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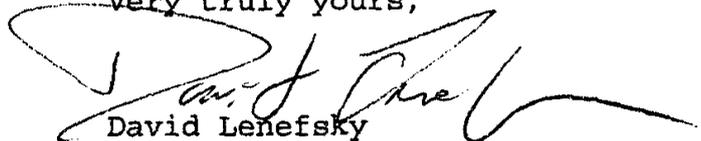
BULK FILE

Re: MURs 4544 and 4407

Dear Mr. Roessner:

Please find enclosed the complete set of Presidential Agendas prepared by Richard Morris.

Very truly yours,


David Lenefsky

DL/jmc
Enclosures

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL
FEB 11 2 39 PM '99

AGENDA FOR MEETING ON JULY 18, 1996

I. TRACKING -- WE CONTINUE TO WIN JULY ... LEAD UP 1 TO 16 PTS

A. Lead has grown to 52-36 (up from 52-37 last week)

1. In three way race lead is also 16 (48-32-15)

B. Clinton Ratings not changed

1. Job Rating at 60 (down 1)

2. Favorability steady at 59

3. Re-elect at 51% (up 2)

C. Dole favorability down to 49-47 (from 50-46)

1. Continued decline:

July 2 -- 53%

July 8 -- 50%

July 17- 49%

2. Negatives are working

3. Dole's favorability is much less intense than ours'

a. In three way:

Dole gets 60% of his favorables

Clinton gets 75% of his favorables

b. In a two way

Dole gets 67% of his favorables

Clinton gets 81% of his favorables

4. Dole's unfavorability has same intensity as our unfavorability

Dole loses 95% of his unfavorable in a 2 way

Clinton loses 91% of his unfavorable in a 2 way

5. We now get 20% of Dole's favorables, these votes are easily put in play and constitute an unstable 10% of the electorate

D. Impact of Perot Candidacy

1. Where does Perot vote come from:

Dole base	16% vote Perot
Swing II	26% vote Perot
Swing I	20% vote Perot
Clinton base	2% vote Perot

2/3 of Perot vote comes from Dole base or Swing II

1/3 of Perot vote comes from Clinton base or Swing I

E. Other Favorability Ratings -

1. Hillary Favorability at 50-43 (up from 47-46)

Passes Dole!

2. Legislative Leaders:

Gephardt:	28-32
Daschle:	11-16

F. Party ballot: 48-44 Dem.

G. Heard of ---

ISSUE	% Heard	% more likely CI
1. Minimum Wage passage	93	51-34
2. Powell not running for VP	88	47-29
3. Perot running	69	45-31
4. Clinton-welfare work	64	63-22
5. Netanyahu visit	60	40-25
6. Progress on welfare bill	55	50-28
7. Dole rejects NAACP	52	53-22
8. Molinari keynoter	52	42-30
9. White House drug use	51	42-30
10. Dole on assault weapons	44	50-27

---Welfare was best story for us of the week

H. News Content -- TV news

1. TV news content

1. Bertha	58 minutes
2. Olympics	24
3. No Ireland	18
4. Gore/Yeltsin	18
5. Wall st drop	17
6. Saudi bomb	15
7. Netanyahu	12
8. Lamm	9
9. AIDS	8
10. Cuba	8

11. Bosnia 7
12. Joe Klein 7
13. Dole/educ 6
14. WH drug 5
15. Same sex 5

16. Min wage 5
17. Ashe statue 4
18. Chas/Di div 3
19. Perot 3
20 Dole/abort 3

21. Dole/assault 3
22. Molinari 2
23. Dole/NAA 1

2. Slant of news

Pro Clinton: 17 (netanyahu, min wage, Hil trip, NAACP, school const,
Tax ad, welfare, deficit, cell phones)

Anti Dole: 14 (assault weapons, NAACP, abortion, gender gap,
Campaign weaknesses)

TOTAL HELPS CLINTON: 31

Pro Dole: 11 (tax ad, Ridge, Molinari, meeting with former pres cand,
education and vouchers)

Anti Clinton: 8 (character, WH drugs, Lindsey)

TOTAL HELPS DOLE: 19

3. TV coverage:

Clinton:

Positive/neutral:

Netanyahu (3 net stories/ 5 min)
Min wage passes (3 nets/5 min)
Hillary trip (2 nets/1 min)
NAACP speech (2nets/4 min)
School const (1 net/1 min)
Tax ad (1 net/1 min)
Cuba sanctions (5 nets/8 min)
Welfare reform (2 nets/1 min)
Gore/Yeltsin(8 nets/18 min)
Deficit cut (1 net/1min)
Cell phones (1 net/ 1 min)

Negative:

WH drugs(3 nets/5 min)
CI/Character (1net/3 min)
Lindsey (1 net/2 min)

Dole :

Positive/Neutral

Ridge (1 net/1 min)
Molinari (3 nets/2 mins)
Education/vouchers (3 nets, 6 mins)
Meeting with other candidates (2 nets, 2 mins)

Negative

NAACP (3 nets/1 min)
Abortion (4 nets/ 5 mins)
Assault weapons (4 nets/3 mins)
Tax ad (1 net, 1 min)
Gender gap (1 net, 1 min)
Campaign weaknesses (2 nets, 3 mins)

Other

Lamm (3 nets, 9 mins)
Perot (5 nets, 8 mins)
Same sex marriage (4 nets, 5 mins)
Primary Colors (3 nets, 7 mins)
Congress Gridlock (1 net, 2 mins)

I. Print News

% of front pages during 7/10-7/18

Bertha Storm	35%
Stock plunge	17
AIDS	12
TWA crash	12
Olympics	12
Min wage bill	10
N. Ireland	8
Saudis restrict FBI probe	6
Cuba trade	4
Royal divorce	4
House bans same sex marriage	4
Yeitsin sick	4
Lamm runs	3
CI 2 yr limit welfare	3
Perot runs	3
Netanyahu message	3
Drugs in White House	3

*Weather Perot is,
plus more
for Dell.*

II. PREDICTORS -- WHAT COULD ADD TO LEAD OR DETRACT FROM IT

Event	Margin
Rep convention attacks Clinton character, Whitewater	+31
Gingrich and Buchanan speak at Convention	+26
No further Whitewater indictments	+25
Agree on Balanced Budget with tax cut	+24
Kennedy Kassenbaum passes	+21
Perot runs	+17

Minimum wage passes	+17
CURRENT HEAD TO HEAD	+16
Welfare reform passes	+15
Dole VP is Governor of Mich or Ohio	+12
Whitman runs as VP	+9
Whitewater indictments of high ranking official	+6
Dole economic plan with large tax cut	+2
Clinton vetoes welfare reform	-3
Powell as VP	-3
Moderate Republican convention, Family values, tax cut	-6

Key points:

1. Welfare veto would be a disaster
2. Republicans can gain heavily by a good convention: positive, family, tax cut
3. Passage of budget deal, Kennedy Kassenbaum can expand lead
4. If Republican Convention can be made negative, attacking in media's eye, it will help us

III. WELFARE

A. Wisconsin - strong support for waiver

1. support waiver by 78-11
2. approval of waiver would make voters more likely to vote for Clinton

More likely Clinton -- 53
 More likely Dole -- 29

3. But, when told that Clinton might not approve waiver because plan is too harsh on mothers and children, Dole jumps up

More likely Clinton -- 47
 More likely Dole --39

B. Welfare Reform Legislation

1. Support Clinton for signing Welfare bill with time limits, work and cutoff to legal immigrants

more likely Clinton -- 67
more likely Dole -- 24

2. But, if Clinton vetoes welfare reform, Dole surges

more likely Clinton -- 40
more likely Dole -- 47

3. Veto would collapse horse race collapses to 50-40 lead

4. Clinton veto argument that 1.5 million children in poverty doesn't work

more likely Clinton -- 40
more likely Dole -- 47

5. A Clinton veto would leave us open to devastating Republican argumentation that we would have vetoed welfare 3 times and were not serious about reforming welfare

more likely Clinton -- 42
more likely Dole -- 49

6. After sequence, with veto, race collapses to 48-41 -- a veto costs us 8 points

IV. DOLE ECONOMIC PLAN

A. Dole economic program would help him a lot

B. In predictor scale, above, it changes horse race into only a 2 point lead

C. Dole statement on economy works well:

Economy not growing fast enough. Can do better. Get moving again
Broad tax cut, spending cut, deregulation. Cut income taxes 15%
Cut capital gains in half. Cut four govt depts. Cut spending. Dereg
Cut paperwork. Growth machine again

More likely Dole: 52

Less likely Dole: 44

Head to head falls to +11 (drop of 5)

1. Could be very effective statement

D. Rebuttals:

1. Best rebuttal: Attack Dole eco record; praise Clinton's record on economy

Dole has no economic record. Cut unemploy benefits.
Clinton sold more cars than Japan, lower interest, 10 mil jobs
Need more growth by tax cuts on college, raising children, IRAs

More likely Clinton: 64

Less Likely Clinton: 33

Head to head grows to +22

a. We propose to put this ad on now

2. Second best: Clinton record -- stay the course

Cut deficit in half, 10 million jobs, cut unemploy, cut spending,
foreign markets fr products, lower interest rates, better ed. Need
more of same, not radical tax cut. We're doing fine, growing steadily

More likely Clinton: 61

Less likely Clinton: 36

Head to head grows to +22

3. Third best: Deficit would soar with tax cut

We're cutting deficit in half. On track to balance budget. Dole
plan will swell deficits like in 80s. Cripple economy, raise interest rates
trigger recession

More Likely Clinton: 57

Less likely Clinton: 39

Head to head grows +20

4. Fourth best: Targeted Tax Cuts vs Across the Board cuts

Wrong way to cut taxes. Not across the board, but targeted at college tuition, raise children, investments for welfare jobs, IRAs for education, medical care

More likely Clinton: 62
Less likely Clinton: 37
Head to head +12

5. Wrong ways:

Giveaway to rich More likely: 52-47
Cut Medicare etc: More likely: 56-41

E. Defeat tax cuts with targeted tax cut: 63-29

F. "Fairer, flatter tax system doesn't work well

More likely Dole: 50
Less likely Dole: 45

1. By flatter tax, Dole means cut tax brackets from 4 to 2: 47-45
2. Supporters of flatter -- cuts taxes, simplify -- 37%

vs.

Opponents: rich pay more is fairer -- 55%

3. Dole proposes repeal of millionaires surtax of 40% rate on incomes Over \$250,000 a year and cut to 36%

Less likely: 32-62

G. His best bet is to do tax cut/energize economy. Much better than fairer, flatter

1. Our best counters are: Clinton record, Dole record, deficits, targeted tax cuts
2. Our worst counters are: cut in Medicare, etc and pro rich

VII. HANDLING DOLE MOVE TO THE CENTER -- HIT HIM WITH GINGRICH

A. People feel Dole's positions on "abortion, gun control, Medicare, education and environment are" too extreme

Fit in with most Americans:	39%
Too extreme	49

B. People feel Dole's move to tolerate all views on abortion, not push for assault rifle repeal, moderate on Medicare, education, environment is saying things he doesn't intend to do

Sincere	38
Saying things he doesn't intend to do	54

C. With Gingrich running Congress, Dole's "taking more moderate positions now is irrelevant because Gingrich will push through extreme legislation and Dole will never veto it"

Agree	61
Disagree	33

VIII. GUN CONTROL

A. Extension of Ban on handguns to domestic violence misdemeanors -- wildly popular

1. People back extension of Brady bill ban on gun ownership to "people convicted of Misdemeanor offenses under the domestic violence law."

77-19 (66% strong)

2. Still support after argument that "just another step down the slippery slope of gun control that won't end until all guns face tight controls"

Ban will save lives	63
Slippery slope of gun control	32

B. Assault Rifle flip flop by Dole -- unpopular

1. Statement by Dole "time to put repeal of ban behind us, no longer an important legislative priority for me"

More likely: 30

Less likely: 61

Head to head: +19

2. Statement by Clinton: House voted for repeal of ban. Doesn't matter if priority, Opponent won't say if veto. I would veto repeal

More likely Clinton: 59

More likely Dole: 35

C. Instant background checks unpopular compared to waiting period

1. Dole quote: "I want instant background checks, no felony or mental illness buy guns"

More likely: 52-42

2. Clinton quote: "even people without felony records or mental illness should should not be allowed to buy handguns without 5 day wait imposed by Brady Bill. Heat of passion."

More likely: 68-28

3. Head to head: 57-38

D. Trigger lock -- good public backing

1. Approve of require gun purchasers to buy trigger lock to stop child firing

71-24

2. If Clinton got voluntary agreement from gun manufacturers to send trigger locks to all gun stores for distribution:

More likely Clinton: 68-24

3. If Clinton suggested a law making it a crime to store a gun in such a way that a child was injured

More likely: 68-33

4. If Clinton issued executive order requiring fedl employees to store firearms safely and use trigger locks

More likely: 63-27

IX. MILITIAS -- Support for curbs on militias

- A. Advance notification of federal and local authorities before training or maneuvers -- 77-19
- B. Support mandatory inventory of weapons by 66-32
- C. Make it a crime to intimidate govt officials 80-18
- D. More FBI power to investigate militia 60-34
- E. Government list of organizations that encourage terror 75-18

X. CONVENTION

- A. Urge approval of train trip
- B. Urge outreach to Cronkite and Reeve as possible convention speakers
 1. Cronkite gets 42% more likely, highest of anyone tested
 2. Reeve gets 39% more likely, very high
- C. Urge Evan Bayh as keynoter

D. Urge Ann Richards to speak after Bayh with "negative" keynote

Gets 38% more likely rating

E. Urge Dennis Archer as Nominator

F. Urge Sarah Brady as Seconder

38% more likely

G. Urge use of nonpolitical speakers:

Kenneth and Rosemarie Weaver (family leave)	46
Lillie Harden (ex-welfare mother, now working)	43
Captain Josephas Rozier (American soldier in Bosn)	37
Zlata Filipovic (Bosnian woman refugee)	37
Velaida Shepard (Americorps--at risk children)	34
Steven Sposato(wife killed in SF law office massacre)	32
Rebecca & Craig Cummins fedl loan became doctor	30
Richard Dean (rescued people in Okla city)	27
Catherine Hamill (9 year old, Dad killed in Belfast)	27
Magic Johnson on AIDS	23
Dimitrio Theofanis(imgmnt, kitchn wrker, jobs,crme)	21

1. 5 Minute fillers

2. Roll call outtakes

H. We are considering other speakers and will poll them

XI. HANDLING DOLE'S EDUCATION MOVES -- FOCUS ON TEACHER UNION ATTACK, NOT ON VOUCHERS

A. Support for "vouchers for public, private, or parochial schools

57-35 (among catholics, voucher support was 76-18)

B. But opposition to Dole blames "failing public schools" on "military teachers unions"

36-58

C. Not moved by attack on "global awareness and diversity" and backing for "Teaching basics"

46-49

D. Conclusion: We are highly vulnerable on the voucher issue ---

--- switch defense to defending teachers and unions

--we'll poll more for a better answer next week

XII. FALL SCHEDULE FOR PRESIDENT

A. Need lots of Washington time for strategy, thinking, ad approval, etc

1. Need not to be on road all the time

B. Travel spending is the biggest single factor in reducing TV ad spending

1. If we use \$25 million of \$62 million for travel, it will be impossible to allocate \$35 million to ads

C. Not sure fund raising travel is worth it.

1. Ironically, in the fall, the more fund raising we do, the less money we will have for TV

a. Fund raisers cost us potential TV money in travel

b. And, except for 441, fund raisers have nothing to do with TV time

2. Fund raising is now for much more marginal objectives

D. Political travel is usually not nearly as important as comparable amount spent in media

1. Penn will do detailed analysis of where travel makes sense

XIII. PUBLIC HOUSING

A. Support work requirements for entry to public housing -- 66-29

1. But, after argumentation, support fades somewhat

a. Argumentation: encourage work vs. wrong to deny housing
-- 53-40

2. Recommendation: move ahead with idea

B. Ban guns in public housing

1. Initial support for idea -- 64-31

2. But, support collapses in the face of argument that legal guns should not
be banned 46-49

C. Public supports waiving income restriction for absent fathers who return to public housing to live with their family, even if this puts them above income limit -- 63-30

D. Summary of ideas on public housing:

1. Waiving income limit for returning fathers enjoys strong support

2. Work requirement for admission to public housing enjoys support
which remains, at lower level, after argumentation -- nevertheless
recommend its use

3. Banning guns from public housing does not work and recommend we
do not use it

XIV. NEW IDEAS

A. Parents Right to Know Law -- good support

1. Back bill -- make manufacturers of household products, toys, house paint and
other things children are exposed to disclose harmful effects of products
on kids

65-26

B. Rock Lyrics

1. Public would support President urging restraint by record companies on violent or promiscuous rock lyrics

63-34

C. TV family hour

1. Public supports President urging network to implement voluntarily a family hour of TV between 8 and 9 pm -- 72-23
2. Initially tested mandatory requirement but support caves with argumentation
 - a. Initially support of mandatory requirements -- 67-29
 - b. Argumentation about censorship collapses numbers to -- 53-42
3. Recommendation: move vigorously on it as voluntary proposal

XV. MISCELLANEOUS

A. Tobacco

1. Public supports FDA ban on ads aimed at children vs. Dole position of let states do it themselves -- 65-28

B. No Sweat Labels -- Can extend warranty to store owners

1. Back no sweat labels by 80-16
2. Agree with making no sweat label as defense if store is cited for child labor or sweat shops--proof that they're working on it 49-40

C. Whitewater -- believe special prosecutor politicized

1. Investigations politicized, detract from investigations of Medicare fraud, Drug trafficking --55

vs

proper thorough investigation --33

2. Whitewater selective prosecution, going after Clinton friends on petty offenses while overlooking Republican offenses -- 48

vs.

Just and serious investigation -- 40

D. Legalize Marijuana for Medical Purposes

1. Support legalization for medical purposes via doctor recommendation

61-34

2. Argument:

Legitimate help to patients in pain. Alternative to morphine -- 54

vs

Few studies show medical use, first step toward legal pot -- 37

3. Recommendation: Don't touch the issue, but it will do us no great harm

E. Prayer in Schools -- starts as good Dole issue, but nullified by const allows ind. prayer

1. Back constitutional amendment on prayer by: 69-27 (47 strong support)

2. Dole backs amendment, decay in morals, values to children -- 40%

vs

Clinton opposes, unnecessary, constitution already allows individual prayer -- 59

x2/4

AGENDA FOR MEETING ON AUGUST 20, 1996

I. TRACKING -- POST CONVENTION SLIPPAGE TO 11 PT LEAD IN 3 WAY

A. 3 way head to head: 43-32-14

1. Pre-convention was 48-31-12

a. Perot absorbed all but one point of Dole rise

b. Dole had shrunken 3 way to 43-35-11 on Friday poll, but Perot's rise over the weekend took 3 pts away from him to open up current result

B. 2 way race in post convention is at 47-39 (8 pts, up from 7 on Friday)

C. Dole's favorability has risen dramatically -- from 47 to 59

1. now is 59-38 (was 47-46 before convention)

2. Clinton favorability is 60 -- only 1 pt higher

3. Kemp favorability at 56 (Gore at 58)

4. Hillary at 50 (Eliz Dole at 60)

D. Clinton ratings virtually unchanged -- negatives had little impact

1. Job rating at 59 (from 62 pre convention)

2. Favorable at 60 (from 58 pre convention)

3. Re-elect at 48 (from 50 pre convention)

E. Perot favorability up to 37 from 33

1. each extra point puts that many Dole voters into plan

2. Perot has now become Dole's opponent in the primaries

a. He must fight a three front war: neg on Clinton
pos on Dole
neg on Perot

1. before he just had to do neg on Clinton

2. he will have a hard time selling his positives as he did
in his primary period

b. Perot now represents the old Dole (bal budg) vs. the new Dole
(supply sider)

F. Republicans have moved right track numbers back down again

right/wrong track

Aug 5	44/43	+1
Aug 11	46/44	+2
Aug 12	44/44	--
Aug 13	43/45	-2
Aug 14	41/48	-7
Aug 15	41/48	-7
Aug 16	40/47	-7
Aug 19	41/48	-7

G. Dem over Repub Congressional lead at 46-40 (from 43-40 pre convention)

H. Issue Comparison -- Drops on all issues but still ahead in most issues

1. Dole has not succeeded in pushing Clinton to the left and scores only moderate gains on conservative issue (except for crime where his gains are appreciable)
2. But Dole has succeeded in moving himself to the center and scores big gains in all moderate-left issues
3. Based on poor gains on taxes and economy, Dole's plan is not punching through. But his maintenance of good numbers on balancing the budget suggests that neither is our rebuttal

4. Conservative issues

Very little movement, except for crime, due to ineffectiveness of anti-Clinton negatives and anchoring of Clinton moderate image

	Current		Pre-Conven		Slippage
	Cl	D	Cl	D	
Welfare	49	42	52	40	-5
Taxes	46	46	44	45	-1
Bal Budget	43	39	45	42	-1
Crime	52	38	44	46	-16
Defense/Military	45	45	38	53	-15

(need to repair crime issue; but limited slippage on taxes shows his plan isn't doing well. We need to make bal budg point harder)

5. Non-Conservative Issues

big gains for Dole due to improvements in the moderate view of the Party and the personal sensitivity and compassion of Dole as projected by Elizabeth

Economy	52	41	51	42	-2
For Pol	51	38	48	43	-8
Health Care	61	29	55	37	-14
Education	61	30	55	37	-13
Medicare	48	28	51	38	-7
Medicaid	60	28	50	38	-20
Environment	67	23	61	26	-9
Terrorism	45	36	43	43	-9



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(greater slippage in left issues than in right ones.
 Dole had more success selling a moderate image than he had
 in showing Clinton as a liberal)

I. Adjective Comparison -- Surprisingly little change

1. Despite huge changes in Dole favorability, there is ironically, little
 change in the numbers on the adjectives we tested

	Current		Pre-Conven		Change
Effective	42	46	47	42	+9
On my side	49	42	49	38	+4
Balance the Budget	45	35	46	35	+1
Vision for future	48	37	50	38	+1
Flip flops	59	29	56	27	+1
Does rt even if unpop	45	41	45	40	+1
strong leader	47	44	47	44	0
in touch with my valu	47	42	48	44	-1
peacemaker	59	24	59	27	-3
Clear stands on issues	43	42	39	44	-6

no comparisons

Honest and forthright	34	48
Offers new ideas	55	31

the lack of movement shows the relative frailty of Dole's higher
 favorability.

