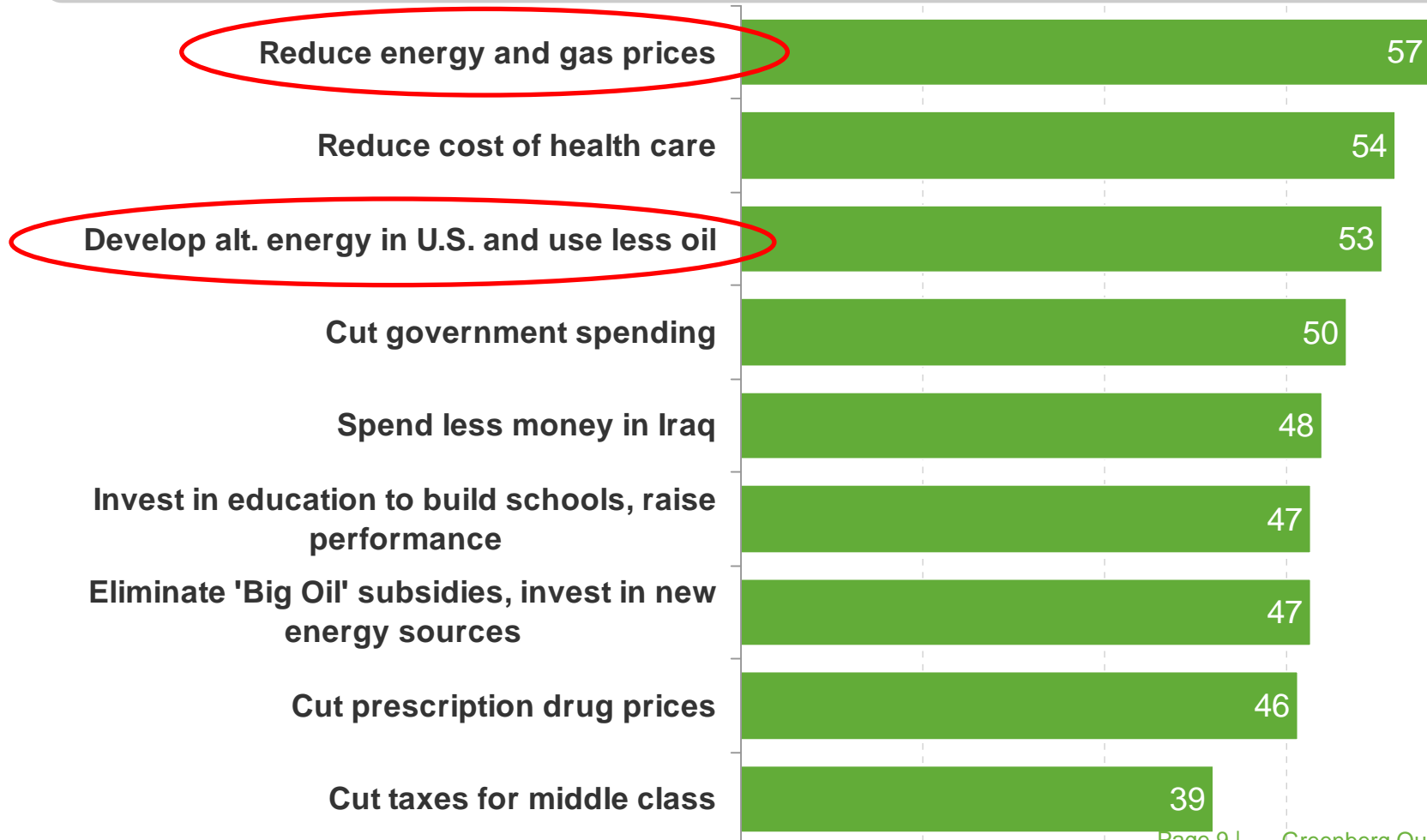
Dependence on foreign oil ranked with terrorist WMD as biggest national security threats

Now I am going to read you a list of threats that some people say America faces. Please tell me which TWO of these you personally consider to be the biggest threats to America's security?



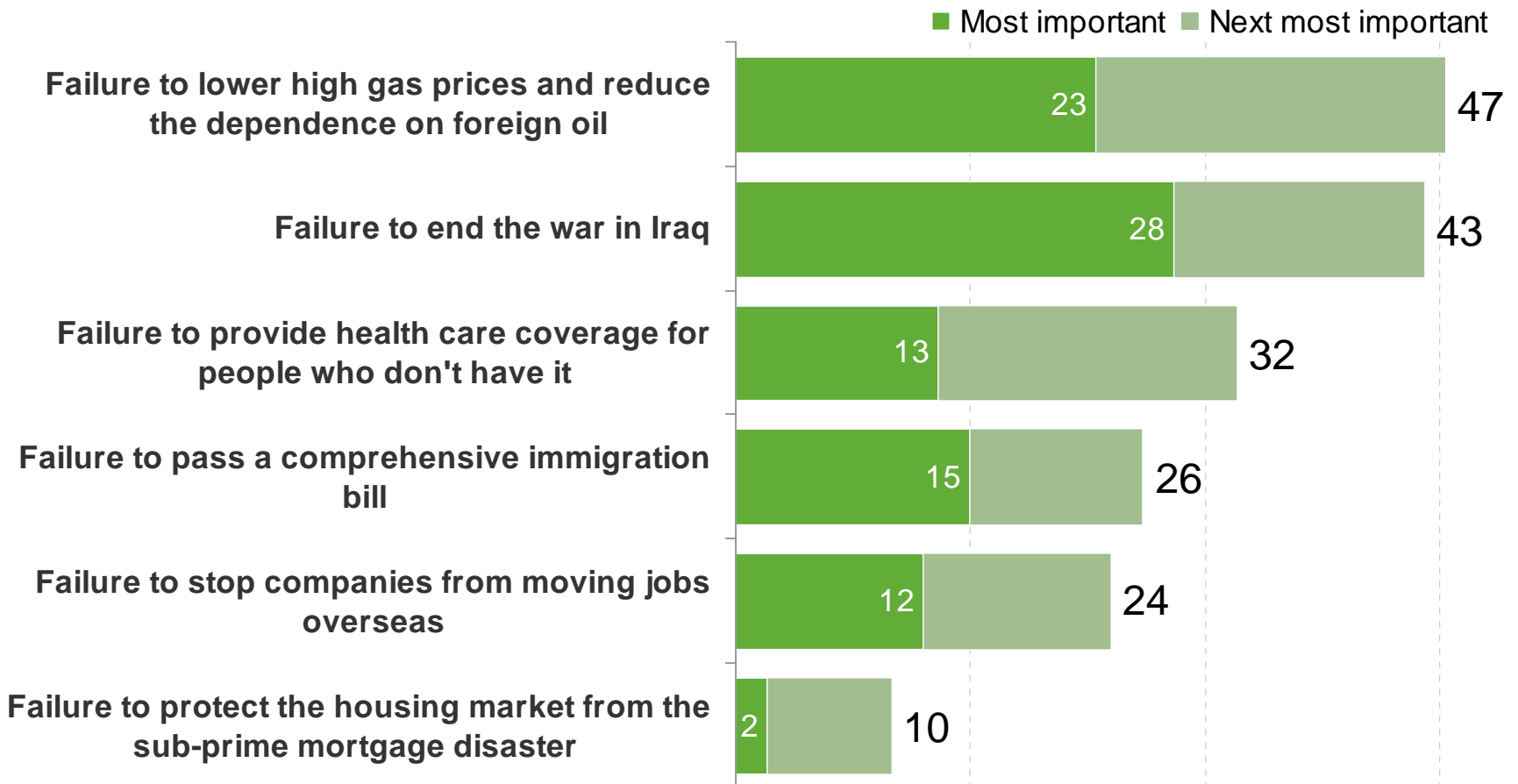
Top economic policy proposals

Now I want to read you some actions that the next President and Congress might take to improve the economy. For each one, tell me if you think it will improve the economy a lot, improve the economy somewhat, improve the economy a little, make no difference or make the economy worse.



Major issues: soaring gas prices and the Iraq War

I am going to read you a list of issues that people say the President and Congress have failed to address. Which of these are the most important to you?

