

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

October 17, 2008

State of the 2008 Race

Surveys of battleground states and the nation



DEMOCRACY CORPS

CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

Methodology and Overview

The results of two surveys are cited throughout this presentation:

- **Democracy Corps presidential battleground survey of 1,000 likely voters conducted October 12-14, 2008, in 16 battleground states.**
- **Democracy Corps national survey of 1,000 likely voters nationwide conducted October 8-12, 2008.**
- **Democracy Corps combined battleground survey of 3,044 likely voters from September 30 to October 14, 2008, in the 16 battleground states.**

States in the presidential battleground: blue and red states

Total State List

- Colorado
- Florida
- Indiana
- Iowa
- Michigan
- Missouri
- Minnesota
- Montana
- Nevada
- New Hampshire
- New Mexico
- North Carolina
- Ohio
- Pennsylvania
- Virginia
- Wisconsin

Red States

- Colorado
- Florida
- Indiana
- Iowa
- Missouri
- Montana
- Nevada
- New Mexico
- North Carolina
- Ohio
- Virginia

Blue States

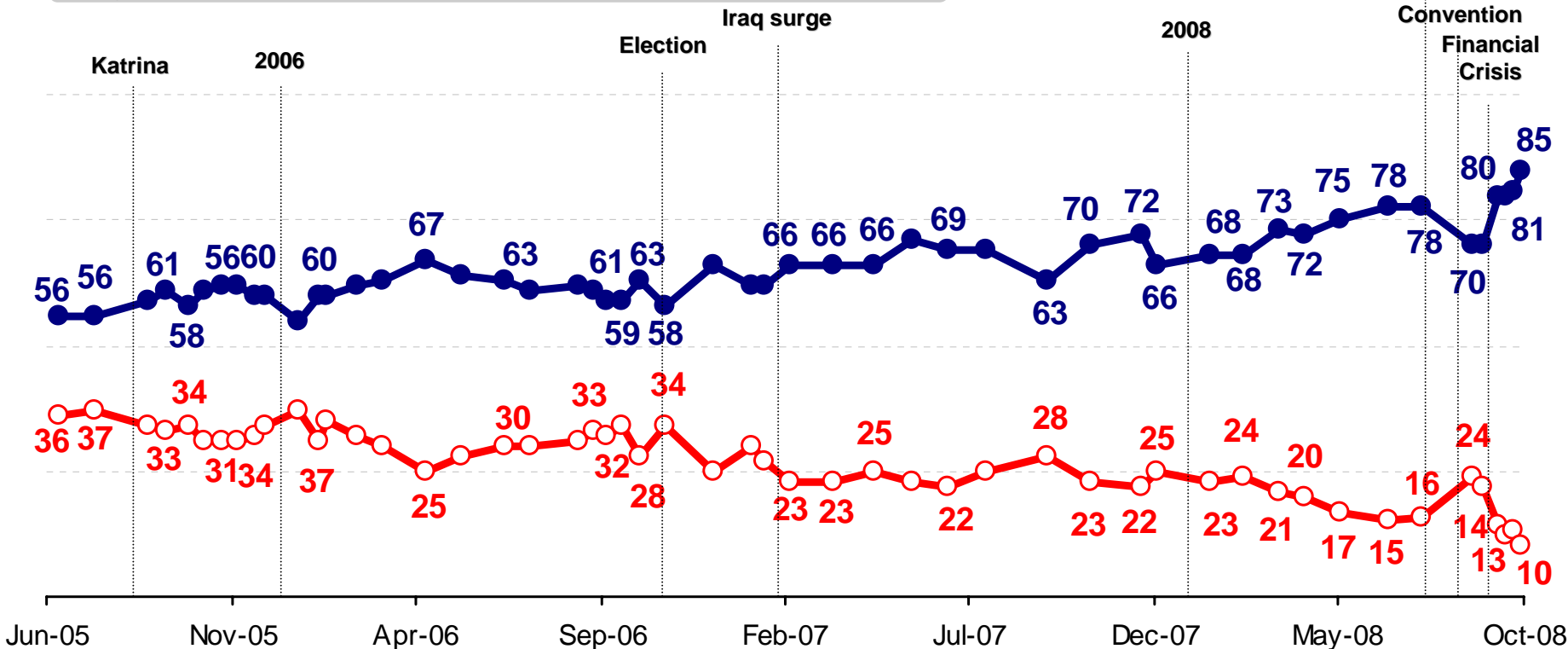
- Michigan
- Minnesota
- New Hampshire
- Pennsylvania
- Wisconsin

Political Landscape

'Wrong Direction' at all-time high nationally

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? ***National Data***

○ Right direction
● Wrong direction



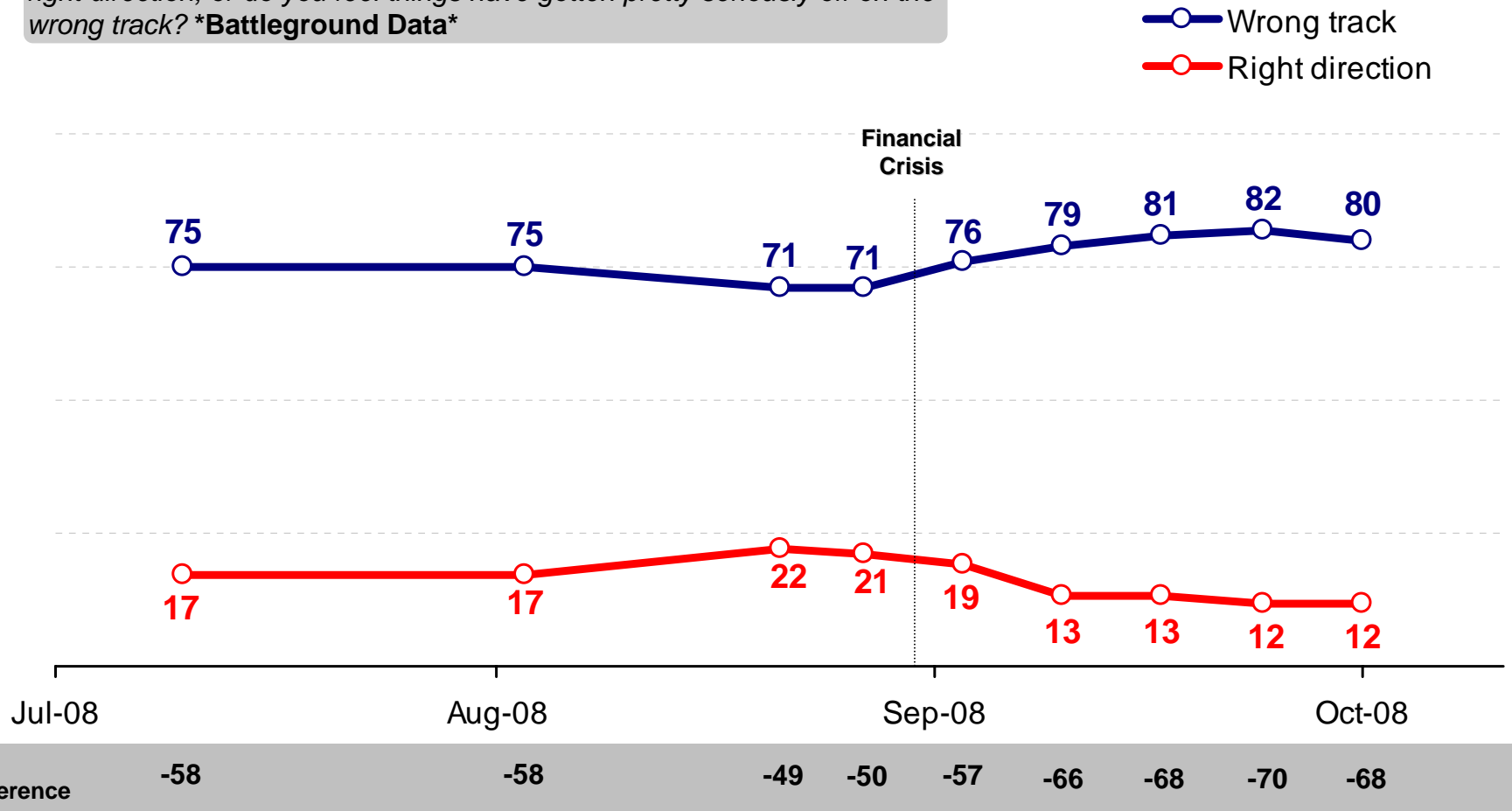
DNC Convention
RNC Convention
Financial Crisis

Net Difference -10 -19 -28 -24 -25 -26 -23 -42 -33 -28 -27 -35 -24 -43 -43 -41 -47 -35 -47 -44 -41 -45 -44 -52 -52 -58 -63 -62 -46 -66 -68 -75

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

Wrong direction in battleground remains 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? ***Battleground Data***

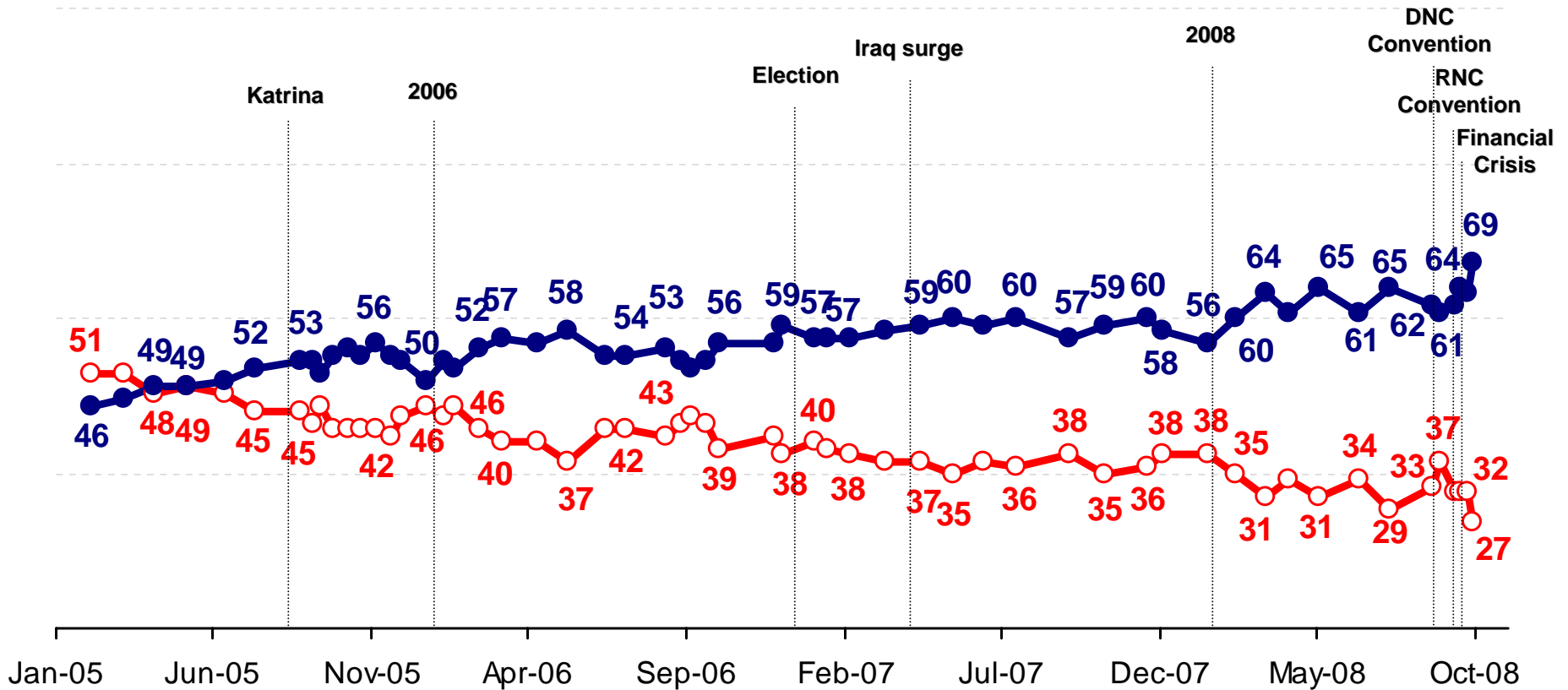


*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last six months.

Bush job approval below 30 percent nationally

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

○ Approve
● Disapprove

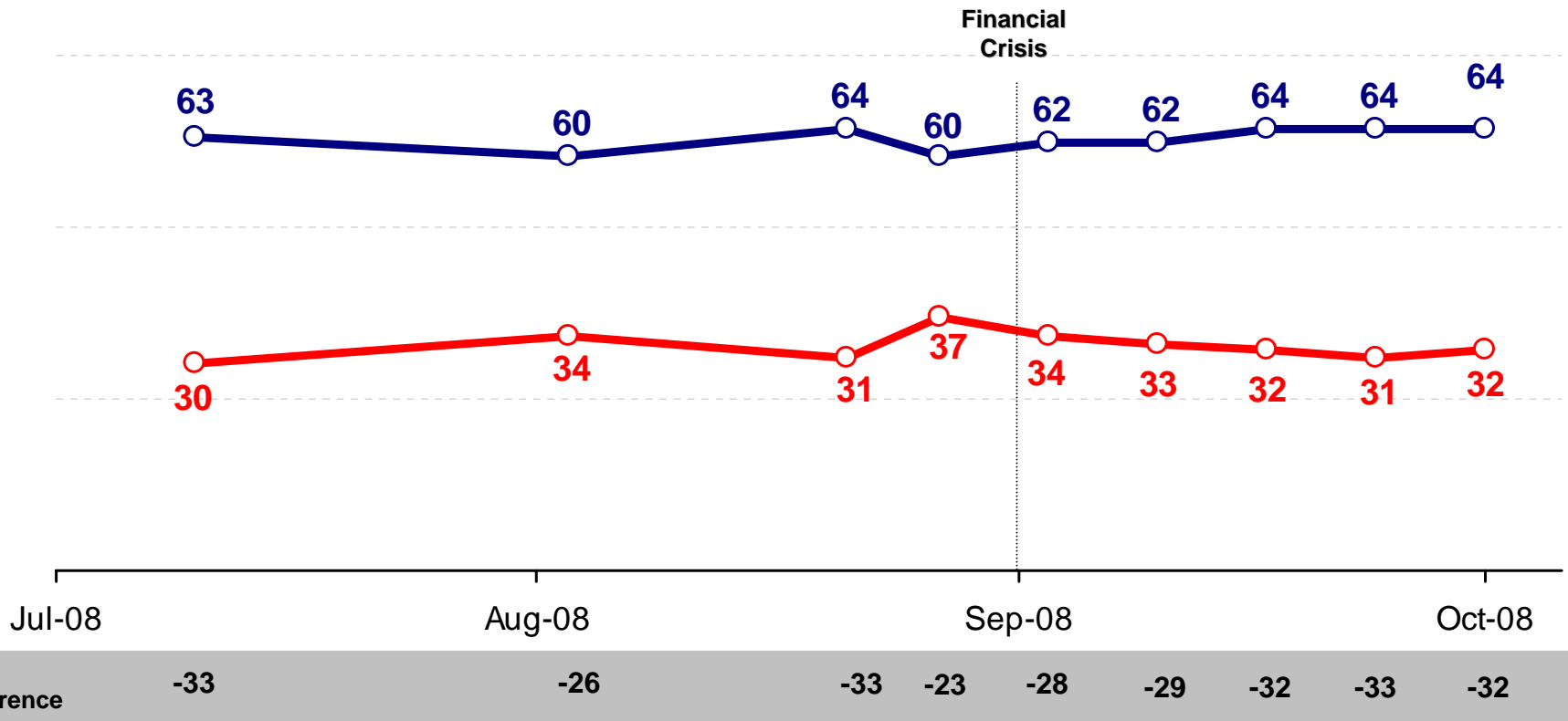


*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the past several years.

Bush approval low and steady in the battleground

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

○ Disapprove
 ○ Approve

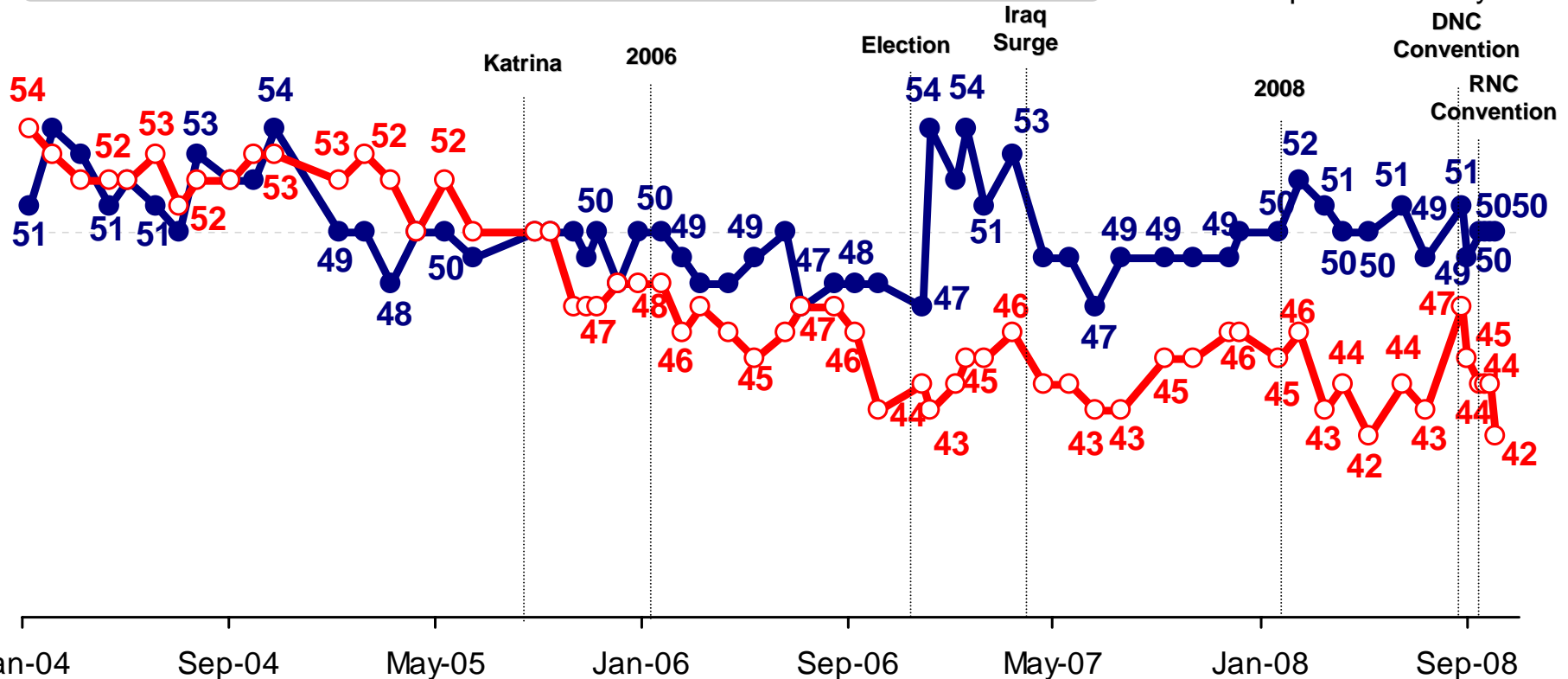


*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last six months.

Democratic image steady as Republican favorability sees drop nationally

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with 100 meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. *National Data*

● Democratic Party
○ Republican Party

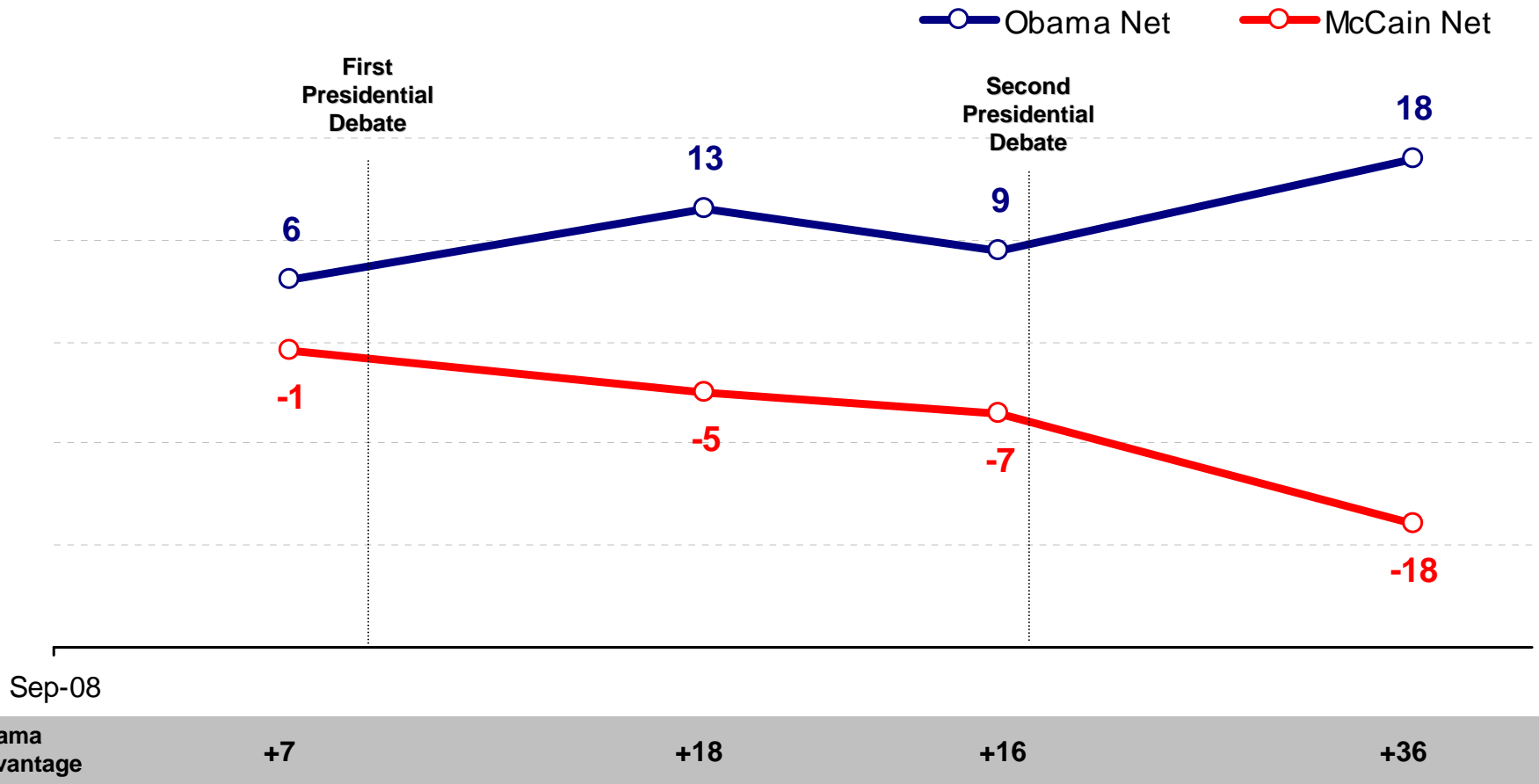


Net Difference: -3 -1 -2 +1 +1 -4 -4 -2 +3 +2 +3 +4 0 +2 +3 +11 +9 +7 +4 +6 +4 +3 +5 +6 +8 +7 +6 +4 +2 +6 +6 +6 +8

*Note: Data represents the MEAN ratings from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the past four years.