J. Negative Campaigning

1. Dole's negative campaigning rating rose, but not by much and with no real effect
 - a. voters seem to react negatively to attacks; disbelieve them; but don't really hold it against the attacker. It's just business as usual
 - b. Dole's pos/neg campaign rating dropped from 25-54 to 33-60
 - c. Clinton's pos/neg campaign rating also dropped from 55-28 to 41-50

II. SUMMARY OF IMPACT OF REPUB/PEROT CONVENTIONS

A. Republicans achieved most of their objectives

1. Kemp is seen favorably 57-25
2. Convention was viewed favorably: 51-38
3. Convention was seen as moderate: 41 conservative: 41
(about the same as electorate's self-description)
4. Convention was seen as Reaching out to independents vs. partisan
reached for independents: 52
partisan 31
5. Convention was seen as positive: 42 negative: 40
6. Dole emerged as having a clear vision for future 49-38
7. Dole's favorability rose from 47 to 59
8. Voters switched from a right track +2 to a wrong track -7 on state of the nation
9. Dole's economic plan rose from 54% approval to 60% approval
10. But, people did not feel Dole explained how pay for tax cuts by 12-51

B. Demographics of Republican Voter Gain:

1. Gender:

male: -8
women -12

2. Age

3. Key Clinton losses/Dole gains

Women, 50 and over -24
Weak Republicans -22
Independents -13
Married -9
Elderly, total -8

C. Impact of Bob Dole Speech

1. 48% heard it

a. more likely to vote for Dole: 26-14

b. Backward looking 34
Forward looking 37

c. Painted a clear vision of his future actions: 49-37

2. Creative nostalgia

a. Appealed to Dole base and Swing II successfully

b. Good job on taxes, less govt, immigration, crime, trade

c. character based on war record

d. school choice

e. America paralyzed by problems



3. Flaw:

a. few specific issues

b. Little in the way of positive ideas -- other than plan -- to help regular people

D. But, Perot emerges as Dole's chief competitor for an expanded vote share

1. Perot is the candidate who now faces Dole in the primaries

2. Perot embraces the old Dole message vs. the new Dole message

3. We need to be sure Perot is in all debates (contrary to Fowler statement)

4. 17% heard Perot's speech

E. And, Clinton ratings are largely unaffected. Negatives didn't work

F. Key defect of their convention was that it was about them, not about the people

1. Each speech was about redefining Dole and the Party; not about what relevance each had to the people

2. Tax cut was only proposal. And its a slender reed for the future

III. DOLE TAX CUT PLAN AND HOW TO ANSWER IT

A. Tax issue really hasn't helped Dole yet:

1. Who Trust on Taxes Clinton vs. Dole

	Aug 11	Aug 19
Clinton	46	44
Dole	46	45

2. Of those (46%) who have heard of Dole plan more likely to vote for Clinton by 40-32 (about the same as our two way margin)

B. But the tax plan could still be a big win for Dole ,



1. Support for his plan has grown during the convention

Support for Dole Tax and Economic Program
(after being read its specifics in positive terms)

	Aug 11	Aug 19
Support	54	60
Oppose	39	34

More favorable Dole: 54

Less favorable Dole: 37

Clinton: 48

Dole: 43

2. Support would grow more if he linked fight over his plan to Clinton promises, middle class squeeze, and no no-tax pledge by CI

a. Dole attack on Clinton on broken promises and tax increases works well.

after tax and broken promises attack:

more likely Clinton 40
more likely Dole: 51

Clinton: 48

Dole: 44

b. We tested: Clinton says Dole plan balloons deficit, jeopardizes Med, med, ed, environ -- 48

vs

Dole says: CI broke tax promise, won't pledge no new taxes -- 43

c. We tested: Clinton says he cut deficit, will cut taxes -- 45

vs

Dole says economy not good. middle class squeeze
Clinton will raise taxes -- 48



C. Strategy for winning tax/plan/economy issue

1. Attack Dole plan

a. by 56-23 voters agree it will raise the deficit

--and we can't take the risk 48-39

b. D'Amato says cuts are inevitable

1. less likely to vote Dole 37-51

2. horse race: 53-40

c. Outside experts -- Time, Bus Week, Concord Coalition

1. more likely Clinton: 55-34

2. horse race: 53-40

2. Do plan vs plan

a. People prefer Clinton plan by 56-38

1. head to head: 55-39

3. Defend Clinton's tax record

a. by 68-31 voters find believable that Clinton actually cut taxes for working people and has no intention of raising taxes despite no pledge

1. and this statement makes people more likely Clinton by 55-41

2. It is not necessary to take no new tax pledge as long as rebuttal has four elements:

a. EITC

b. targeted tax cuts

c. no intention of raising taxes

d. irresponsible to make blanket pledge

example: extra \$5 tax for air safety (80-15)



4. But key to safety is to attack Dole's tax record

a. in effect says: you won't keep your no tax pledge

b. When told of Dole tax increases: 54-41 more likely Clinton

1. who trust more on taxes: Cl: 54 D: 36

2. head to head: 55-39

IV. STRATEGIC GOALS FOR NEXT TWO WEEKS

A. Pre-Convention

1. Use bill signings to reverse wrong track/right track ratings to restore right track view of U.S.

2. Use Ads to --

a. Restore image of extremism via Gingrich

1. particularly on medicare, abortion, education

a. elderly, single women, married women

b. Hit Dole plan and promote Clinton plan

c. Set up tax negatives and hypocrisy argument against Dole

3. Use free media attacks to savage Dole Plan and sell Clinton plan

4. Ads:

a. Oval Office

1. Use Gingrich to reinject Repub extremism

2. Use Medicaid to get elderly back

3. Use abortion/education to get women back

4. Use drug program cuts to get crime back

5. Savage their plan

✓

6. Sell our plan

7. Show Dole weakness vs. Gingrich

8. Argument in ad tested: less likely Dole: 35-60

b. Dole as Taxer

1. Defend Clinton tax record

2. Attack Dole tax increases

3. Attack credibility of Dole plan

5. Relative Quantity of Buys between conventions:

Clinton ad buy: \$4.2 million

Repub ad buy: 3.9 million

11 8/29/96

a. Knight says we are unable to add more hard money to the buy

1. If we could, it would be highly useful given need to make up ground

2. Suggest we wait on all possible hard money uses other than ads until after convention to augment buy to maximum extent possible

B. At Convention

1. Demonstrate that our convention reaches out to moderates and independents

a. Moderate, American heroes on Monday

b. Use gun control and tobacco on Monday to reach out

c. Hillary/Tipper stress consensus agenda on TV, children, values

d. Bayh emphasizes family achievements

e. Gore stress impact on a family's day

f. Clinton proposes vision of life in 21st century



b. Tipper Speech

c. Gore speech

d. mainly -- Clinton speech on Thursday

7. Convention schedule

a. Sell Clinton accomplishments

b. Emphasize -- in restrained way -- Dole and Gingrich opposition to our accomplishments

C. In Clinton's Speech

1. Create positive vision of second term

2. Fill people's minds with ideas of the future, so there is no time for Republicans or for this election

a. let's hurry and get over this election so Clinton can get on with it and continue to lead us to where we want to go

3. Relieve fears of second term liberalism

a. by stressing moderate issues

b. by being liberal where they want us to be liberal

1. environment

2. education

3. jobs for welfare recipients

D. After Convention

1. Hammer home positive proposals by Clinton in post convention ads very much like our post state of the union ads

V. ISSUES FOR PRESIDENT'S SPEECH, TRAIN TRIP, GORE SPEECH

A. In this poll, we ranked every issue we are thinking of using by their likelihood of making people vote for Clinton and then tested them for their feasibility in accomplishing their goals

✓

These 44 proposals all test above 60% and all but two test with feasibility over 50%.

	<u>Likelihood of Support for Clinton</u>	<u>Feasibility</u>
Welfare to work	80-17	51-43 (cumulative)
Welfare/work in neighborhoods	79-20	51-43 (cumulative)
College tax credit	78-28	75-20
cop killer bullet ban	78-18	70-24
Track sex crimes	76-20	68-24
No guns for felons	74-23	57-40
Clean drinking water	74-21	68-26 (cumulative)
Enviro crimes/lien	73-22	64-30 (cumulative)
Adult college tax credit	73-24	77-18
Trigger locks	72-23	68-27
100,000 cops	72-23	71-24
3 hrs educational TV	72-22	76-21
Enviro right to know	72-24	70-25 (cumulative)
Ban racial preference in adoption	72-19	76-16
75% cleanup toxic waste	71-25	54-45
Welfare employee tax credit	71-25	51-43 (cumulative)
Education savings bonds	71-22	68-26
IRS deadbeat dads	71-27	74-21
School health clinics meet primary med needs of uninsured kids	70-28	
State standardized test for promotion	70-26	68-27
No tax deductions for deadbeat dads	69-28	72-22
Brady bill dom violence misdems	68-27	57-36
State standardized test/graduation	68-28	71-22
Fed govt standardized test/promotion	68-29	74-21
Welfare/placement bonus	68-27	51-43 (cumulative)
No guns under 21	68-24	53-43
Iran/Libya sanctions	68-25	49-45
50,000 literacy teachers	67-31	73-23
Welfare-staffed child care	67-30	51-43 (multi steps)
HMO Notification/alt treatment	67-26	
TV family hour	65-26	68-25

6 yr bal budget plan	65-29	61-33
Violence on kids TV	64-28	71-25
Ban cig ads at kids	64-31	59-36
Mandatory adoption if abuse	64-26	66-26
Targeted tax cuts	64-26	62-30
Health Ins for Unemployed	63-33	
No firing of HMO Doctor	63-26	
Penalize drug countries	62-31	44-48
Teen gangs RICO	61-33	50-43
No cap gains on home sale	61-33	52-39
Adopt after 1 year foster care	60-27	68-24
Ban Meth (drug)	58-33	52-34

B. Vetting Issues Remaining:

1. Financial Issues:

a. We need to include homeowner capital gains tax cut in program

1. without that, we have too limited a targeted tax cut plan

2. estimated cost: \$2 billion

b. We need tax exempt education savings in our plan

1. we can't let Dole get to the left us with his proposal for tax exempt student loans

2. likely low cost, although not yet estimated

VI. ISSUES FOR HILLARY SPEECH

Warm, stimulating child care	77-17
Hospital stays new mothers	75-19
Guaranteed child health care	73-19
Toll-free medical advice	72-19
Mentoring new moms/dads	71-19
Learning a daily activity	69-22
Employer child care	66-26
Stimulate first 3 years	65-25
Household instability	65-25

Divorce cooling off	64-27
Child custody mediation	63-25
Nurture spirituality	55-32
Understanding human brain	46-36

VII. FEDERAL TAKEOVER OF AIRLINE SAFETY -- STRONG SUPPORT

A. On takeover: 71-22

1. Would do better job than now: 56-30
2. More likely Clinton: 49-35

B. FAA takeover: 66-26

1. FBI take over: 59-33
2. If FAA would do better 67-16

C. Support \$5 extra tax for each ticket for X-ray, personnel, dogs: 80-15

1. 64% strong support
2. Do it and hope Republicans attack it as a tax
 - a. counter attack would be devastating

VIII. WELFARE REFORM UPDATE

A. Clinton gets credit for bill: 45-39 over Repubs in Congress

B. Clinton signed bill because believes in it vs. get elected:

believes in it	60
get elected	36

C. Clinton got improvements in bill:

made important improvements	47
signed bill unchanged from vetoed	34

D. Would support use of welfare savings for job creation

good ideas: help businesses create jobs	63
bad idea: takes money from welfare poor and gives it to businesses	23

IX. NEW IDEAS

A. Restore recent cuts in physical education programs

63-26

B. Add 511, non-emergency response number

55-25 (not enough to do event on it)

C. Make parolees pay restitution and reimprison if fall behind in payments

59-23

X

TO: THE PRESIDENT

Re: Agenda For Meeting -- March 2, 1995

Campaign Overview

1. Use of paid media -- major use of paid media different from other Presidential races

A. Need not to take federal funds

-- With federal funding, \$37 million likely total, \$7.5 for fund raising. Probably less than \$20 million for TV

-- With federal funding, no ability to do TV in key primary states

-- If assume half available for media and half for field/Pres visits:

STATE	TOTAL	ADVERTISING
Iowa	\$914,000	2500
New Hamp (include MA)	\$2,600,000	2800
Arizona	\$1,210,000	3300
South Carolina	\$1,160,000	2400
Colorado	\$1,100,000	4400
Georgia	\$2,100,000	4200
Idaho	\$552,000	2800
Maryland	\$1,600,000	2100
Minnesota	\$3,000,000	7142
Utah	\$552,000	3200
Washington	\$1,600,000	3500
New York	\$4,500,000	3500

(holding 1/4 for New Jersey & Connecticut)

(In three earliest primaries, less than 3 weeks of decent media coverage)

-- Limits Presidential appearances in early states, too

B. Tracking and new issues. See attached questionnaire

- Affirmative action
- Clinton getting better
- Republican budget cuts
- No public funds for Clinton
- Cut NASA
- College loans
- Medicare and HMOs
- Parents liable for gun acts of children
- Baseball strike tracking
- Superfund changes Republicans want
- Whitewater
- Russia/Iran
- Foster tracking

C. Next step:

- Identify 20% of vote that is up for grabs
 - Personality tests and type of ads
 - Issue appeals
 - TV shows
 - Radio music habits to construct network
 - Locations and demographics
 - Identify key variables

3. Consultants

A. Media Creators

- Use Bush-Ailes '88 model
- Need for early decision
 - Get full time media person, not divided with other races
 - Go on air early
- Importance of centralized and well controlled team

– Squier at head

- Media expert for 30 years
 - talk show commentator
 - strategist of first order -- best in Dem party
- Did Clinton ads in '92 (read my lips)
- Best overall media in Dem party
- Widest variety of ads
- Close working relationship
- National credentials, well respected
- Gore and Senators will love it
- Ongoing advisor on free and paid communication
- Client list -- 52 senate and governor

Gore

Sens: Graham, Rockefeller, Bryan, Byrd,
Akaka, Heflin, Pell, Mitchell,
Lautenberg, Biden, Simon, Hart,
Burdick, Harkin, Lieberman, Sasser(not
his loss), Muskie

Govs: Bayh, Richards, John Y. Brown,
Florio(not loss), McWherter, Winter

- Suggest inclusion in Thursday meetings

– Assisted by:

- Hank Sheinkopf
 - Very emotional media
 - Different type of media
- Marius Penczner
 - Country MTV producer
 - Very varied cinema techniques
- Tony Schwartz for radio
 - See Anastasia Somosa ad

-- Not --

-- Demo media people are not very good

-- Doak or Shrum

-- Disastrous experiences with them

*Kerry for Pres: hockey/trade ad which
bombed

* Larson CT; Paolino RI

-- Loyalty questions: Kerry, Gephardt

-- Need to appease but not use them

-- Very rigid and insistent on their media

-- Shrum very ideological liberal

-- Just split -- conflict (see bitter Caddell/Doak/Shrum
breakup hurt Biden)

-- Greer

-- Adulatory media, rarely aimed at proper targets

-- Not sufficiently flexible in media

-- Bad experiences in '90 campaign

-- Shunted aside in '92 for good reason

-- '94 wins: Florida (Bush lost)

Maryland (Glendening with 2-1
spending advantage barely won -
- lost white vote 62-38, lost every
white county)

Conrad

-- Grunwald-Eskew-Donlin

-- Mandy very ideological

-- Mandy's instincts wrong

-- See disaster in health care campaign

-- Contract with America campaign

-- Ray Strother

-- All others, very small, regional

-- Fenn & King: bad job in Winston Bryant

-- David Axelrod: Chicago mainly, very liberal, better
speechwriter than media guy

-- Trippi, McMahon, Squier: wrong Squier

-- Jerry Brown in '92

-- long term trashing of Clinton

-- Oxman-Schweitzer

-- screwed up Gore in '88

B. Consultant Mix

-- No two teams -- one group only

-- Premises of Squier-Morris-Schoen team

1. Expand vote share v fortify base

-- focus on expanding base, not just strengthening it

2. Use issues to win v use images and visuals

3. New Covenant vis-à-vis old Dems and old Repubs v liberal neo-populism

4. Middle class focus v poor-rich class war

5. Record of successes for you v '94 debacle

6. Have vast experience

-- A combined total of 94 senate or governor races:
Squier (52), Schoen (17), Morris (26)

-- End use of leaks to set up team: Times, Time, AP

C. Me

- Inevitability of going public
- Dire effects on rest of life
- Need to keep Squier-Morris-Schoen team in charge to permit victory
 - unlike anyone else here, my life will depend on Clinton winning. A giant gamble.
- But leave decisions here with President and consultants

4. Issues

A. Line Item Filibuster

- Our recovery from balanced budget issue
- Make sure filibuster is dramatic, round the clock, controversial
- Play leading role in fighting for cloture
- Ready list of vetoes you would do if you had the line item
 - Release one per day during debate

B. Tax Cut Deal

- Act 2 of our recovery
- Negotiate with Packwood
- Try for minimum wage/capital gains deal based on indexing

C. Rescissions

- Praise Republicans for helping in search for cuts
- Take cuts under advisement
- Quietly, privately lobby to kill bad cuts
- Publicly only take on education cuts:
 - Drug free and safe schools
 - WIC
 - School to work
 - Goals 2000
 - AIDS prevention
- Total of less than \$1 billion of \$20 billion, stress low amount
- You and Hillary visit cut children's programs

D. Regulatory Moratorium

- Make explicit veto threat
- Make fight over three regulations:
 - Probe for e coli microbes in food inspection
 - Replacing smell, touch, feel "test"
 - Drinking water regulation
 - Cryptosporidium no requirement for testing it
 - But in Milwaukee, made thousands sick and killed many
 - Milwaukee wants tests imposed
 - Air commuter safety
 - New York Times critique of current regulation
 - Recent crashes. No effective anti-icing regulations specially designed for commuter craft in US conditions
- If Republicans claim exempt from moratorium, cite litigation which blocks enforcement

E. Welfare Reform

- Fight over work requirement
 - Modified in House to 90% by '98
 - But if not, penalty on state in form of aid cut
 - We want people who won't work thrown off welfare
 - "Seeking work" covered, blast loophole
 - They are modifying bill as fast as we can read it, get going with criticism soon

F. Affirmative Action

- Move immediately or risk being eclipsed
- No need to supply details, just leave it to agencies to make proposals
 - Add advisory committee to vet proposals

G. Lobbyist Reform

- Wash hands:
 - No lobbyist money in '96
 - No DNC lobbyist money in '96
 - Refund \$13,000 in defense fund money
- Then proceed with executive orders:
 - Ban contacts between executive branch and foreign lobbyists
 - Ban gifts from lobbyists to executive branch
 - Require reports of each contact by lobbyists from executive branch officials
 - Badges for lobbyists in executive branches
- Finally, draw up legislation making the above applicable to Congress

H. Immigration

- Propose cuts in legal quotas
 - Include elimination from Arab nations identified with terrorism (except for pol. asylum)
- Good move in cutting border fee

I. Child Support

- Propose law, or do by executive order, that IRS withholds support payments from wages, not just from refunds

J. Foster

- Rebuttal on syphilis study
 - Podesta: stress that Nazis who did the "study" didn't tell the county medical society full truth, don't bet the farm on the issue of who was at meeting
- Rebuttal on dis-accreditation of ob-gyn and of med school
- Keep to low profile while we recover on fiscal side with line item veto fight

K. Iraq

- Make big deal of fighting Russians and French on continuing sanctions
- Plug leak in sanctions and take credit

L. Iran

- What are facts
 - Why is their light water reactor worse than No. Korea's which we back
 - Impact of aid cut
 - Oil embargo as alternative
 - Increase Saudi production to offset Iranian

5. General Political

- Try to use Bolivia aid cut over their exceeding cocoa limits as personal issue
- Attack Republicans on no bids for infant milk formula: \$1 billion dollar windfall for formula companies
- Use Greenspan testimony to push him on rate cuts
- Probe Lott on base closing deals
- Curry
 - Very, very useful
 - Invite to staff meetings
 - Get him an assistant
- Haiti visit
 - If peaceful, why not do it
- V-E day celebrations
 - Urge you attend
- Call Betsey

TO: THE PRESIDENT

RE: Agenda for meeting on March 16, 1995

1. Campaign Structure Proposal

A. One structure, one team

1. All major decisions made at Thursday Group
2. Participants:
 - a. The President, The First Lady, Panetta, Kantor, Morris, Schoen, Squier, and eventually, Curry
 - b. Others as the President determines

B. Chairman: Kantor

1. Total control over staffing, budgeting, scheduling, etc.
 - a. Subject to your will
 - b. Subject to consensus conclusions of Thurs. meetings
 - c. Attends Thurs. meetings
2. In West Wing
 - a. Resigns as Trade Representative
3. Designates manager who functions through committee
 - a. Low profile manager, removable at Kantor's will without much fuss
4. Bowles works under Kantor as administrative person

C. Spokesman and Chief Of Staff: Panetta

1. Spokesman on public issues
2. Works with staff to help Kantor
3. Close working relationship with Kantor
4. Attends Thurs. meetings

D. Media Team: Bob Squier at the head

1. Attends Thurs. meetings
2. Runs all paid media communications
3. Final word on media buy and creation
 - a. Subject to your will
 - b. Subject to Thurs meetings
4. Enlists other team members
 - a. Hank Sheinkopf
 - b. Marius Penczner
 - c. Tony Schwartz

E. Polling: Doug Schoen

1. Attends Thurs. meetings
2. Targets swing voters and develops psychological profile of them
3. Does polling (with Morris) and focus groups

F. Strategy: Dick Morris

1. Attends Thurs. meetings
2. Principal input on strategic and direction

G. Staffing

1. Special Projects -- Ickes
 - a. Under Kantor's direction
2. Political director: Sosnick
 - a. Also under Kantor
3. Other staffing as Kantor and Panetta work out
 - a. Subject to your will

H. Other Consultants

1. At DNC
2. Not at Thurs. meetings
3. Input solicited, listened to, taken seriously
4. Carville
 - a. Fleshes out populist aspects of race
5. Greenberg
 - a. Supplements focus groups
6. Bagala
 - a. Helps with rhetoric and positioning

2. Declining Poll Ratings -- Due To Partisanship And Populism

A. Public Perceptions of Gridlock and Partisan Bickering

1. We win each issue, but lose the overall game
2. Our ratings and Dole's and Gingrich's are joined at the hip.
We go up or down together
3. You live in a Democratic culture that applauds moves that attack Republicans and defend Democratic values, but which come back to haunt you in ratings
 - a. If it feels good to your circle, be suspicious of it
4. Speeches are too diffused, each contains everything, needs more focus so press has to cover the message we want, not the Rep vs. Dem message they are inclined to cover
 - a. Suggest standing orders to run speech drafts by Curry (and, through him, me) at every stage of the process -- not just a few days before. Curry and Bahr are developing a good rapport

B. Attacks on Republicans and anti-rich populism was right for Feb and early March

1. We needed to demonstrate Republican monstrosity to get sufficient public backing to force compromises
2. But we needed to switch gears right after defeat of balanced budget amendment
3. Lesson: It is taking too long to turn around our battleship

4. The cities speech on Monday shows that when New Covenant rhetoric and anti-Republican rhetoric are side-by-side, the press will ignore New Covenant and only cover attacks on Republicans

a. Just as Friday's Press Conference showed that when anti-rich comments are mixed with New Covenant, only populist comments get covered

b. Therefore: need to discipline speeches to showcase only one push at a time – conciliatory or confrontational, not both at once

C. Now we need major effort to break gridlock and get bills passed

1. Effort is not enough, we actually need to sign laws

2. Point one of strategy: let the wave exhaust itself by its own successes

3. Frustration will lead to energized Republicans in 96

**D. Proposal for "Pile of Vetoes Speech" and White House-Senate
"conference committee"**

1. Give speech with drama and flair to mark important point of \ departure from Feb-March rhetoric

A. Summary Of Speech

1. Americans demanded change in 92 and 94
2. At first we worked together
3. Now: Partisan gridlock
4. "I was not elected...to produce a pile of vetoes or a stack of issues for the next election"
5. Resume momentum for change
6. Sketch out common ground
7. "Ideological purity is for dictatorships, compromise....and negotiation are the substance of democracy"

-- Then review areas and direction of compromise --
see next page (2-E: "Outline of Likely Deals")

2. Be sure all White House staff is on board for new line
3. Cut deals on everything with Senate and confront House with fait accompli
 - a. Name "conferees" to negotiate
 - b. Suggest Curry's inclusion so I can keep my hand in
 - c. Suggest Griffin, Galson, Rasco, MacLarty, and Curry as conferees
4. Weekly meetings with Congress leadership
 - a. Majority leaders included to get in Lott

E. Outlines of likely deals:

1. Taxes: 65-100 billion

- a. Give way on capital gains
- b. Get our way on middle class limits on \$500/child
- c. Get our way on college education
- d. Leave minimum wage out of it

2. Regulation

- a. 45 day override for moratorium
- b. Cost v health standard for regs, not cost v cost
 - Roth Bill
- c. Some alternative dispute resolution to avoid strangulation in courts
 - Make 45 day override permanent
 - Have exec-leg commission rule within a year on appeals from regs (or within 3 months if "urgent")
 - Special courts like immigration courts
 - No injunctive relief possible in regular federal court system

3. Line item veto: win it

4. Term limits: berate House for failure to pass

- a. Press for statute allowing states to act

5. Unfunded mandates

a. Sign it with hoopla

6. Litigation reform

a. Let Senate chop it to pieces

-- Modify loser pays for expedited ruling at start of case

-- Punitive damages are to deter future abuse

-- So, set up four levels based on judicial determination, after hearing evidence, on severity of damage if defendant's conduct is not deterred and on likelihood of each dollar level constituting sufficient deterrence to avoid repetition

-- 250,000 normal maximum

-- 500,000 if "significant chance of injury to others similarly situated if defendant's conduct is not deterred"

-- 1,000,000 if "real danger to life, health, or safety is found for others similarly situated if conduct is not deterred"

-- Up to 10,000,000 if standards for 1 mil is met, but judge finds that larger reward is necessary to deter conduct in future

b. If entire bill doesn't pass Senate, that's OK

7. Peacekeeper bill

- a. Delete provisions cutting UN aid by amount of US spending
- b. Delete other provisions you find obnoxious

8. Crime bill

- a. Veto over 100,000 cops and gun control
- b. Encourage version you can sign

F. Preparing Senate Democrats for Compromise

- 1. Extended dialogue with moderate Dems
- 2. Push hard on line item veto
- 3. Start with Dems who voted for balanced budget amendment
- 4. Walk them through compromises and actively participate in negotiations between them and Republicans

3. Paid Media

A. Ratings improve after major speeches -- Ads will have same effect, but permanent

B. Need decision on No Federal Funds

1. Will poll rationales (see polling section)

C. Need actual fund raising for May buy

1. \$2.5 million for 700 points

2. Crime -- 100,000 cops likely theme

D. If exempt from federal limits, heavy push in NH, Ariz., Iowa

4. Polling Needs

A. Proposed Poll

1. Musts

- a. Test New Covenant rhetoric and contexts**
- b. Track President's and Hillary's image**
- c. Track discontent with Republican/Gingrich cuts**
- d. Test rationales for no public funds**

-- Cost of "Must" package: \$25,000

2. Optional

- a. Affirmative Action statement**
- b. Direct payment of student loan**
- c. Tracking on Foster**
- d. Whitewater defense**
 - No indictments, no big deal**
- e. Test opposition to Medicare under HMOs**
- f. Test economic considerations or only health in regulations**

-- Cost of "Optional" package: \$5,000

5. Affirmative Action -- A New Approach:

A. General Principles

- 1. Government should be color blind and gender neutral unless there is specific statistically based evidence of discrimination**
- 2. Affirmative Action programs should be based on need so as not to discriminate against poor white males**

B. Specifics:

- 1. Law should be color blind**
 - a. No racial or gender criteria, only needs based criteria**
- 2. If evidence of discrimination, can use race or gender based affirmative action**
 - a. If statistical evidence of disproportionately low hirings or promotions of minorities or women, affirmative action by race and gender can be used, but only insofar as it is necessary to end this discrimination**
 - Specific acts of discrimination not necessary to show, just statistical evidence**
- 3. No matter whether discrimination or not, all affirmative action programs must benefit all people below poverty level, regardless of race or gender**

C. THEREFORE:

1. If no discrimination found by statistical evidence, then no basis other than income is possible
2. If discrimination is found, then affirmative action based on race, gender, and poverty can be employed, but such programs must not exclude poor white males.