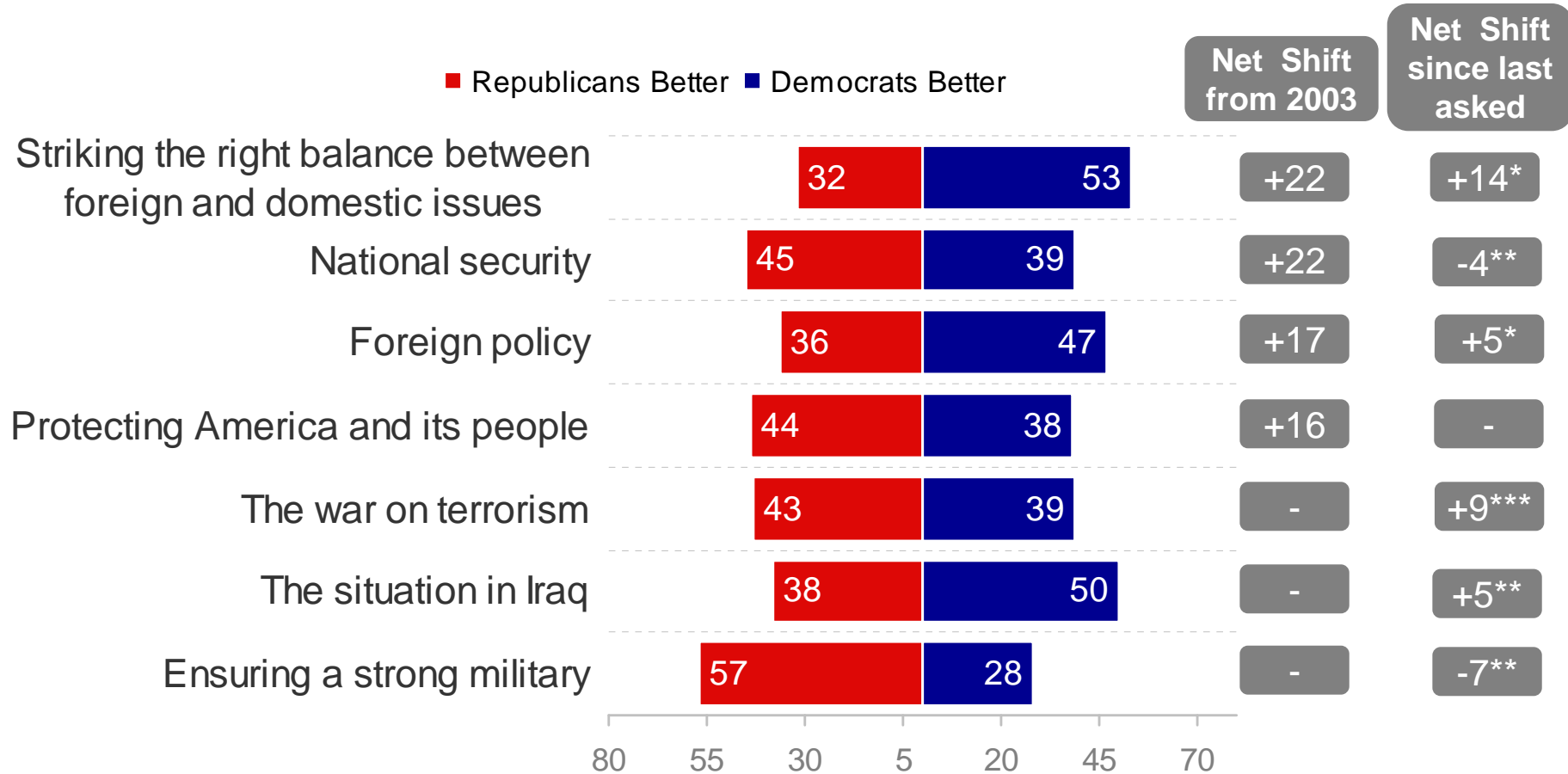


**Note: From national survey of 800 likely voters conducted May 7-8 and 10, 2008 by Public Opinion Strategies and Greenberg Quinlan Rosner for National Public Radio*

Parties, candidates and national security

Democrats improved on national security measures

Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with this issue.

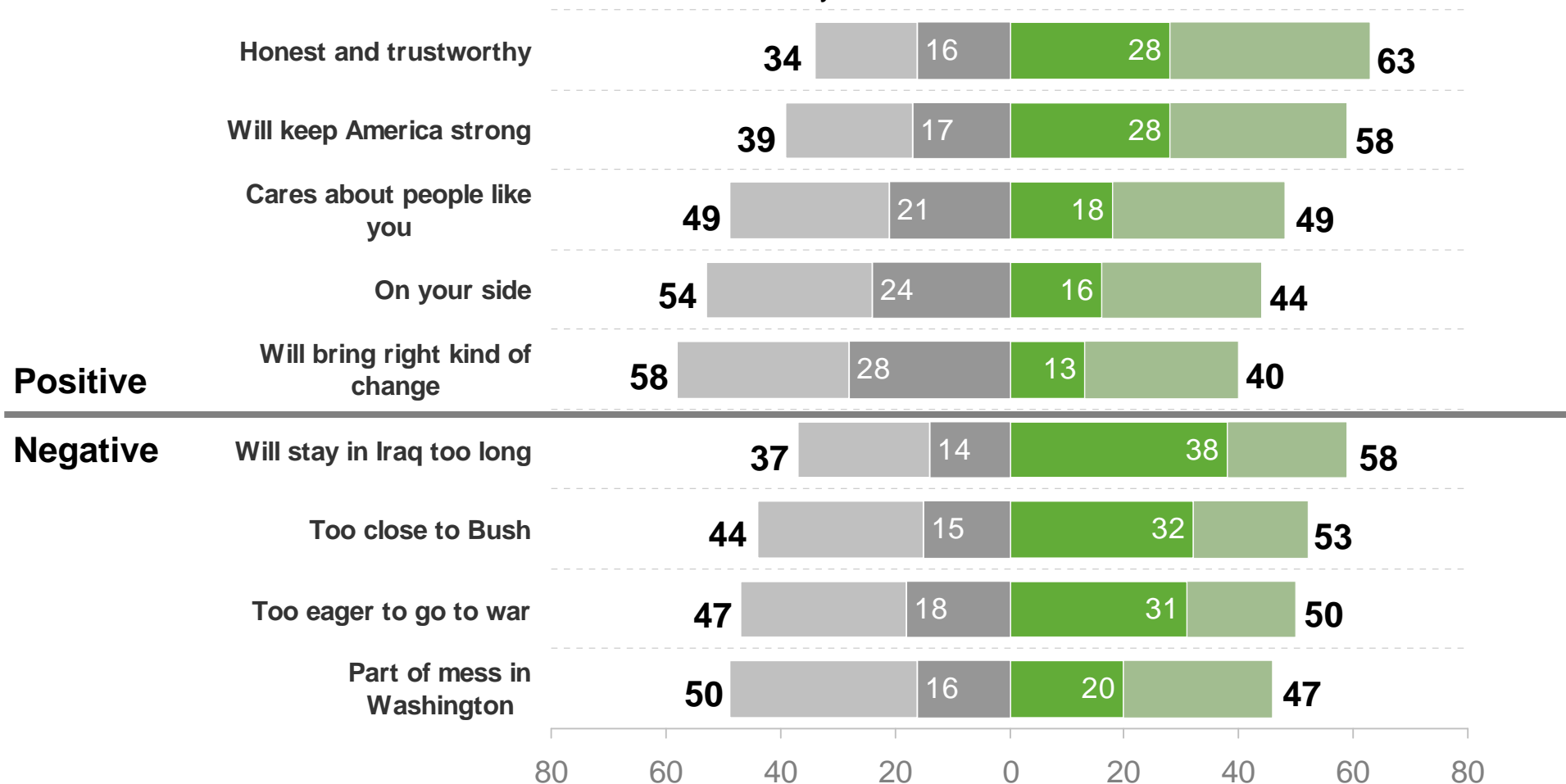


Note: Data from Democracy Corps national poll of 1,000 likely voters conducted March 25-27, 2008. * Indicates shift from Democracy Corps Poll conducted 8/27/06. ** Indicates shift from Democracy Corps Poll conducted 10/23/07. *** Indicates shift from Democracy Corps Poll conducted 12/04/05.