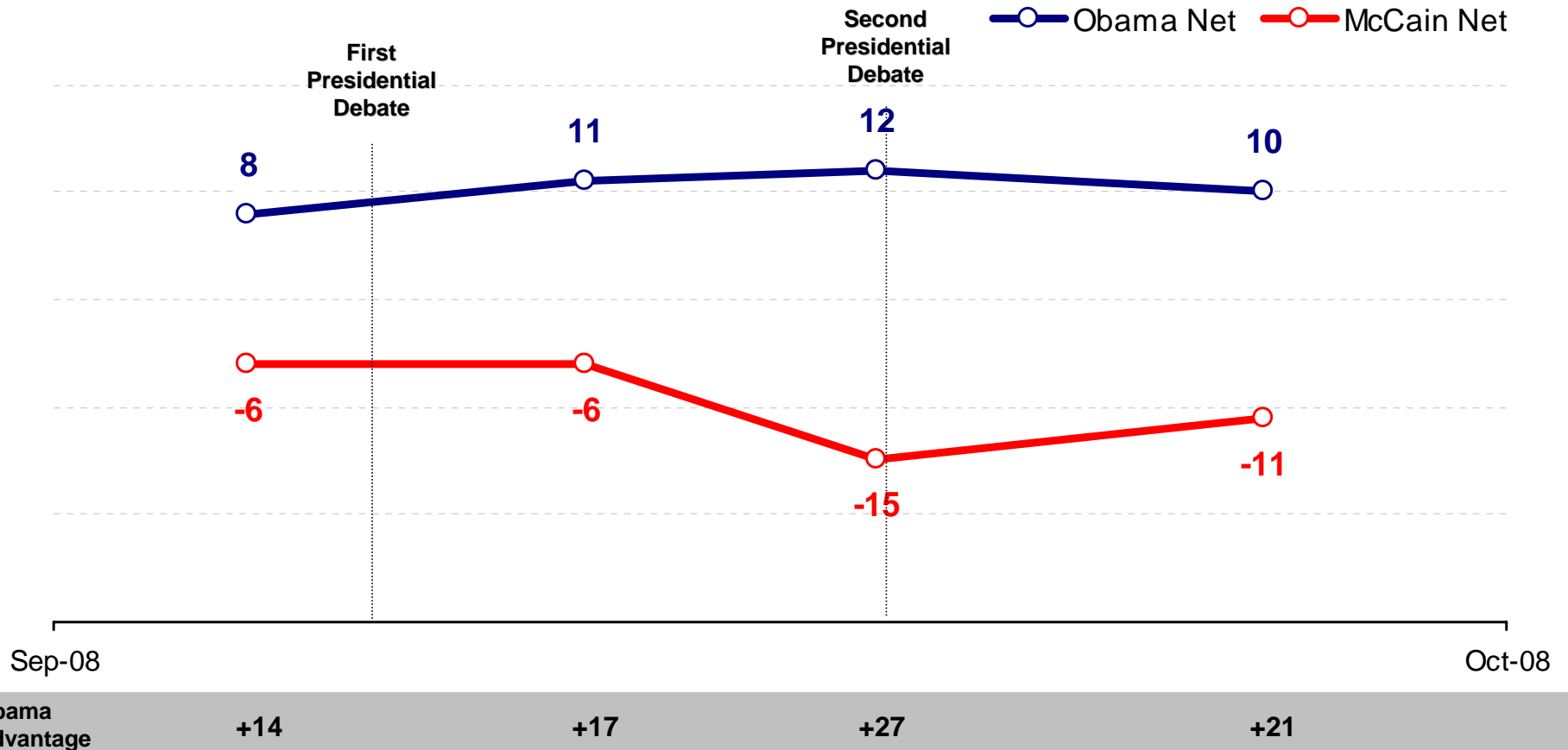
Obama advantage on impact of news grows nationally

*Has what you have seen, heard or read about Barack Obama/John McCain in the past couple of days made you feel more positive or less positive in your opinion of him? *National Data**



Obama has advantage on impact of news in battleground

*Has what you have seen, heard or read about Barack Obama/John McCain in the past couple of days made you feel more positive or less positive in your opinion of him? *Battleground Data**

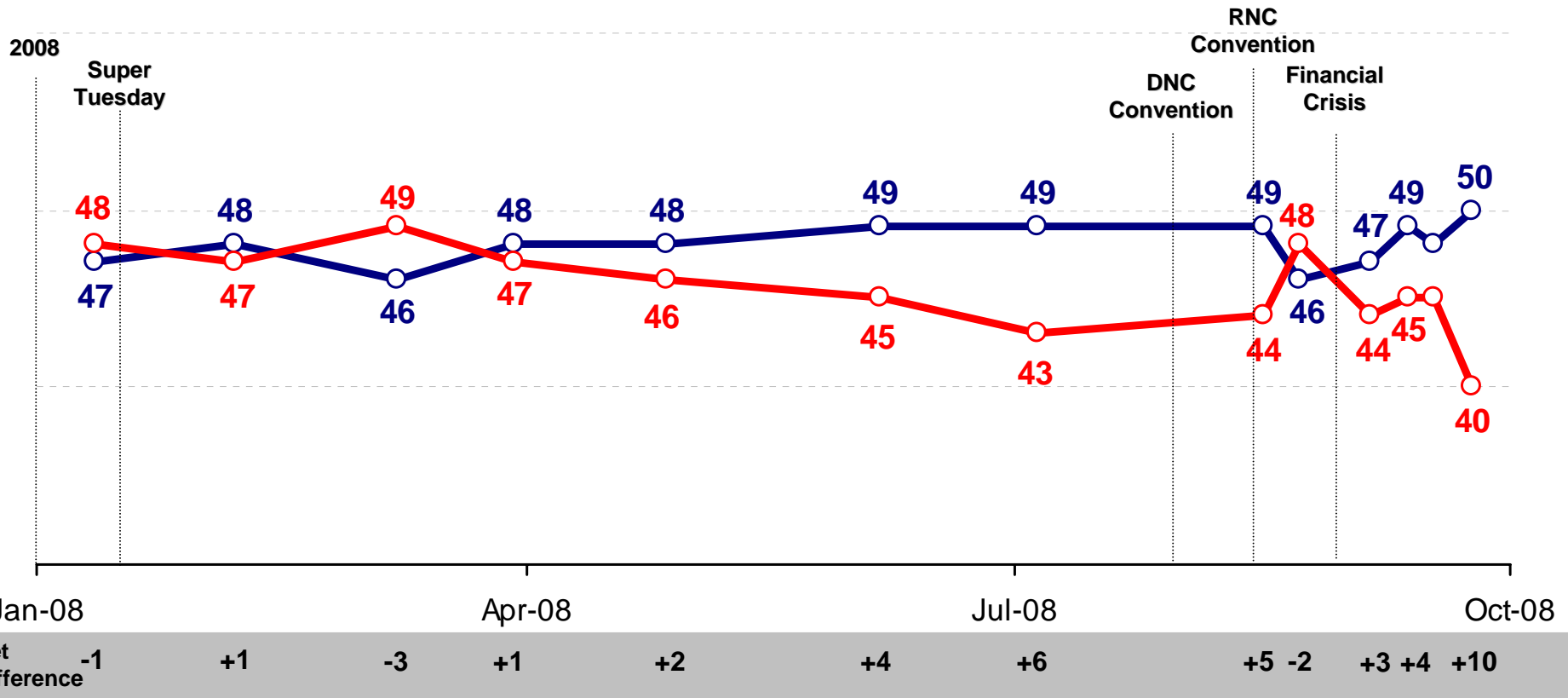


The Presidential Election

Obama expands national lead with three weeks to go

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, or Independent candidate Ralph Nader, for whom would you vote? ***National Data***

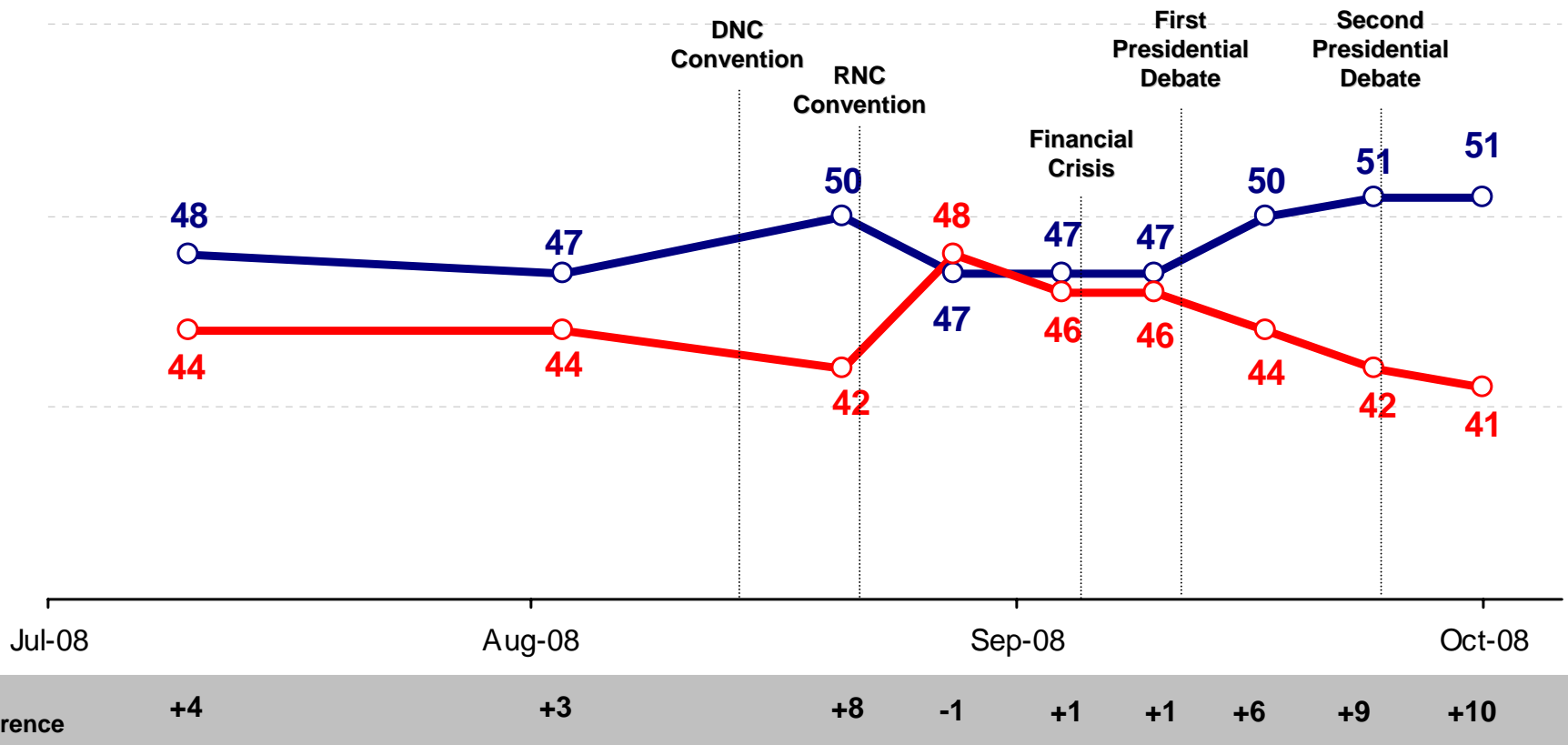
—○— Obama
—○— McCain



*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last year and a half.

Obama has double-digit lead in battleground as well

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, or Independent candidate Ralph Nader, for whom would you vote? ***Battleground Data***

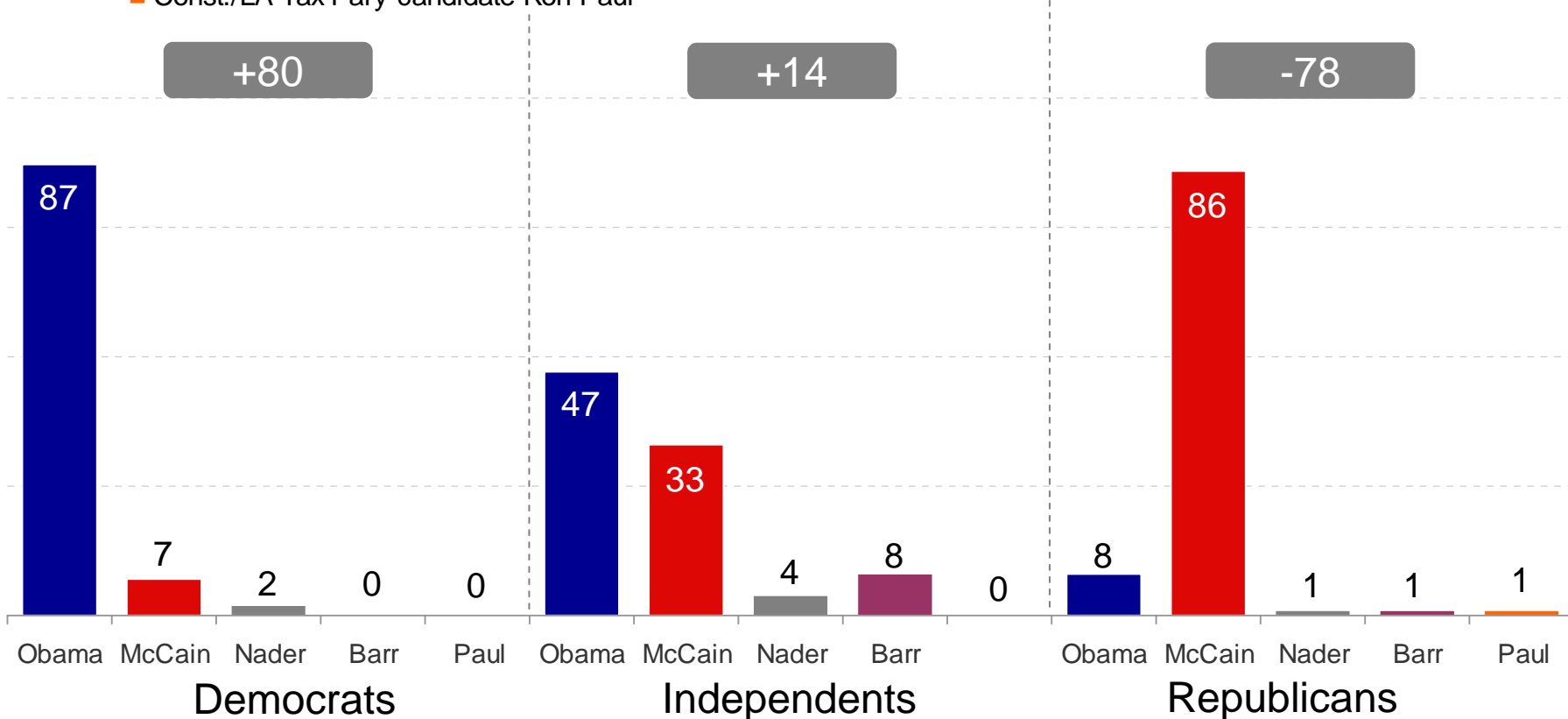


*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last six months.

Obama grabs lead among independents; Republicans consolidated

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, Independent candidate Ralph Nader, or Constitution/Louisiana Taxpayer's Party candidate Ron Paul, for whom would you vote? ***National Data***

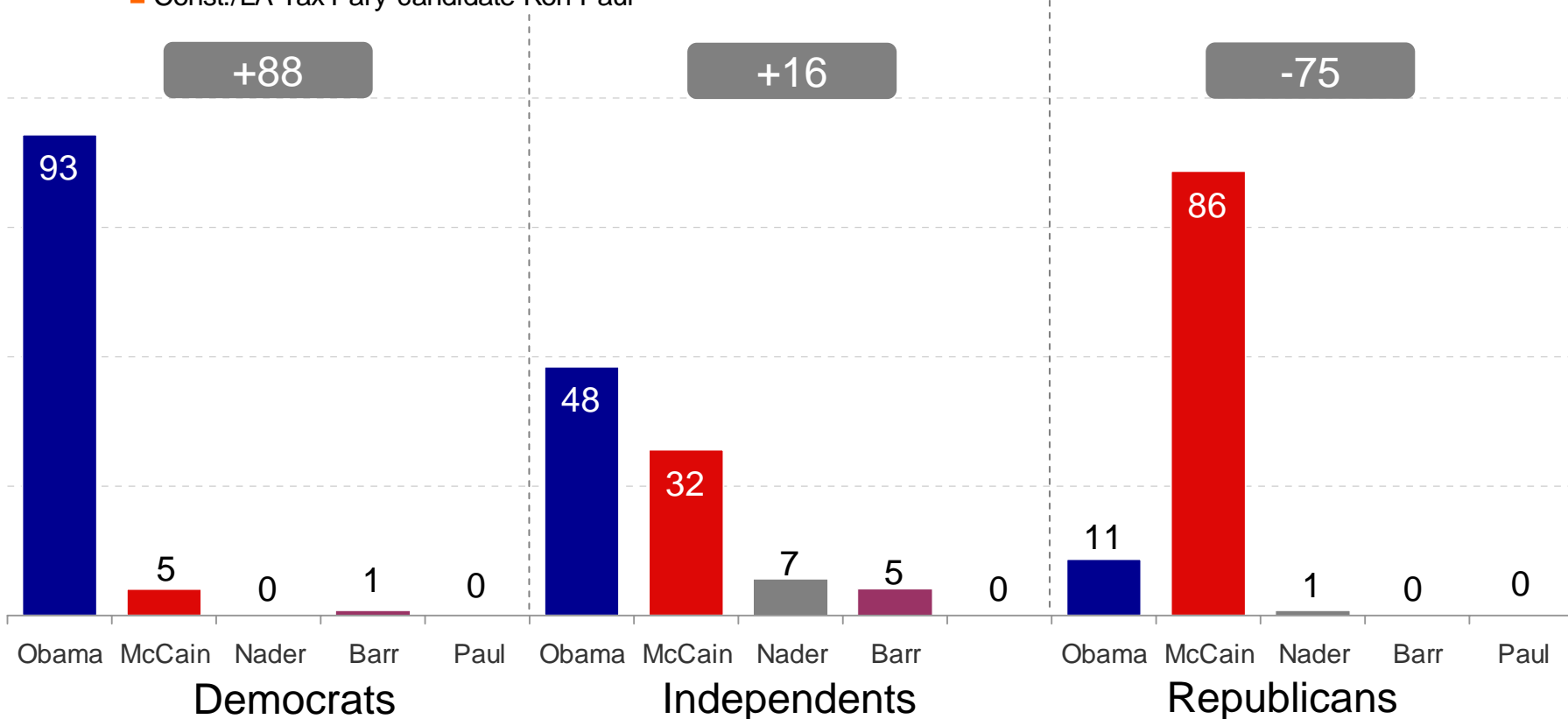
- Democrat Barack Obama
- Republican John McCain
- Independent Ralph Nader
- Libertarian Bob Barr
- Const./LA Tax Pary candidate Ron Paul



Obama has commanding lead with independents in battleground

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, Independent candidate Ralph Nader, or Constitution/Louisiana Taxpayer's Party candidate Ron Paul, for whom would you vote? ***Battleground Data***

- Democrat Barack Obama
- Republican John McCain
- Independent Ralph Nader
- Libertarian Bob Barr
- Const./LA Tax Pary candidate Ron Paul

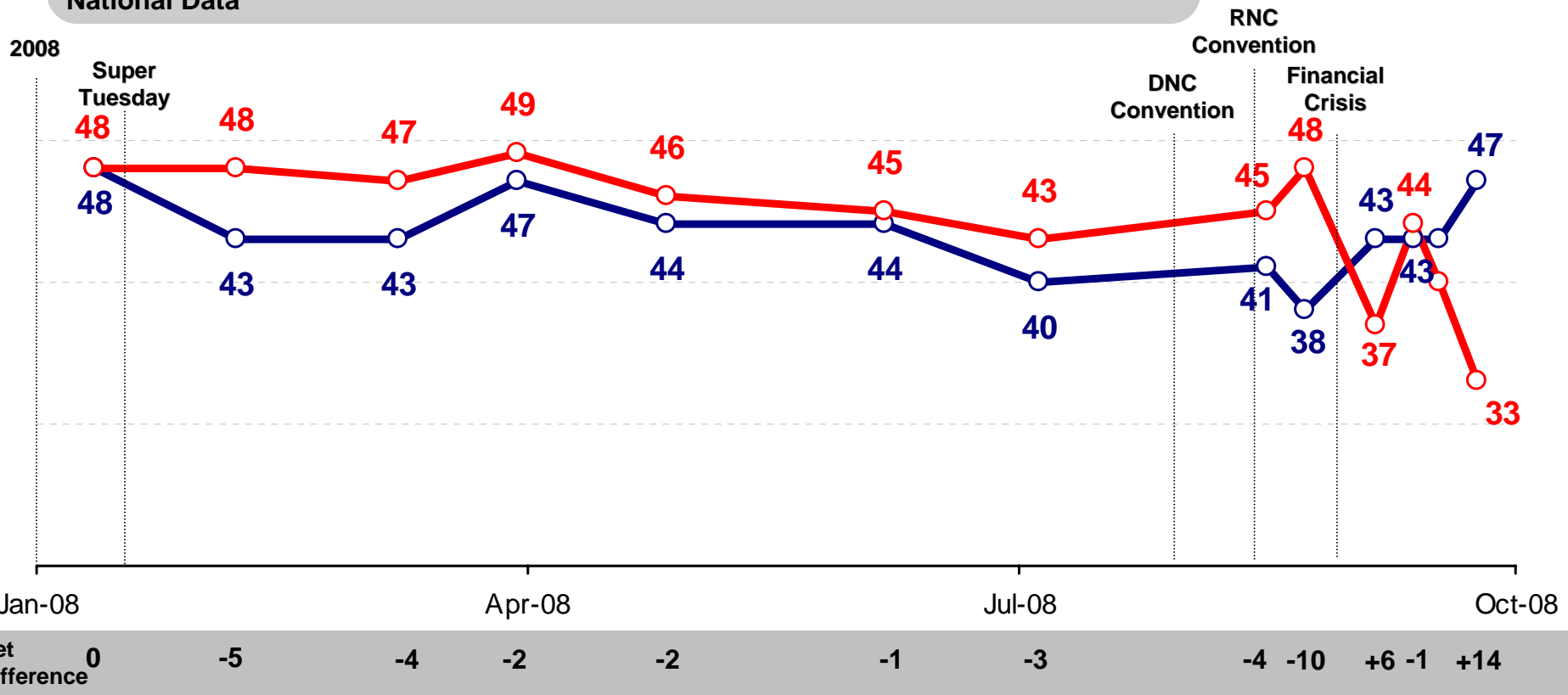


Obama has biggest margin with independents of the campaign

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, Independent candidate Ralph Nader, or Constitution/Louisiana Taxpayer's Party candidate Ron Paul, for whom would you vote?