D. Evidence and argument:

1. Unfair to exclude white males in poverty
2. Need to fight discrimination
3. Affirmative action must be color blind unless there is discrimination

E. Rhetoric

1. By basing racial preferences clearly on discrimination, we put rightist opponents of these preferences in the position of defending discrimination.
 - a. Dole says he's against discrimination. Use this position to press him on affirmative action where discrimination exists

2. By extending benefits to white males in poverty, we demonstrate compassion and equal playing field for white men.

a. 13.4 million children in poverty are white male headed households out of a total of 23.2 million total children in poverty

- 3.6 million children in black households
- 2.9 million children in Hispanic households
- 2.3 million children in female white headed households

- Included in 13.4 million children in white male headed households are 500,000 children in single male headed households

3. By excluding color or gender from affirmative action, unless discrimination is present, we articulate the idea of color blind affirmative action as the ultimate goal.

a. MLK was moving in that direction at the end of his life when he made common cause with Memphis sanitation workers and, in a host of speeches, urged economic empowerment and a class based, not merely race based, coalition

b. Jesse Jackson's rainbow coalition articulated same notion

- Use rainbow to neutralize Jesse

- If oppose your stand, was he kidding about rainbow?

4. Racially or gender based affirmative action is only a

temporary expedient to remedy discrimination, not a permanent fixture.

a. If affirmative action is temporary or transitional, as now supposed, it will terminate as discrimination ends. Discrimination is clearly in retreat and the end is in sight

b. Key change in concept of affirmative action

5. Affirmative action should continue to exist, on a needs basing only, after discrimination is remedied. color blind affirmative action for poor people is societal imperative

a. Affirmative action is a permanent necessity to fight poverty and can continue to exist if we base it on need, not discrimination

F. Changes:

1. Affirmative action is permanent to help poor, not simply as expedient to remedy discrimination

2. White men in poverty will now be helped

3. The ultimate ideal of color blind is now clearly before us

G. No changes:

1. Still use affirmative action to remedy statistically proven discrimination

H. On Set Asides

1. Base on geographic location of firms in poverty areas

and

On former poverty status of employees

and

On ongoing involvement with and residence in poor areas
of senior management

2. Argument

a. Set asides are too often basically phony. They benefit people who are minority or female, but have nothing to do with poor people or inner cities. By requiring location and ongoing involvement with poor communities, as opposed to racial or gender criteria, we assure that set asides help poor areas, not upper income areas.

b. 2/3 of all black and Hispanic people are not poor. We must assure that scarce resources go to people and communities genuinely in need, not to those who can make a historic case of discrimination

I. Differences from Democrats

1. Target communities, not minority rich -- end phony set-asides
2. Set goal of no affirmative action by race
3. Help white men in poverty

J. Differences from Republicans

1. Affirmative action is a permanent necessity to help poor people
2. Affirmative action based on race and gender is necessary to fight discrimination where evidence proves there has been discrimination
3. Set asides that target poor communities necessary to help save cities.

6. Policy Suggestions

A. Lobbyist Reform

1. Unilateral actions for immediate announcement

a. Renounce all lobbyist contributions for 96 campaign

- 1. Would also include overt lobbyist sponsorship of fund raising**
- 2. Can't have events at lobbyist homes**
- 3. Would not include lobbyists helping to raise money from other sources, just not overt sponsorship of events**

b. Announce a parallel policy for the DNC

c. Refund the \$13,000 collected from lobbyists for defense fund

d. Refuse to hire any lobbyists on campaign staff or include them in any advisory board in campaign

2. Executive Orders

- a. Since no legislation is contemplated in this phase -- and wouldn't pass if it were -- we are reversing the process to regulate employees of executive branch, not lobbyists. An inside out approach to regulation, but effective nonetheless**

b. Ban all contacts between executive branch employees and lobbyists who represent a foreign government

1. Law currently requires registration of all such lobbyists

2. Law currently requires full report of each contact by lobbyist

3. Law would now preclude such contacts with all executive branch employees

4. Practical effect: end foreign lobbying

c. Require all executive branch employees to disclose all contact with lobbyists. Including date of contact, name of lobbyist, interest represented, and substance of call

1. Pattern report after that which lobbyists representing foreign governments now must file after each contact with govt official

2. Because there is no executive branch registration for lobbyists:

a. Employee must ask if person is a lobbyist for a party in the matter under discussion (or if his firm is)

b. If yes: must file report as noted above

c. If no: must send name to Ethics office for vetting. If found to be a lobbyist, then reporting requirement would trigger for all contacts with that person including that which has already taken place

B. Welfare Reform

1. Overall Attitude -- Positive, good beginning on welfare reform
 - a. Main Objection -- Needs tougher work requirements
 1. Throw off if won't work (poll 73-23 supp)
 2. Eliminate looking for work loophole -- furnish public jobs if private not available
 - b. Things We Like
 1. 5 year cutoff (but would rather have 2 years)
 2. Block grants for child care (but oppose caps)
 3. Cutoff to legal immigrants (poll 50-47 split)
 4. Work requirement for food stamps
 5. Electronic card for food stamps
 6. Cutoff for welfare for extra children while on AFDC (poll 64-32 supp. cut)
 7. Block grant for foster care
 8. No disability for drug addicts or alcoholics
 9. Child support registry

c. Things We Want That Aren't In The Bill

- 1. No drivers' license if no child support**
- 2. 2 year cutoff, not 5 years (poll 55-39 supp cutoff 2 yr)**
- 3. Stiffer work requirements (main objection)**

d. Things We Strongly Oppose That Are In The Bill

- 1. Food stamp caps (poll 42-55 opp cut)**
- 2. Nutrition and school meals block grants and caps (poll 22-76 opp cut)**

e. Things We Don't Like But Are Willing To Look For Middle Ground

- 1. Block grants for welfare, end of entitlement (poll 58-35 supp)**
- 2. No cash for most disabled, just services**
- 3. No welfare for teenage mothers (poll 44-35 opp cut)**

C. Immigration -- Deportations

1. INS issue monthly body counts of deportations and increase number -- bring Presidential pressure for higher body counts

a. Now 50,000 a year (half criminal, half civil)

b. Too little emphasis on deportation, too much other policy

2. 100 more immigration judges to increase deportations

a. 125,000 backlog of cases

b. Bottleneck is number of judges

c. Separate asylum requests from immigration judges

3. Extend El Paso System to three other corridors

a. One in Arizona, one in Texas, one in California

b. Guards or infra-red detectors at least every 500 yards

1. Working well in El Paso

-- Initially committed to drop in arrests as measure of success. Stupid measurement.

2. 14 corridors in Southwest. Now guard San Diego and El Paso. Would extend to three more

3. No new funding. Can be done through transfers and funds under last year's crime bill

4. Make States issue drivers' licenses which expire when Visa does

a. Half of illegals are Visa overstays

b. Automatic referral to be required from motor vehicles to INS with no licenses if designated as license based on Visas

c. Condition of highway funds, like 55 speed limit

5. Automatic deportation from criminal justice system

a. Completely implement vis-à-vis prison discharges and non-prison guilty verdicts

b. Implement deportations for not-guilty verdicts or dismissal of charges

D. Iran/Iraq

1. Possible embargo on Iran

a. Increase North Slope and Saudi protection

2. Possible quotas on Iran where sales are reduced, but not totally embargoed

a. Flexible tool to provide incentives/disincentives

b. Can it be enforced through Turkey and Gulf patrols

3. Quotas, not embargo, might provide fall back on Iraq the next time France and Russia want relaxation
 - a. Could also accommodate joint efforts against Iraq and Iran without driving up oil prices

E. Cuba

1. Suggest no relaxation, ever
2. Suggest no incentive system
 - a. Goal is to get rid of Castro, not to improve him
 - b. Too risky to be seen as weak on defining issue
 - c. Adopt some of Helms ideas
 - increase frequency of Radio Marti to stop jamming

F. Derivative Regulation

1. Curbs on public and pension fund investments
 - a. Different rules for fiduciary vs. investment funds

G. Hillary

1. Radio show

- a. Guests with dignity: Cronkite, Kirault, Bennett**
- b. No ratings grabbers: Rosanne Barr, Charles Barkley**

2. Expensive Drugs

- a. Interface with drug companies to raise funds**
- b. Possible TV ads promoting fund**

3. Suggest weekly newspaper column have submitted memo to her on this

H. Term Limits

1. Push issue harder

- a. Attack need for constitutional amendment as attempt to kill it**

- b. Push for statutory action**

I. Clinton Doctrine -- Announce at Haiti visit

1. Vital interests vs. Humanitarian concerns

2. Vital interests

- a. Russia
- b. Western Europe and Japan
- c. Sea lanes
- d. Terrorism
- e. Oil flow
- f. Western Hemisphere
- g. Israel and the Middle East
- h. Drug traffic

Where vital interests are involved:

- American troops under U.S. command
- All other support necessary

3. Humanitarian interests

Examples: Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda, Cambodia

Where humanitarian interests are involved:

- Naval and air support, not ground troops
- Logistical support, aid, intelligence
- Use military aid to develop regional capacity
for intervention with U.S. logistics

J. Job Training Consolidation

- A. Trent says Kassebaum favorably inclined. Suggest pursue
with Trent and call Kassebaum directly

K. Work With Gramm On Eliminating Corporate Welfare

- 1. Suggest call to Gramm to ask him to elaborate and issuance of joint proposal on subject**

L. Drivers licenses – Child Support

- 1. Give separate speech on drivers licenses and child support great simple issue and good one for us.**

M. Tax Cut

- 1. Suggest higher profile for urging tax cut**
- 2. Differentiate from deficit hawks**
 - a. Cite need to include middle class in recovery's benefits**
 - b. Cite need to provide stimulants to education**
- 3. No populist or partisan stuff in speech at all**
 - a. If we include it, the press will focus on it exclusively and ignore rest**
 - b. No criticism of size of House cut or of the lack of income limits**
 - Save that for negotiations with Senate**
 - c. Indicate flexibility on capital gains**

N. Baseball Strike

1. Get out ahead of NLRB in switching strike to lockout
2. Claim credit for it and make it seem like a presidential intervention
 - a. May end strike and we want credit
 - b. In any case, looks strong and tough

O. Croatia

1. Again suggest removal of US troops from hospital: another Lebanon in the making

7.- Personal/Political

A. Labor

1. Jay Mazur as key contact. set up meeting (phone 212-265-7000)
 - a-IBEW (Bywater) is anti-Clinton
 - b. Ron Carey (teamsters needs stroking
 - c. Steelworker's new leadership might be problem, need stroking

B. Curry

1. Needs assistant
2. Needs to be given speeches early so I can input
3. Suggest him as one of conferees

C. Morris

1. Celinda Lake and Greenberg planning blast at Clinton for using Morris when so many good demo pollsters are available: will be done through leak
2. To defend myself, I need you to let Schoen go public that he's working for you

D. Huckabee

1. How was meeting?

E. Fiji Interview:

1. Can that happen?

TO: THE PRESIDENT

RE: Agenda for meeting on March 23, 1995

1. CONGRESSIONAL ACTION -- AVOIDING VETOES, ACHIEVING COMPROMISE

A. Premise: We Need To Show That Government Works

1. We seem to poll regularly in the low fifties except for screwups, now, while before, we polled in the low forties except for successes
 - a. Due to policy of accommodation
 - b. After toning down partisan and populist rhetoric, our ratings, USA/CNN showed a 4 point gain between 2/29 -- 3/19

B. Crafting A Moderate Vote Democratic Bloc In Senate

1. Basic to your capacity to govern
 - a. Stem charges of Presidential irrelevance
 - b. Make the House irrelevant through ideological rigidity
 - c. Way to get credit when you win Congressional fights

2. How to handle Daschle

- a. He has to appeal to core Democrats, too
- b. He must continue in his confrontational role with
Republicans
 - 1. Like Gephardt, he helps by hurting
Republicans
- c. If he's there, you are not the leader, he is
- d. Conclusion: Don't work through him, work
around him and then invite him on board

3. Craft Bloc Through Individual Contact With Senators

a. The Leaders --

Lieberman
Breaux

b. Possible Backers --

Robb
Heflin
Bradley
Graham
Rockefeller
Bryan
Feinstein
Simon (?)
Nunn
Johnston
Pryor
Kohl
Baucus
Bingaman
Reid
Exon
Biden
Harkin

C. Issues Coming Up In Senate Before Recess

1. Line Item Veto

- a. Make enough noise to get credit**
- b. Get moderate Dems used to working together under your leadership**
- c. Get press used to covering "President's Party" in Senate -- moderate Dems**
- d. Use perception to gain Presidential relevance again**

2. Recissions

- a. A veto would be a disaster**
 - 1. Would show us vetoing first real spending cut after 94 elections**
 - 2. Even if we win the rhetorical fight, the price in government-doesn't-work would be too high**

b. Formulate narrow list of objections to Republican cuts

1. Suggest objecting to:

- a. Anti-drug in schools (\$482)
- b. Housing for AIDS patients (\$186)
- c. Goals 2000 (\$174)
- d. Public school grants - low inc. (\$140)
- e. Anti-drug in public housing (\$32)
- f. Anti-school drop-outs (\$28)
- g. WIC food (\$25)
- h. Counselors for child violence (\$14)
- i. Americorps cut (\$416)

(Total restored: \$1.5 billion)

2. Lesser priority: 33% restore in:

- a. Summer jobs (\$1.7 bil)
- b. Low income heating assistance (\$1.3 bil)
- c. PBS (\$141)
- d. Technical training (\$108)
- e. Trade adjustment aid (\$99)
- f. National Inst. Stand Technology (\$27)
- g. Rental aid to poor (\$2.7 bil)
- h. Operate housing projects (\$404)
- i. Comm devel block grants (\$349)
- j. Job training for youths (\$310)
- k. Lead paint removal (\$90)

(Total cuts -- \$7.2 bil. assuming 33% restoration --
\$2.4 bil cost)

c. Total Restorations: \$3.9 billion

d. Cuts I see no political problem with

1. Grants for clean water projects (\$1.3 bil)
2. Modernization of public housing (\$1.2 bil)
3. Public housing & devel and acquisit (\$690)
4. Improvements to public house (\$523) (we OKed it)
5. Local aid adoption, foster care (\$150)
6. Mass transit projects (\$132)
7. Pell grant surplus (\$104)
8. School construct (\$99) (we OKed it)
9. FAA construct (\$70)
10. Highway construct (\$70)
11. Solar energy res (\$34)
12. Food and homemaking ed (\$34)
13. Library const (\$15)
14. Nat'l Endow Human and Arts (\$5)
15. Reading program for inmates (\$5)

(Total no problem: 4.6 bil)

(Unaccounted for: 3.7 bil -- assume we will want to restore 1 billion = 5 bil)

e. Present alternative list of cuts for \$5 billion

1. Be sure that they are not too partisan
 - a. Largely structure around cuts already in recommended budget
 - b. Clear them in advance with Lott
 - c. Avoid defense

f. Negotiate with Senate to get bill we can sign

3. Regulatory Moratorium

- a. 45 day congressional override to be made permanent
 1. Pres could veto override of a reg
 2. Then it would take 2/3
 3. We can certainly live with that
- b. Let's try to make 45 day rule all that we need to do in this area
 1. Lott says the Rs may buy that
- c. Political reality: Congress would never override most of the regulations
- d. Let's use moratorium to kill reform package

D. Items Coming Up After Recess In Senate

1. Telecommunications - urge greater involvement by Gore
2. Regulatory reform
 - a. Just cutting regulations won't be enough
 - b. Should avoid a veto
 - c. Moratorium idea of 45 day veto may provide the key to dispute
 1. Lott says if it were permanent, that might be all we need to do
 2. May not need any new standards for passing a regulation at all

- d. If 45 day override is not enough, then urge focus on alternate dispute resolution mechanisms to avoid litigation delays
- e. Should be easy to negotiate a cost weighed against science, health, and cost -- if 45 day is not enough

3. Litigation reform

- a. Urge negotiations on punitive damages assigned by judge
- b. Idea of damages paid to court was very attractive

4. Tax cuts

- a. Need to rejoin debate -- with Republicans split, you can be tax cut hero
- b. Use remarks to articulate third way
 - 1. Take on deficit hawks
 - 2. Take on excessive cuts
 - 3. Urge targeting education

2. ISSUES FOR CONGRESSIONAL RECESS

A. Agree with "three speeches" idea

- 1. Affirmative Action**
- 2. Pile of Vetoes -- Role of Government**
- 3. Clinton Doctrine in Foreign Policy**

B. Affirmative Action

- 1. Theme: Color blind affirmative action for needy people**
 - a. Affirmative action still needed to help poor**
 - b. All poor people should be treated and helped equally**
 - 1. Cannot disregard needs of white male poor**
 - a. 40% of all poor families**
- 2. Exception: Where discrimination exists**
 - a. Where discrimination exists, affirmative action based on race and/or gender is still needed to overcome racism or sexism**
 - b. Evidence of discrimination can be statistical**
- 3. Set Asides: Use geography, not race**
 - a. Set asides still needed to help small and poor area companies to compete**
 - b. System is now widely abused**

- c. Black or white empowerment areas
 - d. Make majority of workers and owners and managers live in empowerment areas
4. Exception: Where race or gender diversity is necessary for proper performance of job
- a. Police in minority areas
 - b. Peer group leadership in areas like military
 - c. Policy inputs in top levels of government
 - 1. Thus, the Clinton cabinet, Supreme Court
 - 2. Similar freedom to other agency heads
 - d. Teachers in minority communities as role models
5. Layoff Issues:
- a. Unless pattern of discrimination: color blind
 - b. Bases for decision other than race and gender
 - 1. Merit
 - 2. Poverty background
 - 3. Work history rewarding hard climbs up
 - a. Treat people better if they are newly successful in world of work
 - b. Reward things like night school, upgrading

6. Private Sector Affirmative Action

- a. No prohibition
- b. Still necessary to avoid Title 7 Discrimination actions
 - 1. Government will still enforce Title vigorously
 - 2. Firms will want to avoid statistical patterns that make them vulnerable

7. Conflict Is Not Unintended Consuequence Of Affirmative Action Stand, But A Key Part Of The Strategy

- a. Sister Souljah revisited
- b. Take on fights with Jackson, etc. to demonstrate:
 - 1. Strength
 - 2. Independence
 - 3. New Democrat
 - 4. Correctness of views
- c. Presidential images are defined in conflict:
 - 1. Like Truman v. Wallace over containment
Truman v. Wallace over civil rights
 - 2. Like Nixon v. busing
 - 3. Like Kennedy v. steel
Kennedy v. Wallace over civil rights
Kennedy v. Castro
 - 4. Like Reagan v. PATCO

d. Public will agree with you and it will win you election

C. Pile Of Vetoes Speech

1. In effect, an updated state of the union
2. Need to give public action
3. Outline posture on each major area of legislative focus

D. Clinton Doctrine Speech

1. Vital interests vs. Humanitarian concerns

2. Vital interests

- a. Russia
- b. Western Europe and Japan
- c. Sea lanes
- d. Terrorism
- e. Oil flow
- f. Western Hemisphere
- g. Israel and the Middle East
- h. Drug traffic

-- Where vital interests are involved:

- a. American troops under U.S. command
- b. All other support necessary

3. Humanitarian interests

Examples: Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda, Cambodia

Where humanitarian interests are involved:

-- Naval and air support, not ground troops

- Logistical support, aid, intelligence
- Use military aid to develop regional capacity for intervention with U.S. logistics

3. POLL APPROVAL

1. Suggest Review Text At Meeting

4. A MARXIST ANALYSIS OF NEW THEMES APPROACH

- A. It is not enough to be the Democrat who isn't a spendthrift and the Republican who isn't cruel. Affirmative positioning vital
- B. Three formative events in recent political history
 1. Recession made Reagan-Bush inactivism intolerable
 - Result: Clinton's election
 2. Health Care, Gun Control, and Tax Changes made Clinton's governmental activism unpopular
 - Result: Gingrich-Dole victory
 3. Draconian Republican Cuts in School Lunches and other compassion programs make less government suspect
 - Result: A hunger for a new synthesis
- C. Two paths for '96: Bifurcation -- refighting the dialectic

vs.