McCain viewed as honest and strong; questions exist about Iraq, Bush

Now, I am going to read you a list of words and phrases people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes John McCain very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

Very well Well Not well at all Not too well

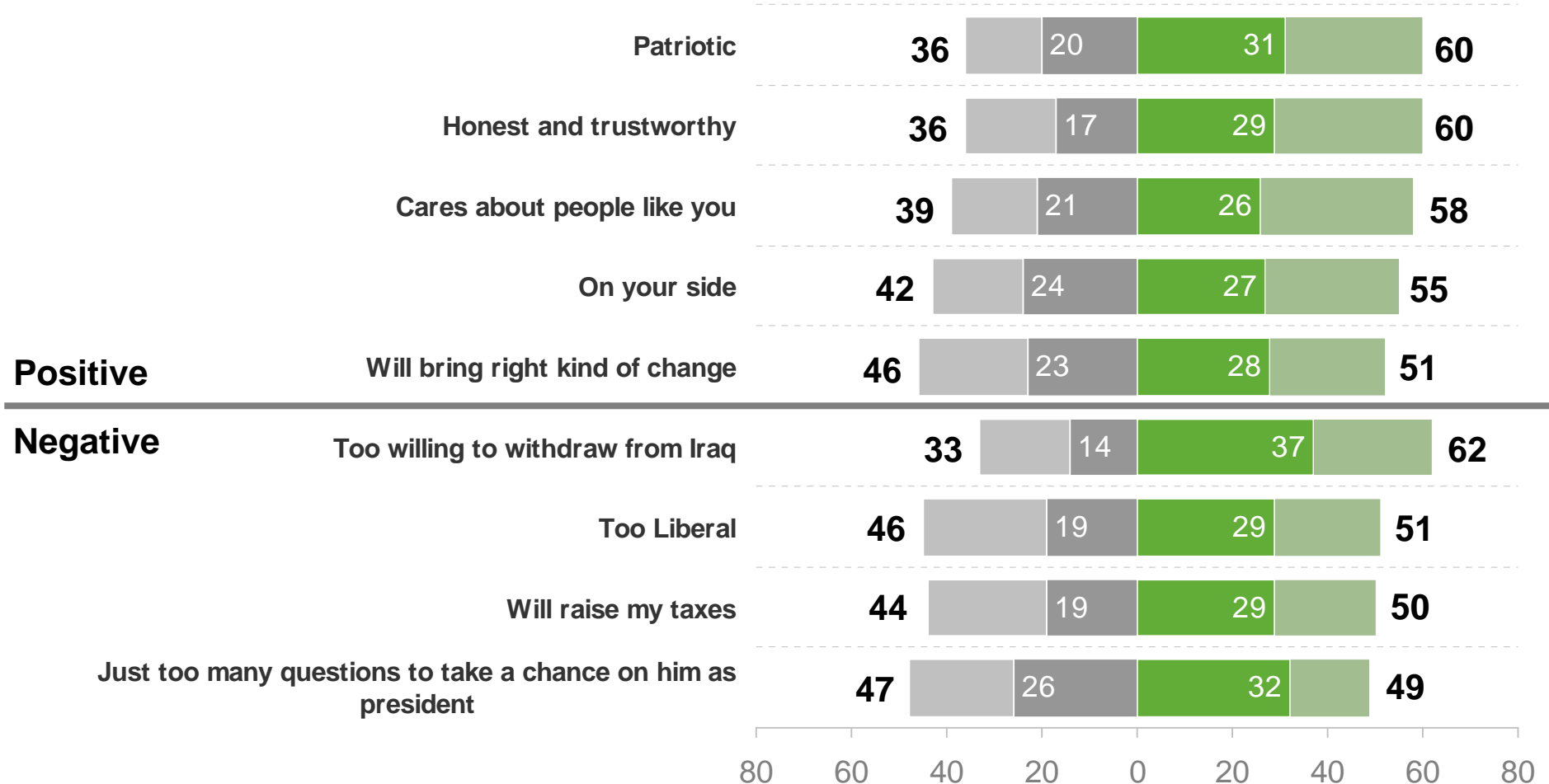


*Note: From Democracy Corps survey conducted May 13-15, 2008 of 1,014 likely voters nationwide.

Obama patriotic, honest, but weak on Iraq and “too liberal”

Now, I am going to read you a list of words and phrases people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes John McCain very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

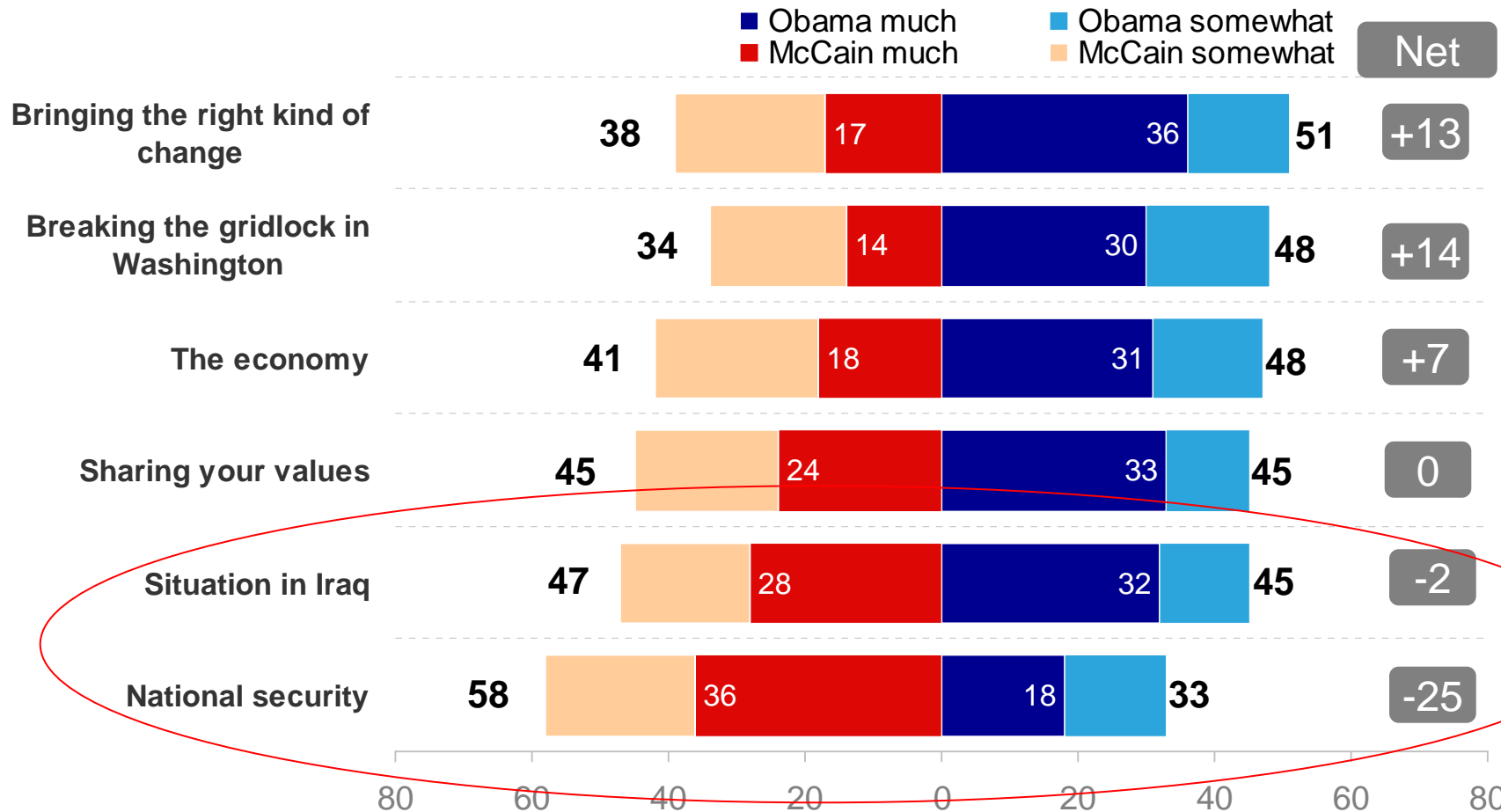
Very well Well Not well at all Not too well



*Note: From Democracy Corps survey conducted May 13-15, 2008 of 1,014 likely voters nationwide.