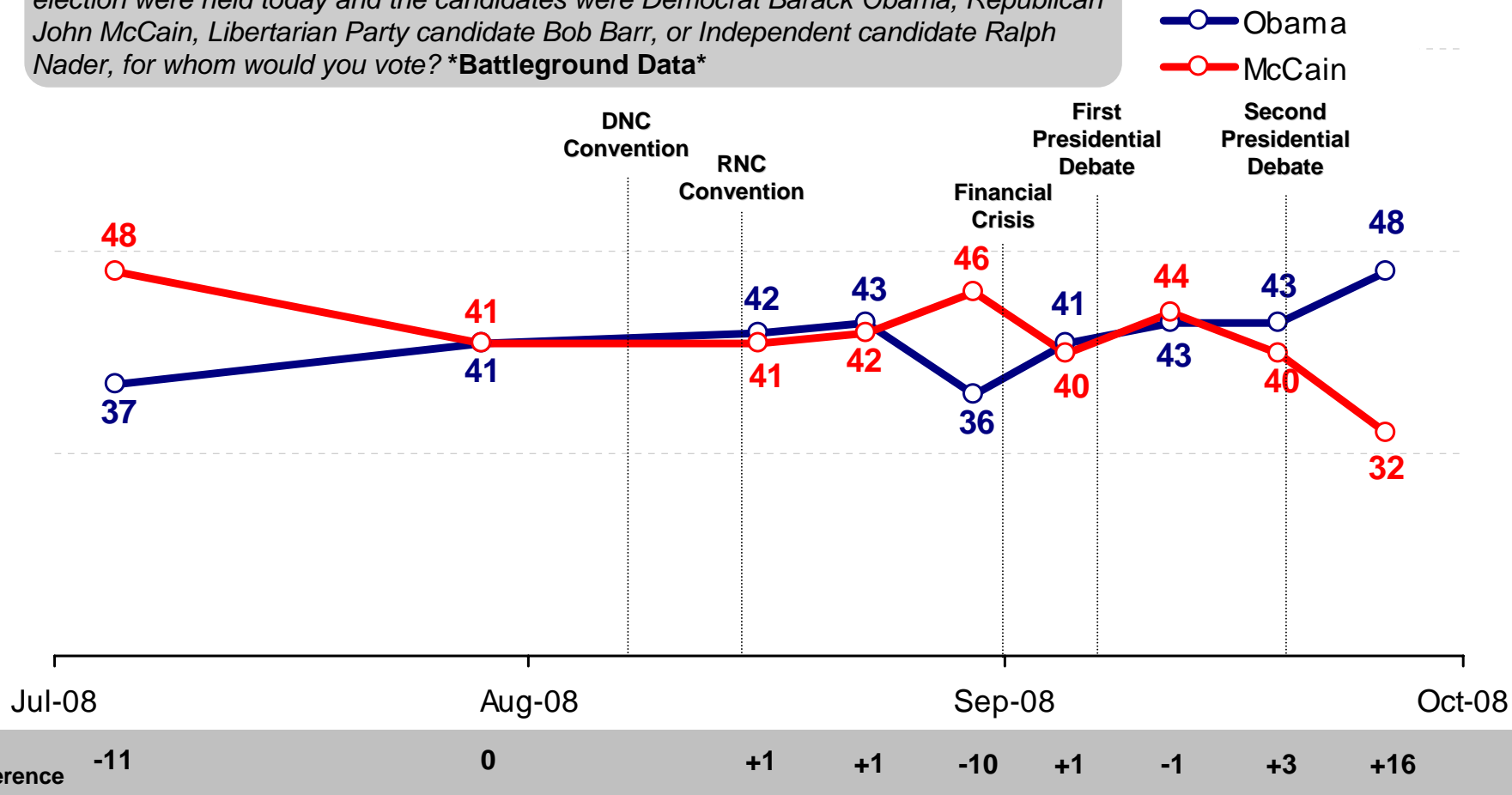
National Data

○ Obama
○ McCain



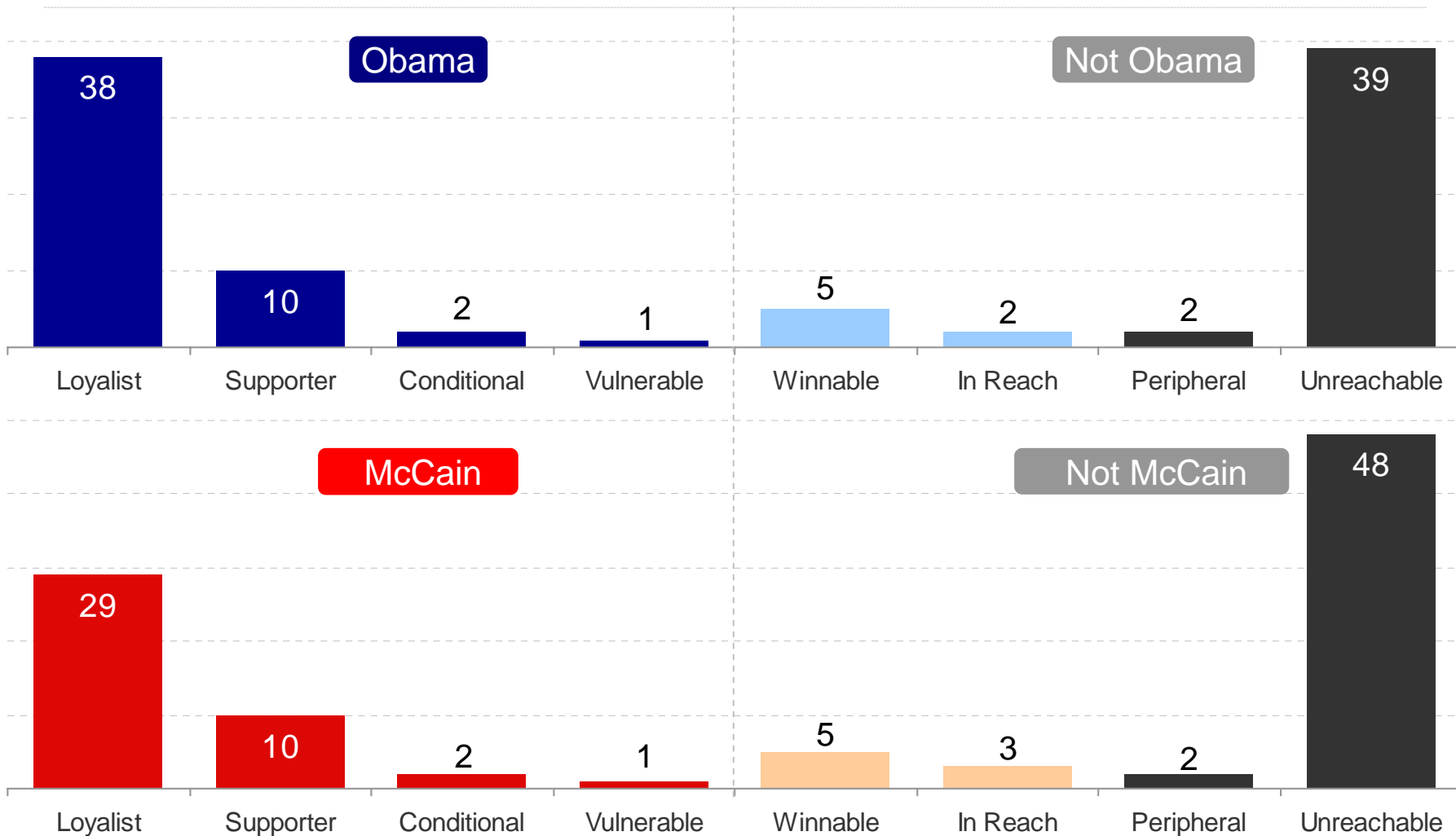
Obama opens commanding lead with battleground independents

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, or Independent candidate Ralph Nader, for whom would you vote? ***Battleground Data***

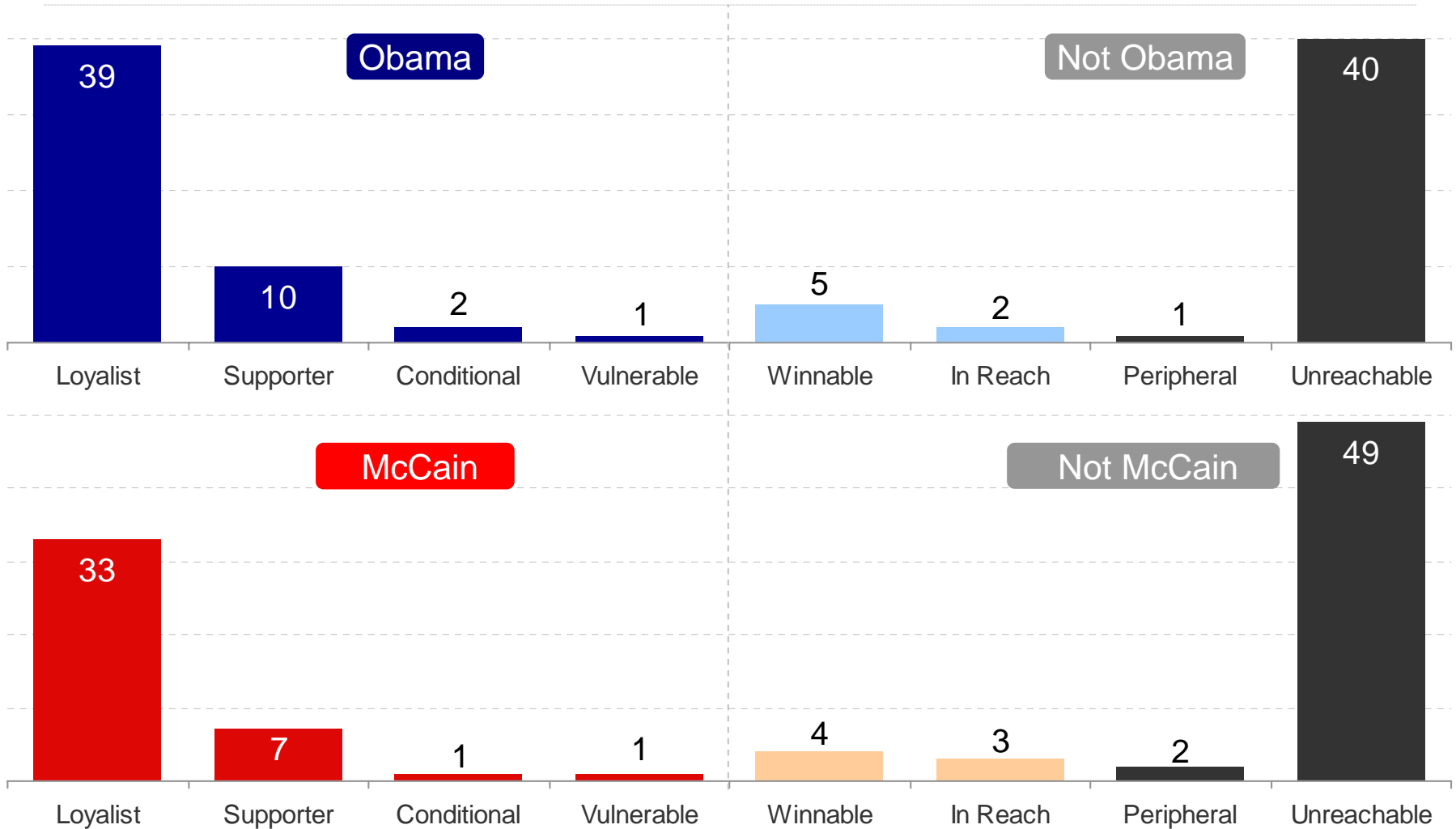


*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last six months.

Obama has fewer voters out of reach, more ardent supporters



In battleground Obama has more loyalists, less unreachable

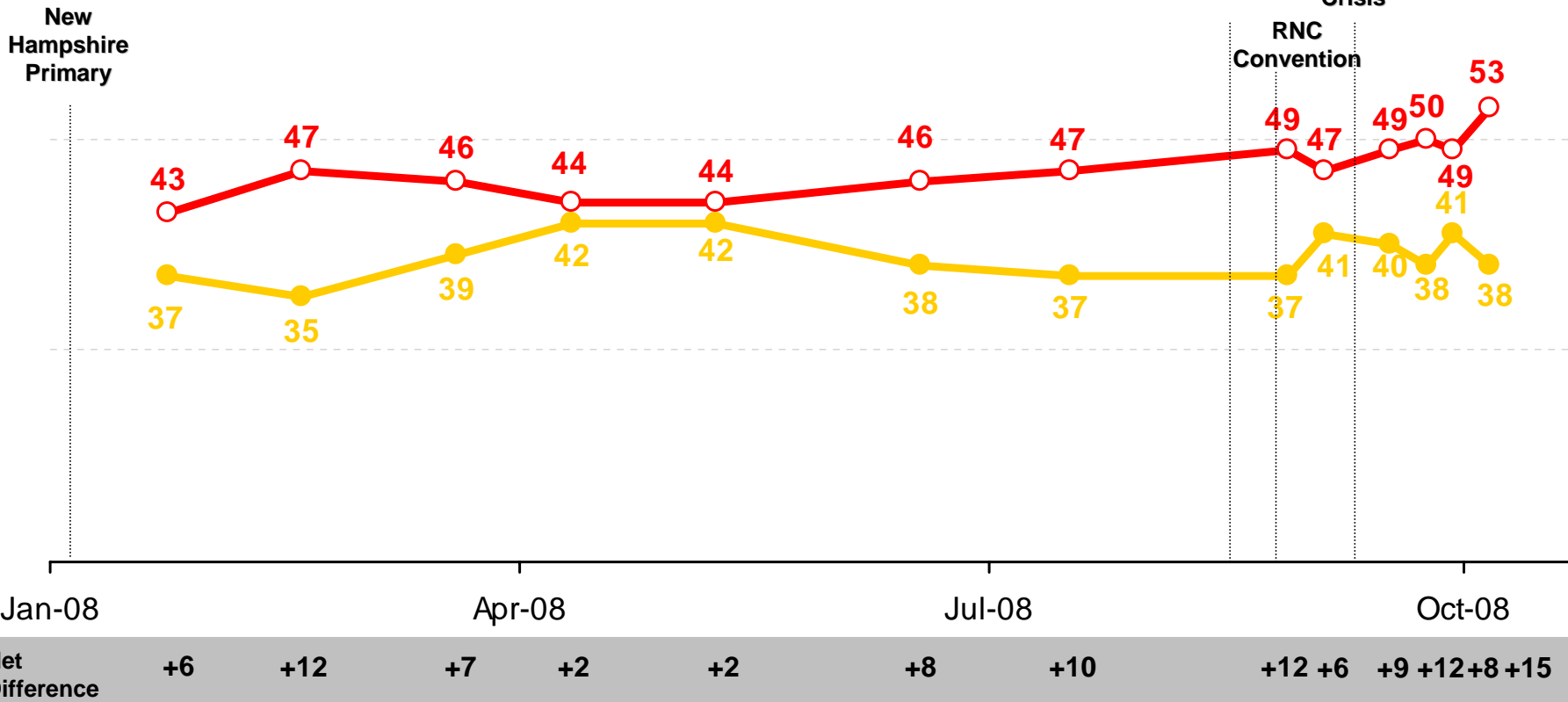


The Candidates

Majority holds favorable opinion of Obama nationally

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

National Data



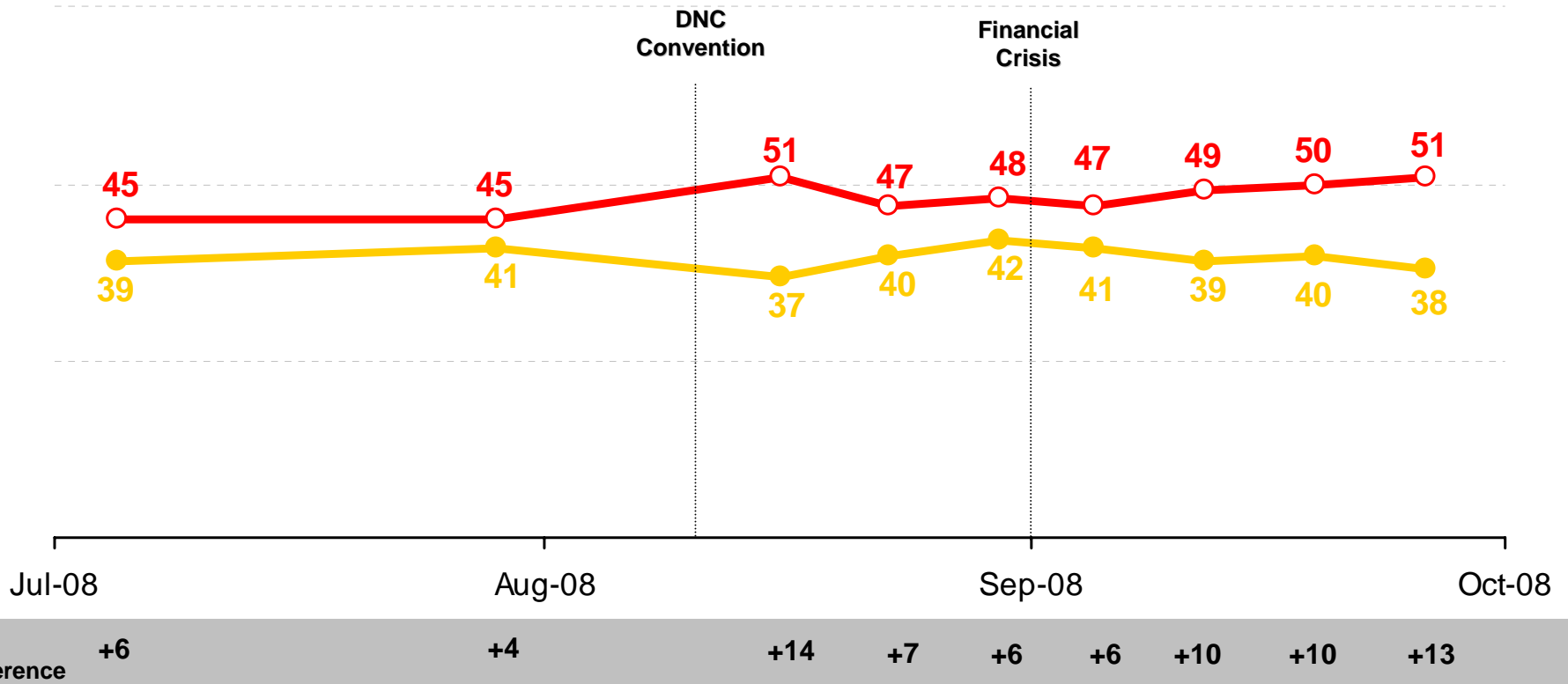
*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last year and a half.