Triangulation -- create synthesis

1. Refighting dialectic (populism and partisanship) won't

work because it merely reignites impetus for '94
Republican victories

2. A little populism steals headlines and drowns out your
New Covenant message

-- Experience of Friday press conference

-- Like a drop of ink in water, it takes over

3. Synthesis builds on history, does not attempt to alter it

4. The triangulation of the new synthesis mirrors the
individual conclusions of most voters and all swing
voters

-- Harnesses "plague on both your houses" vote

-- Perotist appeal

D. Articulation Of Synthesis: New Covenant

1. Learning process is key

-- Reinvent New Covenant as the product of
evolution from '92 and '94 dialectic

-- Walk people through their own learning
experience

-- Revisit defects of past proposals:

-- Bush passivity

-- Clinton big government (I've learned)

-- Gingrich compassion cuts (without personal
attacks)

2. Express Triangulation On Each Issue

a. Taxes:

Old Dem: -- no tax cut

Rep: -- tax cut for wealthy & with
no purpose

Us -- aim at middle class &
catalytic of better raising and
educating of children

b. Balanced Budget:

Old Dem -- raise taxes or don't do
it

Rep -- cut everything in sight

Us -- bring down deficit more
gradually so as not to cut
children and education
investments

c. Regulatory Reform:

Old Dem -- don't

Rep -- no govt regulations

Us -- change code napoleon
itemization to a common
law/common sense
approach based on:

- flexibility
- empirical experience
- differing vehicles of
dereg depending
on the issue
- taking account of
feedback

d. Welfare Reform:

Old Dem -- don't

Rep -- punish
Us -- change to a system of
incentives and disincentives
to move people off. Use
welfare to get people off
welfare

e. Crime:

Old Dem -- don't toughen laws
Rep -- toughen courts
Us -- toughen courts and
community policing and drug
treatment and job training,
etc.

f. Affirmative Action:

Old Dem -- preserve it
Rep -- end it
Us -- continue, but base on need

3. Relate To Other Contexts In Speeches

a. Biographic

- Alcoholic father = standards
- Small town boyhood = opportunity

b. Societal

- 40s and 50s = self-sacrifice/old Dem
- 80s = narcissism/Rep
- 90s = responsibility/new Dem

c. Programmatic

- Great Society failures
- Self-defeating cuts
 - housing cuts = homelessness
 - school cuts = crime, joblessness
 - job training cuts = unemployment
- Intelligent cuts needed
 - cut welfare, not investments

5. GET BRIEFED BY PRESIDENT ON CAMPAIGN STRUCTURE DECISIONS

6. GENERAL POLITICAL

A. Tobacco Suit

3/23/95

1. Suggest Federal intervention in five existing suits over Medicaid
 - a. Medicaid enforcement is delegated to the states
 - b. Five states -- Mississippi, West Virginia, Florida, Massachusetts, and Minnesota are suing tobacco companies for reimbursement for Medicaid costs in treating tobacco cases
 - c. Suggest Federal government intervene as co-plaintiff in these suits
 - d. Suggest Federal encouragement of other states to join lawsuit
 - e. Suggest Presidential statement at Tallahassee dinner on Thursday, March 30 to call attention to the suits and urge their success
 1. In attendance at dinner: Chiles, Mike

3/25/95
cont.

Moore, Miss. Attny General who is
bringing the suit

2. Kessler is laying basis for regulations against tobacco
 - a. Suggest he use same counsel as is handling these suits to defend his regulations in court
 1. Would permit information for state suits
 2. Would tap into mainstream of anti-smoking suits
 - b. Main lawyer: Dick Skruggs (Trent Lott's brother-in-law) is handling Miss. and Fla. suits. Suggest he meet with Kessler re: this
- B. Be sure Dems don't follow Reps in making Louisiana primary early
 1. Not as good a state for us as Iowa and NH
- C. Keep calling date V-J day: could explode if we rename it
 1. Special DOD committee is doing arrangements and Washington Times reports its considering changing name to end of war day
- D. See David Broder's column for confirmation of December predictions on our strategy
 1. GOP gets little credit as bills whiz by
 2. Dems rename bills and focus attention and disagreements
- E. Gramm's attack on corporate welfare
 1. Identify corporate welfare to be cut

- a. He'll be against user fee increases
 - b. He'll be against tax expenditure curbs
 - c. But he'll likely favor cuts in spending for export, marketing, etc.
2. I'll pass list to Gramm and see if there is common ground

F. Hillary

1. Need for more exposure
2. Suggest weekly column
 - a. Need to push it, get it going

G. Baseball strike -- NLRB

TO: THE PRESIDENT
RE: AGENDA FOR MEETING ON APRIL 5

95

1. OUR STRATEGY IS NOT DOING ENOUGH TO IDENTIFY THE PRESIDENT WITH CENTRIST REFORM

- A. The vast bulk of our rhetoric is anti-Congress and anti-Republican
 - 1. Getting involved in a zero-sum game with Congress is a very bad idea
 - 2. Congress is winning the PR war
 - a. Congress' ratings are pretty good. 58-35 approval of first hundred days in CNN/USA poll
 - b. 49-39 say Congress is doing right amount of cutting not going too far
- B. Even if we define the Congressional Republicans as bad, we are not doing enough to define Clinton as good
 - 1. We are being folded into Democratic rhetoric of rich v. poor and harsh cuts v. rich tax cuts
 - a. It makes us old Democrats, not new Democrats
 - b. It reinforces idea that voters must choose one either Republicans who cut too much or Democrats who spend too much

2. The new Clinton positions are receiving short shrift and are getting submerged in a two way Dem v. Rep fight

- a. Welfare Reform has been submerged in our concerns about school lunches
- b. Tax Cut proposals have been submerged in our concerns about tax cuts for the rich and deficit cutting
- c. Our commitment to state empowerment has been submerged in our attack on block grants
- d. Our progress in cutting government size is being submerged in our opposition to Republican budget cuts
- e. Our regulatory reform is being submerged in our opposition to Republican regulatory cuts

3. Even Clinton's centrist accomplishments are getting no attention -- drowned out by partisan rhetoric

- a. Line item veto -- no credit at all
- b. Budget cuts are becoming exclusively Republican in their perceived origin
- c. Tax cuts we proposed are forgotten, Republicans are now the tax cutters
- d. Cuts in regulations are getting little attention

C. Even if this produces short term gains by hurting Republicans, its long term cost in tying Clinton to Democratic orthodoxy is too big a price to pay

- D. Ultimately, this strategy demands vetoes which will undermine central element of strategy -- that we exhaust the wave and permit Republicans to become satisfied
 1. Rhetoric will trap us into vetoes to show strength and consistency
 2. Our failure to articulate third way alternatives and to negotiate them will lead to vetoes
 3. The more the public sees these issues in bi-frucated terms the more vetoes will be evidence of commitment to Democratic Party orthodoxy
 4. Unless we articulate third way solutions in the crucible of the current controversies, the more they will become irrelevant and inadmissible later on
- E. The result of this responsive, anti-Congressional Republican Strategy is the miniaturization of the Presidency
 1. Makes Initiatives Hard To Sustain
 - a. Like Minimum Wage, it gets marginalized
 - b. Like Reinventing Government, it is seen as irrelevant in face of more drastic Republican action
 2. If Clinton is always seen as responsive, it is hard to switch into a pro-active mold when needed
 3. The perception of an inactive Presidency likely reinforces idea of weakness

F. Doug Schoen's Focus Group Research

1. Focus groups conducted with swing Dems and Ind voters

a. San Francisco, Louisiana, Minneapolis, New York, Florida over last two months

2. Major findings of research:

a. Impetus still with Republicans in Congress

1. Voters want to give them a chance

2. Believe that, while there are excesses in Rep agenda, excesses are part of any drastic change

3. More willing to forgive Rep excesses to accomplish goals

b. Clinton not perceived as having changed since November

1. Function of Dems in Congress and lack of visibility since State of Union address

c. Welfare reform idea tests well

1. Work elements are critical -- voters are willing to forgive women for a mistake, but feel that government must help them rejoin the workforce

2. No sense that Clinton is fighting for this welfare reform package

d. Affirmative action remains key sore point

1. Among downscale whites, more acceptance of need-based affirmative action
2. Upscale whites less favorable to entire concept of affirmative action

2. PROPOSALS FOR SPEECHES

A. Use recess to regain initiative

B. Pile of Vetoes -- Friday at Editors Meeting (see draft attached)

1. Seemed like we were working together -- but now becoming too partisan, too divided
2. We have lots of common ground -- deficit, tax cut, welfare reform, cut regulations, etc.
3. Danger of inflexible ideologues taking over debate
4. Call for summit to negotiate compromises
5. Tax cut
 - a. Must cut taxes to share prosperity and recovery
 - b. Not \$200 bil, that imperils balanced budget
 - c. So target: Education, Middle Class

6. Welfare

- a. Agree on work, time limits, state empowerment
- b. Disagree on:
 - 1. How to build in work
 - 2. Cutting off children of teenage mothers
 - 3. Entitlement: Possible compromise by leaving up to states
- c. Don't let welfare become campaign issue -- get reforms passed

7. Deficit reduction and balanced budget

- a. Amendment is dead, so now let's balance the budget
- b. Avoid cuts I have to veto, like lunches, and make cuts I can sign
- c. Avoid riders like strikes, prevailing wage, clean water, abortion -- veto bait
- d. Avoid artificial date, set a date where budget can be balanced without huge harm
 - 1. Dates are for campaign speeches
 - 2. Annual progress toward zero
 - 3. 2005, not 2002 more realistic

8. Line item veto

9. Regulatory reform

- a. Need fewer regs, more common sense
- b. Approve of 45 day override
- c. No strait jacketing of regulation -- that's a veto
- d. Sit down and figure out way to restore common sense regulation

10. Legal reform

- a. Needed,
- b. Trust judges on punitive
- c. No loser pays

11. Environment takings bill

- a. No negotiation, just veto

12. Health Care

- a. Common ground, one step at a time
- b. Pre-existing/Portability/Voluntary pool

13. Crime

- a. 2 vetoes: guns and 100,000 cops
- b. Then sign rest of bill with some changes

14. Peacekeeper

- a. No hamper Presidential authority
- b. Don't undermine UN
- c. Never put troops under UN in combat

15. Historic Opportunity

- a. Crossroads between confrontation and progress
- b. No pile of vetoes -- pile of laws

C. Tax Cut Speech

- 1. We have two deficits: fiscal and educational
 - a. We must use tax cuts to remedy educational deficit even as we limit size of cuts to cut fiscal deficit
- 2. Need tax cuts to distribute fruits of recovery
- 3. Third leg of deficit hawk v. tax cutter debate: targeted, limited tax cuts

3. POLL APPROVAL

- A. Progress on host of fronts delayed
- B. Review questions on Affirmative Action
- C. Review questions on campaign finance reform
- D. Review questions on thematic positioning

4. STYLE AND SPEECHES

A. One subject per speech

- 1. Don't give press a smorgasbord -- they'll choose the wrong issue**
- 2. Anytime we offer an attack on Republicans mixed with anything else, it's the attack that will get covered**

B. Use radio address for tactical intervention in story of the day

- 1. We get more coverage when we make news**
- 2. Keep subject matter flexible until last minute to adjust to targets of opportunity**
- 3. Avoid pre-charted subjects -- too rigid for response to news currents**

C. Never be Undecided on a veto or signing after bill comes to you -- always know in advance

- 1. We look very weak when we are undecided**
- 2. It highlights tough and close calls and makes too much out of them**
- 3. It gives interest groups too much time to work us over and become invested themselves**

5. OTHER ISSUES WE SHOULD GET UNTRACKED

A. Health Care

1. Still our core issue
2. Must show progress
3. Press Republicans for deal
 - a. Pre-existing
 - b. Portability
 - c. Voluntary pools
4. These achievements will loom very large to average person

B. Deportations

1. Monthly "body count"
2. More immigration judges to relieve bottleneck
3. Drivers' license expire when visa does
4. Better interface with prisons and courts

C. Lobbyist reform

1. Key wedge issue against Dole
2. Personal reforms
 - a. No lobbyist money in 96
 - b. No DNC lobbyist money
 - c. Give back \$13,000 legal defense fund

3. Executive orders

- a. Disclosure of lobbyist contacts
- b. Ban on contacts with foreign govt. lobbyists

4. Legislative proposals

- a. Apply to Congress things we have already done in Executive
- b. Extend disclosure to all of government
- c. Extend ban on contacts to Congress

5. Don't let cynicism about our past relations with lobbyists stop us from using the issue

- a. Measured by newspapers against perfection, we may seem wanting, but measured against Dole, we'll look great in 96 on this if we set it up now

D. Balanced budget deal -- by 2006

1. GOP is not wed to 2002. Doesn't want to have to walk the plank to make it by then

- a. In Senate particularly there is willingness to extend it out years
- b. Republicans don't want to do the Medicare cuts they'd have to do to make 2003 work

2. Suggest floating later deadline

- a. But clearly indicate year-by-year progress toward goal
- b. Not a curve where most of progress is in out years

E. Medicaid

1. **Back managed care**
 - a. **In Mass, only a 1% increase under managed care**
 - b. **Distinguish welfare (Medicaid) from Medicare and Social Security**

F. Medicare

1. **Oppose premium increases except on rich**
2. **Be willing to consider reduced premiums for HMOs and managed care incentives**
 - a. **But oppose raised premiums for current type of care**
 1. **i.e., back incentives, not punishments**
 - b. **Oppose required HMOs and managed care -- use freedom of choice of doctor issue**

G. Federal Reserve

1. **Don't make "Bush" mistake of appeasing markets as opposed to putting good people on board**
2. **Nominate only low interest, pro growth people**
3. **Litmus test like Supreme Court**
4. **Demand commitment for lower rates by end of year**
 - a. **So six month impact interval can be ripe by election time**
 - b. **Remember in 92 how futile fourth quarter recoveries are**

H. Smoking

1. Join lawsuits on Medicaid
2. Launch lawsuit on Medicare
3. Encourage other states to join suit

I. Test Ban Treaty

1. Only worthwhile stand: not another nuclear bomb will ever again be exploded on earth
2. Reject "small explosions" to test reliability
 - a. If no nation can do it, we still retain edge
 - b. Nuclear/nonnuclear threshold is public legacy from nuclear age. Not prepared to accept "small" nukes now any more than they were for Goldwater in 64
 - c. If France and China left out, no big problem

J. Better do Affirmative Action soon

K. Iraq

1. Don't let hostages become important

PILE OF VETOES SPEECH DRAFT

In 1992 and in 1994, the voters of America threw a gauntlet to our democratic form of government -- a demand for action, a demand for change.

Now the question confronts us squarely: are we to mire in gridlock or will we deliver the bold, aggressive action they seek?

At first, it seemed that we could deliver. Unfunded mandates were, at last, banned.

Congress moved quickly and honestly to subject itself to its own laws.

And the promise of real reform -- line item veto, tax cuts, spending reductions, welfare reform, tougher laws against crime -- seemed within reach.

I met with Speaker Gingrich and Majority Leader Dole and we seemed ready to go arm-in-arm toward the future, without deadlock or gridlock.

But, now that bold forward thrust of progress seems in peril.

There is blame on both sides.

The Republican majorities have moved to cut not only waste, but vital programs like school lunches.

Faced with such drastic cuts, many Democrats have felt unable to support even the parts of the Republican programs they want

2

We must be sure that the advocates of the Contract for America do not embrace a kind of dogmatism and ideological purity which admits of no compromise and asks only for confrontation and inaction.

For my part, I was not elected President of the United States of America to produce a pile of vetoes or a stack of issues for the next election. I was elected to effect change.

So I appeal to my Republican and Democratic colleagues to get together and resume the momentum for change.

Let us not allow this last best hope of change to die amid a partisan clutter of charges and accusations.

We share so very much common ground.

We both back welfare reform with time limits, work requirements, and state empowerment.

We both want tax cuts and we both want to pay for them with spending cuts.

We both want immediate deficit reduction and want to establish a path to reach a balanced budget as soon as possible.

We both want less government regulation.

We both want a line item veto.

We both agree on most of the basic crime package the House has passed.

We both are prepared to make across the board cuts, except in social security and possibly medicare, to cut the deficit.

We both want to reform affirmative action.

We both want to reduce the impact of lawsuits on our society.

-3-

But ideological purists on both sides throw details at concepts and threaten to derail them.

Ideological purity is for dictatorships. Compromise, adjustment, listening, and negotiation are the substance of democracy.

We are so near so many breakthroughs, we have only to see our common ground and dare to tread on it.

So I invite the Speaker, the Majority Leader, and the other legislative leaders to a summit discussion with me to probe common ground and look to joint action.

Let me articulate a few basic principles I hold dear:

Taxes -- we must produce a tax cut. It is the only way we can be sure that the recovery of 1993-4 produces real gains for real people. To put the entire fruits of this recovery into the task of deficit reduction is to defer for too long the pressing need of many middle class families for financial relief. Tax cuts and deficit reduction must go hand in hand.,

But neither can we cut taxes so drastically that we lose this historic opportunity to bring down the deficit even further. The idea of \$200 billion tax cut is a fantasy that polarizes the Congress as it deludes the people. I suggested a tax cut of \$63 billion and call for enactment of a cut in the \$50-\$100 million range.

Since we cannot afford to cut everybody's taxes, lets cut the taxes of the middle class. I propose that the tax relief be largely aimed at families with incomes of under \$75,000.

Lets use the tax cuts to promote education and improvement of the lives of children -- Use the tax cuts to help the next generation by targeting families with children and college tuition for tax deductions.

-4-

Welfare Reform -- The Republican leadership and I agree the system needs drastic change. We all agree states need more flexibility and power. We all agree on stiff work requirements as a precondition of welfare. We all agree on time limits for welfare. A series of sticking points separate us.

How can we strengthen the work requirements in the current bill? Lets sit down and craft a program that not only cuts welfare, but moves people into jobs. It is ridiculous to cut welfare and then cut or limit child care. Where are they supposed to put their children when they go to work?

Should benefits be paid to children whose mothers are teenagers? Of course they should.. We can't punish children for the marital status or age of their mothers.

Should welfare ever be an entitlement? Should we let each state decide for itself? We need to sit down and address the issue and try to find common ground. Let us not be polarized by slogans or rigid formulae.

We are so near an historic change of enormous magnitude. Lets talk through these differences not with a lust for victory but with a realistic understanding that no bill becomes a law unless it commands the support of both Houses of Congress and gets my signature on the bottom of it.

These differences would make lovely issues for us to oppose each other on in 1996. But that would be ruinous. People would lose faith in our ability to change or to put aside politics. Lets keep faith with the people. They want laws, not bills. They want compromises, not campaign issues.

-5-

Now, there are two ways to cut -- the way to cut and the way to generate campaign issues. I could sit back and say lets cut all the Republican's favorite programs and I'd have a great speech, but no real cuts. The Republicans could put down a whole list of cuts in education and children's programs that they know I can't stomach and then blame me for big spending.

This would make great political fodder. But it won't cut the deficit. So lets back away from the cuts which we can't agree on. Republicans know they're never going to sell cuts, or caps as they put it, in school lunches, so get off it. Get over it. There's lots we can cut and agree on. Lets make those cuts and not play little games of chicken with each other.

And, please, it is hard enough to cut spending. We don't need all kinds of extraneous riders on the bills we pass. Issues like abortion funding, clean water standards, the prevailing wage law, the issue of striker replacement don't belong in a spending bill. Lets debate these, but lets not derail the sensitive, precious spending cut legislation with these political blockbusters.

Line Item Veto -- Please pass it in its strongest form. I appeal to members of my own Party not to stand in the way. This is no time to quarrel over who can cut spending. Its time to give the President and the Congress a shot at cutting it. We need both of them in the game to bring down the deficit.

Regulatory Reform -- We have too many regulations, we have vested too much power in a largely unaccountable bureaucracy. The Republicans deserve all the credit in the world for raising this issue and bringing it to the forefront. Whether it was Vice President Quayle's paperwork reduction or Vice President Gore's reinventing government effort, we know where the obnoxious regulations are and we know who the unbending regulators are. So lets change things.

-6-

But the answer is not -- its just not -- to stop the federal government from regulating anything. Whether we're stopped by a moratorium or by an endless series of lawsuits, we'd still be stopped. No Republican wants unsafe plains to fly, important animals to become extinct, the air to be more polluted, or working conditions to be unsafe. Every Republican understands that these issues are often blind spots that free enterprise competition doesn't see and that some form of public regulation is needed.

So lets do it. Lets reform these regulations. Send me a bill that strait-jackets all regulatory authority and you'll get a veto you can't override in return. But sit with me and develop ways to translate thousands of pages of fine print regulation into common sense principles and we'll do it. Sit with me and figure out how to make bureaucrats accountable for their decisions, how to stop the literal and nonsensical application of each regulation, how to let experience guide our regulations, not the tortured fantasies of some agency trying to protect itself, sit with me and work through those issues and you won't get a veto, you'll get historic change.

Lets apply the system of checks and balances to regulatory policy. I approve of the bill the Senate recently passed allowing Congress to override regulations within 45 days. It is appropriate that our system work to review such regulations. But lets not use years of litigation and the threat of judicial injunction to do the checking and the balancing. For while judicial injunctions may apply, unsafe planes may fly, impure meat may be eaten, and polluted water may be drunk and these are unacceptable prices to pay for review.

Crime -- If you must try to repeal my 100,000 cops program and the ban on assault rifles, go ahead and cast your votes, I'll send my veto and we will have each have made our positions clear. Then lets enact into law the the parts of your crime bill revision we both can support. Lets get that bill onto the statute books.

Legal Reform -- Are there too many lawsuits? Yes. Are jury rewards often out of whack? Yes. Should someone get millions for being served coffee at McDonald's that's too hot? No.

-7-

Much of the reform package is good and deserves enactment. But a blanket limit on punitive damages just makes no sense. I have a different idea. Lets let the jury decide if punitive damages are warranted and then lets let the judge decide how much they should be. There is no history of judicial abuse of these issues. If we trust judges enough to select them in the first place, lets trust them to set the amounts of punitive damages.

I'm glad the Senate seems to be scraping the loser pays parts of your litigation reform package. It never made much sense to me anyway and just stops moderate income people from exercising their right to sue. Its kind of a judicial poll tax and I'm against it.

Environmental Protection - Now I want to compromise. But there's a limit. I totally disagree with your position on making government pay property owners when it passes a regulation that cuts the value of their property. Set that precedent and soon no zoning board in the country would have to pay every property owner when it decided to change zoning. Or it would mean that we couldn't protect wetlands and forests and pure water without paying hundreds of billions to property owners. I'm just against it. Sorry, but that's one I'll have to veto.

Health Care -- I said in the state of the union that I learned that we need to change and reform health care one step at a time, so I say to the Republicans who beat my proposal last year, lets take the first steps. We know what they are. Bob Dole put them in his bill last year. Lets pass them -- portability of benefits, no ban for pre-existing conditions, extra home care for the elderly, and voluntary pools to cut insurance costs.

Foreign Policy -- If the Republicans get lucky in 1996 and take my job -- which they won't -- they won't like the laws they're now considering any better than I do. We're not going to put American troops under foreign command, but lets not kill UN peacekeeping either.

The UN is 50 years old, but its really about four or five years old. Only since the end of the cold war can it finally function as Wilson and Roosevelt -- and Vandenburg and Eisenhower - had hoped. So give it a chance. Let it learn from its mistakes in Somalia and its successes in Cambodia how to keep peace and how not to. Don't replace the Russian veto with a Congressional veto as a barrier to collective world action.