Obama v. McCain: who would do better with...?

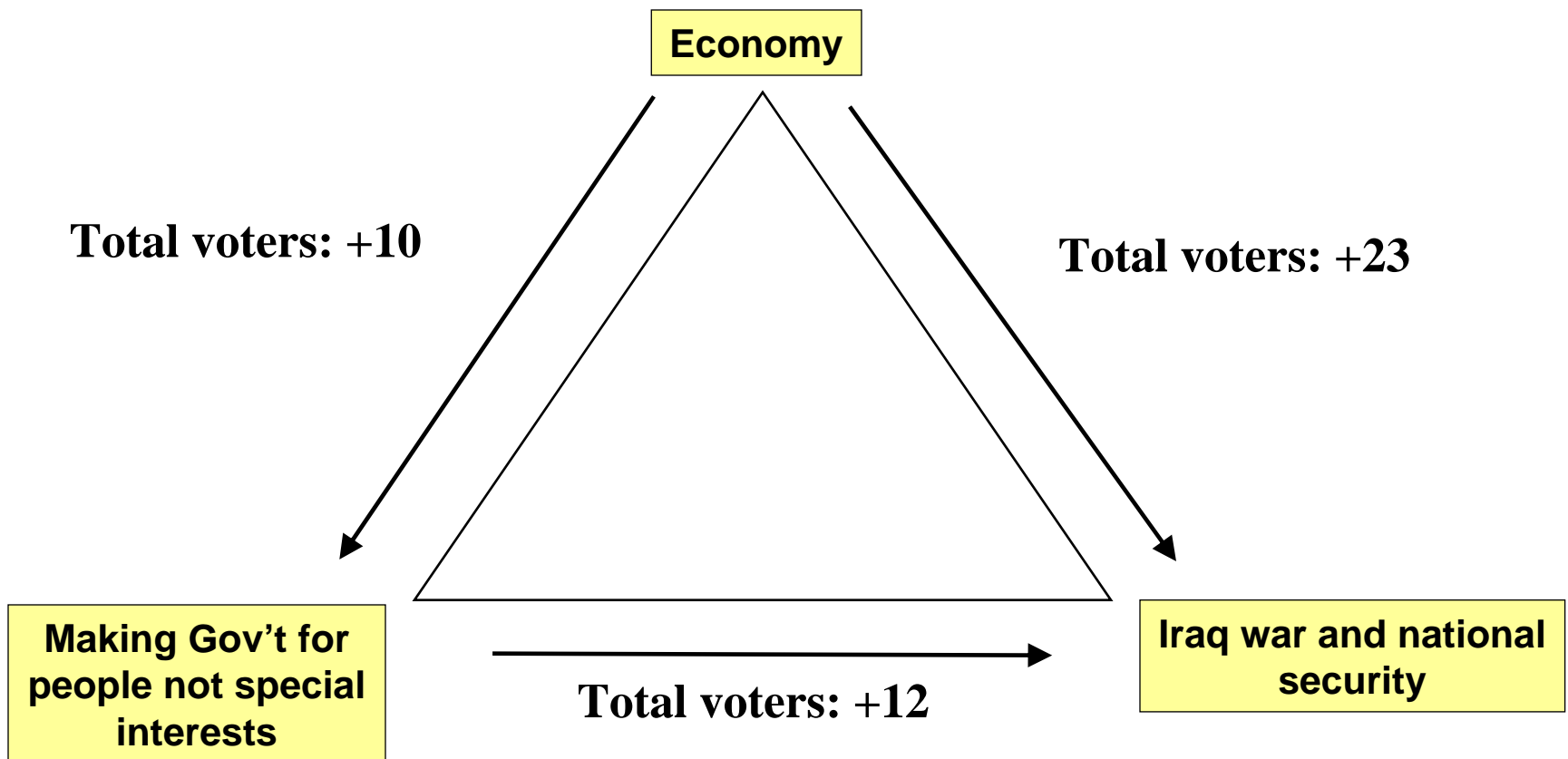
Now, I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue. If you do not know, just tell me and we will move on to the next item.



*Note: From Democracy Corps survey conducted May 13-15, 2008 of 1,014 likely voters nationwide.

Economy most important to vote in November

Now I'm going to read you some more pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the **FIRST** statement or the **SECOND** statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right. **For my vote in 2008, (Iraq OR economy OR making government work for the people instead of special interests) will be the more important issue.**



*Note: From Democracy Corps survey conducted May 13-15, 2008 of 1,014 likely voters nationwide.

Overall national security debate

Obama's engage with enemies versus McCain's, "just say no."

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. As I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right:

+16

■ Obama statement ■ McCain statement

56

40

Barack Obama says: As president, I would be willing to meet with leaders of all nations, friend or foe, so we can end a period of American arrogance and revive tough diplomacy to solve problems.

John McCain says: Senator Obama says he would meet with dictators, like those in North Korea or Iran, with no preconditions; that would hand the dictators a huge public relations victory, while sending a signal of American weakness.

*Note: From Democracy Corps national survey of 1,000 likely voters conducted March 25-27, 2008.

Strength at home and abroad versus fight against terrorists

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. As I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right:

+14

■ Clinton statement ■ McCain statement

56

42

Hillary Clinton says: America's security depends on strength at home as well as abroad. We cannot go on spending billions on a failed policy in Iraq when our economy is floundering -- I will set our priorities straight and redirect more of our foreign spending on education and health care.

John McCain says: America is at war in two countries, and waging a long-term fight against violent extremists who despise us and our values -- as president I will never short-change our security -- I will do whatever it takes to win this struggle and protect our people.

*Note: From Democracy Corps national survey of 1,000 likely voters conducted March 25-27, 2008.

Barack Obama vs. John McCain on national security

Now I'm going to read you a pair of statements from Senator Barack Obama and Senator John McCain. As I read them, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right.

Barack Obama says: We need a change of priorities in our policies abroad. George Bush failed to stand up for American workers on trade and oil, and his failed policies in Iraq cost us trillions of dollars and thousands of lives. John McCain was the biggest supporter of the Bush Iraq policies, and says he would keep our troops there for 100 years. As president, I will bring our troops home from Iraq during 2009, direct more of that spending to our needs at home, insist on labor protections in our trade agreements, and support alternative energy to reduce our dependence on oil from dangerous regimes.

OR

John McCain says: I have been involved in every national security issue over the past 20 years, and having served this country, I know how important our security is. Barack Obama seems hesitant to stand up for America, and would run up the white flag of surrender in Iraq, pulling out our troops, handing al Qaeda a victory, and endangering our vital interests. I was the leading supporter of the surge, which is now succeeding, and I will press for victory in Iraq. I will also strengthen our military, restructure our intelligence agencies, and build missile defenses to protect us from rogue regimes like Iran.

**Note: From Democracy Corps national survey of 1,000 likely voters conducted March 25-27, 2008.*

Slight lead for Obama's "Priorities" message on national security

Now I'm going to read you a pair of statements from Senator Barack Obama and Senator John McCain. As I read them, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right.

■ Obama statement ■ McCain statement

+5

51

46

Obama statement

McCain statement

**Note: From Democracy Corps national survey of 1,000 likely voters conducted March 25-27, 2008.*

Barack Obama vs. John McCain on national security

Now I'm going to read you a pair of statements from Senator Barack Obama and Senator John McCain. As I read them, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right.

Barack Obama says: We cannot afford more of the reckless, extreme national security policies of the Bush years that lost us trillions of dollars and thousands of lives in Iraq. But John McCain was Bush's biggest supporter on Iraq and says he is willing to keep our troops there for 100 years. I would strengthen America's security by bringing home our troops from Iraq during 2009, doing what we need to win in Afghanistan, rebuilding our alliances, and pursuing a new alternative energy policy, including alternative sources, to reduce our dependence on oil from dangerous regimes.

