



William J. Clinton Presidential History Project

Briefing Materials

Stanley B. Greenberg

January 27, 2005

Prepared by Jill Abraham, Research Assistant

January, 2005

Stanley B. Greenberg Timeline

Prepared by Jill Abraham

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/20/2004

- 1963** Greenberg graduates from Montgomery Blair High School in Maryland. He works for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to help organize the March on Washington. (Eleanor Clift and Tom Brazaitis, *War Without Bloodshed: The Art of Politics*, New York: Scribner, 1996, p. 23)
- 1964** During the summer, Greenberg is an intern for the Democratic National Committee (DNC). (Clift and Brazaitis, p. 24)
- 1967** Greenberg receives his Bachelor of Arts degree from Miami University in Ohio. (*The New York Times*, 10/27/1992)
- 1968** Greenberg receives his Master of Arts degree from Harvard University. (*The New York Times*, 10/27/1992)
- 1971** Greenberg receives his Ph.D. in Government from Harvard University. (*The New York Times*, 10/27/1992)
- 1971-1979** Greenberg teaches political science at Yale University. (*The New York Times*, 10/27/1992)
- 1973** Greenberg's book, *Politics and Poverty: Modernization and Response in Five Poor Neighborhoods* (New York: Wiley) is published.
- 1978** Greenberg marries Rosa DeLauro, who will later be elected a member of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1990. (Clift and Brazaitis, p. 25)
- 1980** Greenberg founds The Analysis Group, a polling company located in New Haven, Connecticut. His first client is Christopher Dodd (D-CT), who is running for the U.S. Senate. (Clift and Brazaitis, p. 26)
- Greenberg's book, *Race and State in Capitalist Development: Comparative Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press) is published.
- 1980-1989** Greenberg is a research associate at Yale University. (*The New York Times*, 10/27/1992)

1982	Greenberg does polling work for Bob Carr's (D-MI) reelection campaign for the U.S. House of Representatives.
1985	The Michigan Democratic Party asks Greenberg to conduct a study of Macomb County to find out why many white, middle-class individuals have turned away from the Democratic Party. Greenberg concludes that these individuals feel abandoned by the Democratic Party, which they perceive is too focused on the civil rights movement and the concerns of minorities. (Clift and Brazaitis, p. 27)
1987	Greenberg's book, <i>Legitimizing the Illegitimate: State, Markets, and Resistance in South Africa</i> (Berkeley: University of California Press) is published.
1987-1988	Greenberg is Coordinator of Politics and Human Rights Research at the Rockefeller Foundation. (<i>The New York Times</i> , 10/27/1992)
1988	Greenberg meets Governor William J. Clinton (D-AR) while working on a children's project. (<i>The New York Times</i> , 10/27/1992)
1990	Greenberg does polling work for Governor Clinton's gubernatorial reelection campaign. (Bill Clinton, <i>My Life</i> , New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004, p. 370)
1991	
<i>August</i>	Governor Clinton begins to assemble staff members for a possible presidential run in 1992. He appoints Greenberg as the campaign's pollster. Regarding Greenberg's appointment, Clinton would later write, "I wanted Greenberg to be my pollster. I hated to give up Dick Morris, but by then he had become so involved with Republican candidates and officeholders that he was compromised in the eyes of virtually all Democrats." (Clinton, p. 370)
<i>October</i>	Governor Clinton announces that he is running for president. (Clinton, p. 374)
1992	
<i>March</i>	Greenberg and other members of Governor Clinton's campaign staff meet with political directors of labor unions, in order to garner their support for Clinton's presidential bid. (<i>The Washington Post</i> , 03/28/1992)

July

Greenberg and other members of the campaign staff meet with Democratic members of Congress in order to seek political advice and ask for help in getting out the campaign's message. (*The Washington Post*, 07/04/1992)

Clinton chooses Senator Al Gore (D-TN) as his running mate. Regarding Gore's selection, Greenberg comments, "It is not about generational politics.... This is about change, it's about energy; it's about new ideas." (*The Washington Post*, 07/11/1992)

November

Clinton defeats President George Bush in the race for the presidency.