So lets get busy. There's no reason we can't pass this whole agenda this year. Make 1995 go down in history with 1933 as a year when democracy met its challenge and passed the test. And lets do it together

TO: THE PRESIDENT
RE: Agenda For Meeting On April 27, 1995

1. AFTERMATH OF OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING

- A. Temporary gain: boost in ratings -- here today, gone tomorrow
- B. More permanent gain: Improvements in character/personality attributes -- remedies weakness, incompetence, ineffectiveness found in recent poll
- C. Permanent possible gain: sets up Extremist Issue vs. Republicans
 - 1. Past experiences with extremist/violence issue --
 - a. 1952 communism issue against Democrats
 - b. 1964 extremism issue against Goldwater
 - c. 1968 riots issue against Humphrey
 - 2. Common elements:
 - a. A common national enemy from one side of ideological divide
 - 1. 1952 from left
 - 2. 1964 from right
 - 3. 1968 from left
 - 4. 1996 from right
 - b. Groups heavily feared by the nation
 - 1. Communist party in '50s
 - 2. Birch Society -- Minutemen in 1964
 - 3. Ghetto rioters/student demonstrators in '68
 - 4. Bombers/paramilitary/skinheads in 1996

c. Flirtation with extremists by mainstream party

- 1. Civil libertarian stance by liberals in 1950s**
- 2. "Extremism is no vice" statement by Goldwater**
- 3. Kerner Commission/antiwar by '68 liberals**
- 4. Pro-gun stance by Republicans in 1996 -- and protection of extremist groups against Federal intrusion**

D. How to use extremism as issue against Republicans

1. Direct accusations will not work

- a. Attacks on Republicans as extremists will provoke media backlash against President exploiting issue**
- b. Republican leaders don't act like extremists, and it will be impossible to make them look extremist**

2. Ricochet theory -- the approach that will work

a. Stimulate national concern over extremism and terror

1. Metaphor: McCarthyism, '64 Birch Society concern, '68 ghetto riots/student protests

2. When issue is at top of national agenda, suspicion naturally gravitates to Republicans

a. Just like it did in '64

b. Just like it attached to Dems in '52 and '68

b. Implement intrusive policy against extremist groups

- 1. Necessary to prevent terrorism/extremism**
- 2. Reject "tombstone" approach which only acts after terrorism has happened. Instead, call for preventative surveillance and public disclosure of terrorist group activities to save lives before criminal actions are committed**
- 3. Will provoke outrage by extremist groups who will write their local Republican congressman**
- 4. This will provoke criticism by right-wing Republicans which will link right-wing of the party to extremist groups**
- 5. In Republican Presidential primary, this will create competition among candidates for this voter bloc**
- 6. Net effect: Self-inflicted linkage between party and extremists**
 - a. Metaphor: Liberal defense of Hollywood in '52**
 - b. Goldwater quote "extremism is no vice" in '64**
 - c. Humphrey defense of students and blacks in '68**

3. How to implement ricochet theory

A. Create "President's List" of extremist/terrorist organizations

- 1. To warn public against well-intentioned donations which might foster terrorism**
- 2. To warn Americans against cooperation with such groups**
- 3. To warn communities of groups like these in their neighborhoods**

B. Require public disclosure of membership lists and donor lists by such organizations

- 1. To aid in investigative process**
- 2. To let public know what is happening and get it out in the open**

C. Do not prohibit such groups, as this will trigger backlash

4. Use cultural differences with radical right to separate it from the norms of American culture

A. Historical metaphors

- 1. McCarthy hit liberal/communist/Hollywood elitism against religious bias of anti-communism**
- 2. Johnson stressed dangers of extremism against hotheads and paranoids of the right**
- 3. Nixon stressed patriotism and mainstream values against culture of demonstrators**

B. Clinton needs to stress lawfulness and decency against vigilantism and brutality of terrorists

- 1. Stress weird lifestyles, paranoia, and aberrant behavior of these groups**
- 2. Develop cultural norm issues against these groups, such as hatred and commitment to violence**

2. THEMES VIS-À-VIS CONGRESS

- A. Experience during Feb-March was very bad**
 - 1. White House Staff thought compassion attacks, like on school lunches, would work**
 - a. Ratings dropped as liberal identification increased**
 - b. Fusion with orthodox Democratic ideology**
 - 2. Broad gauge commentary on New Covenant, without reference to Congressional agenda provoked sense of ineffectuality and weakness**
- B. Differences between my suggestions for May-June and conduct during Feb-March**
 - 1. Core message**
 - a. I suggest social and fiscal conservatism**
 - b. As opposed to anti-Republican**
 - 2. Sense of accomplishment**
 - a. I suggest key focus on making it all work together**
 - b. As opposed to attacking Republican initiatives**

3. Relevance of commentary

- a. I suggest commentary specifically tied to legislative action**
- b. As opposed to Presidential speeches expressing philosophy and broad, elevated views on the one hand, and, on the other hand, orthodox comments parroting Democratic views**

4. Leadership in debate

- a. I suggest we call on Congress to move in a certain direction**
- b. As opposed to criticizing what they have done already**

5. Reaction to Republican proposals

- a. I suggest acceptance of fiscal core and attack on non-fiscal periphery**
 - 1. In general, cooperate on budget cutting**
 - 2. In general, fight on environment, regulatory safety, loser pays, etc.**
- b. As opposed to making fight on fiscal/compassion issues**

6. Claiming credit

a. Claim credit for compromises and for forcing moderation on Dems and Republicans

1. Surface with recognizable position early enough to stake out claim so you get credit when your position is adopted

b. As opposed to letting Daschle get credit for forcing compromise or letting moderate Republicans get credit for modifying House demands

c. Increase public identification of President with moderate bloc of Dems in Senate under Lieberman and Breaux so their moves are seen as part of the President's moves

1. Engender overt attitude of close cooperation between White House and moderate bloc

2. Heighten self-identification of moderate bloc as balance of power in Senate

7. Push our own package of legislation

a. I suggest we push

1. College tuition deduction

2. Anti-terrorist

3. Deportations

4. Lobby reform

5. Health care

6. Minimum wage

b. As opposed to either responding to contract or waxing elegant about philosophy

8. Presidential vs. Congressional emphasis

- a. I suggest emphasis on Presidential signings vs. vetoes
- b. As opposed to attacks on Republican bills without reference to veto power

9. Speaking style

- a. I suggest extemporaneous with outline
- b. As opposed to texted

10. Paid media

- a. I suggest paid media for three one month flights in the background
- b. As opposed to exclusive use of free media

3. PAID MEDIA

- A. Urge freedom from limits
- B. Decide on media creator now.
- C. Fund raising for \$2.5 million in June

4/27/95

4. SPEECHES COMING UP -- NEED FOR HIGH PROFILE TO SUSTAIN PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVES IN FACE OF RETURN OF CONGRESS

A. Saturday Radio (to be taped on Friday afternoon)

- 1. Criticize Supreme Court decision overturning ban on guns within 1,000 feet of schools**
- 2. Propose, instead, new legislation requiring a gun ban as precondition of receiving federal school funding**
 - a. Justification for linkage: We cannot encourage good education if firearms may be present. Therefore, we can withhold school aid unless state provides a gun-free school**
 - b. Precedent: Federal Highway funds denied unless states pass 55 mph speed limit**
- 3. Release text and proposals on Friday to get Saturday press. (Do not want to step on coverage of Williamsburg speech proposed below which will be on Saturday)**

B. Williamsburg for Dem Congressional Retreat (Saturday)

1. Counterscheduling -- lecture Democrats on need for change in party orthodoxy. This is the best way to show we are New Democrats and to demonstrate strength by showing we don't pander. Commend Democratic movement to center, but be hard on them for not doing enough
 - a. Attack Dem orthodoxy in opposing balance budget glide path
 - b. Attack Dem orthodoxy in opposing tax cuts
 - c. Attack Dem orthodoxy in opposing regulatory reform
 - d. Attack Dem orthodoxy on civil liberties priority, as opposed to fighting terrorists
 - e. Attack Dem orthodoxy on search and seizure warrant changes
 - f. Attack Dem orthodoxy on welfare reforms and toughness
2. Give speech to press, if press isn't present when speech is given. Spin it a little like Khrushchev's 1956 de-Stalinization speech before party Congress

C. Correspondent's Dinner (Saturday night)

- 1. Mute humor to take account of Oklahoma and good taste**
- 2. Begin speech by praising media for coverage of Oklahoma (Baer's idea) and stress need to make tragedy real to counter death and violence fantasies, without consequence, in movies and TV. Be more aggressive in attacking Hollywood romanticization of killing.**

D. American Jewish Congress (Sunday)

- 1. Make it about Middle East, not Russia (duh)**
- 2. Attack right wing hate groups and point out danger of Israeli-like fear in America, i.e. deplore that Israelis have to worry when they board a bus and say it must stop being that way, but that we must also make sure that this kind of climate does not spread to America**

E. Emily's List (Monday)

- 1. Pattern of violence spreading throughout America**
 - a. Domestic violence**
 - b. Child abuse**
 - c. Teenage gangs**
 - d. Operation Rescue**
 - e. Oklahoma**
 - f. Hate and bias crimes**
- 2. Violence is interlocking and catalytic**
 - a. Cannot pursue a selective war against violence -- have to oppose it in all of its forms**
 - b. Attack "liberal" toleration of violence**
 - 1. Criticize knee-jerk reaction against criticism of Hollywood and TV as a free speech issue (even though no government coercion is being suggested)**
 - 2. Criticize liberal opposition to anti-crime measures, like more cops, longer sentences, and greater freedom of action for police**
 - a. By "counterscheduling" like this, you show strength and refute those who charge you with "saying what they want to hear"**

- c. **Attack conservative toleration of violence**
 - 1. **Anti-abortion**
 - 2. **Wanton possession of firearms**
- 3. **Demeaning value of human life -- treating people as things, not as humans (this echoes religious right rhetoric usually used to justify opposition to abortion and pornography, but here, we turn it around to serve our agenda)**
 - a. **To gangs...people are customers or rivals**
 - b. **To wife beaters...people are subjects to dominate and depress**
 - c. **To child abusers, people are sex objects to gratify prurient sex drives**
 - d. **To Operation Rescue....people are targets in ideological war**
 - e. **To street criminals, people are prey**
- 4. **Need to assert belief in humanity of each individual**
 - a. **Show how violence has consequences**
 - 1. **Death is the beginning of misery, not the end of the story...after you pull the trigger come the orphans**
 - 2. **Need to show that violence threatens all, not just immediate victims**
 - b. **Stress human worth and value of each life**

F. Aging Conference (Wednesday)

- 1. Counterscheduling lecture on need to control Medicare and Medicaid costs**
 - a. Again, show strength by counterscheduling**
- 2. Attack on Republican remedies, which include higher premiums, deductibles, and penalties unless elderly join managed care**
- 3. Embrace incentives for managed care on Medicare like lower premiums and more services if join managed care reflecting cost differences**
- 4. Encourage alternatives to nursing home care like home care**
- 5. Different treatment for Medicare and Medicaid**
 - a. Stress Medicaid as part of welfare reform**
 - 1. Medicaid recipients are welfare recipients**
 - 2. We have every right to require managed care as many states, i.e. Massachusetts, now do**
 - b. Stress Medicare is earned right with individual empowerment to make choices**
 - 1. Reject coercion and penalties to embrace incentives**

G. Michigan State: Affirmative Action Reform (Friday, 5/5)

- 1. Need to move toward color blindness and gender neutrality and immediate need to include poor white men in all affirmative action programs**
- 2. Need to do set-asides based on community location, not race or gender**
- 3. Temporary need for race and gender basing where discrimination is statistically proven. (But, even here, poor white men must be included)**
- 4. Permanent need for race and gender basing in certain sensitive fields**

H. Radio Address -- Deportation Program (Saturday, 5/6)

- 1. Hype address and push coverage**
- 2. Stress threat of terrorism through illegal underclass**
- 3. Remedies:**
 - a. Monthly body count**
 - b. Driver's license program**
 - c. Deport any illegal alien who comes in contact with court system -- even if innocent of charges that brought him to court**
 - 1. If guilty, then instant deportation on the way out of jail after serving sentence**
- 4. Streamline deportation procedures**
 - a. More immigration law judges**
 - b. Separate asylum proceedings**

5. GENERAL

A. Discussion of Clinton Doctrine

1. Air Force Academy speech

B. Hillary newspaper column

- C. Rego Events
- D. Downloading Meetings
- E. Marger
- F. S. Ivan Briefing

TO: THE PRESIDENT

RE: Agenda For Meeting On May 4, 1995

1. IMMEDIATE SPEECHES

A. Michigan State

1. Go with harsh attack on militia, real confrontation

2. "Drag" you feel is good.

a. wouldn't work if just apple pie issue

b. let Republicans polarize

c. let opposition to Clinton's proposals and approach be socially acceptable enough for Republican Primary Issue

1. force Dole, Gramm, Wilson to right

2. general election fodder

d. challenge ACLU positions head on and take on liberal establishment at same time

1. shows toughness

2. shows triangulation

B. Radio Address--Deportations

1. Stress drivers license and court referral programs

2. Implement speed up in deportations administratively but don't make quantity the key point of speech

3. Begin to release deportation numbers a week after speech

1. 3,000 per month, current pace, is great PR

a. 100/day

2. as numbers grow, it will look better

3. Ask Gore's Rego people to study ways to speed deportation process

2. STRATEGY FOR VICTORY

A. Republican Party is based on five messages

1. Fiscal/Economic
2. foreign/defense
3. racial
4. crime
5. social

B. When Republicans are Reduced to Only Social Message, they lose

1. not national majority issues

- a. abortion and guns are minority issues
- b. gays are majority issue, but not high enough profile

2. Republican strategists know this and work to avoid having social issues only

a. they work hard at structuring other issues so as not to be left with only the social issue

b. examples

- a. Sundquist in Tennessee used income tax to cover abortion
- b. Ridge in Pa used crime-pardons to cover up abortion differences

C. But, when stripped of all other issues and left only with social issues, Republicans lose example: Bush 92

1. denied other issues

- a. fiscal by his tax increase**
- b. economic by recession**
- c. foreign/defense by his own success in ending cold war and by leaving Saddam in power**
- d. racial and crime by his 88 campaign and the legacy of Horton Issue and by his own inaction on this from in four years as Pres**
- e. left only with social issues**

2. social issue didn't work for him

a. Houston convention was a disaster

- 1. no bump at all**

b. Family values issue didn't gain traction

- 1. except as negative on Clinton re: Flowers**

D. Stripping the Republicans of their issue appeals:

1. Republicans start without access to crime issue

- a. crime bill of 94**
- b. 100,000 cops**
- c. signing of crime bill of 95**
- d, 1,000 FBI agents, anti-terrorism, death penalty**

2. Republicans can't access economy as long as prosperity

- a. appoint good people to Fed Res Bd.**

3. Republicans can access foreign/defense, but who cares

a. not high in public priorities

b. when an issue rises to the level of public priority, take bold, strong action

1. Iran is only one up that high now

2. don't show weakness with Russia on Iran

E. All the Republicans have left is racial, fiscal, social

1. Counter their racial appeals. We must take this issue away from them

a. counter affirmative action with our plan

1. at first, present plan as balanced between goal of color blindness on one hand and use of aff action to remedy discrimination on the other

2. After filing dates for primaries pass, move emphasis to the right and stress color blindness

3. all along stress reform of set asides which both blacks and whites like poll shows

b. counter immigration racism by deportations

2. Counter their fiscal issue by reaching deal with Republicans in Congress

**a. balanced budget glide path
(see Section 3 for How to do it)**

b. deficit reduction

c. tax cut deal

3. All they'll have left is social -- *check mate!*

3. How to Reach Fiscal Deal

A. Deficit Reduction/Balanced Budget

1. Give absolute political priority to making a deal

a. stop partisan shots

- 1. short term benefit of stinging them is minor tactical advantage compared to strategic windfall of getting these issues off the American agenda and giving Clinton credit for fiscal conservatism**

b. most cuts never hurt politically

- 1. see Weld example**
- 2. hide behind cover of Republicans wanted to go further**

c. get staff to focus on deal making, not fight picking

d. Conflict of Interest with Congressional Dems

- 1. Gephardt-Dashle want no fiscal deal, so they can say Republicans didn't deliver**
- 2. Gramm, etc want no deal so they can say Dole didn't deliver**
- 3. But Dole wants deal to show he can deliver (despite hurt in general)**
- 4. Gingrich wants deal for same reason**

e. "Congressional loyalists" on white house staff can't force us into vindicating Gephardt's

Elements of the Deal:

1. We give Republicans cover to back incentives for managed care and rich people premium hikes on medicare to save \$120-\$150 billion

a. we force them to divulge their budget, first

1. but avoid rhetoric that makes deal impossible

b. then we come back, in private, with incentive non-penalty program for HMOs

1. elderly support such an option, with no coercion or penalties

2. And offer backing for increases in premiums for upper income elderly (also has elderly backing)

2. We go along with heavy managed care coercion in Medicaid

a. make it a welfare issue

b. distinguish from medicare

c. even with elderly on medicaid, be tough

1. they are in nursing homes, so it is not an anti-elderly stance, but an anti-nursing home stance

2. stress cost controls on providers, not cutting of services

3. stress cheaper home care alternative

3. Republicans Agree not to Cut President's Prized Programs too harshly

- a. avoid putting us in position of having to veto or flip flop
- b. adopt senate approach, not house approach to programs like americorps, safe schools, schools to work, etc.
- c. still make major cuts in discretionary programs, just not in our sacred cows

4. Republicans Go Toward Closing Corporate Tax Loopholes

- a. They don't accuse us of a tax hike
 - 1. just like Viacom deal wasn't tax hike
- b. We provide each other political cover for cutting a bunch of such loopholes
- c. these loopholes give us the extra \$150 billion we need to cut medicare, but can't do it

5. Republicans lay off us on defense spending hikes

6. We agree to move back the 2002 date to 2003 or 4

- a. more years of discretionary spending to cash in

7. We jointly agree to cut inflation rate underlying colas

- a. perhaps we do it administratively with Republican backing

4. Mark Penn Presentation

5. Avoiding Weakness in Russia and Killing Iran Deal

A. Only important issue to Americans is Iran Reactor Deal

- 1. Russia doesn't yet matter**
- 2. Checkia (excuse spelling) doesn't matter**
- 3. foreign aid doesn't really matter**
- 4. Expansion of NATO doesn't matter**
- 5. Iran matters**

- 6. Because so little really matters to Americans, we can trade what doesn't matter for what does and look good doing it.**

- 7. Goal is not to gain short term advantage, but to wipe foreign issues off slate by killing Iran deal**

B. Must produce progress on Iran or make summit place for harsh attacks on Yeltsin.

- 1. adopt tone of old soviet negotiators**
- 2. explicitly back cuts in aid to punish for Iran**
 - a. except nuclear dismantling aid**
- 3. Trade off aid, NATO, Checkia, etc for Iran**
- 4. explain how oil embargo will lift price, help Russian economy**
- 5. cut whatever private deal you want on aid, including increase, just bring home end of Iran deal**
 - a. good will that would follow deal cancellation would make more aid possible**
 - b. wire it with Republicans in advance**

C. facade of success won't work if Iran Deal is not dead

- 1. Press won't let you call it a success without killing the deal**
- 2. Press likely won't buy half way steps toward killing the deal**
- 3. Feel free to offer concessions in return for killing deal in public**
 - a. take small hits on issues we don't care about to give Yeltsin something to take home instead of Iranian deal**
 - b. Money is fungible, make quitting deal worth Russian while**
 - a. in ego terms so he can take it public**
 - b. in fiscal terms so we hold harmless money loss**
 - 1. In atmosphere of good will, its doable**
 - 2. If republicans kill money, they take blame on Iran**
 - 3. political harm of seeming to "buy" out Russian-Iran deal is OK given harm of deal going through**

6. Paid Media Themes for June

A. Crime/Terrorism

- 1. 100,000 cops**
- 2. tough sentences, limit parole**
- 3. 1,000 FBI agents**

B. Not Gun Control

C. Factual Style of Ad -- Infomercial, not rhetoric, but facts

E. Timing -- must be in June

1. summer levels of TV down
2. need pre-summer shot in "nonpolitical" season

F. Money and Location

1. \$2.5 million enough to reach half of country 7 times
2. will provide media market list by:
 - a. developing scale including Clinton margin of defeat or loss per media market. (stress closest markets)
 - b. includes chances of carrying state (stress closest 92 margins)
 - c. electoral vote of state
 - d. cost per point of ad
 - e. will integrate all 4 in a recommendation

7. Progress on Ricochet Theory

- A. In general, going well
- B. Villianize Right Wing Militia
- C. Don't be seen as liberal over Habius Corpus/death penalty deal
- D. Don't hesitate to offend Republicans or ACLU by intrusive measures
 1. Listing of terrorist groups
 2. Change of Rules on Infiltration
 3. Requirement of Notification of Authorities for para-military training

4. Inventory of weapons with FBI and local authorities
5. Public disclosure of membership lists
6. Holtzman Memo suggests all these steps are legal
7. Even if they are ultimately thrown out, we will have made our point by the debate
 - a. focus on nature of groups
 - b. linkage of Republicans to them
 - c. triangulation vis a vis Republicans and ACLU

8. General

- A. Japan sanctions
- B. Tobacco Law Suit
- C. D'Amato
- D. Need of Republicans for Speed
- E. Mississippi US Attorney

9. Coming Speeches After Russia

- A. Radio address -- lets see how trip goes
- b. Crime event on Monday May 15
 1. release of more intrusive measures on terrorism
 - a. listing of groups

b. disclosure of lists

**c. registration for para-military exercises with
local authorities and FBI (like parade permit)**

d. inventory of weapons with FBI and local auth.

c. Work to school event on Tuesday

1. threat to veto cuts in program

2. stress on blue collar needs/angry white men

d. Paperwork/OSHA

1. sign bill

2. stress OSHA reforms

**3. get republican ratification that this is way to reform
regulations**

4. non partisan

AGENDA FOR MEETING ON TUESDAY, MAY 16

95 D

1. SUGGEST PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH ON BALANCING THE BUDGET

A. Need to take fiscal issue off the table

1. Key to winning election -- remove fiscal issues
2. Keep attention focused on social issues

a. Ricochet theory is working very well

1. But Republicans could move back to center if we go too left on fiscal issues
2. Don't let Republicans get mainstream again

B. Error of past week -- too orthodox Democrat

1. Created clear impression: Clinton opposes balanced budget

- a. He submitted a budget in deficit
- b. He opposed balanced budget amendment
- c. Now he's attacking Republican balanced budget plans
- d. Conclusion: if it talks like a duck, walks like a duck, and looks like a duck, its a duck -- Clinton is fiscal liberal

2. As in Feb and March we became irrelevant

- a. Shared impotence of Dems in Congress
- b. With no plan, Clinton was reduced to carping

C. Need to set out markers for presidential position -- Now

1. Can't wait until *summer or September*

a. Can't be on sidelines on major issue of the day

1. If we are not on the map, Republicans can present us with take-it-or-leave-it fait accompli, which we can't veto politically

2. Republicans can present us as marginalized players -- part of impotent Democratic Congressional opposition

b. We're on the map as liberals, anti-balanced budget

1. Unless we move off that position, we'll be stuck

2. We have no other choice

a. Back Dashle, Gephart, we stay liberal

b. Back Dominici-Kasich, we're irrelevant

c. Shut up and we breed irrelevance and confusion and weakness

d. Must have a position clearly staked out to play in the game. Price of not playing is shrinking Presidency talk

2. Give speech, not a budget

a. Not all the numbers, but the direction

b. Will be Presidential, not accountant-like

c. Will avoid much specific criticism over details

D. Outlines of plan in speech (draft of speech attached)

1. Commitment to a balanced budget

a. Clear, unambiguous statement of need for zero deficit plan to be passed this year

b. Praise for Republicans for finally leaving speechmaking behind and now joining serious work of budget balancing

2. Invitation to negotiate to Congress

a. Invitation to budget summit during summer

1. Puts us into negotiations

2. Makes White House central actor

3. Sets up forum for deal making

b. Call for each side to abandon extreme positions to achieve historic opportunity to balance budget

3. Section by Section Outline of Markers

a. Medicare

1. Cuts needed

2. Managed care the best route
3. Incentives only for managed care
 - a. No requirements
 - b. No penalties or disincentives
 - c. Only position incentives; lower premiums, more coverage, lower deductibles
4. Higher premiums and deductibles for upper income elderly
5. Re-invest half the savings in Medicare
 - a. Trust fund
 - b. Home care services
6. Must accompany Medicare cuts with health reform
 - a. Portability
 - b. No exclusion for pre-existing conditions
 - c. Voluntary purchasing pools

b. Medicaid

1. Needs major cuts through managed care
2. Can require managed care, is welfare based program
3. But must have better home care alternative (see under Medicare 5-b)
4. End "spend down" of elderly assets for Medicaid
 - a. Accord benefits on same basis as Medicare
 - b. Higher premiums and deductibles for wealthy elderly

c. Welfare

1. Agreement with broad cost cutting features of Republican program
2. Need to add back job training, day care money
3. Need to preserve some form of entitlement
 - a. Leave to states the option of entitlement v. block grants

1. Just as benefit levels are left to states and vary dramatically

4. Need to cover children of teen mothers

a. Require that they live at home with grandparents

b. Require mothers and kids be in school and then go to work

d. Tax loopholes – corporate welfare

1. Attack how Republican plan ignore these

2. Seeks cuts in tax loopholes but don't spell out in speech

(for private info-adds up to 90 bil):