Barack Obama has favorable gains in battleground

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

Battleground Data

● Cool ○ Warm



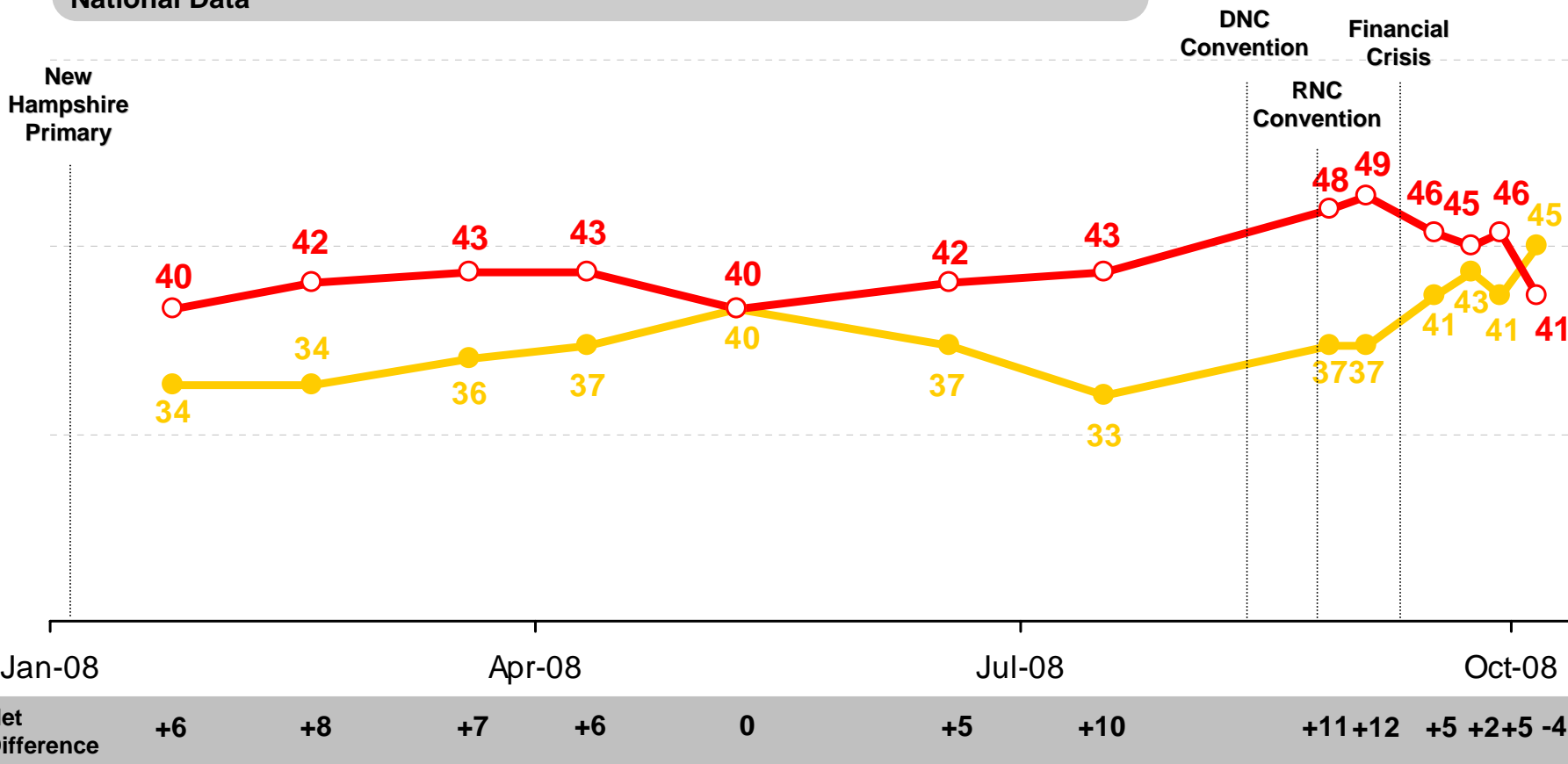
*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last six months.

John McCain: voters' opinion crashing nationally

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

National Data

● Cool ○ Warm



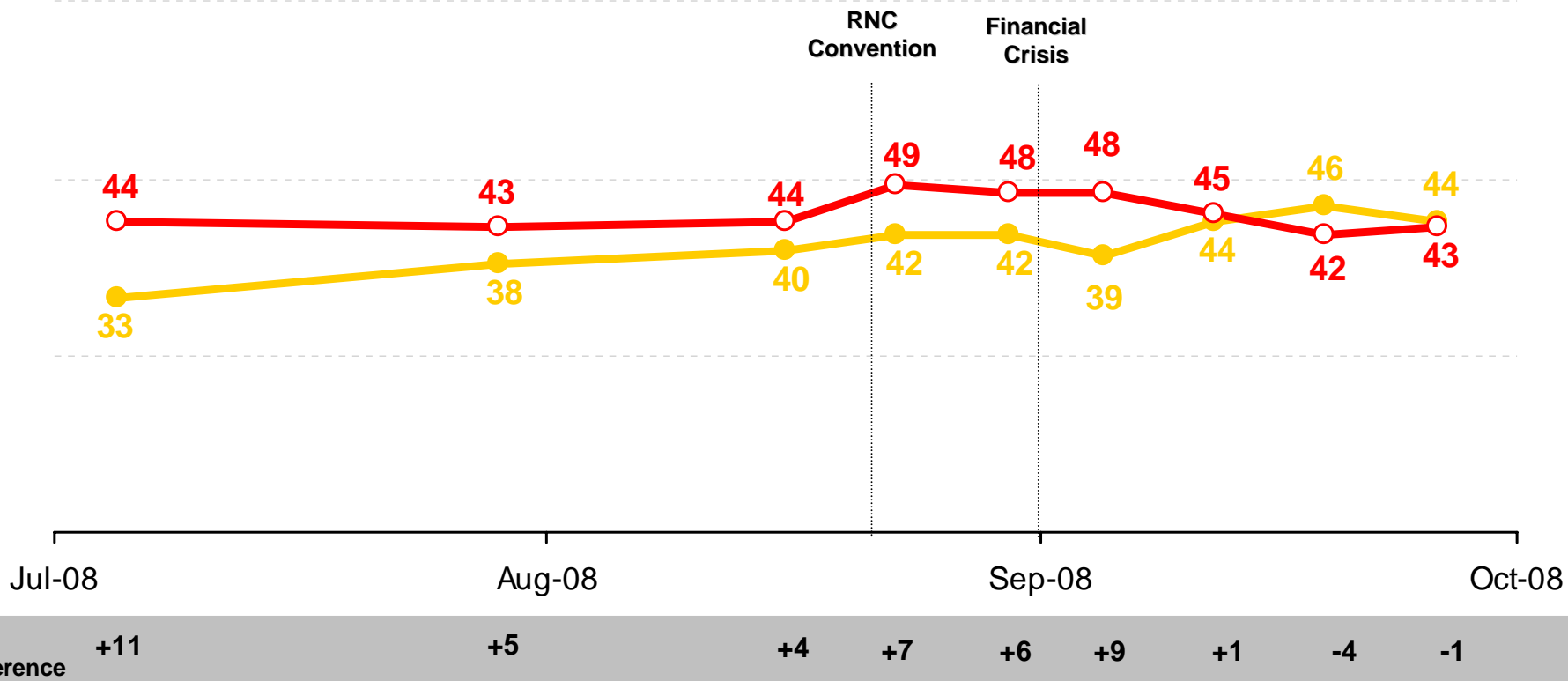
*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last year and a half.

McCain's favorability net remains low in battleground

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

Battleground Data

● Cool ○ Warm



*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last six months.

Regressions: Attitude towards Obama driving battleground vote, but less so than nationally

Vote Drivers:	Odds Ratio
• <i>Obama Thermometer</i>	3.92
• <i>McCain Thermometer</i>	2.86
• <i>Party ID</i>	1.98
• <i>Democratic Party Thermometer</i>	1.58
• <i>Palin Thermometer</i>	1.43

Regressions: Predictors of vote in presidential battleground

Vote Drivers:	Odds Ratio
• <i>Will Bring the Right Kind of Change</i>	2.13
• <i>Financial Crisis in the Country</i>	1.98
• <i>On Your Side</i>	1.76
• <i>Honest and Trustworthy</i>	1.70
• <i>Standing up to Special Interests</i>	1.53
• <i>Has what it takes to be President</i>	1.49

Regressions: Drivers of Obama favorability in the battleground

Thermometer Drivers:	Odds Ratio
• <i>Has what it Takes to be President</i>	2.30
• <i>Cares about People Like You</i>	2.21
• <i>Strong Leader</i>	1.74
• <i>Will Keep America Strong</i>	1.69
• <i>On Your Side</i>	1.63
• <i>National Security</i>	1.58
• <i>Gas Prices and Energy Crisis</i>	1.42
• <i>Associates with Corrupt Politics</i>	1.40

Obama leadership qualities in the battleground

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

Battleground Data

■ Not well at all ■ Not too well ■ Very well

Cares about people like you.



Strong Leader



Will Keep America Strong



Has what it takes to be President

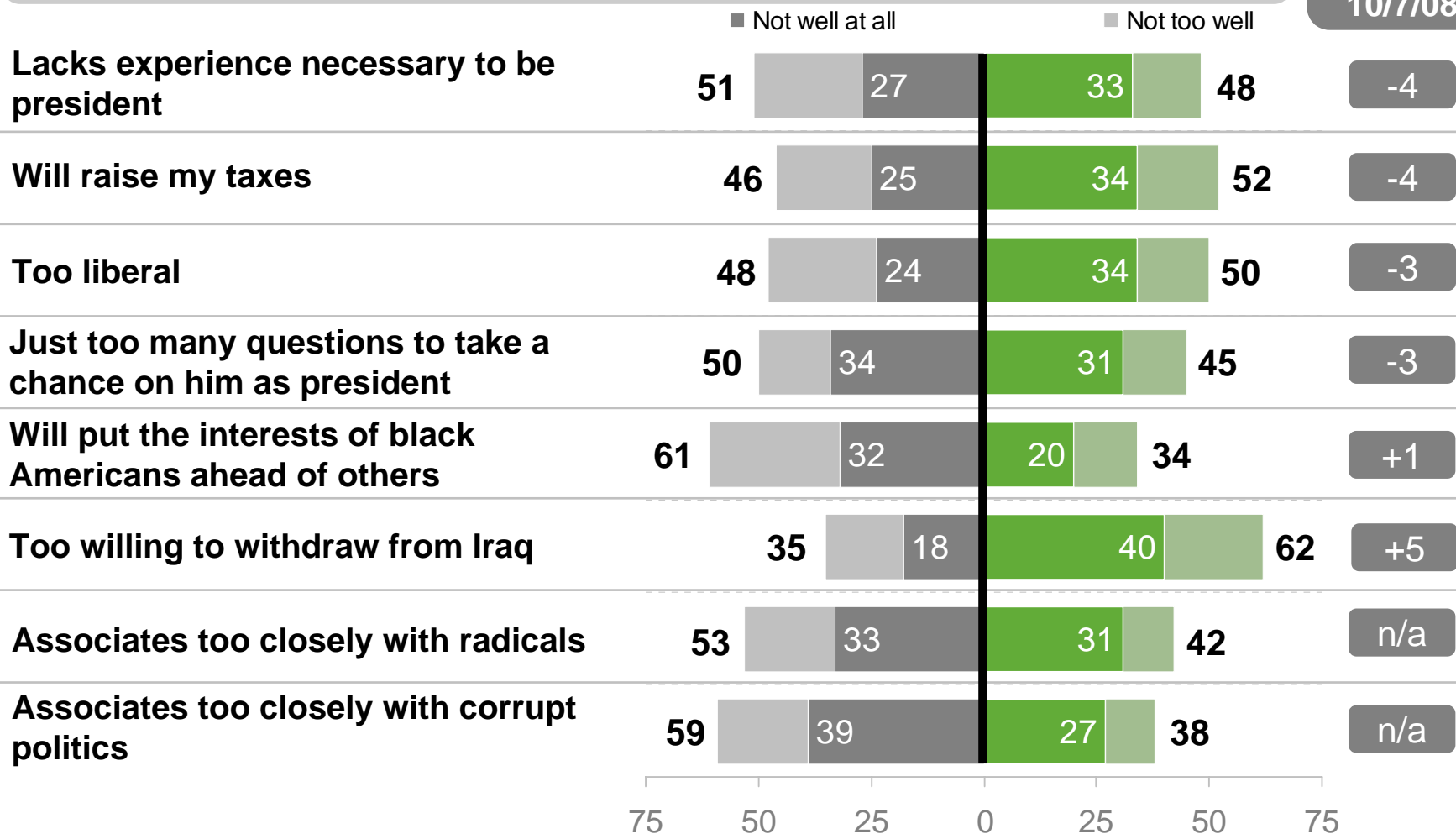


75 50 25 0 25 50 75

Negative Obama attributes in the battleground

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

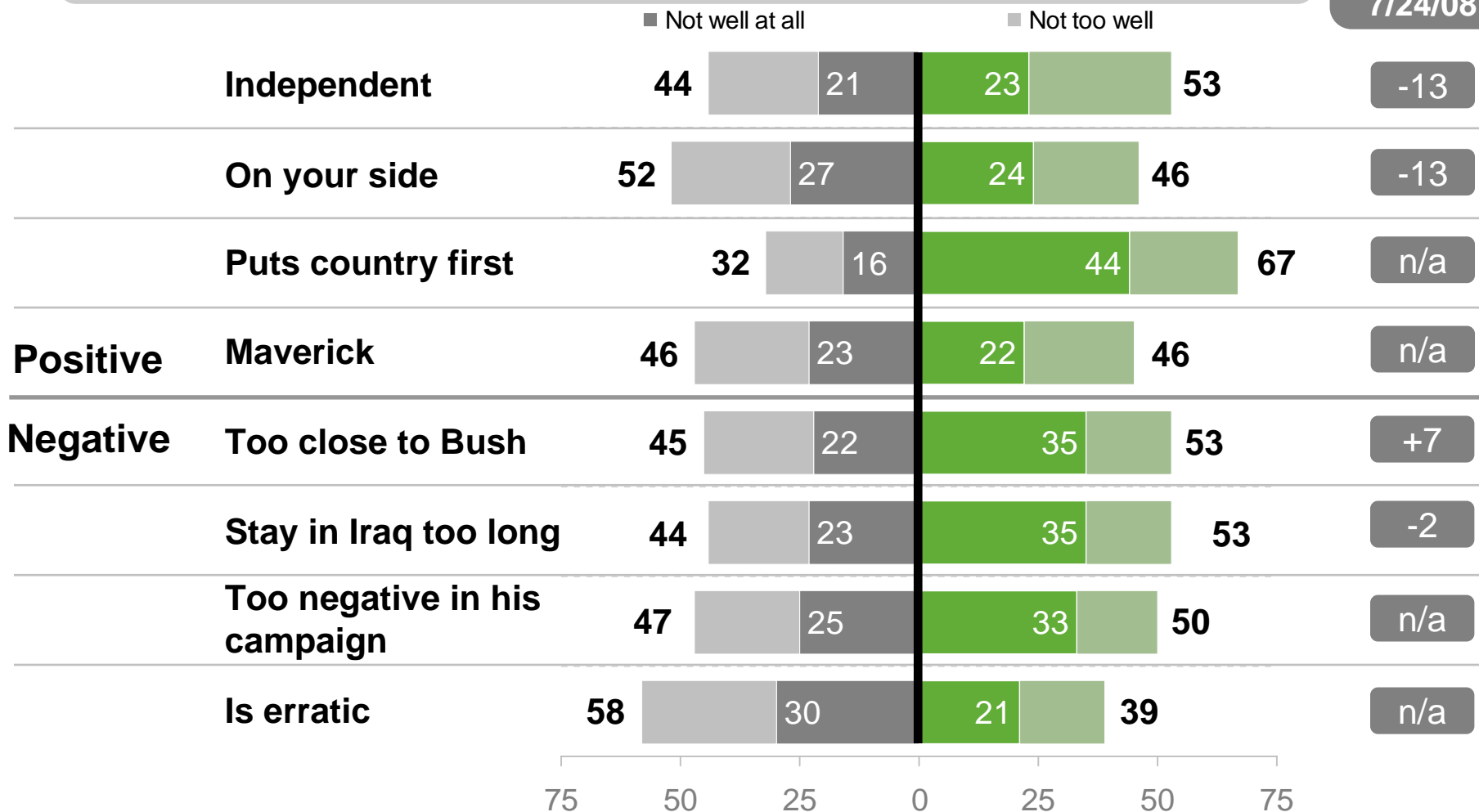
Change from 10/7/08



McCain leadership qualities in battleground

Now, I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which 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. ***Battleground Data***

Change from 7/24/08



Candidate qualities comparison in the battleground

Now I'd like to ask you which presidential candidate you associate more with these terms, Barack Obama or John McCain. ***Battleground Data***

Obama Advantage

■ McCain much more ■ McCain somewhat more ■ Obama much more ■ Obama somewhat more

Bringing the right kind of change

40 25 42 55

+15

Offering vision that might solve the problems facing the country

40 25 38 53

+13

Being on your side

41 29 38 52

+11

Capable of getting country back on track

42 28 38 50

+8

Shares your values

44 32 38 50

+6

Is honest and trustworthy

43 32 33 46

+3

Independent

44 28 26 46

+2

Strong leader

47 35 33 45

-2

75 50 25 0 25 50 75

Who better on issues in the battleground

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 Democrat Barack Obama or Republican John McCain would do a better job with this issue.

■ McCain much more ■ McCain somewhat more ■ Obama much more ■ Obama somewhat more

Obama Advantage

Gas prices and the energy crisis



+12

The economy



+11

The financial crisis in the country



+10

Standing up to powerful special interests in Washington



+8

Taxes



+7

The situation in Iraq



-2

National Security

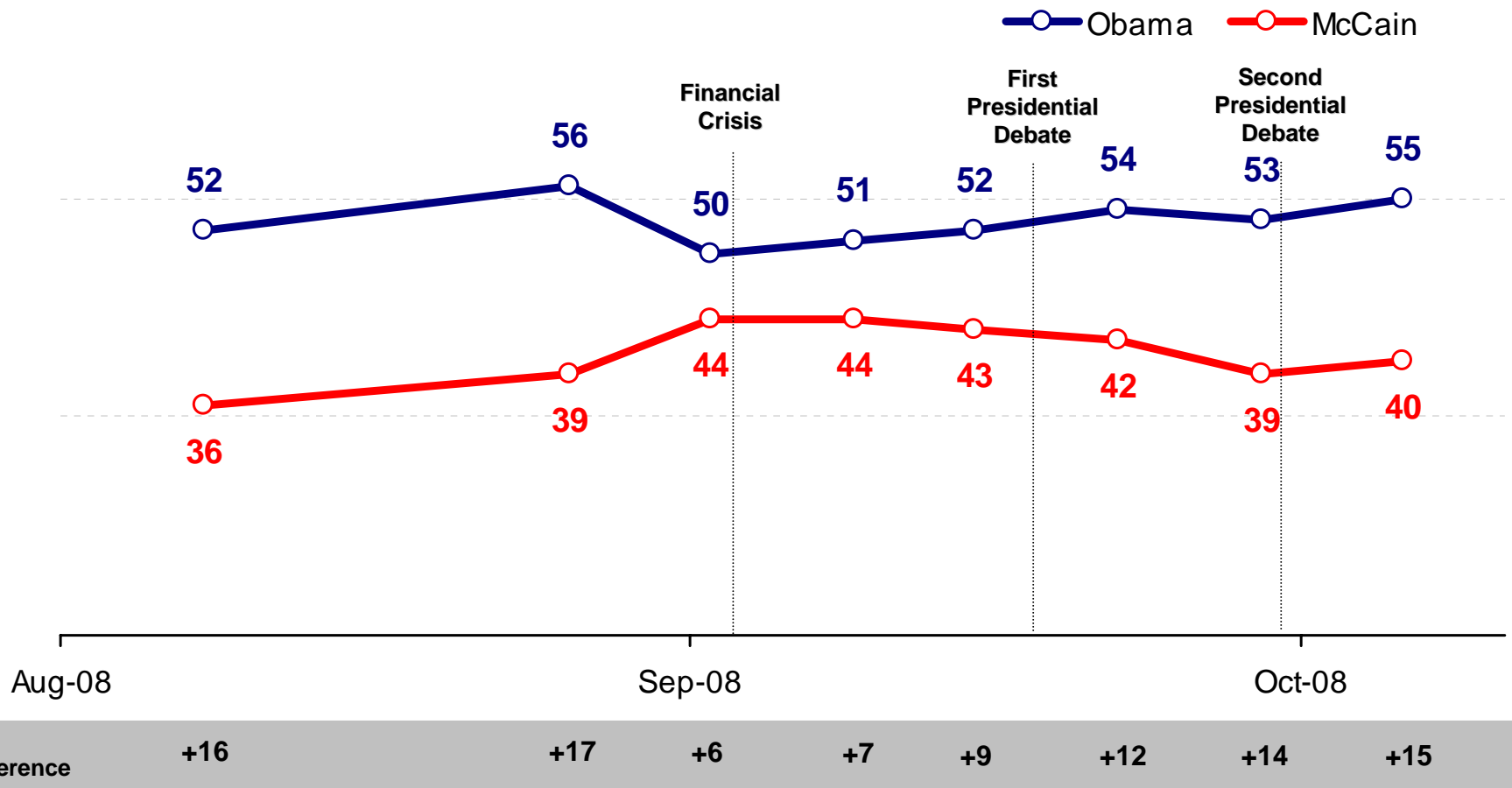


-28

80 60 40 20 0 20 40 60 80

Obama's lead on "right kind of change" steady in battleground

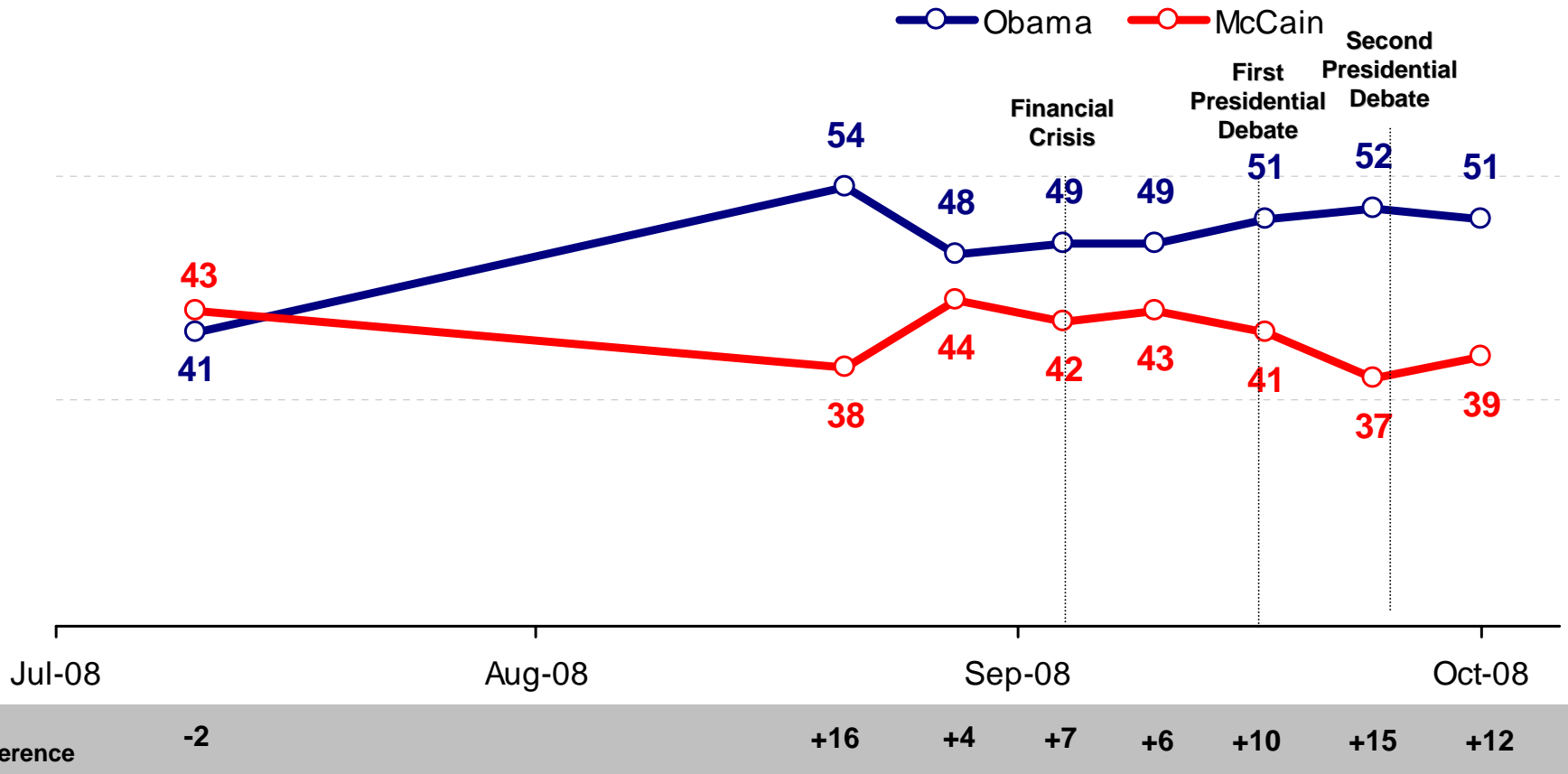
Now I would like to ask you which presidential candidate you associate more with these terms, Barack Obama or John McCain... **Bringing the right kind of change.** *Battleground Data*



*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last three months.