OR

John McCain says: I have been involved in every national security issue over the past 20 years, and having served this country, I know how important our security is. Barack Obama seems hesitant to stand up for America, and would run up the white flag of surrender in Iraq, pulling out our troops, handing al Qaeda a victory, and endangering our vital interests. I was the leading supporter of the surge, which is now succeeding, and I will press for victory in Iraq. I will also strengthen our military, restructure our intelligence agencies, and build missile defenses to protect us from rogue regimes like Iran.

**Note: From Democracy Corps national survey of 1,000 likely voters conducted March 25-27, 2008.*

Voters favor Obama's "Security" message on national security

Now I'm going to read you a pair of statements from Senator Barack Obama and Senator John McCain. As I read them, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right.

■ Obama statement

■ McCain statement

+8

52

44

Obama statement

McCain statement

**Note: From Democracy Corps national survey of 1,000 likely voters conducted March 25-27, 2008.*

Clinton's "priorities message" vs. John McCain on national security

Now I'm going to read you a pair of statements from Senator Hillary Clinton and Senator John McCain. As I read them, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right.

Hillary Clinton says: We need a change of priorities in our policies abroad. George Bush failed to stand up for American workers on trade and oil, and his failed policies in Iraq cost us trillions of dollars and thousands of lives. John McCain was Bush's biggest supporter on Iraq, and would keep our troops there for 100 years. As president, I will start bringing our troops home from Iraq during my first 60 days, direct more of that spending to our needs at home, insist on labor protections in our trade agreements, and support alternative energy to reduce our dependence on oil from dangerous regimes.

OR

John McCain says: I have been involved in every national security issue over the past 20 years, and having served this country, I know how important our security is. Hillary Clinton has flip-flopped on Iraq, and now would run up the white flag of surrender in Iraq, pulling out our troops, handing al Qaeda a victory, and endangering our vital interests. I was the leading supporter of the surge, which is now succeeding, and I will press for victory in Iraq. I will also strengthen our military, restructure our intelligence agencies, and build missile defenses to protect us from rogue regimes like Iran.

**Note: From Democracy Corps national survey of 1,000 likely voters conducted March 25-27, 2008.*

Voters favor Clinton's "Priorities" message on national security

Now I'm going to read you a pair of statements from Senator Hillary Clinton and Senator John McCain. As I read them, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right.

■ Clinton statement ■ McCain statement

+11

53

42

Clinton statement

McCain statement

**Note: From Democracy Corps national survey of 1,000 likely voters conducted March 25-27, 2008.*

The NPR debate with POS on foreign trade

Now I'm going to read you a pair of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

Democrats say for too long time big businesses and big politicians in Washington have not worried about American jobs. They think NAFTA is good and have done nothing about unsafe products from China. They give tax breaks to companies that move jobs overseas. We need a change starting with a trade policy that opens foreign markets to American businesses to support good American jobs and enforce labor and environmental standards to dumping. To start, we need to renegotiate NAFTA, invest in job training and research, and get health care costs down so American companies can compete and win.

OR

Republicans say competition from China, India, and other countries will not end, so we must ensure America can compete and we can keep and create jobs here. We should trade freely and fairly with other countries, but when other countries break the rules, we must enforce the rules. We must also make the research and development tax incentives permanent to create the ideas and technology that will create a new generation of jobs. Taxes on U.S. businesses are the second highest in the world, and we cannot keep our jobs unless these taxes are lowered. We must invest significantly more in education and job training to prepare U.S. workers for the new jobs that will be created by new businesses.

**Note: From national survey of 800 likely voters conducted May 7-8 and 10, 2008 by Public Opinion Strategies and Greenberg Quinlan Rosner for National Public Radio.*

Voters agree with Democratic statement on foreign trade over GOP's

Now I'm going to read you a pair of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

■ Democratic Statement ■ Republican Statement

+11

53

42

Democratic Statement

Republican Statement

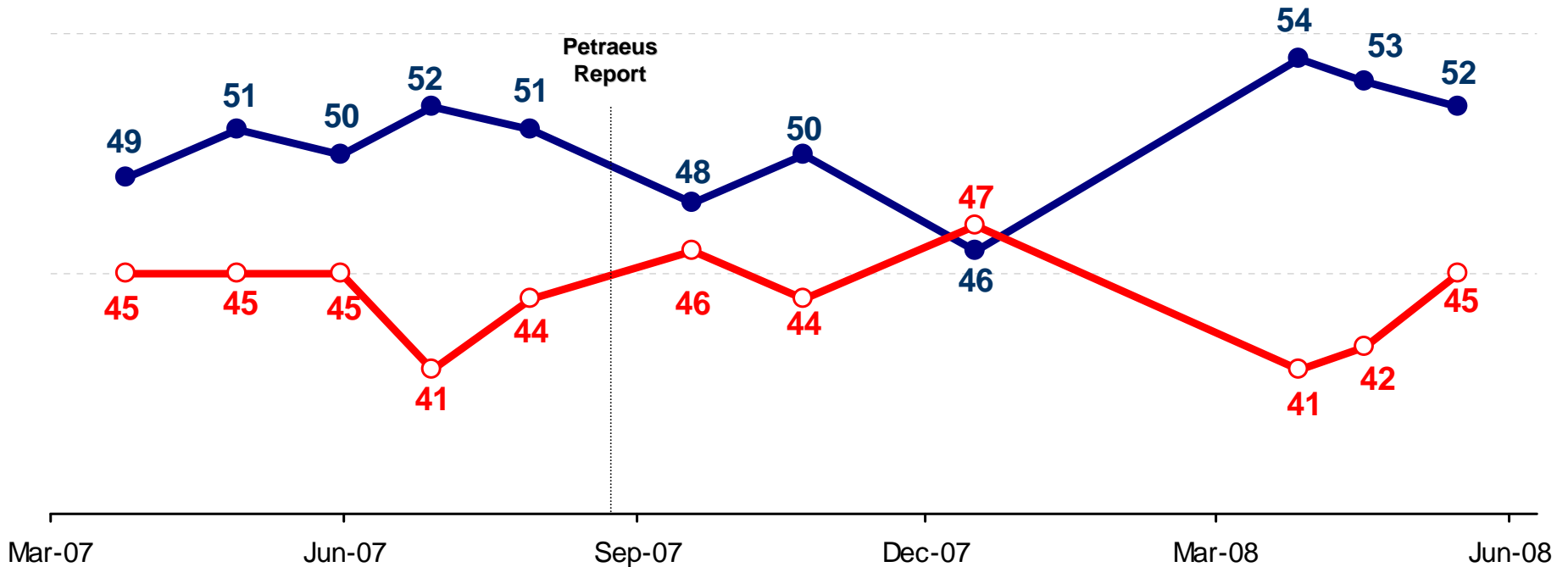
*Note: From national survey of 800 likely voters conducted May 7-8 and 10, 2008 by Public Opinion Strategies and Greenberg Quinlan Rosner for National Public Radio.