(a. Puerto Rican business (20 bil)

b. Depreciate bus advertising costs, no expensing (19 bil)

c. End deferral of tax on income of American run foreign corps until repatriation of income (6 bil)

d. End 15% export income exclusion granted US firms until expatriation (8 bil)

e. Cut private purpose revenue bonds (10 bil)

f. End exemption of credit union income (3 bil)

g. Various energy cuts (21 bil)

-expensing drilling, explore

-end special tax credit for non conventional sources

-depletion cost recovery

-alcohol fuels tax credit)

e. Opposed to any cola cut

1. Breaks social security pledge

2. Politicize issue

a. Leave door open to truly technical adjustments of minor magnitude

b. Attack .6 cut in rep bill as political

f. Discretionary spending

1. Favor cut, but not of same order of magnitude as Republican cuts

2. Specific markers

a. Don't cut public school aid

b. Don't eliminate key Clinton programs

c. Specify areas where cuts are fine or where we need to go further

1. Reinventing govt initiatives

g. Attack 2002 deadline

1. "A date off a bumper sticker"

2. Attack prolonged delay, but suggest 2003 or 2004 might be more reasonable

3. Demand that we show year-by-year progress deficit reduction

4. Tax cuts

a. Attack Dominici no tax cut plan

1. Need tuition deduction

2. Need IRAs

3. Need \$500 per child for mid inc people

b. Attack Gingrich tax cut plan

1. Too much money

2. No substantive targeting

3. Improperly aimed (avoid populist rhetoric)

2. NEED FOR TELEVISION ADS

A. Need to run ads in June

1. Free media can only go so far in permanent increase in ratings

2. Need to get basic messages out to the public in the spring before political season is too far along

3. TV use drops in summer, need to move in spring

B. Subject of ads should be Crime/Television

1. 100,000 cops

2. Death penalty extension

3. 1,000 FBI people on terrorism
4. Show presidential toughness

C. Specialized media in specific markets where useful

D. Need to begin scripting/storyboarding now. Further delay is tantamount to saying "no" for June

E. Request approval for Squier to move ahead

3. IMMEDIATE SPEECHES COMING UP

A. Need better vetting/approval process

1. Current process has resulted in too many "pulled teeth"

a. Deportations package without drivers license

1. Got almost no coverage
2. Justice never really objected on legal grounds just was worried about too many cases
3. Unfunded mandates was never issue, program would be voluntary

b. Japan speech without aggressive rhetoric

1. Got no coverage at all
2. Lost huge opportunity to regain momentum after trip

c. Anti-crime/terrorism speech without 4 part program

1. Very little coverage
2. Justice's constitutional objections surfaced late Sunday night -- in effect they pocket vetoed the speech
3. Holtzman's legal justification of constitutionality was Oked by Larry Tribe, Burt Newborne (NYU) and Irwin Chemerinsky (SoCal) and handed to President 10 days earlier

d. Net effect: a trip not bracketed with hard domestic hits. break in momentum. Congratulations to the vettors, a few more like this and we can hang it up

1. Need new vetting process

a. Suggest it be centered in Bowles and that he be empowered to set deadlines for dept memos and for my responses

b. If continue bad vetting, we destroy news days and frustrate efforts to appear strong

c. Need to vet NOW the proposed speeches below

d. Request my close involvement in vetting and that of Bill Curry

B. School to Work Speech on Wednesday

1. Do not use for fight on cuts -- that will get all the press

2. Use it to announce job training voucher

C. Japan trade sanctions

1. Announcement must be made by President personally

2. Tough language is the true way to solidify and recapture "the base" trade issues, not fiscal ones

D. Budget Speech or Press Conference --

1. See attached draft

2. Suggest press conference for statement Thurs or Fri

3. Need to do it soon so we aren't locked into impotence or fiscal liberalism and so we are on the playing field when budget target votes take place

E. MADD photo op May 19

1. Call for enactment at federal level of MADD's program (or parts of it we support) as condition of highway money (precedent 55 mph speed limit)

2. I will have specifics at meeting

F. Radio Address for 5-20

1. Deportation: Motor vehicles license proposal
2. Specifics:
 - a. Voluntary, not mandate
 - b. We invite illegal alien state govts to White House meeting to present the idea
 - c. We invite each to pass a law prohibiting licenses for illegals and making licenses expire when visa does for legal stays
 - d. We set up computer system to vet names of people cops pull over to determine legal status
 - e. We move to deport those who are not legal

G. Tuesday at DSCC/DCCC dinner May 23

1. New Democrat speech originally suggested for Williamsburg
2. Define directions Dems need to move in. (draft attached)

H. Thursday, May 25 New Anti-Terrorism Proposals

1. FBI lists names of organizations
 2. Mandatory release of membership lists
 3. Disclosure of training exercises
 4. Inventory of weaponry
- (no speech now scheduled for that date, we need to set up an event)

I. Radio -- May 26 -- Anti-Lobbyist program

1. Ban on federal executive branch contacts with foreign nation lobbyists
2. Unilateral reporting requirements on all executive branch employees for any contact with any lobbyist
 - a. Date of Contact
 - b. Organization the person represents
 - c. Matter discussed

**J. Economic Conference Speech -- Fighting Insecurity in Global Economy
May 30 Wednesday**

1. Wrap up speech of how we want Americans to feel more security in the face of global economic change

K. Air Force Academy speech May 31 -- Outlaw States

1. In aftermath of cold war, true enemies of peace are outlaw states

a. List: Iraq, Iran North Korea, Cuba Libya, Serbia, Burma

b. Quarantine as Roosevelt suggest in 38

2. Central Priority: No nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons or materials into outlaw states

3. International Conference on Outlaw states

4. Stop flow of terrorist materials from outlaw states to rest of world

5. Stop inflow of seemingly peaceful materials into these states which, in their hands, could lead to mass destruction weapons

6. No global intercourse with these nations: embargo

7. Force outlaw states, by economic isolation, to adopt inspection programs

8. Punish foreign companies which trade with outlaw states by deny access to American markets

9. Punish major powers who ship nuclear materials or reactors to outlaw nations, by exclusion from all international economic organizations (like GATT)

4. GENERAL

A. Tobacco

5/16/95

1. Check with Reno on joining Medicaid suits seeking tobacco company reimbursement for Medicaid costs

2. Check with Kessler on other anti-tobacco measures

a. Ban on vending machines where children can access

5/16/95 cont.

b. Ban on cigarette advertising aimed at children

c. Assumption of authority would relate to finding that nicotine is addictive drug

B. WACO and Idaho Hearings

1. Strongly condemn them
2. Defend your local cop theme to our presentation
3. Attack hearings as giving aid and comfort to terrorists

C. Affirmative Action

1. Prepare speech
2. Base speech on conceptual changes, not just slicing a few programs
3. To repeat:
 - a. Move all affirmative action programs to race and gender neutral
 - b. Continue race and gender based aff act where there is statistical evidence of discrimination until discrimination is remedied, then go race and gender neutral
 - c. No unqualified person is ever hired
 - d. All white males below poverty line are automatically included in all affirmative action programs, even those to remedy discrimination
 - e. Set asides are converted to geographic basis, not race or class basis
 - f. Certain job categories retain race and gender base due to their nature (i.e. police, teachers)

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON JUNE 21, 1995

I. BUDGET SPEECH WORKED VERY, VERY WELL. NOW, MOVE ON.

A. Immediate aftermath poll data reflects 58% approval, 3% gain favorability --nearing glass ceiling

1. Highest in Presidency, except for one or two peaks which were short lived
2. Sustained approval in mid fifties for eleven weeks
 - a. reaching for a new plateau -- likely there

B. More Important --- definitely, probably, possibly vote for Clinton up to 42-44

1. Two months ago was 34-54
2. Two weeks ago was 34-48
3. We are now within reach of being able to win

C. Gain may have continued and accelerated

1. Last night poll data -- 1500 interviews (not at your expense) in Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia shows 53% approval AND 42% def/prob/poss vote for Clinton

- a. If those numbers in these five states are national numbers, based on differentiation in past surveys will likely put re-elect numbers up in mid or high 40s!

D. Move on

1. Not much public criticism of speech

Assumpt. Metaphor: its like Israeli-Syrian talks, public knows both sides are moving closer, but don't follow each minute move.

3. Republican attacks have been muted

- a. CBO-OMB hit was on back pages over weekend
- b. no attack on ten years--they may need it

4. Demo attacks have been loud, but not well covered -- drowned out with positive press and editorials

*lib. pos.
neg.*

E. Negotiate with Republicans

1. Most important thing is to get balanced budget passed
2. If possible, do separate deal on NDD items

II. Run TV Ads Now

A. People's minds are open to new centrist info about you in aftermath of speech

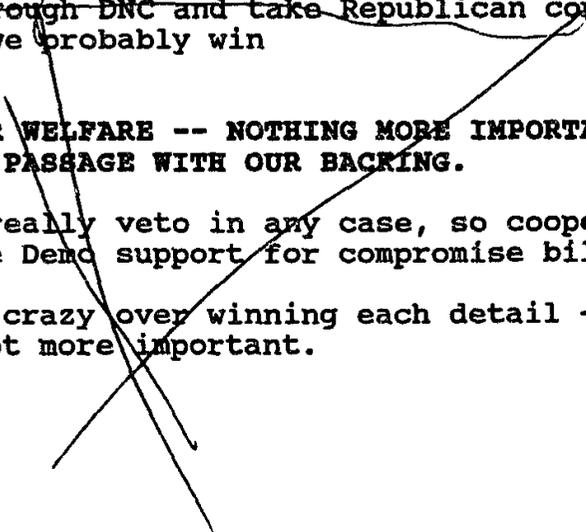
B. Only 43% of voters know about assault rifles (and only 33% about death penalty). Fill that void

1. Facts will stay in public's mind. Just as NAFTA, gays in military, pro choice, Haiti and health care will stay there
2. Arkansas experience with early media -- great recall
3. Take crime away from Republicans as issue
4. During Whitewater hearings, use paid media to keep up vote share and approval
5. We now may have the numbers we need to enter election with. We are certainly very close. Now, keep approval in high 50s and vote in mid forties and let it sink in and become baseline
- ~~6. Do it through DNC and take Republican complaint which we probably win~~

June 21,
1995
p2

26-
early
draft

III. NEGOTIATIONS OVER WELFARE -- NOTHING MORE IMPORTANT THAN BI-PARTISAN PASSAGE WITH OUR BACKING.

- we can't really veto in any case, so cooperate and provide Demc support for compromise bill
 - don't go crazy over winning each detail -- passage is a lot more important.
- 
- 

IV. FIVE MAJOR SPEECHES TO CONTINUE CENTRIST DEFINITION --
OUTLAW NATIONS, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, FOREIGN LOBBYISTS
WELFARE REFORM AND NEW COVENANT DEFINITION

A. Outlaw Nations

1. No clear understanding of our foreign policy
 - a. leading contributor to notion of weakness and lack of direction
2. Run by foreign policy people through day to day management and they resist populist definition
 - a. historical push-pull between diplomats and politicians over foreign policy--clear distinctions v. negotiated and fudged boundaries
3. Need to have a common enemy and negative theme
 - a. Only with negative theme (danger) and enemy does foreign policy assume clarity
 - b. Positive, Wilsonian statements don't do much
 1. public doesn't buy it or really even listen
 2. reads too much like communique
4. Theme: Outlaw Nations and Factions are New Enemy
 - a. Successors to fascism and communism
5. At UN anniversary define nature of problem
 - a. Distinguish between nations and factions that want back into world community (IRA, N. Korea) and those who don't (Iran, Palestinians)
 - b. Don't list nations
 1. as in human rights where we only list in annual report
 - c. Define need to "quarantine" outlaw states
 1. harks back to FDR Chicago speech in '37
 2. global effort

*See Covenant
→
→
→*

B. Affirmative Action

1. Focus on set asides, leave other parts for later
 - a. political cover from court ruling
2. Define new civil rights in July 4 speech
 - a. at Lincoln Memorial
 - b. at Central High School
3. Stress move to geography, not race or gender
 - only way to pass strict scrutiny court laid out is to factor in geography
 - a. empowerment areas
 - b. end tokenism
 - c. keep wealth in communities
 - d. eliminate remote owners
 - e. all wealth in community, whether into black or white hands helps all community
4. Move on to notion of community in civil rights
5. Stress need to focus on poverty and need to help poor white men as well
6. Poll data: blacks back change to community with race neutral and gender neutral by 84-10. Whites back it by 63-33. Women back it by 68-27. Men back it by 60-37
 - a. Higher margins among blacks and women

C. Foreign Lobbyists

1. Crucial issue for painting Dole as Washington and us as America
2. Crucial antidote to NAFTA and bailout of Mexico
3. Solidifies base over protectionism (Japan) and isolationism (foreign lobbyists)
4. COVERS ONLY FOREIGN GOVTS NOT FOREIGN COMPANIES

5. Bi-lateral commission with Newt does not preclude executive branch house cleaning such as this by exec order

6. Need to vet to be sure that things that are genuinely helpful, like technical assistance on bailout for Mexico, for example are not precluded

7. Reason for problems is relationships of current and past aides to past and hoped for future lobbying ties. Need to overcome this battle

a. Dole can't free himself to back this measure, we can. Its tough for us, but impossible for him. Have the discipline to do it.

D. Welfare Reform

1. Need to attack teen pregnancy

2. New ideas for it

a. vouchers to teen mothers so kids get help but they don't get money or cash

b. stress child care as central feature

c. move toward vouchers to employers for all welfare recipients.

1). move toward privatization of welfare by payments to employers as wage supplements.

2). figuratively -- apply through employers not through welfare office

3). precedent: funnelling rent money through landlords

E. New Covenant Speech

1. In Feb. and March nobody wanted to listen. Now they will listen after budget speech

2. Base speech on April poll of themes:

a. New Covenant v. Dem. and Rep. rhetoric

b. New Convenant different from great society

c. New Covenant different from Republican cuts

d. New Covenant as expression of personal experiences of our generation

e. New Covenant as reflective of your personal life history

1). small town in small state taught need for govt generosity

2). home life with step father taught need for responsibility and discipline

V. NEXT IDEAS

6/21/85

A. Tobacco

1. Poll finds strong support for all anti-smoking in children measures in tobacco states

2. Polled Ky, Tenn, NC, Geo, and Va. 1500 interviews

-only 8% either make their living from tobacco in any way or feel that their personal financial fortunes would be hurt if tobacco sales dropped

-76% report "no effect at all" and another 15% report very little effect

3. Back reduce teen smoking by govt action by 64-8

-backs no vending machines near areas where kids have access 82-14

-backs fining storekeepers who sell to minors by 79-20

-backs new warnings for kids on packs by 79-16

-backs no package decoration to encourage teens by 70-24

-backs ban on ads that appeal to kids like Joe Camel by 69-24

6/21/95 cont.

4. Proposals

-FDA initiatives on above issues

-amicus brief in medicaid suits

-in 5 states, back amicus by 49-41

-in 5 states back amicus as alternative to
deeper medicaid cuts by 55-37

-in Mississippi, back suit by 62-31
in Florida back suit by 59-32

B. Index minimum wage for index capital gains

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON 7-26 195

1. CURRENT POLL STANDING – BIG GAINS ESPECIALLY IN MEDIA AREAS, WOULD BE BIGGER STILL WITHOUT BOSNIA

A. Job Approval stays at 55-40.

B. CL Vote Intention grows from 37 TO 40

1. media ran +6 non media -3

C. CI v Dole plus 3 from 44-41 to 43-37

1. media ran +4 non media 0

D. Mentions of CI personal positives up from 15 to 28% in verbatums

1. down to earth, honest, leader, intelligent, leader speaker

E. Mention of weakness up from 18-28% in verbatums

1. weak, flip flops, doesn't take stands, not leader, please everybody

F. Following news:

- 1. Waco 20
- OJ Trial 20
- Bosnia 40
- Whitewater 12
- Budget debate 28

G. Whitewater

- 1. Is CI covering up 57-34
- 2. are they finding no real wrongdoing 42-46
- 3. becoming bored by it all 74-19

H. WACO

1. Koresh crazy 83-11
2. Government messed up 66-20
3. NRA dominates hearings, Repubs 45-35
4. sick of ATF, NRA criticism without thinking about monster they were up against 60-29
5. may have fouled up but doing best, give benefit of the doubt 66-29

I. Budget

1. CI committed to bal bud 59-36
2. Reps more committed 53-39
3. wish they'd stop fighting and do it 93-4
4. Republicans cut too much med, ed, env 68-26
5. R just cutting what need to bal the bud 51-41
6. R cutting more than need for bal bud, but they want huge tax cut too 57-31
7. R should cut enough to bal the bud and not try to pay for huge tax cut too 57-31
8. tax cut is mainly for people richer than me 67-24
9. can't afford tax cut as big as R want 63-23

2. SWITCH RHETORICAL FOCUS FROM BUDGET TO EXECUTIVE ACTION

A. The press isn't giving it much coverage

1. no front pages
2. partisan visuals from Medicare speech
3. no TV from Monday speech at all

B. We look too partisan, too mired in budget details

1. look at damage Dole is sustaining from this

involvement

2. we risk our centerism of the budget speech and our loft from the values speeches by partisan attacks

3. apply rule: "don't use your candidate to throw negatives."

C. Use speeches to show Presidential values and action (Panetta's suggestion)

1. Values

a. New Family Values on Friday at AFT

2. Action

a. Welfare at NGA on Monday 7/31

b. Tobacco on Thursday 8/3 (see section below on policy issues)

c. check out other executive actions we can take

1. executive order on lobby reform—require all lobbyists to comply with executive branch lobbying registration in order to lobby exec branch

a. penalties like no govt contracts if they violate

b. Mike Waldman's idea

2. require disclosure of emissions by companies as re-requisite for govt contracts (assuming congress repeals requirement)

3. PROPOSED BUDGET STRATEGY

A. Good faith, Presidential effort at talks with Dominici, Hatfield, Kasich and, to some degree, Livingston

July 26
95
P3

ways to achieve a fixed magnitude of cuts in each separate bill

2. in trainwreck, we want Republican as well as Democratic programs to be hit
3. encourages negotiations before veto
4. must be communicated soon to Dems in Congress so we avert separate deal making
5. we came close to this yesterday when we called all the bills "unsignable"
6. should be Panetta statement so as not to mire Clinton in budget quagmire

D. Trainwreck Scenerio

1. Debt Limit

a. the true nuclear war

1. govt defaults, nothing is paid, etc.
2. immediate impact on national interest rates, bank stability, adjustable rate mortgages, state and local financing, corporate bonds, stock market
3. could bring on depression

b. explain impact of debt limit weapon to Wall street and have them pressure Republicans to take it out of their hands

1. make it like nuclear weapons in the cold war, there but unuseable

2. Closing Govt Down

1. Strategy: amplify pain, don't mute it
2. Use pain to demonstrate how bad Republican cuts are
3. Our position: we won't sign a bill with Republican cuts
 - a. if we get a continuing resolution at current levels or our proposed levels, we'll sign it.
 - b. If it is any less than that, we veto it. we won't sign a bill with cuts
 - c. forces republicans to inflict massive pain in order to get cuts Oked
4. Left won't hit us on it, they will back not signing
5. Republicans can't attack closedown and defend cuts at the same time
6. shutdown will be seen as immediate manifestation of all the Republican cuts public has been reading about
 - a. the republicans cut the budget and now section 8 housing people are on streets, homeless shelters are full, etc.
 - b. clear way to focus national anger at the cuts

4. Tobacco — no negotiations, just regulate

7/26/95

A. clear importance of clean break with companies so we can run against them

B. massive popular issue which will help us carry every

2/26/95 cont.

state, including tobacco states

C. Tobacco Companies are enemy, like polluters or asbestos companies. can't negotiate

D. Tobacco can't be trusted

a. Pertschuk letter - companies lied

b. left will attack negotiated settlement as unenforceable

1. like Japan, only worse

E. Need to show strength from the inception

F. can't afford 2 front war of left and right against each other

5. Welfare Reform

A. get away from waivers as lead and make new policy the lead

1. I am announcing a four part program on welfare reform: time limits, work, teen mothers at home, father ID

2. Any state that seeks waiver to do this, I will OK

3. I urge all states to do so

4. we don't need Congress, lets get to work

5. also, I favor state decision making on addl children while on welfare, so I will approve, but not recommend, this reform as well

B. Dramatic and Bold

6. My staffing advice on communications director

A. Need for partisan voice at campaign committee

1. Ann Lewis
B. Don Baer is the person I find it easiest to work with
and who is best able to be communications
director

a. It is your and Leon's decision, not mine, but this
is my suggestion

C. suggest immediate action, we need this filled.

7. Penn Presentation

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON AUGUST 3

195

1. BUDGET STRATEGY – MEDICARE CUTS DERAILED REPUBLICANS

A. Polling on Medicare briefing by Doug

1. solid opposition to Republican Medicare cuts
 - a. 25-68 on virtually all the tests after almost any argumentation
 - b. bankruptcy argument only gets 43% to be more likely to back cuts while 50% still oppose them and has no impact at all on head to head
 - c. all other arguments work less well for them than bankruptcy
 - d. opposition by all voters is only slightly less than among elderly – about 68 for all vs 72 for all voters – not a special interest issue
2. Move away from bipartisan strategy and substitute lift.
 - a. Republicans are about to acquire bad odor, not good idea to be seen in public
 - b. Instead of centerism, we need lift
 1. run an anti-medicare campaign with paid media and surrogates
 2. keep President doing Presidential events like: affirmative action, tobacco, prayer, etc. were this month.
 - c. we no longer will need negotiations – we will

Impose our budget on cha

d. drop all mention of tax cuts fr

a. implies we are agains

b. forces us into class w

c. unnecessary.

1. simple formulation:

"Clinton shows us you can balance the budget and not cut medicare benefits"

2. tax cut argument doesn't gain us a point (66 before, 66 after)

B. Strategy – fold out

1. Step one: Ads

a. run ads in moderate Republican states to pry loose swing Senators – \$700,000

1. Iowa, Des Moines Grassley
2. Kansas, Wichita, Kassebaum
3. Maine, Portland, Snow, Cohen
4. Missouri, Spring, Col, St. Joe, Bond, Ashcroft
5. NY, upstate small, D'Amato
6. NM, Alb., Domenici
7. Oregon, Port., Packwood, Hatfield
8. R.I., Providence, Chafee
9. S.D., Sioux Falls, Pressler
10. Tenn, Nashville, Thompson, Frist
11. Vt. Burlington, Jeffords,

Aug 3
195
P2

2. Step One: Free Media

a. in N.H., have Ann Lewis start a pledge movement

b. publicize CBO scoring of mar

1. hold their feet to fire so
vouchers higher th

3. Step Two: Paid Media

a. continue marginal republican senate

b. begin swing state ads

c. aim media at targeted seniors

cost of all three: \$3.5 mil for 1,000 pts
likely cost will equal \$5 million for 1500 pts

d. ads which respond to republican answers and
developments in political situation

e. goal: to raise the heat to such levels that
Republicans

1. abandon their plan

2. try to postpone everything until Nov.