In battleground Obama maintains double digit margin on the economy

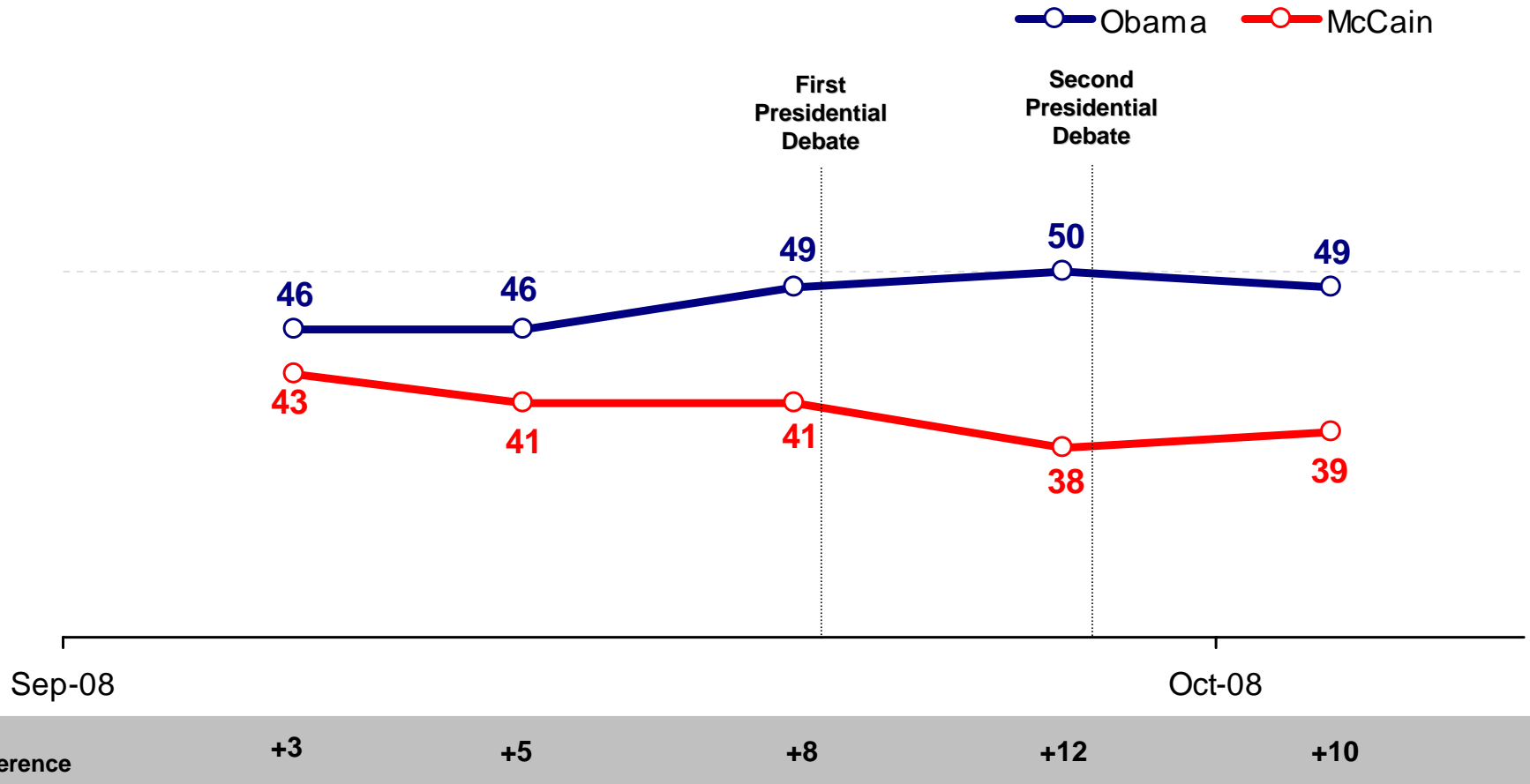
Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue... **The economy.** *Battleground Data*



*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last six months.

Obama holds significant advantage on the financial crisis

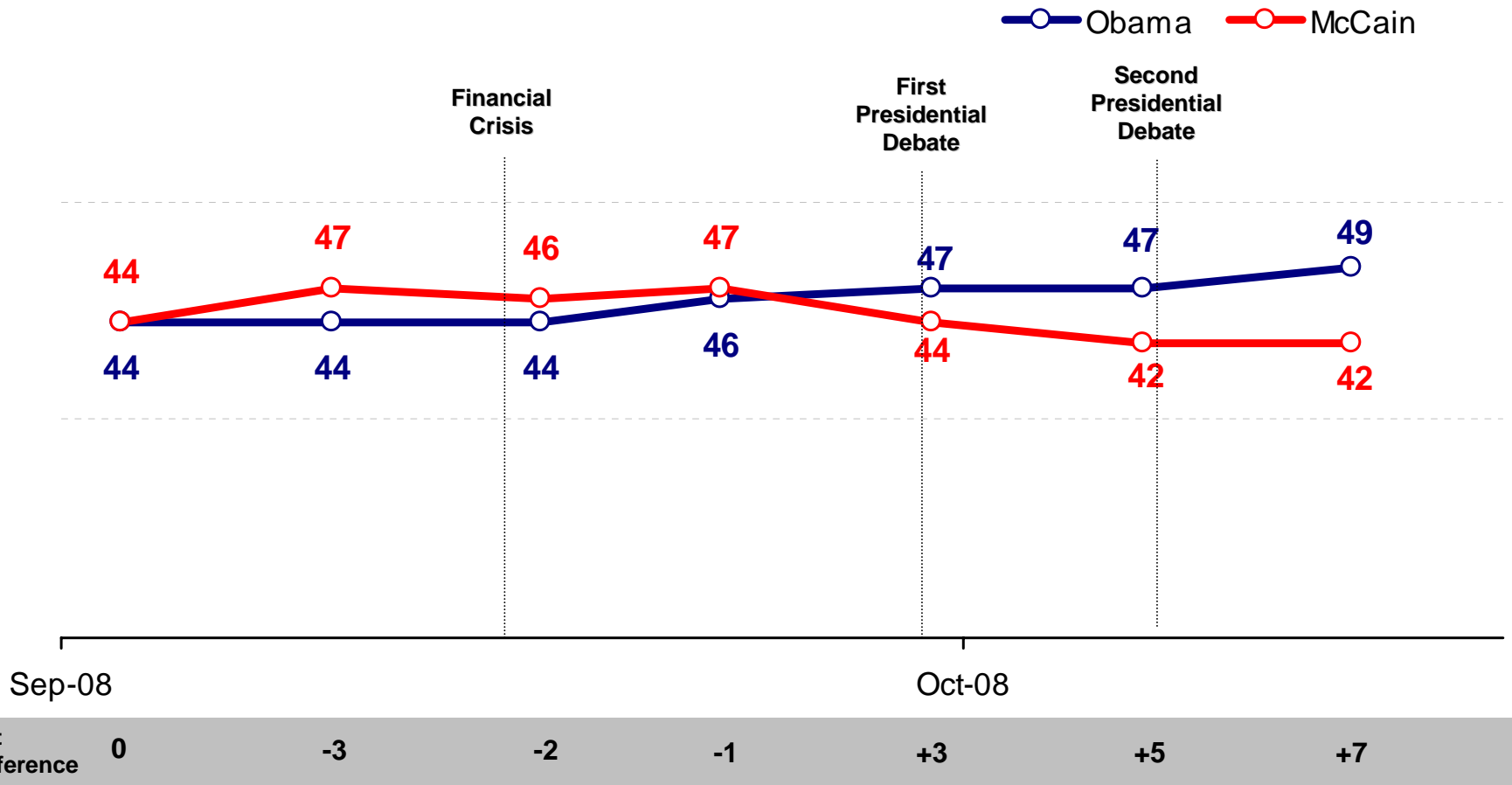
Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue... **The financial crisis in this country.** *Battleground Data*



*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last two months.

Obama growing advantage over McCain on taxes in battleground

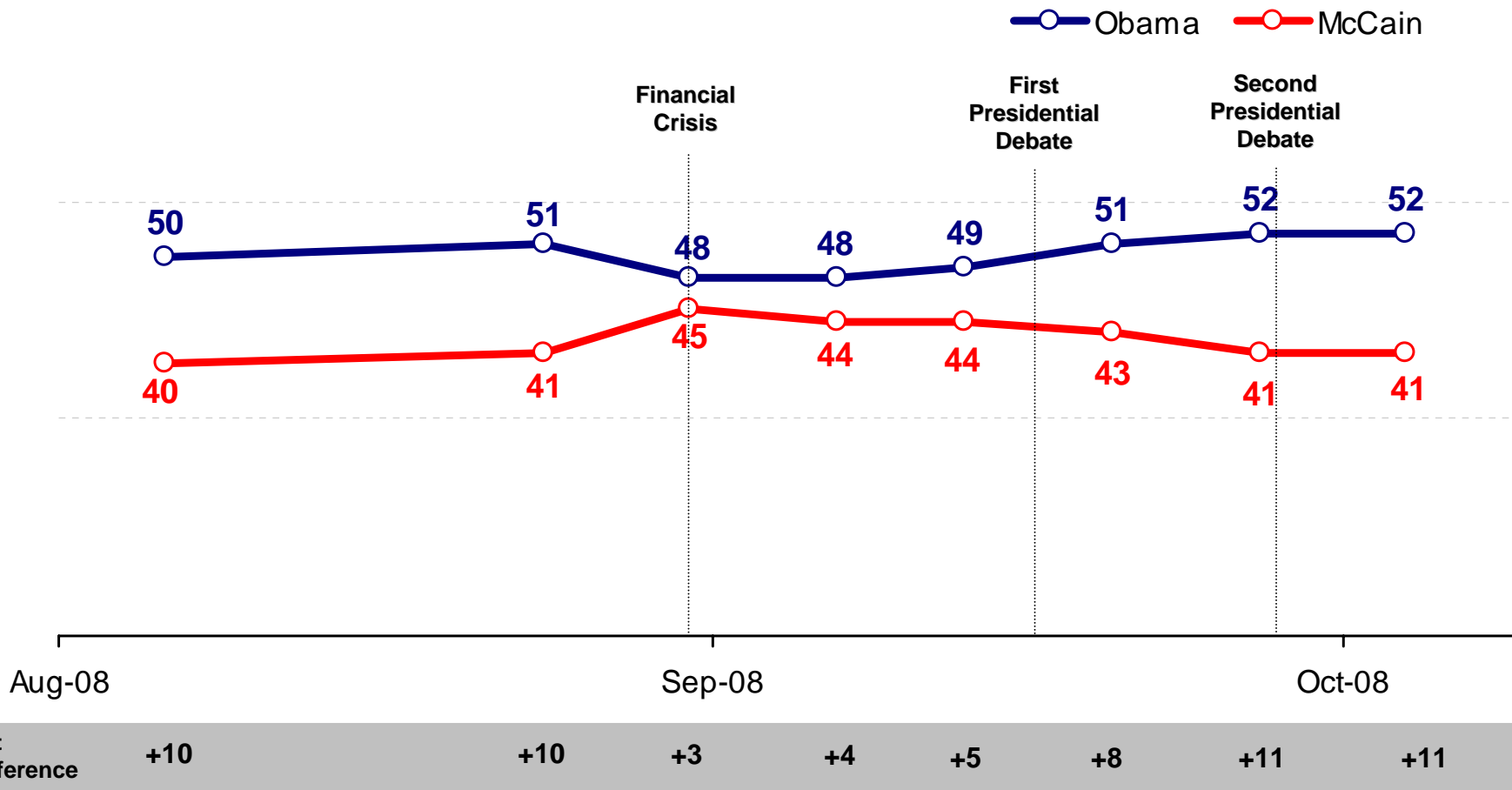
Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue... **Taxes. *Battleground Data***



*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last two months.

Obama seen as more “on your side” in battleground

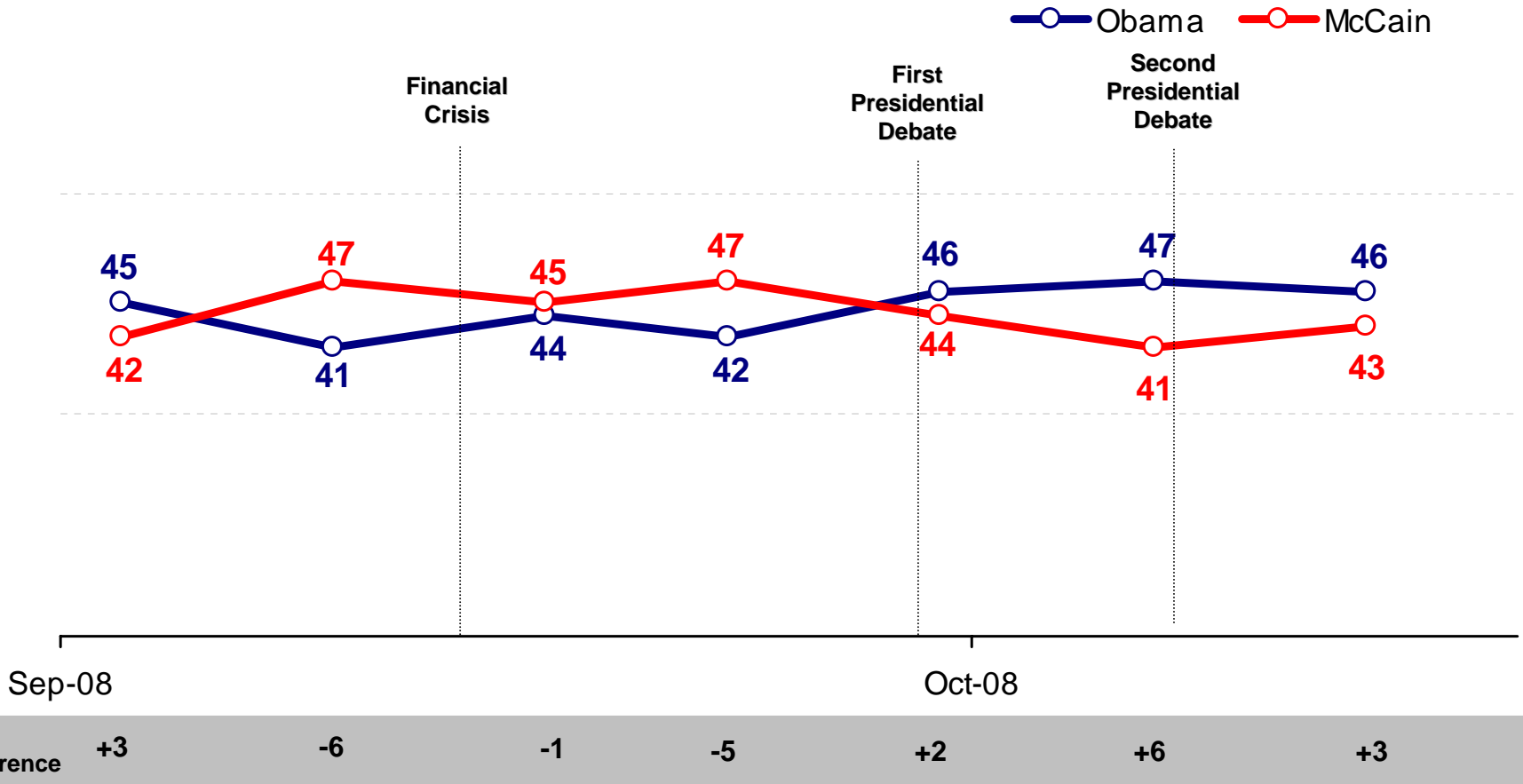
Now I would like to ask you which presidential candidate you associate more with these terms, Barack Obama or John McCain... **On your side.** *Battleground Data*



*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last three months.

Battleground voters see Obama as more honest

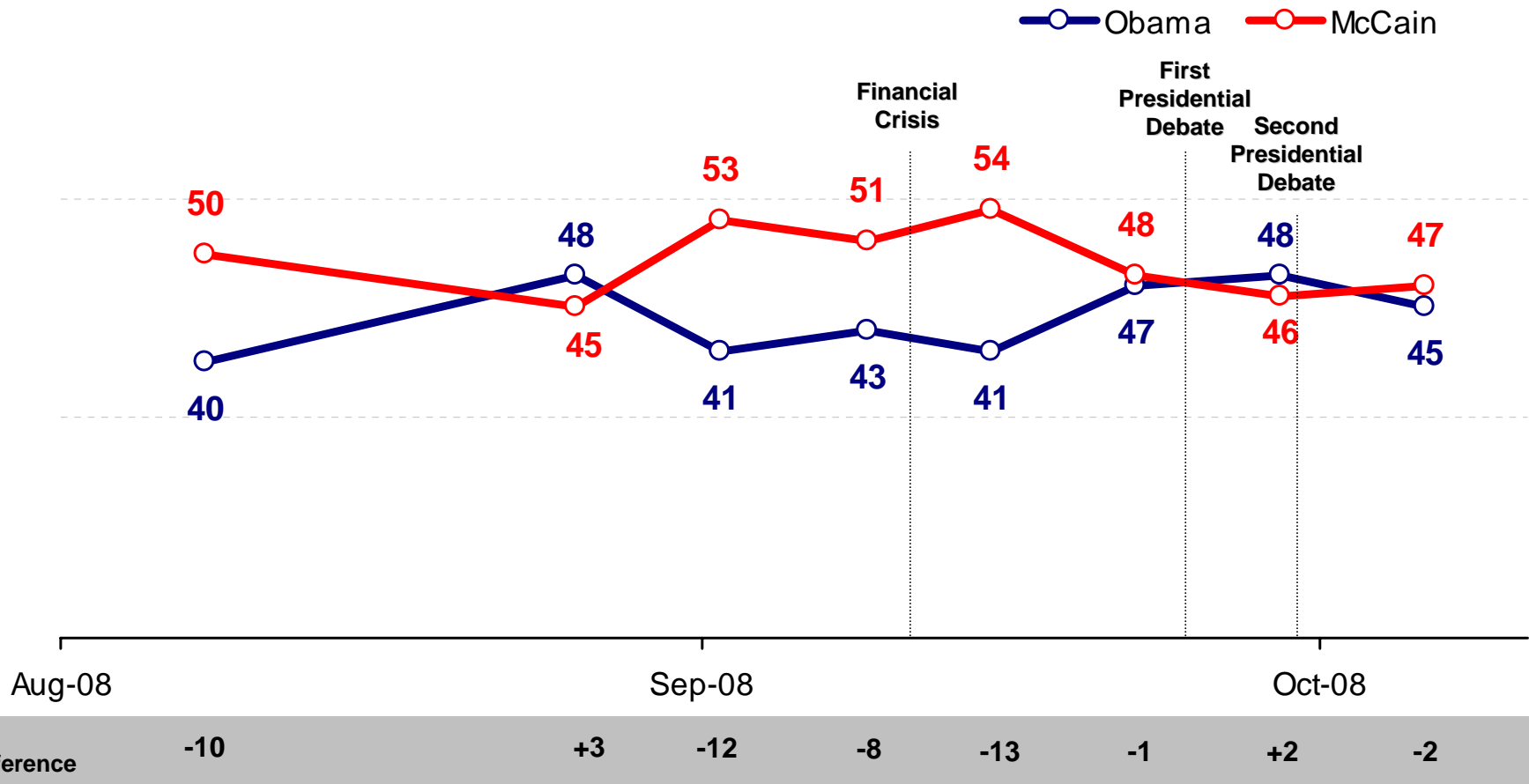
Now I would like to ask you which presidential candidate you associate more with these terms, Barack Obama or John McCain... **honest and trustworthy.** *Battleground Data*



*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last two months.