The Iraq issue

Worry Republicans will stay too long

Now I'm going to read you some statements. Please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right:

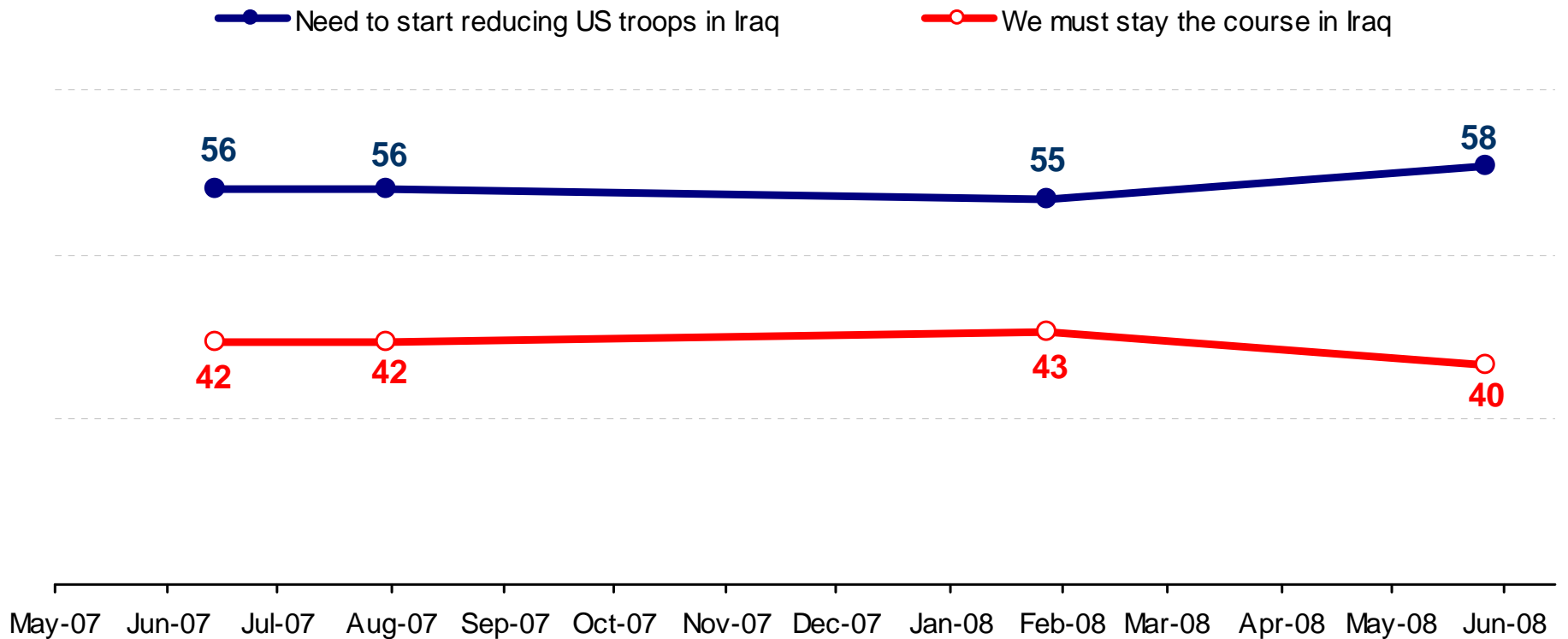
- I'm more concerned that the Republicans will wait too long to withdraw our troops from Iraq
- I'm more concerned that the Democrats will leave Iraq too quickly



*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last several months.

Clear signal that it is time to start reducing troop levels in Iraq

Now I'm going to read you some statements. Please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right:



*Note: From Democracy Corps battleground surveys conducted over the last few months.

Iraq NPR debate with POS

Now I'm going to read you a pair of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

Democrats say the war in Iraq has cost us trillions of dollars while our economy has weakened, and has made America less secure. We must strengthen America's security by starting to reduce our troops in Iraq in a responsible way, force the Iraqi government to use its oil money to pay for reconstruction and work with other nations to bring stability. We need to invest the money we are currently spending in Iraq to restore our military, deal with Afghanistan and strengthen America's own economy and security.

OR

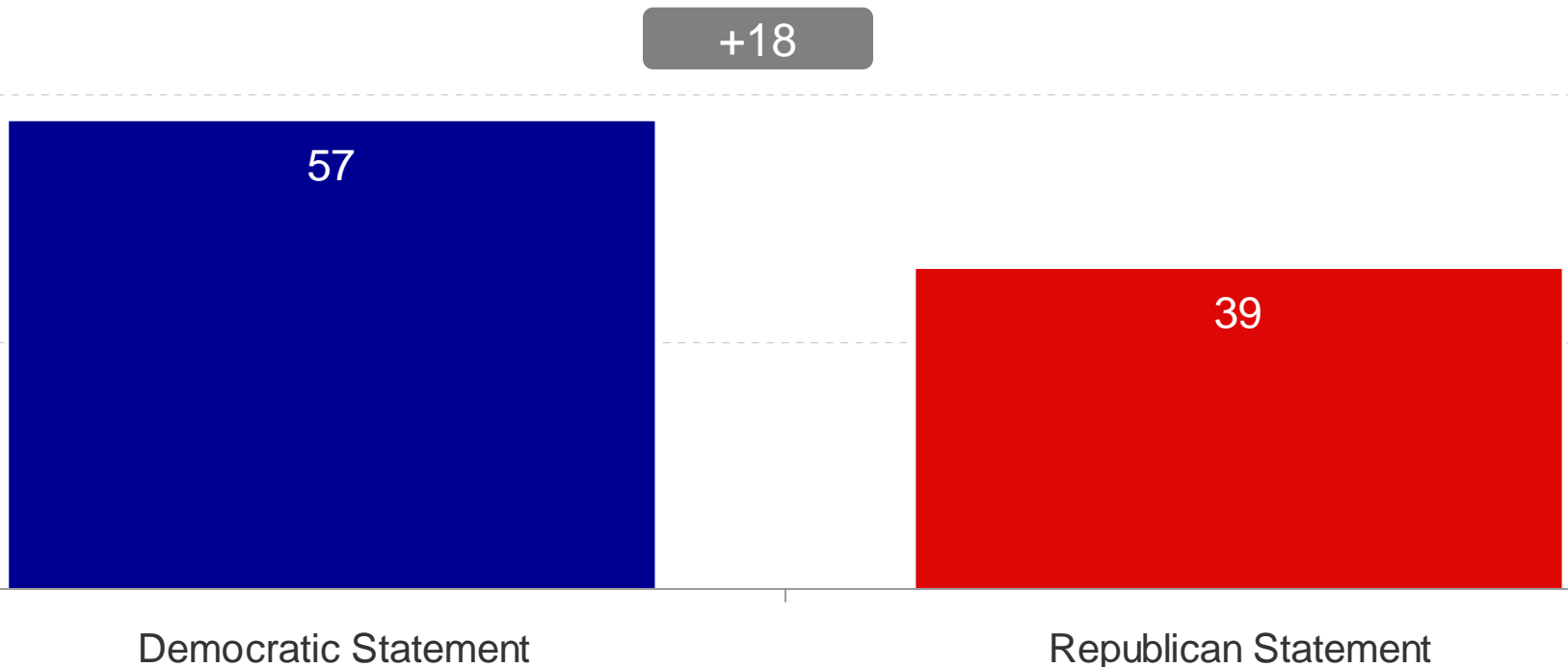
Republicans say there has been military and political progress in Iraq, and that to withdraw now would cost more in lives and create more instability in the Middle East. Just recently, Osama bin Laden said, quote, "Iraq is the perfect base to set up the jihad to liberate Palestine," unquote. Iraq is the central battleground in the war against radical Islamic extremism, and because there have been no terrorist attacks in the United States for seven years, it is a war America is winning. The war in Iraq will be over soon, and the insurgency should be handled by Iraqis instead of Americans. But, we need to rely on the judgment of our military commanders in Iraq, instead of the politicians in Washington on when to withdraw American troops.