3. eventually feel the heat so much that they
demand a quick resolution, a reconciliation
on the President's terms, to lower their
political heat

f. Splitting the Republicans

1. as pressure mounts on moderate
senators and GOP generally
they will split and blame each other

2. Gramm may open a populist front against
Dole

3. Wilson, Alexander will hit Dole on medicare

P3
Aug 3
'95

4. eventually, Republicans will break into small groups, a la how we were on health care in August, 94

P 4
Aug 3
1995

4 Step Two: Political and Free Media

1. Push pledge on senators and introduce resolution embodying pledge

a. force a vote

b. counter their amendments to resolution to make them flesh out medicare cuts three weeks early

2. Refuse negotiations

a. don't let them use us a shield on cuts

b. force them to split apart, not encourage unity by negotiations

c. grounds for refusal

a. we won't negotiate elderly benefits or education and children

b. we'll only negotiate with Republicans who agree to no budget cuts in elderly benefits, no increases in premiums, deductibles and co-payments, and no cuts in "education and children

a. finesse how we define children

b. we are not conceding anything not on this list

c. pledge and resolution
and our negotiation
position doesn't rule
out:

-elimination of drops
in premiums
-cola increases in
premiums

5. Republican Escape Routes

a. Bankruptcy

1. argument doesn't cut, give free media
answer, but don't pay too much
attention

b. Benefits will Rise

1. same as above

c. Vouchers will replace cuts

1. get press to force CBO to maintain
low scoring

a. or undermine credibility of
high scoring

2. by attacking vouchers as unfair, force
Rs to make exceptions and skew
the vouchers

a. that makes CBO score in lower

b. it smokes them out to name their
real cuts

6. Delay – the ultimate option

a. use pressure of paid media to get

**Republicans to want a closure
sooner rather than later**

**b. avoid and resist any bi partisan
involvement**

7. Coping with Train Wreck

**a. as part of delay, Republicans will
likely try to make train wreck main
event to distract attention from
medicare**

**b. we need to defuse train wreck
scenario. see next section**

2. TRAIN WRECK – COMING OUT AHEAD

**A. Key to avoiding it is to make Republicans bleed over
medicare so they need a pre-Oct. 1 solution**

B. Options on Train wreck – still under consideration

1. Don't sign continuing resolution that embodies cuts

**a. we are checking to see if the consequences are
politically acceptable or useful**

2. Sign resolution with Republican cut levels

**a. we could maximize pain to demonstrate how bad
their cuts are**

**b. we could minimize pain to relieve any pressure and
let the medicare issue continue to give them
fits**

3. Proposed strategy for next meeting

C Ultimate budget outcome and goals

1. no ed cuts, our medicare program
2. 8 years in return for some of their tax cuts and all of ours'
3. likely, a minimum wage deal in the bargain
4. In return for not humiliating them, get them to ratify us as budget balancers

8/3/95

3. TOBACCO -- NO RUNNING ROOM ON RIGHT. JUST WORRY ABOUT LEFT

A. Poll briefing by Doug

B. They know all ads are aimed at kids

1. they understand Marlboro man, etc. are aimed at kids
2. they know the main goal of ads is to get kids to smoke

C. They would favor anything you propose

1. Favor bans on billboards (69-30) and on magazine ads (66-32)
2. Favor text only ads (70-28)

D. Only danger: attack on left which leaves us unable to make the issue

1. FTC too weak
2. banning child oriented ads too confusing
3. laughable in inconsistency

8/3/95 cont

4. go with text only

a. there is no such thing as an adult oriented cigarette ad in the public's view

E. Don't delay -- will create impression of indecision

F. Don't negotiate

G. If you get a bill which Kessler urges you to sign, then sign it otherwise, don't. You cannot leave running room to the left of you on this issue

1. it would stop us from using it as an issue

2. would only exist as a negative

4. SPEECH ISSUES

A. Radio address on Saturday

1. fold in critique of Dole welfare bill into speech

a. child care

b. work requirement -- performance bonus

c. maintenance of effort

d. approve of adding contract with recipients to his bill

B. Tuesday -- Exec order on environment requiring companies to comply with current regs the house is repealing if they want exec branch contracts

C. Wednesday -- Problems Children Face:

1. Drugs, Alcohol, Violence-Guns, Pregnancy, Smoking

2. All indicators are up among kids

3. generation at risk

4. presage teen smoking and review state of current efforts

5. not savage on cuts, but allude to them

D. Thursday – Tobacco at Press Conference

E. Saturday – Pension cuts in veterans benefits endanger readiness and military posture

F. Monday – Drug test inmates, parolees, probationers in federal and or state prisons

G. Rogue or Outlaw Nations and Factlons for VJ speech

5. OTHER ISSUES

A. Don't Send McLarty to speak at Perot Meeting

B. Don't think Hillary should go to China

C. Joint ad with Gingrich on Deficit Cutting for Business Roundtable anti-deficit ads

6. Penn's Briefing

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT 8-10-95

1. POLL BRIEFING BY MARK PENN-- VALUES IS THE KEY ISSUE

2. CHANGE IN TV ADS-- STRESS VALUES

A. Move from economic base to value base

B. Review of script

3. WELFARE REFORM-- A REPUBLICAN ISSUE

1. They want welfare reform -- mainly work

a reform welfare very impnt 74, somewhat 20 not 2

b. work very important -- 69% (overall 91-8)

c. time limits very import --45% (77-20)

d. block grants very import -- 33% (61-30)

2. Republicans get the credit

a. more committed to reform CI 26 Reps 44

b who agree on welfare CI 35 reps 43

3. Only veto issue is job training and that is inaccessible

a. if no worker training, veto-60 sign-36

1. but favor block grants by 61-33

**2. If block grants cause job training to
lose money, oppose it by 33-58**

**3. But chances of winning that arguement
in traffic without ads is nil**

**4. and, if veto would mean no work or
time llmti reforms, favor signing by 54-35**

b. if no child care sign 45 veto 52

c. if no work incentives to states s-45 v-48

- d. if no recession hedge s-50 v-46
- e. if time limit cutoff if mom looks for job, but can't find one s-53 v-44
- f. if lump sum s-61 v-33
- g. if maintenance of state effort not required, s-63 v-31
- h. overall, with these items s-63 v-28
- i. and half of veto support for each category leaves if told welfare reform won't pass

4. Political consequences of veto:

- a. losing welfare reform
- b. racism over aff action can't be controlled

5. Strategy on Welfare

- a. Brag about cuts in AFDC levels
- b. try to increase identification with reform
 - 1. attack Dole of not passing bill
- c. try to get Dems to hold line in Senate on key veto issues, so you don't have to
- d. never, never veto it. - Rs don't need this bill. They'd gladly accept defeat for blame on you

4. Executive Orders for September

1. Drugs

- re-org war on drugs
- drug testing in prisons and of parolees

2. Cancer

-FDA has approved only 2 cancer drugs, both minor since you took office. 55% of new cancer drugs are introduced in Europe

-appl / AIDS-like faster track for approvals

3. Minimum Wage

-require contractors to pay new minimum wage we are urging

4. Terrorism

-Okla City trip to attack non-passage

-annunce new FBI guidelines

-transfer 1,000 fedl employees from other duties to anti-terrorism unit by order

5. Truck Safety

-stories on TV of drivers falling asleep

6. FAA

-airport safety, pilot training, commuter airlines, etc.

5. Reductions IN Service Announcements

- 1. notify all school boards of looming cuts in first week of school -- generate local press all over**
- 2. apply to cther agencies**
- c. call Republican's bluff, sign continuing resolution with t heir cuts and then run media about the harms**
- d. and begin the process in September through these notices**

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON SEPT 7

I. IMPACT OF ADS -- EXCELLENT, BUT MORE IS NEEDED TO HAMMER POINT HOME

A. 38% recalled seeing the ads

1. good show for 1000 points

B. Of those who saw ads:

- 1. swings of +15 in our ratings and -14 in there's on helping to protect Medicare**
- 2. swings of +10 in our ratings and -8 in there's on helping elderly parents**
- 3. swings of +11 in our ratings and -3 in there's on wants to balance the budget**

II. AD RECOMMENDATIONS -- KEEP UP PRESSURE

A. Stress President's commitment to balanced budget

- 1. the more the public believes we are for balanced budget, the more ability we have to insist on our terms**
- 2. the opposite of the welfare debate (where lack of public belief that we are for reform, makes it harder to insist on our version of reform)**

B. Shift focus to Education, the key appropriations battlefield

C. Run Medicare spots in swing state markets along with education ads to bring public up to speed

III. HOW TO PAY FOR ADS WITHOUT BUSTING FEDERAL CAPS

A. I propose about \$50 million of pre-convention ads:

- 1. \$10 billion to win the budget fight**

*Sept 7,
1995*

9/2/95
P2

- a. now-Nov 15
- b. all DNC payable
- 2. \$10 million to take credit for bal bud and welfare
 - a. Nov 15-Jan 31
 - b. all campaign paid
- 3. \$15 million to Intervene in Republican Primaries
 - a. Feb 1- Apr 15
 - b. half to protect us against Republican hits in swing states (all campaign)
 - c. half to hit Republicans candidates so as to manipulate the outcome (all DNC)
- 4. \$15 million to hit Republican nominee
 - a. Apr 15-August 1
 - b. all DNC
- 5. Total DNC: \$33 mil Total Campaign: \$17 mil

B. Key Questions

- 1. Can campaign hold down other spending to allow it to spend additional \$17 mil (\$20 mil total) on ads?
 - a. with no primary fight, why not?
 - b. travel more on official business.
- 2. Can we raise an additional \$33 mil for DNC
 - a. in addition to about \$20 mil we have to raise for them already to meet their budget
 - b. total to raise for DNC=\$50 mil
 - c. less about \$5 - \$10 mil through better direct mail targeting using Penn's data

- d. equals net of about \$40- \$45 mil to raise
- e. almost all soft money (enough mail to cover hard proportion)

9/2/95
PJ

- f. If we could raise \$20-\$24 million in six months at \$1000 caps, why can't we raise \$45 mil in 12 months with no cap??

3. Can we stop DNC from spending the money on things other than our ads

IV WELFARE REFORM

A. Need to get credit for passage

1. Republicans have 20 point lead over us on welfare
2. Doie will have enough votes to pass the bill
3. Concessions are likely on maintenance of effort, work requirements, and diaper vouchers
4. Therefore, don't focus in need to change bill, focus on need to pass the bill
5. Use aggressive advocacy and unabashed cheering when it passes to show support
6. Consider trip to capitol hill on day of passage to congratulate Senators

V. Executive Actions Needed in September

A. TV Ratings and Child TV

1. negotiate for joint appearance with Eisner to announce ABC voluntarily adopting certain hours of educational children's programming and a ratings system as in movies.
2. challenge other networks to do so as well

3. Eisner gets credit for Disney cleans up TV

4. we seize the issue by bold action

5. Get it ready for third week of September

6. If Eisner effort fails:

a. link ratings and child TV to approval of mergers by Justice

b. link ratings and child TV to auction of digital

B. Computers in School

1. Get computer company executives to join in announcement of voluntary action to put all classrooms on line by end of century

2. Designate point person to make calls and allocate Presidential time for followup calls

3. Get it ready for September California trip

G. Terrorism

1. Go to Okla City on Sept 20

2. Demand passage of bill

3. announce assignment of 1000 agents to anti terrorism effort

4. release new FBI guidelines

5. announce targeting of militias who break law for RICO prosecutions

D. Drug War Reorganization

1. ;Meet with agency heads and get it done.

2. Try to have it ready for next week for first anniversary of drug free schools act
3. Needs strong Presidential leadership of bureaucracy to make it happen

VI. Other Issues

A. Tobacco

1. fund raiser for ads
2. involvement of Greer and Tony Schwartz
3. Ford Bill
 - a. compromise on allowing color but not figures is possible
 - b. sporting events compromise is possible
 - c. anything else should trigger veto

C. Outlaw Nations Speech to UN Security Council in Oct

1. After bold action on Bosnia, we can issue such a statement
2. Challenge other nations to join our lead

D. Teen Pregnancy

1. Need to get off the dime and set up partnership with business
2. Proceed then with Foster appointment and make a big deal about our best values issue

E. Need to Poll to Determine if we have an Affirmative Action Ballot Proposition which can out draw there's

for Cal ballot

F Suggest Cisneros' urban agenda ideas, paid for by
targeting of capital gains tax cut

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AGENDA FOR THE PRESIDENT FOR SEPT 25, 1995

1. REPORT ON RECENT POLLING DATA

A. Finally, a gain to 57% approval

B. Head to Head with Dole: 45-38

- 1. it is too early to "force" the leaners by pressing them, but, if you did, you'd be only 2-3 pts below 50**

C. Three way with Powell is beginning to draw more from Republicans than from us

- 1. last week: 28-28-28**
- 2. now its CI 30 P 29 D 24**

D. We are winning the rhetoric on medicare

- 1. we are "more likely to protect medicare and insure that it exists for future generations" 52-31**

E. Support for bombing Bosnia went up ten from 59-33 to 69-20

F. Probably, possible, or definitely vote Clinton up since early August from 35 to 38 to 41

G Probably, possibly, or definitely vote against down since early August from 37 to 35 to 32

- 1. net swing from -2 to +9**

H. All the elements are present for a big forward move in the next few weeks if::

- 1. We get a balanced budget, tax cut, and welfare reform**
- 2. In reality, they do not cut education, environment, or raise medicare premiums**

3. In perception, if the public perceives that it got done and that you were a key element

a. we don't need a "win" vs the Republicans, we need an accomplishment that is not a "loss"

REPORT FROM DENIM ON HOW WE ARE INFUSING VALUES INTO

B. Punch the message through over paid media

Sept 25 195

AJ

1. Our history – doing good things and getting no credit
 - a. sometimes we don't ever get credit
 1. jobs, economy
 2. deficit
 - b. sometimes a win gets presented with too much ambiguity to generate credit
 1. trade sanctions
2. We need paid media to set up the battle in the public's mind -- education, medicare, balanced budget
 - a. while fight is in play and free media ratification is there
 - b. with the repetition and simplicity only paid media can
 - c. sets up criteria for a win: education, environment, medicare -- not tax cut size or capital gains or ten years or other NDD cuts
3. Then we need paid media to narrate the play-by-play of the fight
 - a. win game of chicken on budget
 - b. assign responsibility for any crisis
 - c. show tough President standing firm
4. Finally, show achievement and declare victory over paid media
 - a. even in ambiguous press, move credit for achievement and lay basis for future
5. In any event, don't let Republicans get their message

9/25/95
P 4

across through their ads without answer

6. Cost

a. immediately, to answer Republican ads: \$300,000

b. to get our point across to swing states: \$1,200,000 per week

1. California, Oregon, Washington, Colorado, Missouri, Tennessee, Arkansas, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, 1/3 of N.J. Florida, and Kentucky

2. also, to impact moderate Republican Senators: Rhode Island, Vermont, parts of NY, New Mexico, Iowa,

c. reaches GOP Senators and GOP congressmen

4. Free Media Message -- Lift and Loft

A. With paid media running, the day to day job of hitting the Republican package is lifted from President's shoulders

B. Lift and Loft -- Executive Actions and Values Speeches

1. Terrorism -- Sept 27 when Okla Gov and Mayor come to DC

a. pass bill

b. FBI guidelines

1. FBI ratings still strong -- not a problem

a. favorable by 68-18

b. approve of job 70-22

c. honest -69% ridden with scandal-22%

1. makes him seem like one of the old boys

B. Dole is fading fast

1. In Iowa caucuses drops from 52-12 to 40-18
2. Off of pedestal in Senate and into heap with other candidates
3. latest poll in Fla convention: Dole 30 Gramm 28

C. Gramm is coming on strong

1. Buchanan is totally out of money
2. retains right wing base vs: Powell
3. great for us

D. With Wilson out, danger: Alexander

1. Could get lift from N.H. if Dole fades fast enough
2. Plenty of conflict of interest negatives we need to have waiting
3. Good chance of Gramm v Alexander fight for nomination

E. Powell

1. I do not think he will seek Republican nomination
 - a. look at his positions
 - b. he won't win it if he seeks it
2. Helping us now by getting rid of Dole and helping Gramm's relative strength
3. Continue to be kind and non critical
4. He's not hurting us; we rise above it as President

6. WRAP UP

A. Clinton up -- big breakthrough with ads and accomplishments simultaneously

B; Dole down and right wing united in Republican primary behind Gramm (Buchanan out of money)

C. Three way race more likely

1. even if Powell doesn't run as Ind, his speculation will help get Perot into race if he doesn't run

2. If Republicans run Gramm, pressure for third candidate will be huge

3. Even if Powell runs as Ind, I think it will help us. We will win most of the black vote, eventually, and the main thrust of any 3rd candidacy is:

a. to split the anti-Clinton vote

b. to give us chances in a bunch of states we would likely not carry in a two-way (Fla, Ga, La, even Tex)

4. In sum -- tremendous improvement

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON OCTOBER 3

952

I. OJ VERDICT -- Acquittal is enormous danger and great opportunity

A. Danger:

1. new symbol for racist whites
2. new litmus test by Republicans
3. replaces welfare, affirmative action and immigration as wedge issue

B. Opportunity -- gives us the chance to channel and lead white protest

1. polling shows that white and blacks agree
 - a. that cops were racist
 - b. that cops messed up
 - c. gives us a chance to appeal to whites over the process, while avoiding attack on jury system in analyzing the verdict
 1. we can't comment on verdict, in appropriate for a President
 2. positive themes:
 - a. respect for law and order
-WACO, Idaho, FBI, cops
 - b. reform of police to promote respect
-only way to allow future convictions
-technical training in DNA, crime scenes
-sensitivity training and Civil Rights investigations to purge racism
 - c. violence against women

- d. media circus of courts
 - influence of public relations
 - war as opposed to evidence

II. BUDGET BATTLE – SCENARIO

A. Fighting the Republican Plan – Oct 1-17

1. Ads and Speeches focusing on Congress' budget and its shortcomings
2. Republicans split into "hunter-gatherer groups" lacking cohesion
3. Press perceives us as winning
4. Republican public statements move ever closer to our budget plan
5. danger: can't linger too long on this phase – Republicans could:
 - a. lose all possibility of cohesion and therefore, no balanced budget at all is possible
 - b. Republicans could unite behind a rejectionist front as the only way to salvage their unity
 - c. this is a far greater danger than not getting our way
 1. we'll "get our way", the issue will be can we get anything passed
 2. real enemy now is chaos

B. Working a Deal October 17-early November

- 1. President gives speech at end of second week of October**
 - a. positive equivilent of pile of vetoes speech**
 - b. sets up programs in budget as values**
 - c. attacks extremes**
 - d. summons nation to work together to move ahead**

- 2. Ads switch to unity theme**
 - a. stress need to rise above party, doing what's right, battle against extremism,**
 - b. show President as leader**
 - c. cover negative free media of President as deal maker, cave-in, weak, no principles**

- 3. We work out deal with a crippled Republican party**
 - a. we will be able to dictate terms**
 - b but our major concern: to give them enough to hold enough of their votes to pass the bill**
 - c. must give them back enough to make passage possible**

- 4. The press covers it as victory, at first, and then gets it that the real story is; can President and Cong leaders get enough votes to make deal stick, or is this Bush ,1989?**

C. President and Cong leaders scrape for votes – November

1. Battle lines:

- a. on our side -- President, Dole, Lott, Dominci, Gingrich, Daschle, Stenholm, Armey, Kasich?
- b. opponents: Moynihan, Kennedy, Gramm, Gephardt, the "new" Gingrich, Bonier

2. Reminicent of NAFTA fight

3. arm twisting for votes

4. racing debt limit debt and extensions

5. paid media aids in search for votes

- a. tactical strike force zeroing in on key Cong dists to get votes
- b. strategic purpose in selling President's objectives to set up achievements
- c. defensive purpose in rising above petty fight to counter free media scens of President calling members for votes

D. Taking Credit – late Nov, December

A. Convincing free media we won

B. Using paid media to hammer home achievement

III. ADS -- The Phase 2 media: Unity

- A. Themes: rising above party, attacking extremes, mirroring core American values, getting it done, leading America, doing what's right

B. Avoid: caving in, pandering, fearful, no beliefs, deal maker, old style politician, weak, indecisive, flip flops

C. Procedure

1. Mall tests over weekend
2. revisions and retest next week
3. presentation at next week's meeting

IV. Free Media Themes

A. October: peacemaker: in OJ, foreign, in budget

1. Pope's visit
2. Freedom House visit about OJ or peace in globe
3. Zedillo visit
 - a. we will have polling to stress good points
4. during Zedillo: computer event
5. trio of speeches in mid-Month -- theme: building America through balancing the budget
 - a. health reform -- how to lower costs without cutting
 - b. tuition tax deduction -- how to promote education by cutting taxes
 - c. urban agenda -- welfare part 2 -- creating the jobs

6. Foreign weekend -- UN, Russia, China

B. November: accomplishing things for America

C. December: warm glow of success

V. How To Present Accomplishments: Squier

VI. VALUES CONTENT OF RECENT SPEECHES Penn

VII, Child TV

- a. propose public challenge to networks to come to Oval Office to explain changes and improvements in educational TV that they plan**

VIII Deregulation

- A. play for veto of the worst possible bill**
- B. not very important with public**
- C. gives us vast store of issues for '96**
- D. discourage compromise, keep bill bad**

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON OCTOBER 11

95

I. POLL DATA FROM OCTOBER 10 -- SCHOEN

A. Overall numbers

1. Lead over Dole from 1 point on Sept 14 to 10 points on Oct 10
 - a. among independents went from 41-40 to 43-29
 - b. Our vote went from 44 to 46 in total sample -- 4 to go!
 2. Job approval Aug: 54-44 Sept: 55-43 Now: 57-39
 3. Biggest change in last month: foreign policy from 45-51 to 54-43
 4. Clinton vs Republicans:
 - a. Balance budget June 48-28 Aug: 44-31 Sept: 50-32 Oct: 43-39
 - b. bal bud fair to all cl-47 reps-38
 - c. protect medicare from budget cuts cl-61 reps-25
 - d. in touch with my values up 4
 - e. down 7 on helps education -- need to put message up
 - f. losing cutting taxes comparison by 35-48
 - g. fight crime cl 42 reps 44 -- same as after ads ran in July -- no diminution. Media lasts and lasts.
 - h. Are Republicans just cutting enough to balance budget or are they cutting so much they seem to be mean spirited?
50--cutting just enough 40--mean spirited
- I. among elderly we went from 48-36 to 59-27 vs Dole

B. Impact of Ads

1. VIRTUALLY ALL THE GROWTH WAS IN MARKETS WE ARE ADVERTISING IN

2. Almost no changes on attributes outside of buy areas -- inside of
buy areas:

- a. Protect med from cuts up 9 in buy areas up 3 in non buy areas
 - b. values up 9 in buy areas up 1 in non buy areas
 - c. clear stands on issues up 8 in buy down 1 in nonbuy
- (This is not just of seen ads -- its of markets as a whole)

3. Optimism -- Very high no national funk

- a. Will your career improve (57) get worse (8) same (33)
- b. Future children improve (52) worse (21) same (20)
- c. eco position of you and family improve 49 worse 12 same 35
- d. Amer econ in general improve 38 worse 22 same 32

--no pessimism and 2-1 positive

- e. Areas where more worse than better only health care minus 11
avoid war minus 2
- f. Technology is our friend: helps more than hurts by 69-24
- g. ON ECONOMY -- OPTIMISM ABOUT SELF, CAUTIOUS
OPTIMISM ABOUT NATION, MINOR PESSIMISM
- h areas of real worry are: values, families, crime, health care,
retirement

II. BUDGET SITUATION -- WE ARE WINNING KEEP UP PRESSURE

A. Republicans in bad shape and bad position

1. We have closed gap on trust more to bal the budg from 18 to 7 to 4
2. We are now 9 points ahead on bal the bud in a way that's fair
3. Bankruptcy argument is gone
4. All the Republicans have to "inevitability" as their argument

B. Need to continue ads

Oct 11, '95 PJ

1. Ads are producing important movement and we need to continue them
2. If "train wreck" ads give us reason to hold firm
3. If "deal" ads give us criteria for victory and basis for getting credit
4. During negotiations, ads give us a context to see moves as means to an end, not flip flops or weakness
5. Reaching 97 Republican and 71 Democratic Congressional Districts

C. Content

1. Stay on cuts until Republicans signal negotiations -- keep up pressure
2. Put on education ad in rotation with medicare and, later medicaid
 - a. slippage on education, need to get it back in the game
3. Then, move to conciliation ads to set up pressure on Republicans for making a deal and laying basis for taking issue away
 - a. these ads context negotiations and don't make them flip flops

D. Weight

1. First two weeks were \$1.25 million each, recommend next week at \$1 million. Then, when negotiations start going back up to \$1.25
 - a. Go to \$1 million for next week to save money so buy can stretch through mid December
 - b. Go back up to \$1.25 million in third week because that is likely