Obama's loses some ground on leadership strength

Now I would like to ask you which presidential candidate you associate more with these terms, Barack Obama or John McCain... **strong leader**. *Battleground Data*



*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last three months.

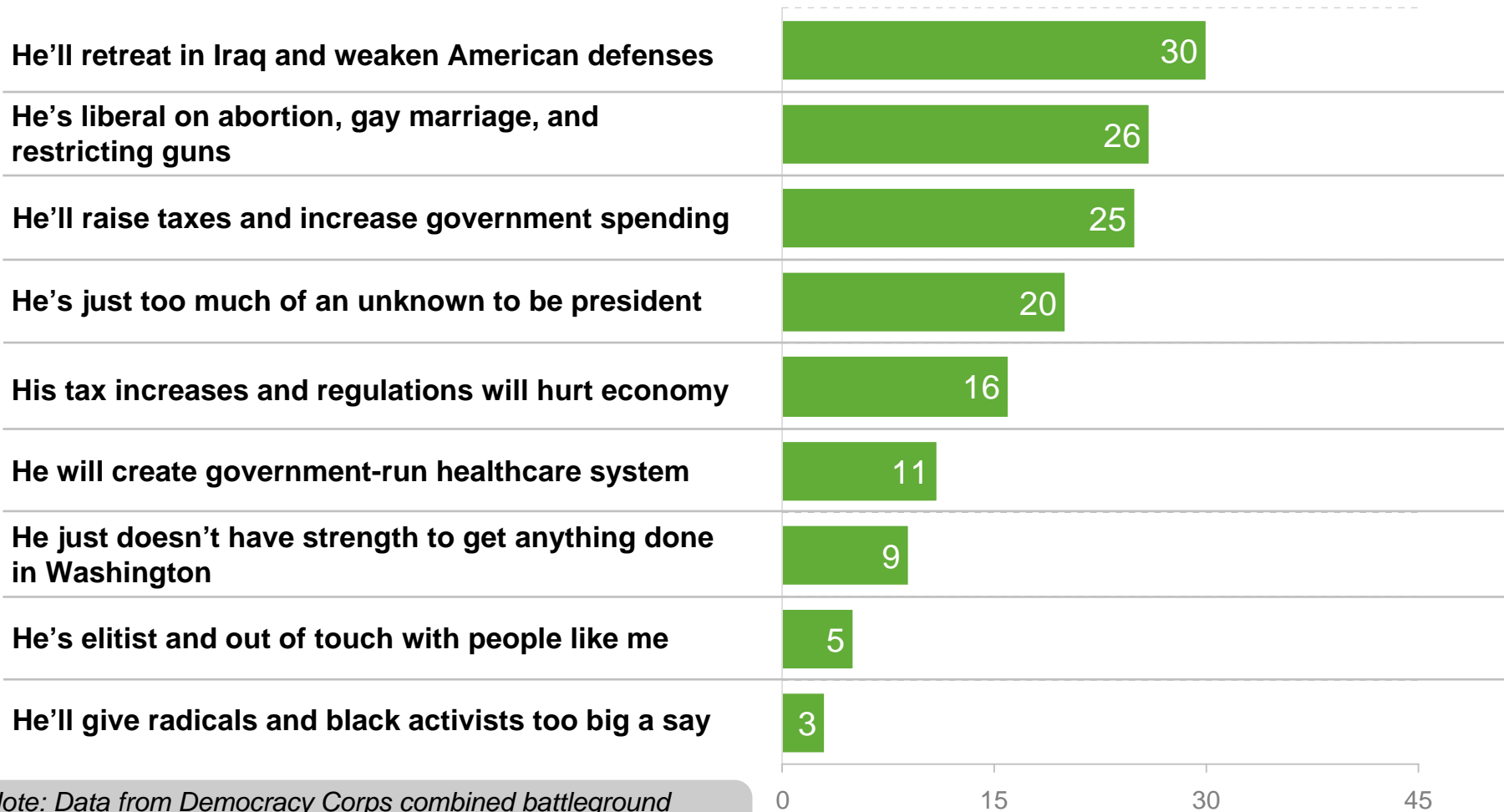
Closing the deal

Undecided voters

- **Women**
- **Older Women**
- **Non-College Women**
- **Older Non-College Women**
- **White Married Women**
- **Non-College**
- **Independent**
- **Independent Women**
- **Moderates**

Doubts among undecided voters

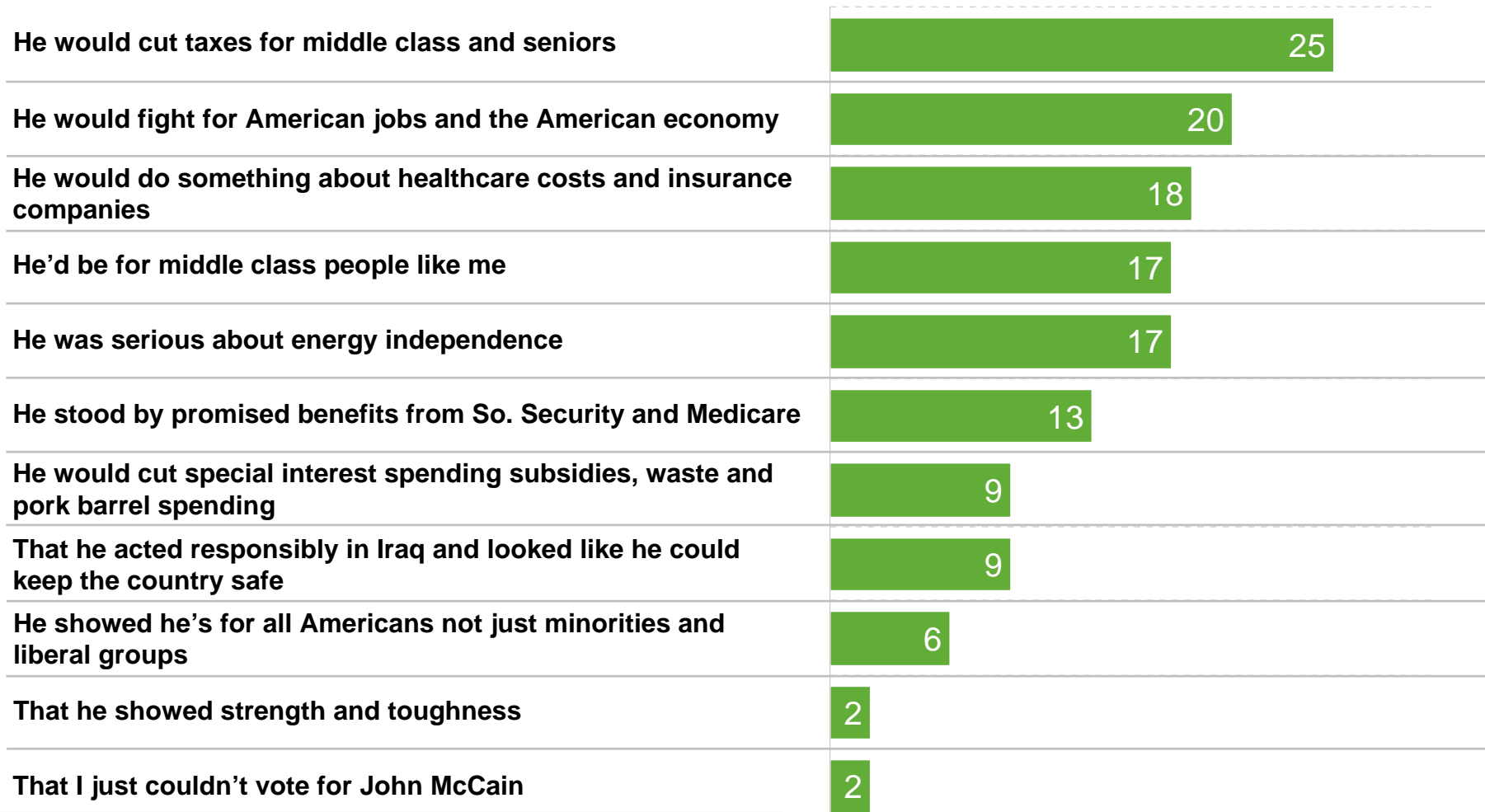
Regardless of how you are currently voting, what are the TWO biggest doubts about Obama that hold you back from voting for him? ***Battleground Data***



**Note: Data from Democracy Corps combined battleground survey of 3,044 likely voters Sep. 30 – Oct. 14, 2008. Results reflect responses from undecided presidential voters.*

Things that would encourage undecided voters to support Obama

Regardless of how you are currently voting, imagine that you decided to vote for Obama. Which TWO of the following if you came to believe them would let you to support Obama? ***Battleground Data***



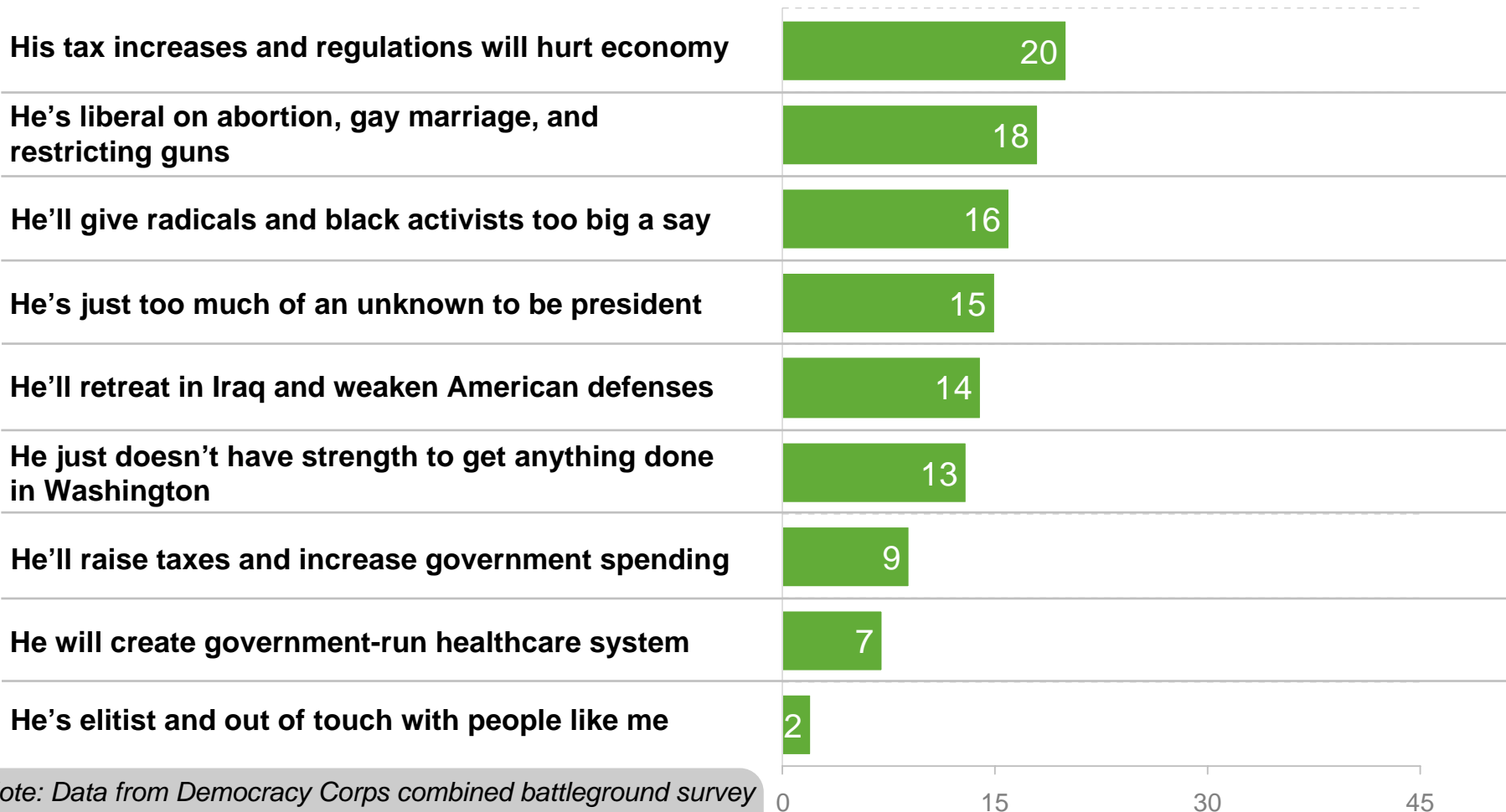
*Note: Data from Democracy Corps combined battleground survey of 3,044 likely voters Sep. 30 – Oct. 14, 2008.

Obama voters with questions

- **Seniors**
- **Non-College**
- **Widowed**
- **Unmarried Men**
- **Moderate Democrats**
- **Catholics**

Doubts among Obama voters with questions

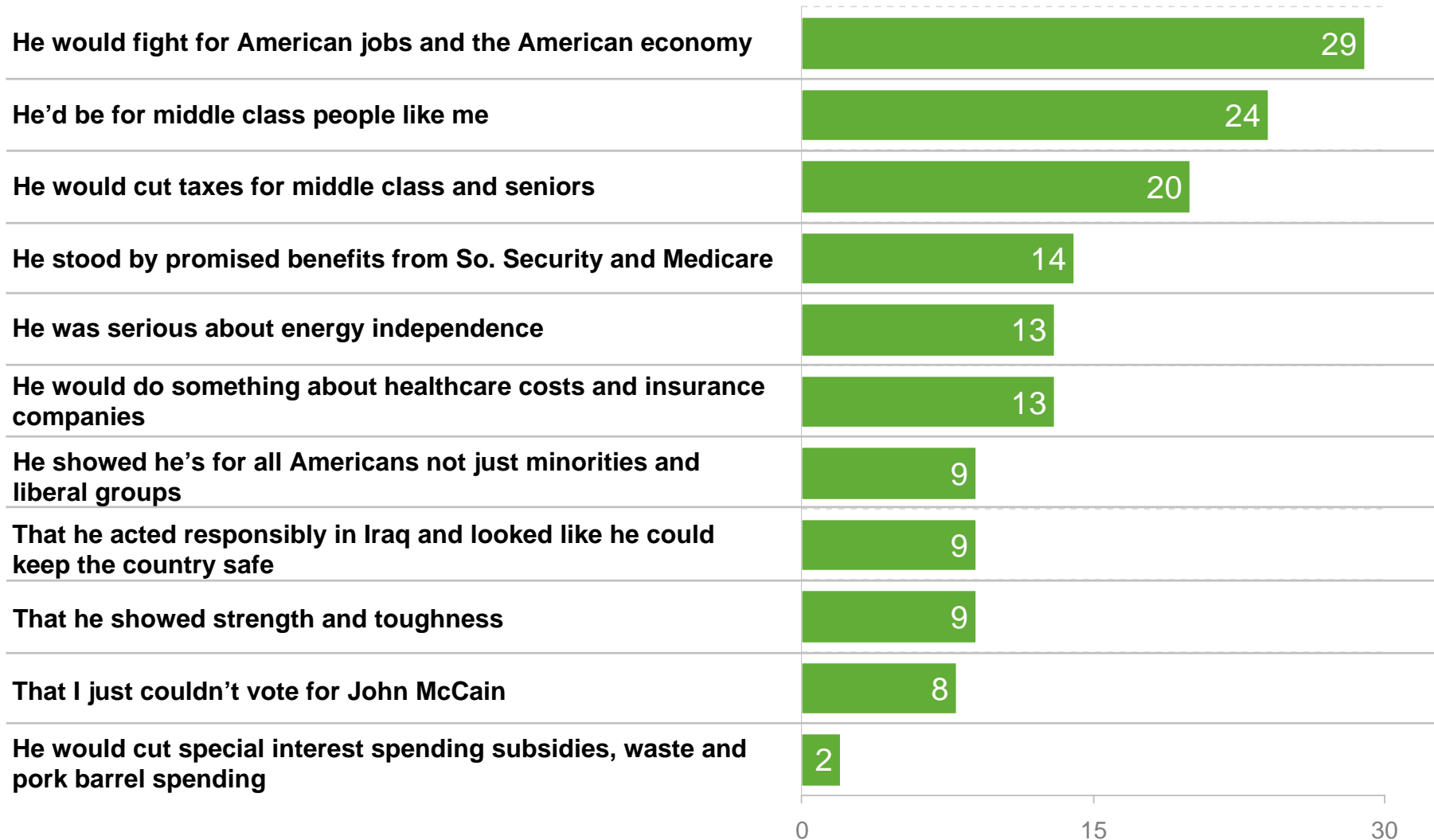
Regardless of how you are currently voting, what are the TWO biggest doubts about Obama that hold you back from voting for him? *Battleground Data*



*Note: Data from Democracy Corps combined battleground survey of 3,044 likely voters Sep. 30 – Oct. 14, 2008. Results reflect responses from those voting Obama but who also says “just too many questions” describes Obama well.

Things that would encourage Obama voters with questions

Regardless of how you are currently voting, imagine that you decided to vote for Obama. Which TWO of the following if you came to believe them would let you to support Obama? ***Battleground Data***

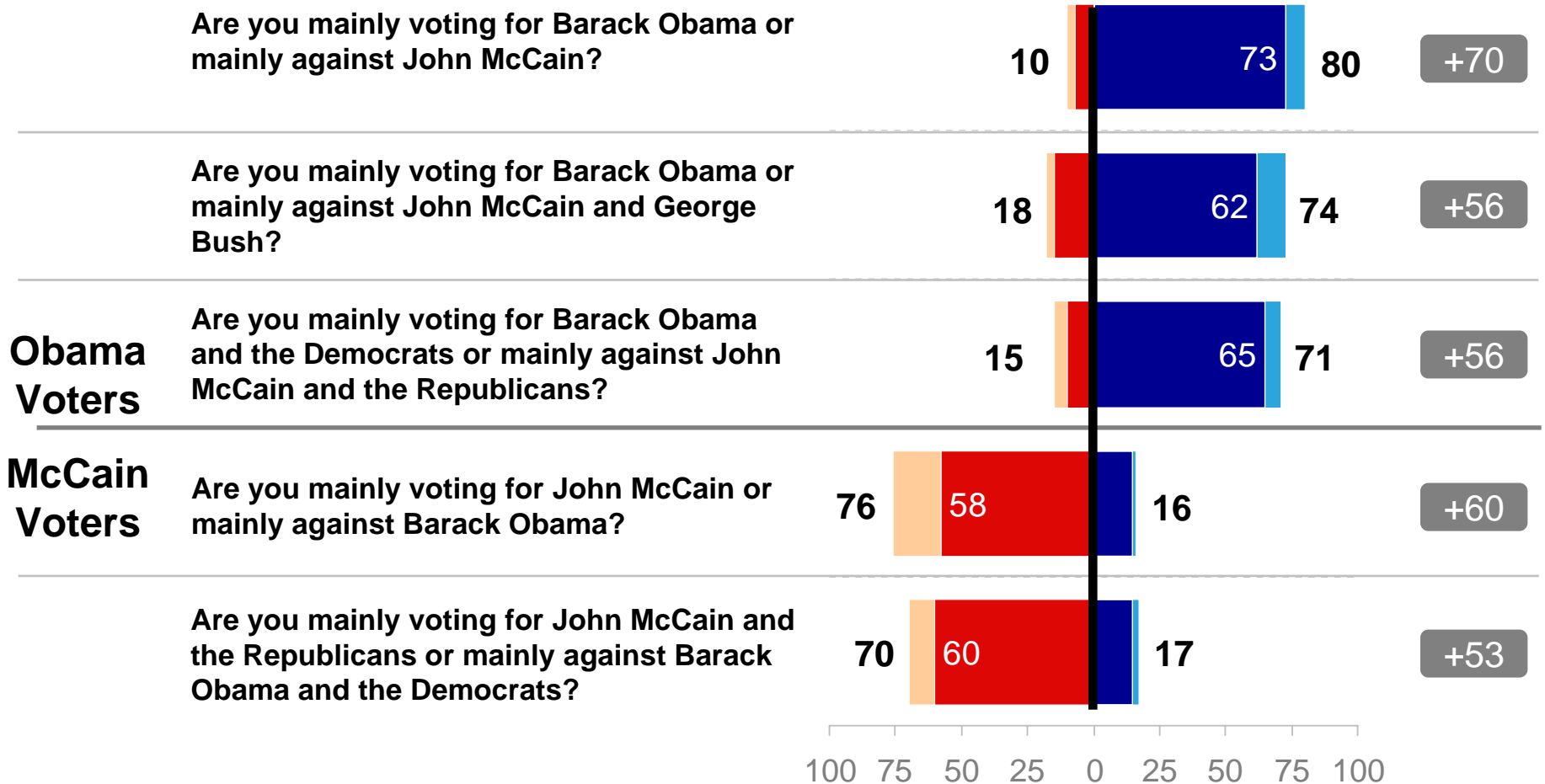


Reasons for voter choice primarily positive in favor of their candidate

■ (Republican) strongly
■ (Democrat) strongly

■ (Republican) somewhat
■ (Democrat) somewhat

For candidate -
against other



Simulating the final ballot

Simulated voting booth and final doubts and threshold test

Taking them to Obama vote:

- Change: breath of fresh air, lead America in a different path offers hope at a difficult time, can unite the country
- Concern for the middle class
- Eloquent

What's holding back?

- Don't know enough about him
- Associations: who will advise him?
- Poor judgment: ACORN, Ayers, Wright, Rezco
- Wild rumors that could be true

Perceptions of McCain in final weeks

Positive Reactions:

- Military service and patriotism
- Experience and know him; contrasts with Obama

What's holding back?