**Note: From national survey of 800 likely voters conducted May 7-8 and 10, 2008 by Public Opinion Strategies and Greenberg Quinlan Rosner for National Public Radio.*

Republican-McCain Iraq position gets under 40 percent

Now I'm going to read you a pair of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

■ Democratic Statement ■ Republican Statement



**Note: From national survey of 800 likely voters conducted May 7-8 and 10, 2008 by Public Opinion Strategies and Greenberg Quinlan Rosner for National Public Radio.*

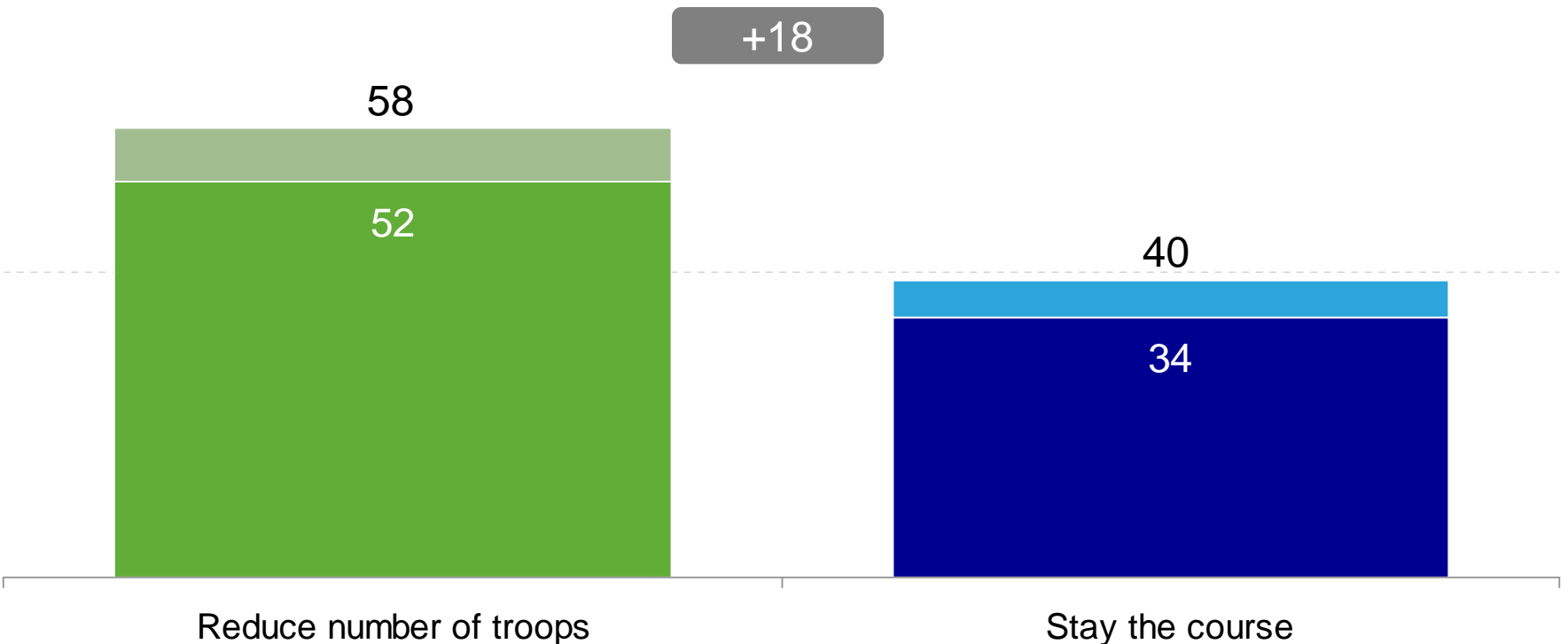
Majority favors reducing number of troops

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. As I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right:

Statement 1: We need to start reducing the number of U.S. troops in Iraq.

Statement 2: We must stay the course to achieve stability and finish the job in Iraq.

- First statement strongly
- Second statement strongly
- First statement not so strongly
- Second statement not so strongly



*Note: From Democracy Corps survey of 1,600 likely voters in 45 Republican battleground congressional districts conducted May 19-26, 2008.

Iraq paired debate with McCain's 2013 goal – with Obama reference

Now I'm going to read you what the candidates for Congress are saying on Iraq. Regardless of who you would vote for, please tell me whether the Democratic statement or the Republican statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right. .

The Democratic candidate says the war in Iraq has cost us trillions of dollars while our economy has weakened, and has made America less secure. We must strengthen America's security by following Barack Obama's plan to start reducing our troops in Iraq in a responsible way, force the Iraqi government to use its oil money to pay for reconstruction and work with other nations to bring stability. We need to invest the money we are currently spending in Iraq to restore our military, deal with Afghanistan and strengthen America's own economy and security. But the Republican candidate for Congress wants to keep our troops in Iraq for at least another 5 years.

OR

The Republican candidate says there has been military and political progress in Iraq, and that to withdraw now would cost more in lives and create more instability in the Middle East. If we follow John McCain's lead to see our commitment through until the end of his first term, by 2013 America will have welcomed most of our troops home and the Iraq war will have been won. Though some violence will still occur, Iraq will be a functioning democracy with al Qaeda defeated and the U.S. maintaining just a small military presence that does not play a direct combat role. But the Democratic candidate for Congress wants to pull our troops out precipitously and give al Qaeda a big victory.

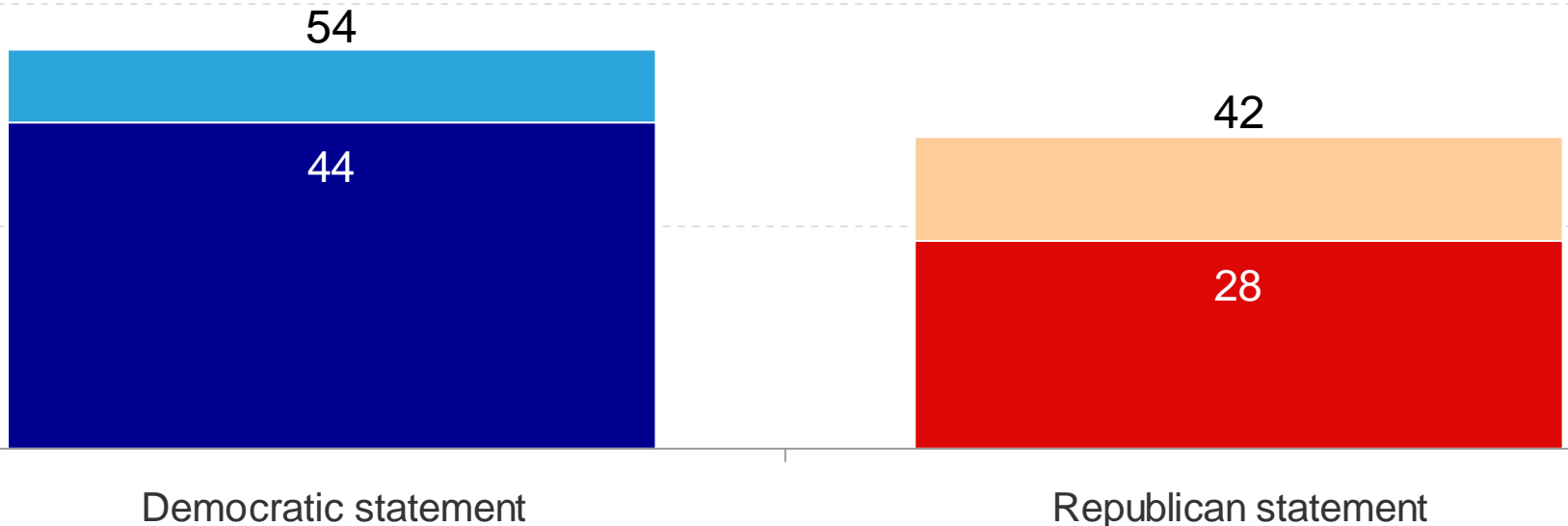
**Note: From Democracy Corps survey of 1,600 likely voters in 45 Republican battleground congressional districts conducted May 19-26, 2008.*

Democrats win Iraq debate with reference to Obama's call to reduce troops and McCain's 2013

Now I'm going to read you what the candidates for Congress are saying on Iraq. Regardless of who you would vote for, please tell me whether the Democratic statement or the Republican statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

- Democratic statement strongly
- Democratic statement somewhat
- Republican statement strongly
- Republican statement somewhat

+12



**Note: From Democracy Corps survey of 1,600 likely voters in 45 Republican battleground congressional districts conducted May 19-26, 2008.*

Iraq paired debate – without reference to Obama's plan

Now I'm going to read you what the candidates for Congress are saying on Iraq. Regardless of who you would vote for, please tell me whether the Democratic statement or the Republican statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right. .

The Democratic candidate says the war in Iraq has cost us trillions of dollars while our economy has weakened, and has made America less secure. We must strengthen America's security by starting to reduce our troops in Iraq in a responsible way, force the Iraqi government to use its oil money to pay for reconstruction and work with other nations to bring stability. We need to invest the money we are currently spending in Iraq to restore our military, deal with Afghanistan and strengthen America's own economy and security. But the Republican candidate for Congress wants to keep our troops in Iraq for at least another 5 years.