Greenberg sends President-elect Clinton a memo, stating that the honeymoon period with the American public would be brief, unless he quickly addresses the problem of jobs and declining incomes, rather than focusing on deficit reduction. Clinton later observes that Greenberg and others "were afraid I was sacrificing everything I believed in under the influence of people who weren't part of our campaign and didn't care about the ordinary Americans who had elected me." (Clinton, p. 462)

1993

January

Greenberg is hired as a pollster for the Democratic National Committee. (*The Washington Post*, 01/21/1993)

President Clinton holds a retreat at Camp David for the Cabinet and senior White House staff. Greenberg also attends the retreat. (Clinton, p. 488)

February

Greenberg is a presenter at a meeting of the health care task force. He discusses the public's attitudes toward health care and how to make the debate more understandable to Americans. (*The Washington Post*, 02/07/1993)

President Clinton consults with Greenberg and other political advisors about how to present his economic stimulus package in a speech he is to deliver to a joint session of Congress. (*The New York Times*, 02/09/1993)

April

Greenberg travels to London, where he delivers an address on Clinton's economic plans to a Labor Party conference. (*The Washington Post*, 04/25/1993)

May

Greenberg attends a three-hour meeting at the White House regarding the scope of the health care plan. *The Washington Post* reports that President Clinton's advisors are sharply divided about how generous to make the medical benefits. (*The New York Times*, 05/22/1993)

At a conference of pollsters, Greenberg remarks that the Clinton Administration has "lost control of its agenda." (*The Washington Post*, 05/23/1993)

November

Greenberg goes to Capitol Hill to convey to Democratic lawmakers that they can vote for the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) without voter backlash. (*The Washington Post*, 11/04/1993)

Former presidential candidate Ross Perot debates Vice President Al Gore on NAFTA. Regarding Perot's opposition to NAFTA, Greenberg states, "The more Perot has become a spokesman against NAFTA, the more unpopular he has become.... Voters become very uncomfortable with him when he begins talking about issues like health care or NAFTA." (*The New York Times*, 11/06/1993)

1994

April

Greenberg conducts polling research for the African National Congress, Nelson's Mandela's party, for the presidential election in South Africa. (*The Washington Post*, 05/01/1994)

June

The White House orders Greenberg and other outside political consultants to file financial disclosure forms, listing their clients, assets, and sources of income. *The Washington Post* reports that the White House was under pressure from newspaper editorials and Republican members of Congress to be subject to the same disclosure rules that affect official White House employees. (*The Washington Post*, 06/10/1994)

August

Greenberg distributes his "Strategic Guide to the 1994 Election" to Democratic state party chairs. In this memo, he advises Democrats seeking reelection not to link themselves too closely to President Clinton and his policies, but instead to emphasize their own efforts in the areas of welfare reform, bureaucratic downsizing, and crime control. (Clift and Brazaitis, p. 48; *The New York Times*, 08/05/1994)

November

Republicans regain control of the House and Senate. In a poll conducted for the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC), Greenberg finds that President Clinton's health care plan helped frame the Democrats as the party of big government, which contributed significantly to the Republicans' victory. (*The Washington Post*, 11/18/1994)

1995

January

Greenberg renews his polling contract with the DNC. Democratic pollsters Mark Mellman and Geoffrey Garin are also hired to conduct polling work for the Administration. (*The New York Times*, 02/27/1995)

President Clinton delivers his State of the Union address, while Greenberg monitors the reactions of a group of voters in Dayton, Ohio. (Clift and Brazaitis, p. 57)

March

In remarks to reporters, Greenberg states that the future of the Democratic Party is not in safeguarding government affirmative action programs. Rather, he notes that President Clinton "has already stated a preference for policies that are more universal" and that the Party's future "lies with such policies." (*The Washington Post*, 03/09/1995)

April

President Clinton begins assembling his reelection team. In addition to Greenberg, the Democratic National Committee also hires the polling firm Penn & Schoen to conduct public opinion research. (*The Washington Post*, 04/15/1995)

December

On the first workday of the government shutdown, Greenberg meets with President Clinton's advisors to discuss their budget strategy. He reviews the results of surveys that show voters blame the Republicans more than Democrats for the shutdown. (David Maraniss and Michael Weisskopf, "*Tell Newt to Shut Up!*" New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996, p. 170)

1996

Greenberg's book, *Middle Class Dreams: The Politics and Power of the New American Majority* (New Haven: Yale University Press) is published.

1997

May

Greenberg serves as a consultant for the Labor Party campaign to elect Tony Blair prime minister of Great Britain. (*The Washington Post*, 05/04/1997)

October Greenberg and Theda Skocpol's edited volume, *The New Majority: Toward a Popular Progressive Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press) is published.