- No idea what he'll do for the country. No reason to vote for him
- Age: stubborn, unpredictable and close-minded
- Lack of judgment: Palin's pick
- Same as Bush

Bottom Line: Will vote for McCain if too worried about Obama's unknown

October Surprises

Unanimous perception that Obama will win

October Surprise:

- New revelations about Obama

Bradley effect:

- Bradley effect rejected: people talk openly about race, hold-backs among older people surpassed by support among the young
- Some talk about Bradley effect; know the term

Strategic Recommendations

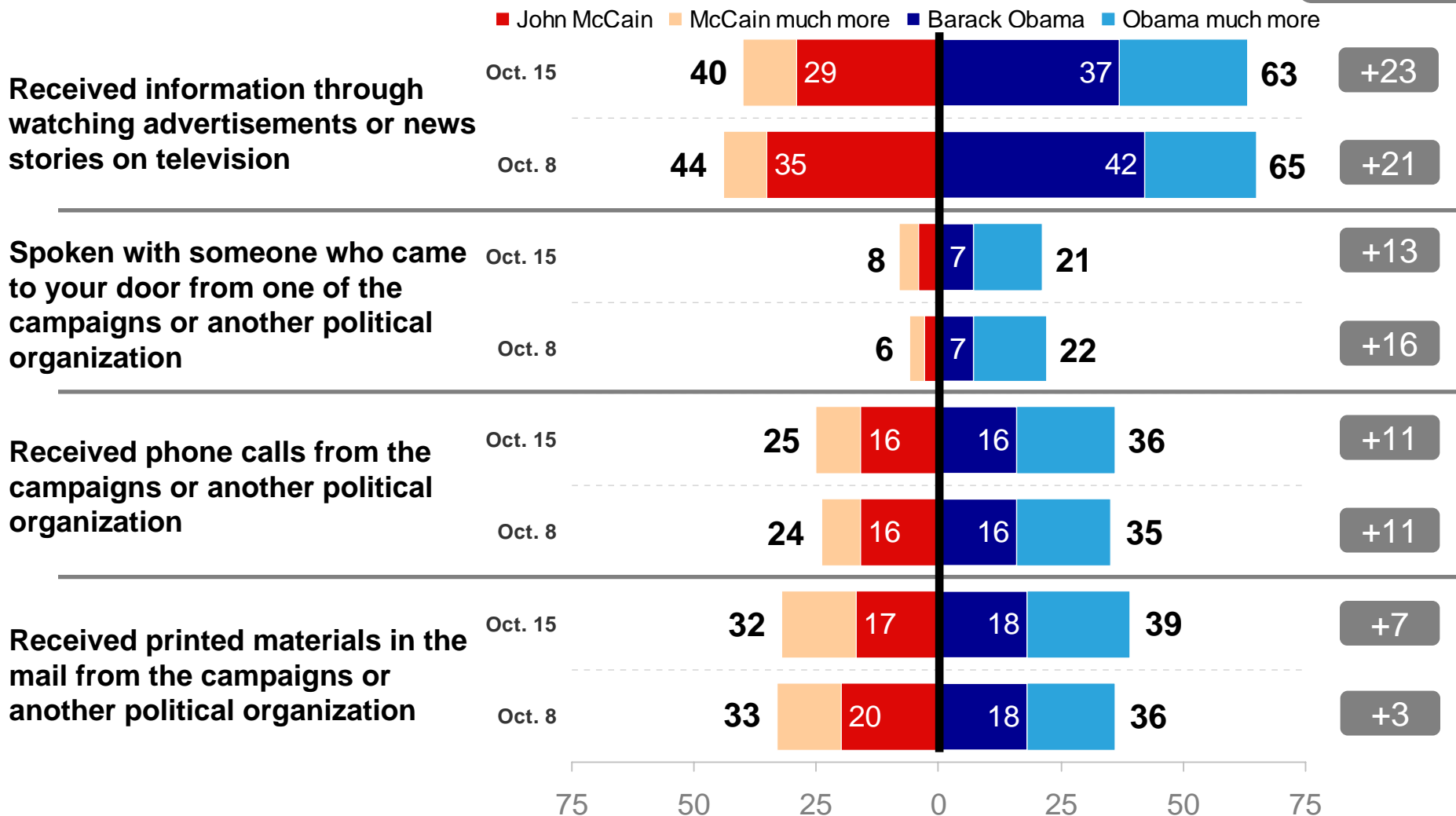
- **Highlight the team that will surround Obama**
- **Run ads of Obama speaking to the camera**
- **Remain focused on the national security, economy, healthcare and energy**

Campaign Activity

Obama leads on traditional modes of campaign communications

Now I'd like to ask you which presidential candidate you associate more with these terms, Barack Obama or John McCain. ***Battleground Data***

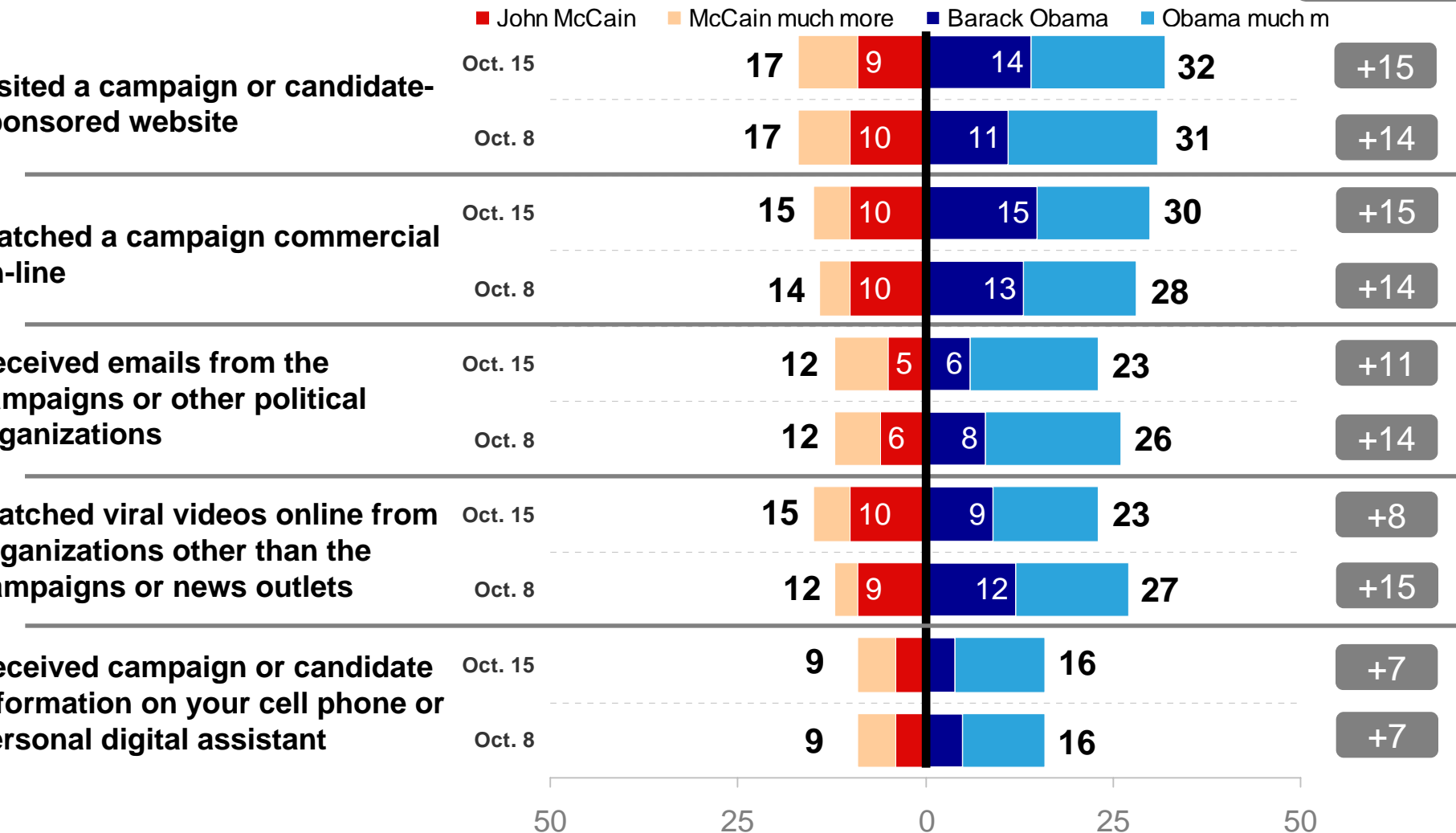
Obama Advantage



Obama leads on non-traditional modes of campaign communications also

Now I'd like to ask you which presidential candidate you associate more with these terms, Barack Obama or John McCain. *Battleground Data*

Obama Advantage



How to talk about the Economy

Project Summary and Methodology

- **The following are progressive messages on the economy that test strongly among voters, along with broader messaging strategies identified through testing with large national samples.** Messages were developed through 3 rounds of qualitative and quantitative research which tested them against strong conservative messages. All data presented are derived from survey research of national likely voters, developed over the following phases:
 - **Focus Groups:** 8 groups among swing voters and weak partisans testing various message concepts and language.
 - **Internet panel survey of national likely voters:** In 2 online surveys respondents heard conservative and progressive messages delivered by a Republican and Democratic candidate, respectively, in an audio format. Along with other measures, respondents rated messages in moment-to-moment dial testing, which helped identify which elements resonated the most.
 - **Telephone survey of national likely voters:** Respondents heard conservative and progressive messages on a variety of issues delivered by a Republican and Democratic candidate, respectively. They were then asked to rate each message and vote for the candidate whom they preferred based on the message.

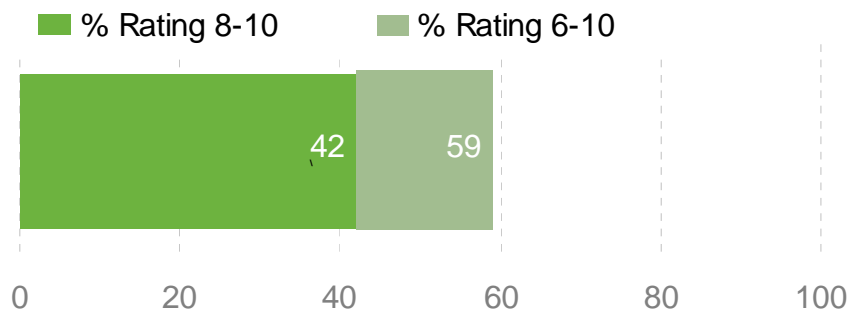
How to Talk about the Economy: Key Points

- **Democrats should start with emotionally compelling, values-based statements before launching into policy particulars on the economy.** In dial tests, statements such as “I want to see the words ‘Made in America’ again,” or, “We need an economy that works for people who work for a living...” produce sharp positive ratings across the political spectrum and influence the way people listen to what they hear afterwards.
- **Messages should articulate a positive vision, even if in a first sentence, before launching into a critique.** In dial tests, starting and ending with a positive statement before talking about problems or making a contrast with other side’s policies helps propel positive ratings further and keeps the overall ratings higher throughout the message.

The Conservative Message

Americans are most inventive people in the world. The economy has taken a downturn, but many politicians in Washington have made things a lot worse by refusing to make tax cuts permanent and continuing to fund wasteful government programs rather than cutting spending and getting our budget under control. So rather than letting government get in the way of business with high taxes and burdensome red tape, we should allow Americans to keep more of their hard earned money, so they can create and innovate, and let the market do what it has done for generations: create prosperity for the American people. Making the tax cuts permanent for all Americans, reducing taxes on businesses, and cutting wasteful spending in Washington will expand the U.S. economy and create new jobs and opportunities and allow us to lead the way again in the world market .

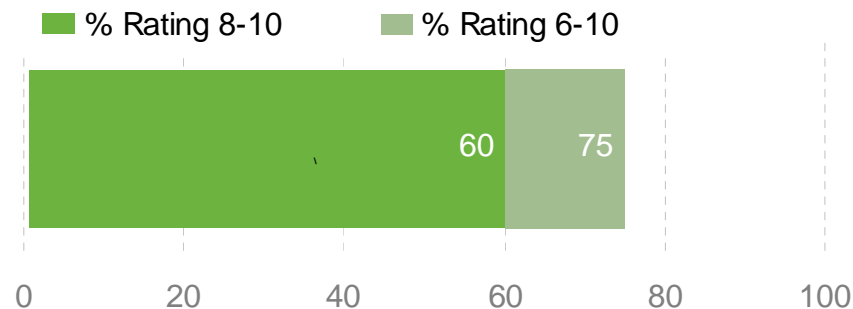
Message Rating, 0 - 10



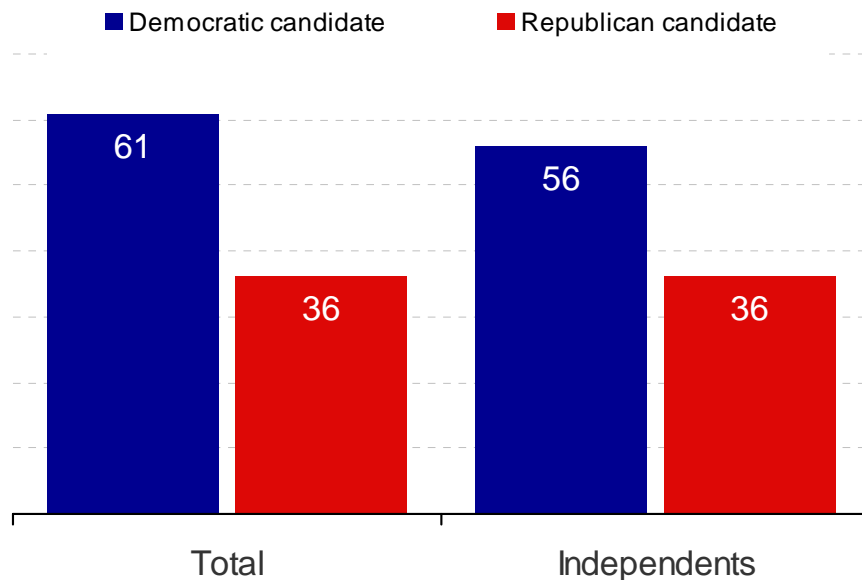
Strong Testing Progressive Message

I want to see the words "Made in America" again. Becoming the world's leader again in manufacturing and agriculture isn't just essential to our economic security. It's essential to our national security. Imagine if we'd had to fight World War II without manufacturing plants and American-grown food. I'm tired of calling the phone company and talking to a person in India, if I ever reach a person at all. It's time we negotiate trade agreements that lift workers up, not bring the pay and benefits of American workers down to the level of Mexico and China. If we trade with a country whose workers don't get health insurance, retirement, and safety standards like ours, we need to make sure our trade agreements guarantee American workers and businesses a level playing field. And it's time we stopped rewarding companies that ship our jobs overseas. It's time to put America first again.

Message Rating, 0 - 10



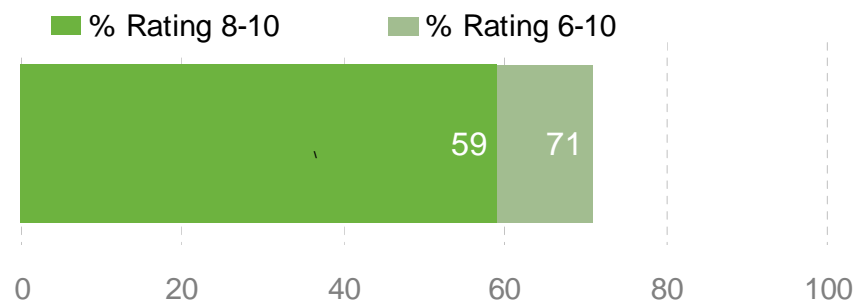
Vote on The Economy



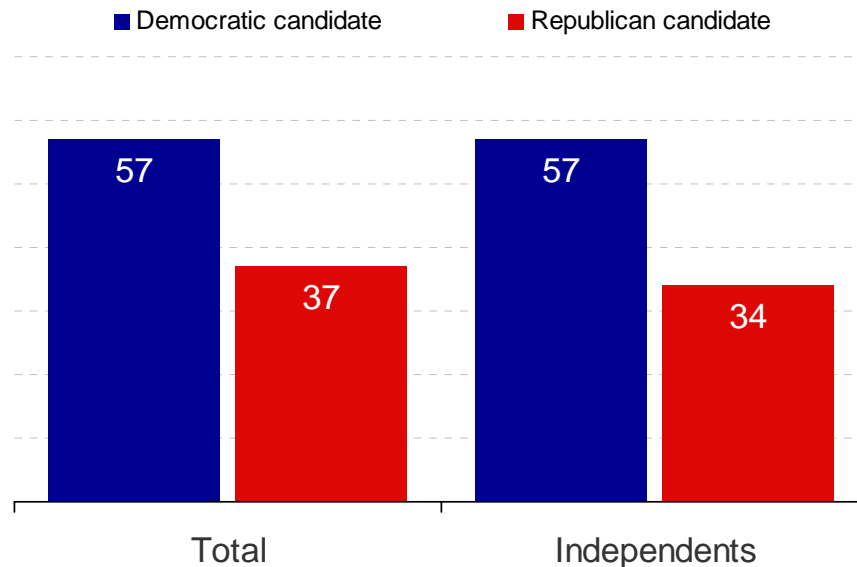
Strong Testing Progressive Message

It's time to start expanding our economy and stop shrinking the middle class. We need leaders who will stop giving tax breaks to oil companies that triple the price of gas. We need leaders who will negotiate trade deals that benefit American workers, not the companies that outsource their jobs. We've watched one after another of our industries shipped overseas: first textiles, then steel, then automobiles, now electronics. We've lost over three million manufacturing jobs since 2000, and we're about to lose three million white-collar jobs. We need leaders who will invest in public education and affordable college, in levees and bridges we can count on, and in alternative energy sources that protect the earth we leave our children and create millions of new jobs. It's time our major import was something other than oil, and our major export was something other than American jobs.

Message Rating, 0 - 10



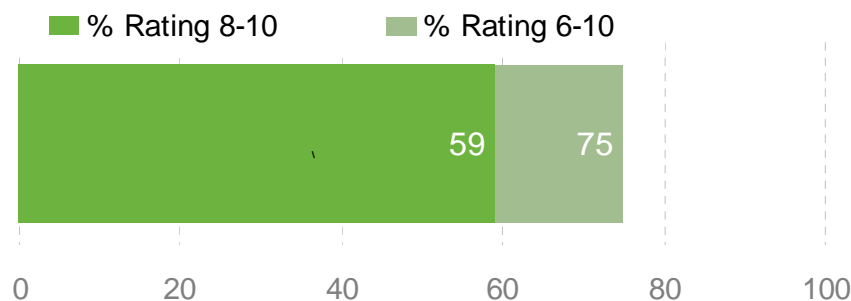
Vote on The Economy



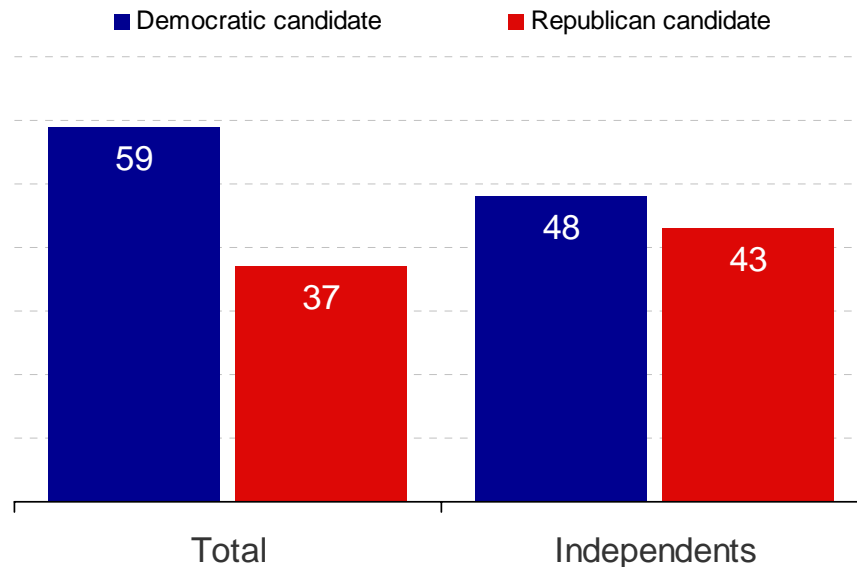
Strong Testing Progressive Message

It's time we have an economy that works again for people who work for a living. In the last thirty years, productivity in this country has nearly doubled. That means the average family should be twice as wealthy as it was then. But that's not what's happened. Middle class Americans haven't shared in the wealth they worked so hard to create. It isn't right that CEOs today make more money in one day than their average employee makes in an entire year. It isn't right that every time a big corporation shuts the doors of a plant in America and moves the jobs overseas its profits go up. We need leaders who understand that the best way to keep jobs in America is to educate our children well, partner with local businesses to make sure our colleges and technical schools prepare workers for jobs in the global economy, and negotiate trade deals that ease the burden on hard working Americans, not on multinational corporations.

Message Rating, 0 - 10



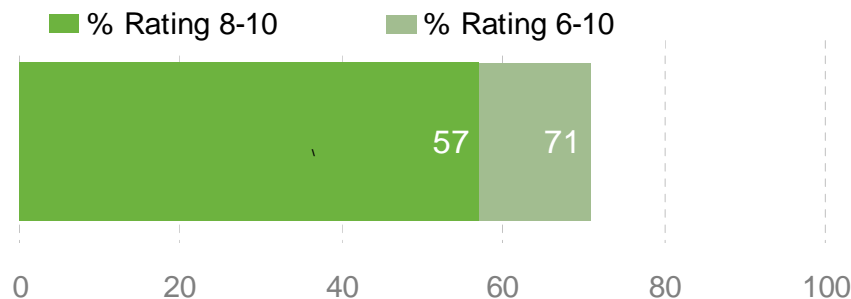
Vote on The Economy



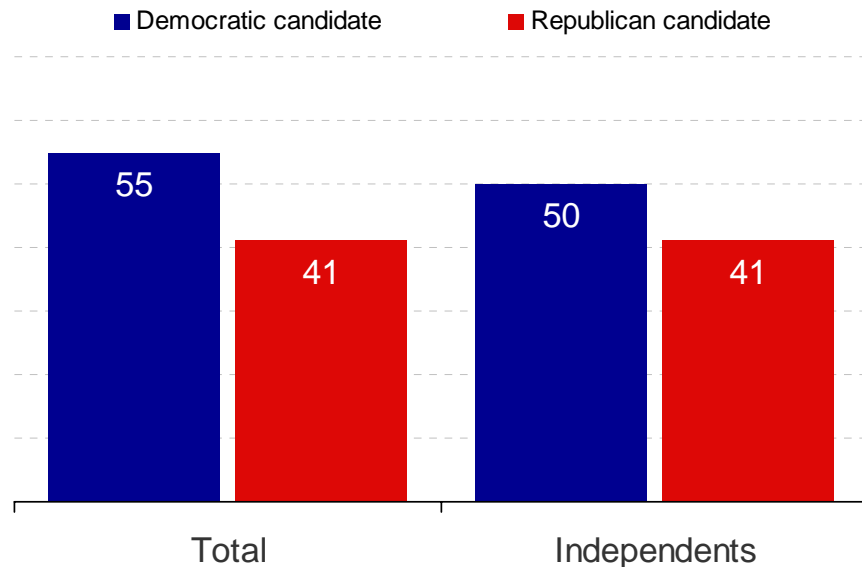
Strong Testing Progressive Message

The backbone of this country is and has always been the middle class and those who aspire to it. We need an economy that works for people who work for a living, with good jobs, health care that doesn't cost an arm and a leg, and benefits we count on for a lifetime. Too many people are working harder and longer but still falling behind. We need leaders we can trust to protect the interests of ordinary Americans, not special interests. We need leaders who understand the value of investing in small business and new industries that create jobs. We need leaders who won't let banks hide provisions in the fine print that allow them to double mortgage rates, foreclose on the dreams of young homeowners, and cause the value of all our homes to plummet while expecting us to bail them out with our tax dollars. Most importantly, we need leaders who share middle class values: education, fairness, and personal responsibility.