OR

The Republican candidate says there has been military and political progress in Iraq, and that to withdraw now would cost more in lives and create more instability in the Middle East. If we follow John McCain's lead to see our commitment through until the end of his first term, by 2013 America will have welcomed most of our troops home and the Iraq war will have been won. Though some violence will still occur, Iraq will be a functioning democracy with al Qaeda defeated and the U.S. maintaining just a small military presence that does not play a direct combat role. But the Democratic candidate for Congress wants to pull our troops out precipitously and give al Qaeda a big victory.

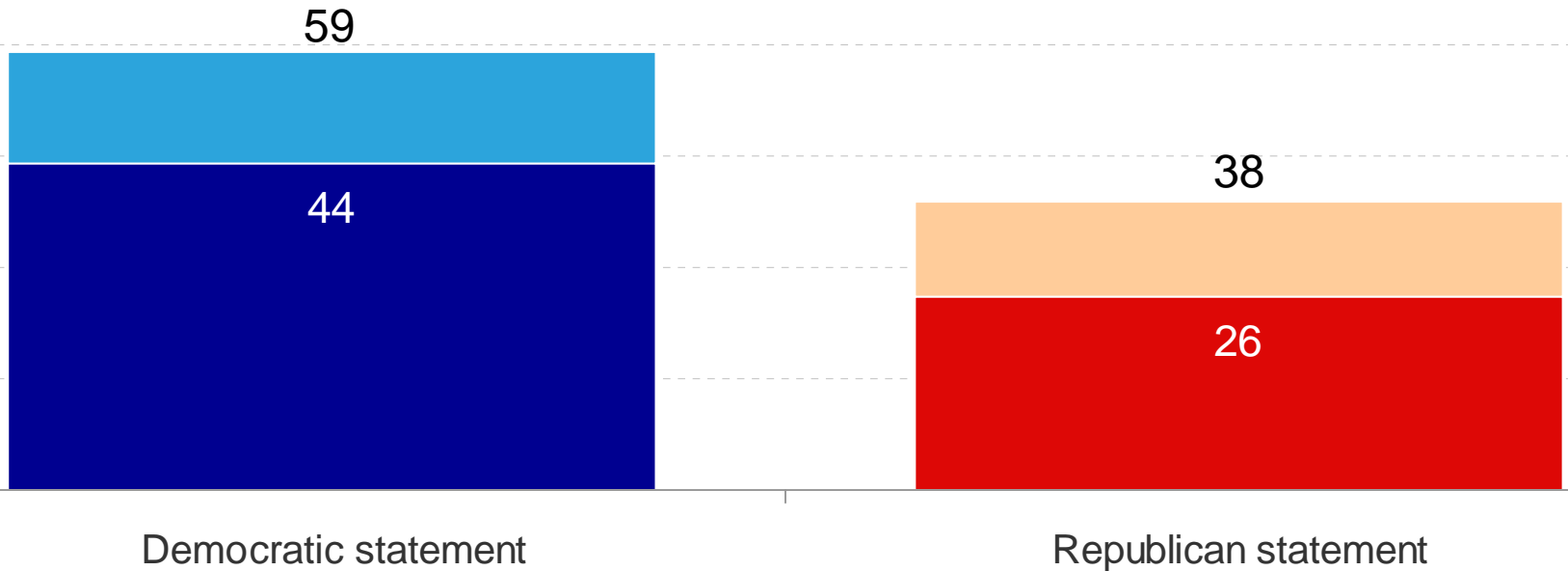
**Note: From Democracy Corps survey of 1,600 likely voters in 45 Republican battleground congressional districts conducted May 19-26, 2008.*

Democrats expand lead on Iraq debate without mention of Obama's plan

Now I'm going to read you what the candidates for Congress are saying on Iraq. Regardless of who you would vote for, please tell me whether the Democratic statement or the Republican statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

- Democratic statement strongly
- Democratic statement somewhat
- Republican statement strongly
- Republican statement somewhat

+21

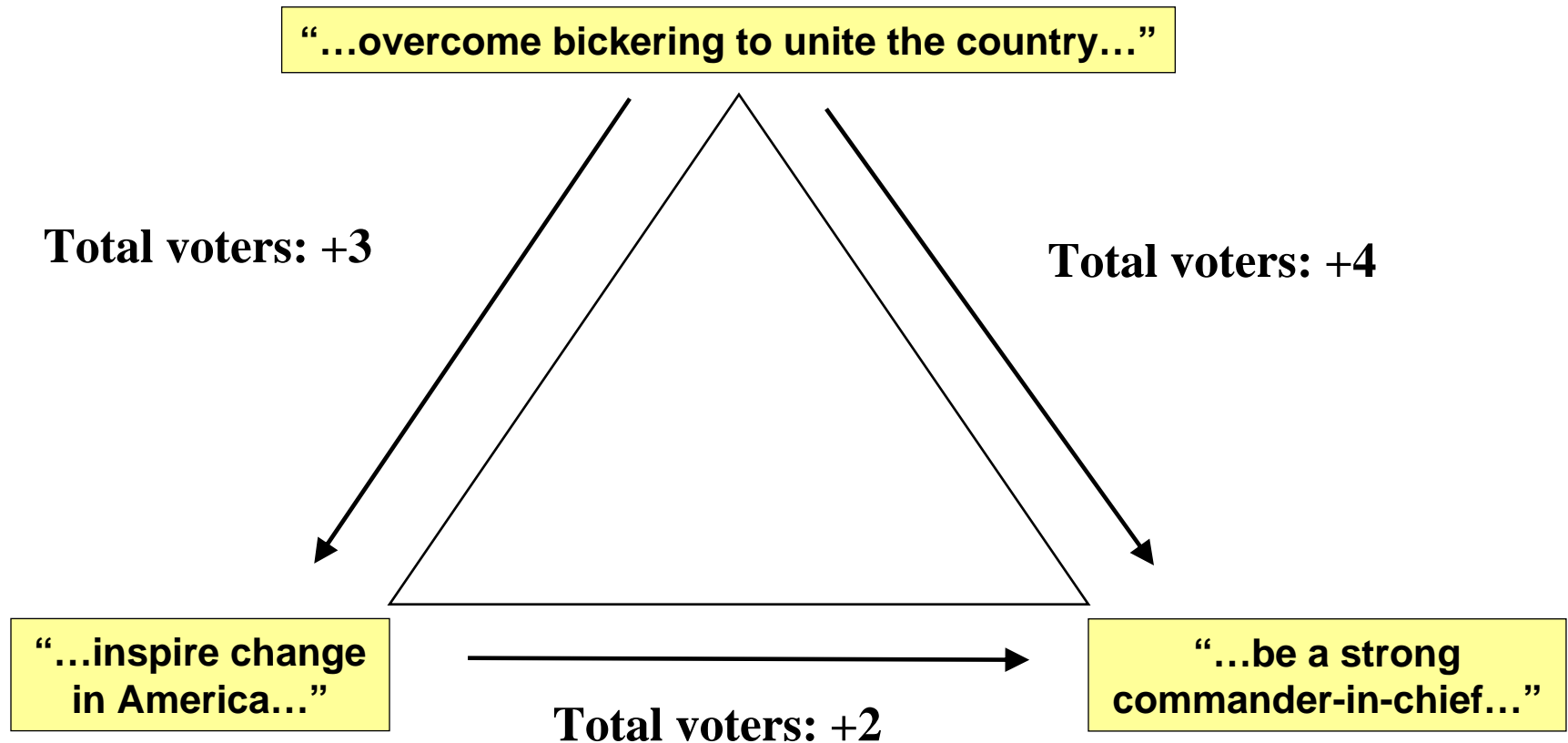


**Note: From Democracy Corps survey of 1,600 likely voters in 45 Republican battleground congressional districts conducted May 19-26, 2008.*

Conclusions

Leadership style not defined yet

Now I'm going to read you some more pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the **FIRST** statement or the **SECOND** statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right. **I will vote for a president who will (be a strong commander-in-chief OR overcome bickering to unite the country OR inspire change) will be the more important issue.**



*Note: From Democracy Corps survey conducted May 13-15, 2008 of 1,014 likely voters nationwide.

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