1998

October Greenberg and Democratic pollster Celinda Lake, in a poll for Emily's List, find bipartisan consensus for a congressional impeachment inquiry into President Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky. They brief Democratic leaders in Congress on the results of the poll and urge them to attempt to frame the debate in terms of partisan politics so that the public would not focus on President Clinton's behavior. (*The Washington Post*, 10/08/1998)

November The congressional midterm elections take place in the midst of the impeachment controversy. Surveys by Greenberg had indicated that voters were twenty percent more likely to vote for a Democrat who said that President Clinton should be censured than for a Republican who favored impeachment. (Clinton, p. 824)

December *The Washington Post* reports that Greenberg is serving as a consultant for Ehud Barak, leader of Israel's Labor Party, who is attempting to unseat Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. (*The Washington Post*, 12/21/1998)

1999

January The offices housing Greenberg's polling firm, Greenberg Quinlan Research Inc., are reportedly burglarized. *The Washington Post* reports that confidential records were taken. Authorities suspect the burglars were after information regarding Ehud Barak's campaign against Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. (*The Washington Post*, 01/14/1999)

May Greenberg is co-founder, with James Carville and Bob Shrum, of Democracy Corps, an "independent, non-profit organization dedicated to making the government of the United States more responsive to the American people."
(<http://www.democracycorps.com>)

November Greenberg is a consultant for Francisco Labastida Ochoa's presidential primary campaign in Mexico. (*The Washington Post*, 11/05/1999)

- 2000** Greenberg conducts polling research for Vice President Gore's presidential campaign. (*The Washington Post*, 08/04/2000)
- 2004** Greenberg's book, *The Two Americas: Our Current Political Deadlock and How to Break It* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books) is published.

Stanley B. Greenberg Suggested Topics

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Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/11/2004

1992 Campaign

- When did you first meet Governor Clinton? Describe your initial impressions of him.
- How did you come to be involved in the 1992 campaign? Describe your responsibilities. Did your duties change over the course of the campaign? Characterize your role as a campaign adviser to Bill Clinton. On what issues did the campaign most seek your consultation?
- With whom in the campaign did you work most closely?
- Discuss the role of polling in the campaign.
- Did you have a role in the transition?

Advising the Clinton Administration

- How did you come to work for the Democratic National Committee (DNC)? Did you have any discussions with the President about your role before taking on your duties? What were your main responsibilities? Did your responsibilities at the DNC change over the course of the Administration? Were you ever offered a post inside the White House?
- Characterize your role as an adviser to President Clinton.
- Did you meet with the President regularly? Describe the typical content of your meetings.
- Discuss the role of public opinion polling in the Clinton Administration. How did the President utilize public opinion polls? Characterize his fluency in polls and polling techniques.
- Discuss your polling techniques. Did these techniques change significantly over the course of the Clinton presidency? Were focus groups a core part of your work?
- With whom in the White House did you work most closely? Describe your working relationships with Chiefs of Staff Thomas “Mack” McLarty and Leon Panetta, Senior Policy Adviser to the President George Stephanopoulos, Director of Communications Mark Gearan, and other White House staff members.
- Did you work with any other individuals or organizations who also were conducting polls for the Administration, such as Dick Morris or Penn & Schoen? Were there any cases where you and the other pollsters came to differing conclusions based on your respective polling research?
- Describe your role in advising the President on major issues, such as health care reform, welfare reform, NAFTA, the budget, the government shutdown, impeachment, and other important policies and events.
- What was your role in formulating and communicating the Administration’s messages through presidential speeches?

- Characterize your involvement in the 1996 presidential campaign. Discuss the public's main concerns about President Clinton and his policies and how you advised the campaign to respond to them.
- Discuss how scandals affected the Clinton White House. How was polling used to measure the impact of scandals and the response to them?

The Democratic National Committee

- With whom at the DNC did you work most closely? Describe your working relationship with David Wilhelm, Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT), Donald Fowler, and other DNC officials.
- Describe the relationship between the DNC and the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC). Discuss any work you did for the DLC. How would you characterize the internal politics of the Democratic Party during your tenure?
- Discuss your working relationship with members of Congress. What important advice or information did you relate to congressional candidates during the 1994 and 1998 midterm elections? In particular, discuss your memorandum titled "Strategic Guide to the 1994 Election." Did you do any work for state-level officials or organized interest groups during your tenure at the DNC?
- Characterize the relationship between the DNC and the Clinton White House. Describe Clinton's relationship with Democratic Party leaders.

The Clinton Presidency in Retrospect

- What do you consider your greatest accomplishments during the Clinton Administration?
- What were the strengths and weaknesses of the Clinton presidency? What features of the Clinton presidency, and your role in it, were overlooked or misunderstood by the press?
- What is the Clinton Administration's legacy in the area of public opinion polling?
- How effective was President Clinton as a public leader, a legislative leader, and a party leader? Discuss your views about Clinton's legacy for the Democratic Party. How should the Clinton presidency be viewed in history?

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