Message Rating, 0 - 10

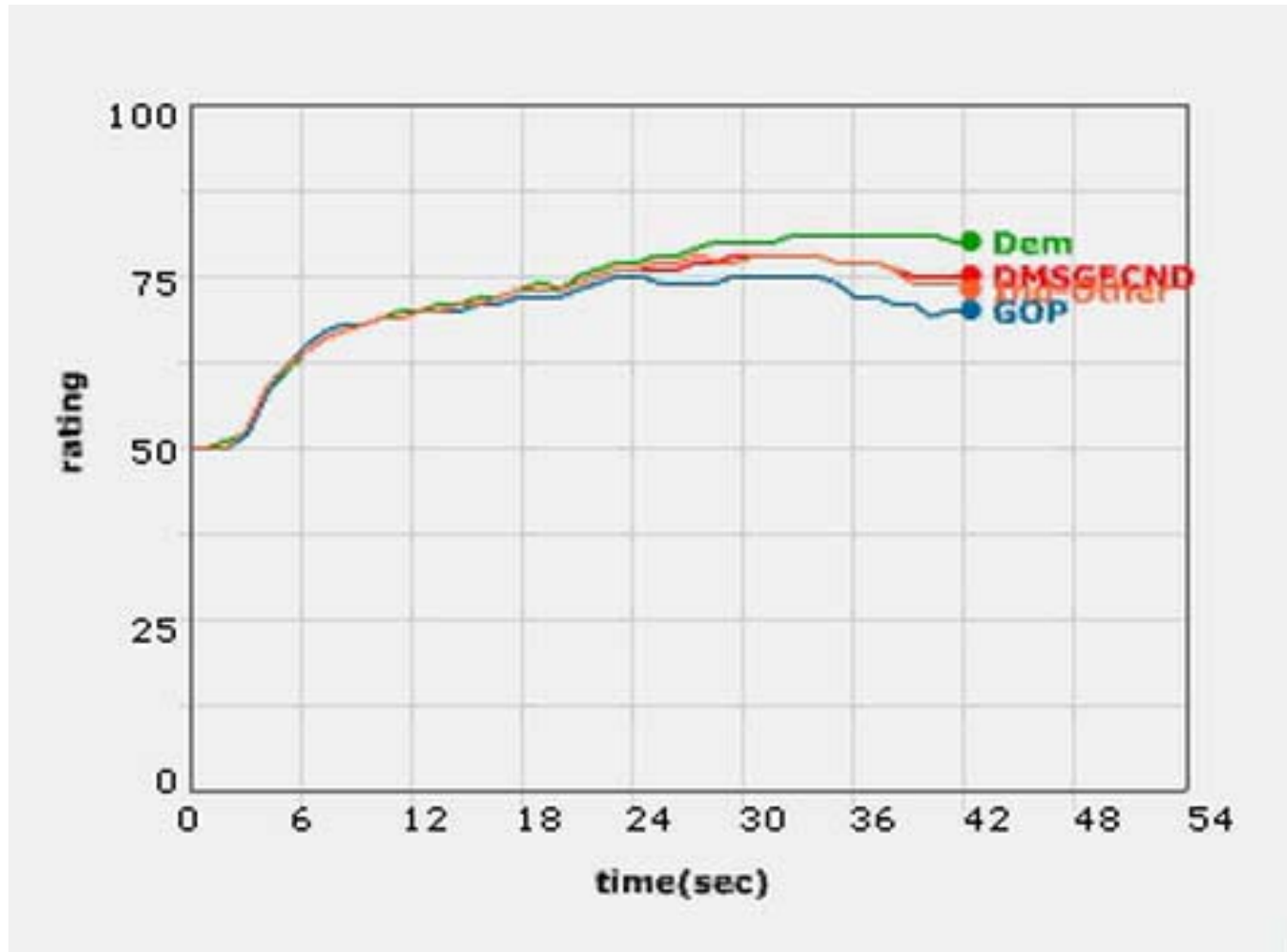


Vote on The Economy



Internet Panel Dial Test of a Strong Progressive Message

I want to see the words "Made in America" again...



Message Tips on the Economic Debate

- Progressive messages should broaden the economic debate to link other areas of strength:
 - Alternative energy investment, in order to “free us from our dependence on petty dictators in unstable regions”
 - Healthcare, which is a good driver of support among Democrats and Independents
 - Making the link between a strong economy and national security
- Policy should always be brought back to real life of middle class Americans in language that’s close to home (e.g., health care for “our families,” “education for “our kids.”). Advocacy for the middle class and the language of “middle class” does very well.
- Attacking corporate excess like CEO bonuses and pensions can be effective when juxtaposed with the way *working Americans* are not sharing in growing wealth. Americans do not want to take away other people’s wealth; they value fairness.
- Talking about small business is a strong driver of support: “We need leaders who understand the value of investing in small business and new industries that create jobs.”

Maximizing the Power of Your Message

- Using parallel language structure to convey value statements is effective in building strong support over the course of a message:
 - *“We need leaders we can trust to protect the interests of ordinary Americans, not special interests. We need leaders who understand the value of investing in small business and new industries that create jobs...”*
 - *“It isn’t right that CEOs today make more money in one day than their average employee makes in an entire year. It isn’t right that every time a big corporation shuts the doors of a plant in America and moves the jobs overseas its profits go up.”*

Language to Avoid

- Technical language on economics, such as “fiscal markets.” In dial tests, this tends to flatten positive ratings.
- Policy specifics that come off as wonky, such as tax credits. In dial tests, overloading a message with policy specifics tends to flatten out positive ratings.

How to talk about National Security

Project Summary and Methodology

- **The following are progressive messages on national security that test strongly among voters, along with broader messaging strategies identified through testing with large national samples.** Messages were developed through 3 rounds of qualitative and quantitative research which tested them against strong conservative messages. All data presented are derived from survey research of national likely voters, developed over the following phases:
 - **Focus Groups:** 8 groups among swing voters and weak partisans testing various message concepts and language.
 - **Internet panel survey of national likely voters:** In 2 online surveys respondents heard conservative and progressive messages delivered by a Republican and Democratic candidate, respectively, in an audio format. Along with other measures, respondents rated messages in moment-to-moment dial testing, which helped identify which elements resonated the most.
 - **Telephone survey of national likely voters:** Respondents heard conservative and progressive messages on a variety of issues delivered by a Republican and Democratic candidate, respectively. They were then asked to rate each message and vote for the candidate whom they preferred based on the message.

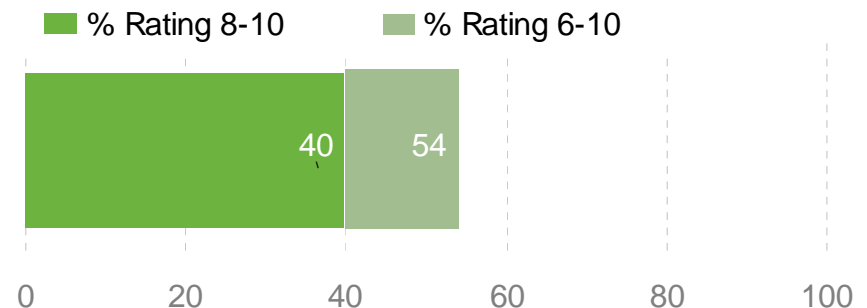
How to Talk about National Security: Key Points

- **This is an issue on which progressives can transform an historic deficit in the eyes of an electorate into an area of strength.** Having a debate on this issue can improve a progressive's standing if approached effectively, as many key conservative talking points fail to resonate and progressives can outflank conservatives on both the left (strong diplomacy, respect for international laws we led the world in creating) and the right (taking care of the troops who take care of us).
- **Core conservative talking points aren't effective among Independents.** In dial tests, phrases such as "staying on the offense in the war on terror," and "fighting them there so we don't have to fight them here" either fall flat or create negative movement among Independents. Progressives should be confident in their ability to push back on these assertions, particularly with strong language that focuses on first principles.

The Conservative Message

In a dangerous world, protecting America's national security requires a strong military. We face historic threats, from Islamic terrorists out to kill Americans because they hate our way of life, to a dictator in Iran trying to acquire nuclear weapons. America has the most capable, best-trained and best-led military force in the world, but we need to deal with dictators and madmen from a position of strength. The best way to keep America safe is to stay on the offense in the war on terror, so that we don't have to fight terrorists here at home, and that means using every resource we have. We should deploy missile defenses to reduce the possibility of strategic blackmail by rogue nations. And we shouldn't be tying the hands of the CIA when it comes to listening in on terrorists' phone calls, closing down Guantanamo, or giving rights to terrorists like trials in our courts. This is a war, and we should be fighting to win.

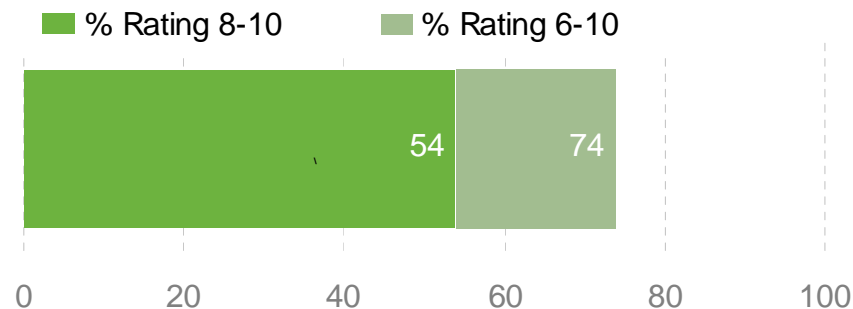
Message Rating, 0 - 10



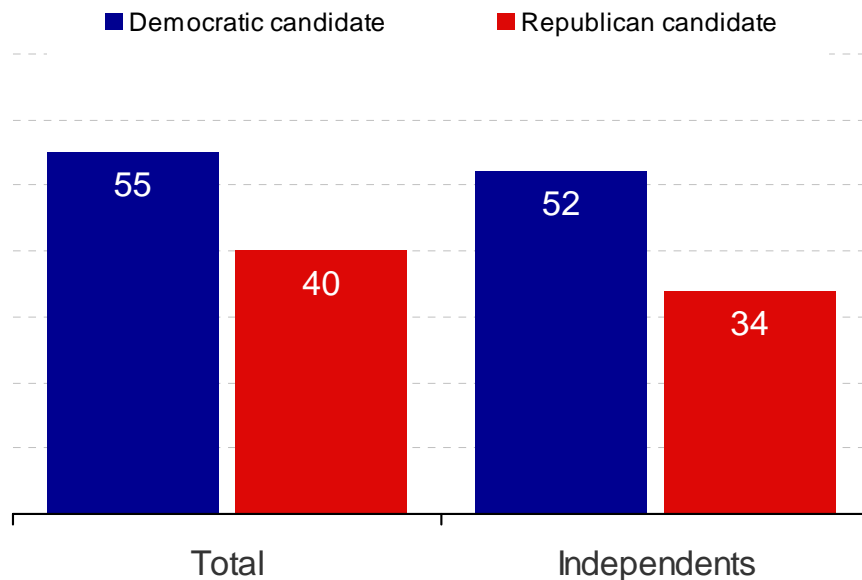
Strong Testing Progressive Message

We need a foreign policy that treats our allies with respect, hostile nations with resolve, and terrorists without mercy. In the last seven years, we've alienated our friends and emboldened our enemies. Al Qaeda has regained strength in Pakistan and Afghanistan and increased its forces around the world, as the Iraq War diverted both our attention and our resources from fighting our real enemy. It's time we develop a national security strategy for the twenty-first century, starting with rebuilding our military and developing a fighting force designed for the military challenges we face in this century, not the last. But military strength is not enough. As John F. Kennedy said, we should never negotiate out of fear, but we should never fear to negotiate. It's time we lead again through the strength of our military, the strength of our alliances, and the strength of our diplomacy.

Message Rating, 0 - 10



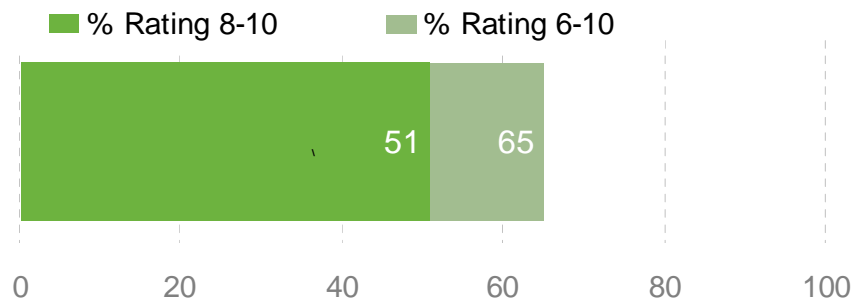
Vote on National Security



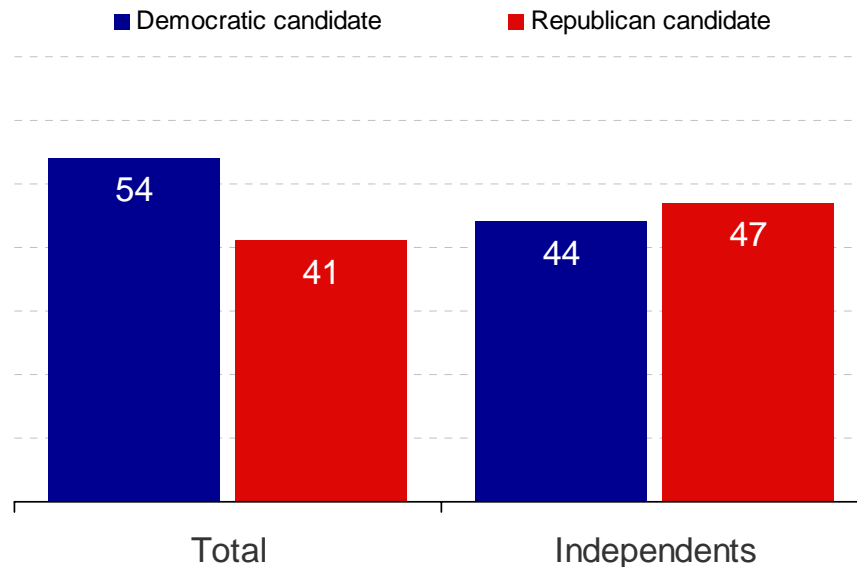
Strong Testing Progressive Message

We can't afford any more of the reckless foreign policy that has cost us over half a trillion dollars and thousands of lives over the last eight years. We need a foreign policy based on reality and common sense, not ideology. That means a responsible withdrawal of our soldiers from Iraq, guided by our senior military officers, and taking the fight to the terrorists where they live, by finding and killing bin Laden and routing Al Qaeda out of the hills and caves of Afghanistan and Pakistan. It means rebuilding our alliances and restoring our reputation around the world. It means never again exempting ourselves from the international laws we led the world in creating. And it means pursuing a new energy policy, including alternative sources, to reduce our dangerous dependence on foreign oil. We need a new strategy for national security in the 21st century and a renewed commitment to the principles that have always made us strong, safe, and respected. In the last eight years, we lost our way, and it's time to find it again.

Message Rating, 0 - 10

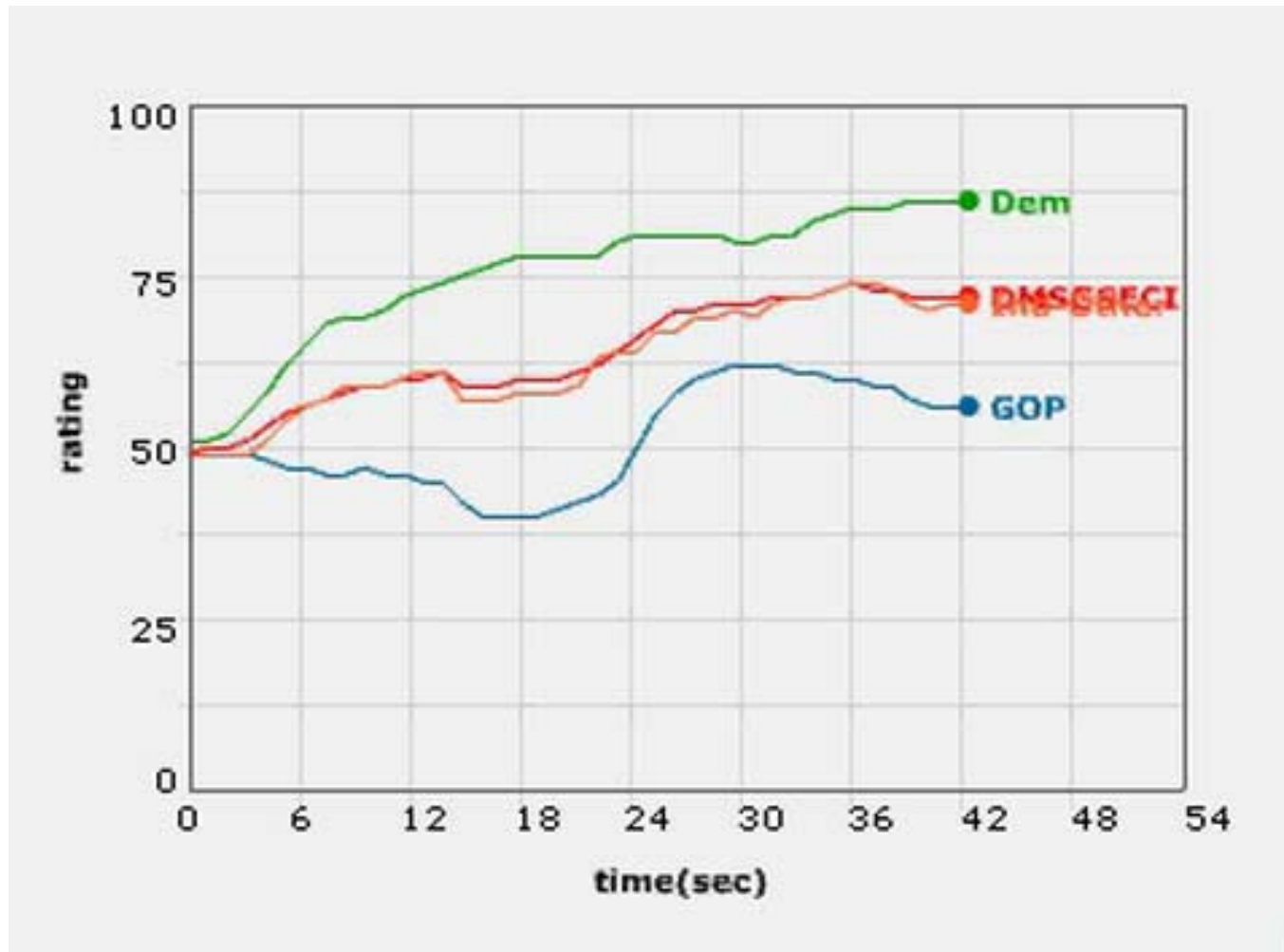


Vote on National Security



Internet Panel Dial Test of a Strong Progressive Message

...We need a foreign policy based on reality, not ideology...



Message Tips on the National Security Debate

- **The core message** should be one that:
 - Reassures on toughness: *“We need a foreign policy that treats our allies with respect, hostile nations with resolve, and terrorists without mercy.”*
 - Adopts a positive framework for positions rather than simply using a negative critique: *“We strengthen our security by restoring our alliances, respecting international law, and regaining respect for America abroad. And we strengthen our security through tough diplomacy, by talking to friends and foes alike.”*
 - Distinguishes strength and decisiveness from recklessness.
 - Redefines diplomacy as strength: *“As John F. Kennedy said, we should never negotiate out of fear, but we should never fear to negotiate. It’s time to lead again through the strength of our military, the strength of our alliances and the strength of our diplomacy.”*
- **The core contrast** is with *“a reckless foreign policy that has cost us over half a trillion dollars and thousands of lives over the last eight years.”* *“We need a foreign policy based on reality, not ideology.”*

Maximizing the Power of Your Message

- Start with emphasizing support for military strength before describing other forms of strength (e.g., tough diplomacy, strong intelligence).
- Emphasize commitment to soldiers and the military: “We strengthen our security by upholding the oath to our soldiers to take their lives and the welfare of their families as serious as we do ours.”
- Talk about our leadership role in the free world: leading the world through military strength, strong alliances, tough diplomacy with friend and foe, and leading by our principles.

Language to Avoid

- “Civil liberties.” Progressives can win the debate on torture and civil liberties soundly, but only after reassuring voters with toughness, avoiding jargon such as “habeas corpus” and “Geneva Conventions,” and placing our stance toward torture and respect for freedom from government intrusion in the context of a strong commitment to American values and to restoring our position of moral leadership in the world.

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