Oct 11 '95 x 4

time for negotiations to begin

E. Likely elements of a deal -- my own opinion

1. Republicans accept \$300 billion of revised growth and medical inflation estimates
 - a. basic first step -- no talks until they do
 - b. they cite Republican successes on economy and holding down medical care costs
 - c. they "demand" a look back provision with a super majority (2/3) for override
2. Serious talks take place after record votes in House and Senate -- likely after about October 23
 - a. during conference, but before final passage
 - b. Republicans signal their need to come to us by revising growth and inflation estimates
 - c. Dems get Reps on record votes and making first move through revision of inflation and growth estimates
3. Two core issues:
 - a. will we accept super majority on look back?
 - b. will we accept negotiations during conference, without awaiting final passage?
 - c. I say "yes" to both. We don't want to be doing this up against the Nov 15 deadline and with the leverage the Republicans will have at that point
 1. relative ease of this CR not likely to be repeated
 2. they will enter the negotiations weak because of growth and inflation revisions

III. PRESIDENTIAL STYLE

A. The Father Image vs Peer vs Child

1. In Arkansas, image was of their child
 - a. promising at first, then chasened, then reformed, then excelling and making them proud
2. In campaign, image was of peer
 - a. down to earth -- bus rides, town meetings, one on ones
 - b. *contrast with starchy formality of Bush*
3. Now, increasingly, image must be of father
 - a. country craves fathers -- Cosby, Lion King,
 - b. women crave men who act responsibly -- Romance novel themes are now of woman done wrong and rescued by Mr. Right
4. Images of Father
 - a. literal fathering through personal experiences
 1. don't have to tell about Chelsea, but can describe your own feelings doing homework with her, camping out, etc.
 - b. Issues about fathering: personal responsibility, child support, education, child TV
 - c. Fathering style in speeches and Q & A
 1. don't explain yourself overly -- fathers don't
 2. don't complain (about lack of credit for accomplishmnts, for example)
 3. no contemporary images like Blues Brothers
 4. Correct style: Memphis speech
 5. don't have peer group conversations with audience -- speak to them

6. don't be self-deprecating
7. don't ask questions -- give answers
8. don't be around unkempt kids, they need to show respect
9. maintain sense of distance not eye to eye
10. lecturn should be small enough to tower over it

IV HOW TO OVERCOME ISOLATIONISM -- PENN PRESENTATION

V. CLINTON'S THIRD TERM -- THE STATE OF THE UNION

A. After first term -- first two years, and second term -- the Gingrich years, now

B. New ideas for third term -- being developed with Bruce Reed based on meetings with Glickman, Brown, Cisneros, Tyson, Reilly, and Reich

C. We will poll as we proceed

D. Areas for new ideas --- each meeting, we'll go over a bunch

1. Layoff Protection

- a. portable tax credit financed by penalty on laying off company and going to hiring company via employee voucher
- b. limits on importation of skilled workers where Americans have been replaced
- c. lowering unemployment comp rates on companies that don't lay off and increases on those that do
- d. require disclosure of layoffs before Justice or FTC Oks mergers or acquisitions and factor them in in public interest determination (approved in poll by 57-35)

VI COMMUNICATIONS IDEAS

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON OCTOBER 25

95

I. POLLING DATA -- CONTINUES UPWARD MOVEMENT

- A. Clinton vote (vs Dole) up from 44 to 45 to 46 to 47(now)
 - a. Margin over dole now 11 pts (up from 10 last poll)
 - 1. where we are advertising, we are ahead by 14
...where we are not advertising, we are ahead by only 9
- B. Clinton re-elect number from 38 to 40
- C. Definite against Clinton from 37 to 35 to 32 to 33 to 30 (now)
- D. Approval steady at 57% (but could be higher based on limited sample)

II. THE BUDGET SITUATION AS POLLED

- A. If Clinton vetoed medicare cuts, more likely to vote for him 44-14
 - 1. swing 1 58-5 swing 2 33-14
- B. Argumentation on Budget Scenarios:
 - 1. Republicans say need balanced budget, cuts are needed, need to save medicare from bankruptcy agree CL 50 agree rep 38
 - a. even without any of our argument, we win by 12
 - 2. Clinton answers cuts in medicare are bad and not needed CL 57 reps 34
 - 3. Repubs say need to cut waste in education, better at local level
Cl 57 reps 36
 - 4. Clinton says education is vital, don't cut it Cl 63 reps 32
 - 5. Repubs say cut taxes 245 bill, cap gains, family credit, IRAs Cl 47 reps
46
 - a. Republican right move is to switch debate to tax cuts
 - 6. Alternative Clinton defenses on taxes:

- a. tax cut for rich Cl 60 reps 30
- b. tax hike on working poor Cl 64 reps 31
- c. EITC is better than tax cut for rich

7. Summary question: republics say carrying out mandate of contract to bal budg and cut taxes vs. Cl says fighting for values on medicare and education: Cl 52 reps 38

- a. clear mandate for us vs them on the plans and issues

C. Polling on Default and Negotiation

1. should Republicans pass budget as is without negotiating 11-86
2. If Reps say they will pass bill without compromise: Cl veto 65 sign 25
 - a. strong belief reps must be flexible
3. Statement of Clinton principles followed by: should Clinton stand on principles or should he compromise? 64 stand firm 31 compromise
 - a. but Clinton should not be flexible
- 4 Statement of Rep principles follow by: should reps compromise after a veto or stand firm. 20 stand firm 76 compromise
 - a. Republicans must give, Clinton should not -- perfect
5. Should Republicans pass short term resolutions to prevent default or should they stand firm for their budget cuts before they pass such resolutions 62-28 they should pass short term resolutions
 - a. Republicans will be seen as unreasonable
6. If a breakdown, who is to blame Cl 25 reps 58
7. Final result of budget fight
 - a. If Clinton forces Reps to agree to his principles and budget
Cl 62 Dole 28
 - b. If Stalemate continues for 90 days

~~CI 55 Dole 30~~

~~c. If govt operated on interim and no budget agreement is ever reached~~

~~CI 52 Dole 30~~

III. ADVERTISING -- THE KEY TO CONTINUED GROWTH AND BUDGET WIN.

Oct 25, 195 PJ

- A. Despite week of tax increase comment flap and 7 year flap, we moved up
- B. Manage debate, cover moves on budget, set up end game
- C. Budget for Ads

1. Spent already: \$4.2 million through November 1

2. Proposed: November 2-21 spend \$5.4 million through Dec 1

1. Nov 2-8: \$1.8 mil Nov 9-15 \$1.8 mil Nov 16-33 \$1.5 mil
Nov 27-30 \$300,000

2. In November: Expand from 28% of America in current buy to 40-45 percent of country

3. And go up from current 325/week to 400/week

4. Left for December: \$400,000.

a. if we need to run in December, likely cost would be about \$2.5 million or \$2.1 mil more

D. Targeting Media -- Presentation by Penn

E. Ads -- Presentation by Squier

III. GOAL FOR NOVEMBER: SHOW TOUGHNESS IN DOING THE RIGHT THING

~~A. In September, we explained our budget values~~

B. In October, we worked to find common ground over these values

1. on race
2. on middle east and bosnia
3. through ads on the budget

C. November is about hanging tough for these values and for what is right

1. major problem is perception of weakness by about 20% of American voters

- a. the lid on our popularity and vote share
- b. what added to the 30% that are hostile over draft, Whitewater, scandals, etc, it creates potential for defeat

2. the process is the issue.....

- a. troops to Bosnia and the budget situation both provide opportunity for live, prime time view of President being tough
- b. or, they carry the possibility of showing weakness and undoing all the good work of 1995
 - a. as in funk, tax increase, and seven years
- c. the last chance we will have before the election to perform, real time, before the people when they are paying rapt attention

3.....not the outcome

- a. if we get a balanced budget, it is great. if we don't its OK too
 1. people believe we want a balanced budget and welfare reform. We don't need to win the issue any more, we already have won it
 2. if we have the issue of our plan vs their plan for all of 96, its a sure winner
 - a. look at how we have gained in August-October over the issue
- b. Impact on Powell -- offsetting

1. if a deal, his candidacy is less likely

but this is Dole's problem before it is yours'

b. let Dole cave to keep him out, we don't have to

2. if no deal, then his candidacy will be overshadowed by the budget

a. it will dwarf personality and charisma like Vietnam or Watergate did

b. to win primaries, he'll have to embrace cuts but that will straitjacket him in November

c. summary on Powell -- with a deal, he's less likely to run. With no deal, he's less likely to win

IV. THE BUDGET STRATEGY -- TENACITY, STUBBORNNESS, NO CONCESSIONS

A. Preconditions allow extreme expression of strength and uncompromising determination

1. public believes we should stand firm 64-31 and they should cave 20-76

a. partially that we are right and partially that they are pig-headed

b. so you don't have to be open minded

2. public thinks our budget plan is OK and theirs' is terrible

a. so you can't shouldn't and mustn't give an inch

3. public gets that you are for welfare reform and a balanced budget

a. on balanced budget trust we are behind by only 5

b. on balanced budget fair to all we are ahead by 9

c. welfare reform we are ahead by 7

d. therefore: we don't need a win. indefinite continuation of process is enough

e. so you can veto it without losing the issue

4. we are on paid media and that is doing everything to shape public attitudes

a. so we can be forceful and strong in public and even err on the side of rigidity because our media is showing people why we are taking so hard a stand

B. Step One -- disarm the enemy --- take away default option

1. Default -- Gingrich's and Dole's biggest weapon is also their biggest vulnerability

a. they are only capable of Mutually Assured Destruction and thus are prisoners of a "massive retaliation strategy." There is no room for "flexible response."

2. Attack Reps for holding a loaded gun aimed at your head

a. take away the ability to use default by letting public opinion and the markets take the possibility away from Gingrich

b. Gingrich is the Republican, he can't mess with markets like that

c. Dole is running for President and he sure can't do it

1. irresponsible

2. unstable

3. by demanding that he drop the threat, we show toughness, face him down and win

a. we show how unreasonable the Republicans are

b. we mobilize elite and mass opinion against their choice of weapons and thuggish tactics quite apart from the merits of the issue

4. We get to hit them in their weakest part -- causing recession

5. for all of the above reasons, we are picking a fight we can and will almost inevitably win

C. Step Two -- refuse to budge on basic principles

1. Use paid and free media to show what we are not negotiating about
2. Treat it like a labor negotiation in which each side endlessly repeats its mantra and there is no give
3. Turn talks over to Leon -- don't demean yourself by doing talks yourself
4. Each day, use post negotiation press conferences to affirm your inflexibility. Don't show progress, show stubbornness.

D. Step Three -- If they surrender, accept it..... if they don't settle for having the issue for 1996

1. we don't need a deal. we have an issue instead
2. achieve the inner peace of wanting a deal only on your terms and of being delighted to live with no deal at all

E. If country goes broke and closes down -- use crisis to show toughness

1. use paid and free media to cultivate blitz atmosphere circa London, 1940
2. Rally Americans to fight for education and medicare and environment and not to yield to blackmail
3. Use ads to shape what the issues are about
4. Use pension and other moves to keep afloat for three or four months
 - a. no need to get to social security or medicare funds, but if it comes to that, we'll use them and survive it politically
 1. once people understand what's at stake and grasp that we won't give in to blackmail, it will be an heroic experience for you

IV. DRESS

- A. you're not looking Presidential in light colored suits
- B. suggest you adopt red tie and navy suit as standard

V. OPTIMISM AS THEME -- Penn Presentation

VI. ANALYSIS OF IOWA SPEECH -- Morris Presentation

VII. OTHER ISSUES

A. Child TV

1. Do nonconfrontational event urging a Journalism School to set up a grading system, funded by foundations or networks, to grade programs and networks
2. like on time airlines ratings
3. Every month, the dirty dozen of programs
4. Every month, which network had the best programming
5. get TV guide and newspapers to publish grades
6. voluntary, no censorship, just harness market forces

B. Enterprise zones tax credit

1. as alternative to GOP tax cut in capital gains, reward investments in enterprise zone areas
2. move toward community basing (a la affirmative action)
3. good source of pork for House budget votes with rural white Dems
4. cover for cuts in public housing
5. reply to racial initiatives and March on Washington
6. sell it as Welfare Reform Part 2

a. in part one we required they work, in part 2 we'll create the jobs

C. Japan

1. in Seattle, en route, highlight good news of deal -- auto parts sales
2. In Japan, highlight unfulfilled commitments on dealerships and talk tough

D.. Deregulation

1. Heighten efforts to get Robb to back off so we can get a bad bill to veto
2. Let Dole pass a bad bill in the Senate with few improvements
3. Issue opens up a host of offensive opportunities on environment, consumerism, air safety, etc.

E. Cuba

1. Dangerous political impact in Florida for no political gain at all in normalizing relations

F. Political Reform -- Schoen

G. Affirmative Action in California

1. poll shows any positive solution is rejected, so don't pose alternative
2. even a quota prohibition won't work as a replacement because those who backed the conservative initiative on aff act back the quota by 73-17 while the liberals who opposed the aff act initiative split evenly on a quota ban 44-41.
 - a. if we banned quotas as alternative, conservatives would get the point, submit to discipline and run out on us while liberals would never side with us in the first place

D

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON NOVEMBER 1, 1995

I. SUMMARY OF POLL DATA

A. Approval is now 58-37 -- up from 57 two weeks ago and 55 a month ago

1. highest level we have ever recorded

B. Clinton vs Dole 46-36

a. in markets advertised: 48-31
b. rest of nation: 45-39

C. Clinton vs Powell 45-31

a. in markets advertised: 38-38
b. rest of nation 28-47

II. BUDGET STRATEGY -- NEED TO RESIST NEGOTIATING OR CALLS TO NEGOTIATE

A. Republicans will plead for negotiations -- they are "withering on the vine"

B. Opinion Leaders and Editorials will say we are being unreasonable.

1. that is the way to show strength

2. criticism over inflexibility is the way to show firmness

a. the criticism would have to go on for months for it to have anything but a positive effect

3. public wants a veto

a. Question: "last week the Republican majority in Congress passed bills they say will balance the budget in 7 years. The bill contains \$270 bil in cuts in medicare spending, \$70 bil cuts in education spending, major cuts in environmental programs, and tax changes which would raise taxes on some working families, but lower them on others support-33 oppose 63

b. Do you think Clinton and Republicans are just engaging in normal political bickering or are important issues at stake in the budget debate such as the future of medicare

bickering 29 important issues 61

c. more or less likely to vote for Clinton over a veto

more likely 46 less likely 15

4. public does not want us to compromise -- they want them to compromise

a. We stated pure Republican principles. Do you want Repubs to compromise or stand firm?

Compromise a lot-38 vs Stand Firm-15
(44% said compromise a little)

b. We stated pure Clinton principles. Do you want Clinton to compromise or stand firm?

Compromise a lot-17 vs Stand Firm-21
(59% said compromise a little)

c. in ad markets: Repub 47 compromise a lot vs 9 stand firm
rest of country Repub 35 compromise a lot vs 17 stand firm

5. Don't float rationales for compromise or ideas for compromise in public or in private. If you whisper it, it will make its way out

6. Republicans only weapon is debt limit and CR and the public will hate them for using blackmail once they start to do it even more than they hate their cuts

III. IDENTIFICATION OF SWING VOTERS -- PENN PRESENTATION

IV. Issues on Which We Also Cannot Budge

A. Crack-Cocaine

1. Press will be looking for caving by us and we must not let them see any

2. Raising cocaine to equal crack penalties is the right position

3. total inflexibility on lowering crack sentences is vital

B. Welfare Reform

1. statistics on additional children in poverty will not move public opinion on this issue -- they will still favor work requirements and time limits
2. stress that the cuts that cause poverty -- legal immigrants, block grants on food stamps are the cuts we oppose
3. would you sign the Senate Bill? Yes. But I'd work to raise the minimum wage, protect EITC and put money behind empowerment zones so there would be no increased poverty

V. JAPAN TRIP

- A. Need to continue trade issue offensive--- a failure to raise it now would be a sign that we didn't mean it back in June
 1. Clinton is OK at confrontation through Kantor long distance, but up close, he is so anxious to make the Japanese like him that he folds
- B. Say good news on West Coast on the way out: the sale of auto parts is way up
- C. Say bad news while you are in Japan: lack of dealerships
- D. Don't let sensitivity of Japan over US troops and rape story make you weaken your trade position over there -- the stakes are too important over here

VI. WEEKLY FOCUS GROUPS -- PROPOSAL

- A. For duration of budget fight, suggest we do weekly focus groups and submit highlight films to you every week
- B. It will help you get in touch with what people are saying directly, rather than just through data

VII. REGO -- A NEW LANGUAGE

- A. Based on focus groups conducted by Alice Rivlin's son --
 1. People embrace attacks on govt. but don't believe anything is happening

2. by stressing achievements, we undermine credibility

a. *If something this big were happening, I'd know about it*

3. Therefore stress need to cut, not achievement

4. Stress cuts in govt jobs --- "3,000 Jobs Closed At Interior"

a. that's how corporations and cities do it and its the accepted way to push cuts in govt.

b. stress no actual layoffs -- and the number of high level jobs at top salaries being cut "12 jobs paying more than \$60,000 are eliminated"

5. Don't have to prove that you are cutting. That is an accepted part of today's govt scene. You fit right in. Just make clear that you want to cut.

VIII POLITICAL REFORM -- SCHOEN

IX. OPTIMISM POINT -- PENN

X. DRESS AND MAKE UP

A. *Good suit yesterday for Bosnia statement, but bad tie -- wear bright solid colors*

B. *On TV, you are looking pale and your nose looks too red. Use make up. Don't do any public statement without makeup. You and I are both "of an age" where it is needed*

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON DECEMBER 7

95

I. TRACKING POLL DATA -- CONTINUATION OF HIGH RATINGS
DESPITE DISCONTENT OVER BOSNIA
LESSENING OF WEAKNESS NEGATIVE

A. Basic ratings hold basically firm

1. Approval at 58-41 (steady)
2. Head to head at 49-35 (down from 51-36 pre speech)
3. Re-elect number at 40 (down from 42 pre-speech)

B. Tremendous Growth in personal ratings -- more positives,
a lot less weakness

1. For the first time, open ended mentions of Clinton
personal positives equal mentions of personal
negatives (33 positive vs 35 negative)

a. In the past, it ran 21 positive vs 43 negative

b. major positive mentions:

cares/compassionate 7%
honest/integrity 7%
strong leader 6%
tries hard 6%

others 3% or more: energetic/active, doing
better, appearance, adaptable/compromises,
fairness, intelligent

2. Weakness mentions down from 33% to 25%

3. Personal Clinton positives now equal issue positives
in open endeds 33% personal vs 36% issue

a. in the past, a 3-1 ratio of issue vs personal
positives

4. In ratings, about a 10 point improvement among Dems and Inds.

- a. strong leader: up 8 among Inds
- b. takes clear stands, up 8 among Inds
- c. In touch with my values: up 9 among Inds
- d. effective: up 6 among Inds

C. Popularity of Peacekeeping Theme

1. by 48-27 people agree Clinton is a "peacemaker in the world"
2. Given three way choice, people want a peacemaker not a policeman or an isolationist

choices:

37%--*we should keep troops at home and pay more attention to our own problems*

44%--*cant be global policeman, but can do a lot to stop wars and save lives. need to do all we can without putting troops at excessive risk or straining our resources*

14%--*moral duty to fight injustice and oppression in world and not hesitate to intervene even if troops get in harms way*

3. Should stress Peacemaker theme as middle way on post cold war foreign policy in post Paris speech

D. Little Change on Budget

1. slight drop in perception that we are cooperating from 50 to 44%
 - a. but shut down was still Republican's fault 48-29
2. slight increase in perception of bickering, not issues bickering up from 50 to 55%, important issues down from 46% to 40%
 - a. emphasize issues in free media and go back on the air with ads

II. OVERALL STRATEGY -- BUDGET DEAL ESSENTIAL TO ADEQUATE VICTORY MARGIN

- A. Partisan divide in America is basically 40-20-40
 1. more or less the Clinton-Perot-Bush vote
 2. even now, 40% say they will definitely-probably-possibly vote against Clinton
- B. We are currently at roughly 60% approval / 50% vote share
- C. We are unlikely to be able to improve those numbers much in the normal course of events
 1. We haven't moved beyond these ratings in six weeks
 2. Polling predicts these numbers without a budget deal

D. At a 60% approval, we cannot do better, consistently, than 50% vote share

- 1. How can we count on getting more than 83% vote share among approvals? We can't**
- 2. But at a 50% vote share, we are locked in a tie race**
- 3. Remember -- Incumbent always loses undecideds**

a. Gallup analysis of undecided distribution:

1956	Stevenson:	3	Eisenhower:	0
1964:	Goldwater	7	Johnson:	0
1972	McGovern	3	Nixon:	0
1976	Carter:	4	Ford:	1
1980	Reagan	2	Carter	0
1984	Mondale:	2	Reagan:	2
1992	Perot/Cint	5	Bush	1
TOTAL CHALLENG:		26	INCUMB:	4

E. What is standing in our way of passing 60/50?

- 1. Perception of weakness acts as a drag**
- 2. Huge partisan divide acts as a ceiling**

F. First step -- overcoming weakness-drag -- well on the way to getting done

G. Second step -- blowing off the partisan cap

- 1. Budget deal is essential for this**
- 2. Without a national consensus like we had in 1984, incumbent cannot be re-elected by large enough margin to breathe easily**
- 3. Unless national consensus is reached on balanced budget, tax cuts, and welfare reform, we are capped at 60/50...and a tough race**



C. We need to do the following to claim victory --

- 1. Absolutely no additional cuts in medicare. Purity is very important here. Probably cannot even do upper income premiums.**
- 2. Education and environment are also very important, although less than medicare -- we have advertised them less**

a. whether we met these commitments will always be a matter of opinion --

- 1. How do you define education? Does it include training in Labor Dept, etc.**
- 2. Is the NDD settlement enough to protect education and environment in out years?**
 - a. how realistic are cuts in other areas? are they so drastic that we can't sustain them and will have to cut education even if we don't want to?**

b. therefore: we need --

- 1. victories on riders**
- 2. ratification from education and environment groups**
- 3. lots of ads to sell that we protected ed and environment**

3. Medicaid -- not a stated priority in ads, but important

**1. entitlements has become symbolic issue
a. we need to keep the medicaid
entitlement**

**2. purity on medicaid makes it possible for
Dems to back larger tax cut which
Republicans need**

**4. Welfare -- can't take additional cuts below our current
7 year plan because of kids in poverty report**

D. To achieve priorities, we basically need:

**Medicare 146 over Republican budget
Medicaid 109 over Rep. budget
NDD 100 over Rep budget
Welfare 58 over Rep budget
TOTAL \$413**

E. We might be able to get it from:

**40- CPI higher than our 7 year plan (70 total)
45- cuts in their tax cut
20- higher corporate welfare than our 7 plan (50 total)
25- transfer of money from health reform line in our 7 plan**

140 - subtotal

needed from additional assumptions: \$273

F. How to get additional assumptions

**1. initial increase of 70-100 next week
2. subsequent increase of 30-40 in medical inflation
after OMB-CBO consultation
3. final increase of 150 in consideration of final deal
anchored by lookback with super majority**

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT ON FEBURARY 22

96

I. TRACKING POLL - THE OPPORTUNITY TO GAIN WITH
REPUBLICAN CHAOS SLIPS THROUGH
OUR HANDS - Mark Penn

A. Head to head lead over Dole slips 6 points

1. Drops from 54-33 to 50-35

2. Reverse upward trend:

a. pre state of union: 48-36

then: 52-34

53-33

54-33

NOW: 50-35

B. Basic ratings are holding steady

1. job approval at 58 (down from 59)

2. re-elect number at 49 (up from 48)

3. vs. Alexander: 51-30

vs. Buchanan: 56-32



D. Vast opportunity -- to develop a condominium on the low 50s while Republicans are in disarray

*Feb 22
196*

E. Danger -- That while everybody is talking "Republican", Clinton is nowhere to be seen and we are not exploiting their negatives to build our strength

II. Ad Presentation -- Squier and Knapp

A. Ranking of State of the Union Values Message

1. First Tier:

	% much more likely
--health insurance reform	60%
--reform welfare	56
--teen pregnancy	56
--fathers care for kids	55
--teach values in school	54
--domestic violence	52
--serve 85% of sentence	51

2. Second Tier:

--pension portable	48
--job training vouchers	47
--foreign lobbyists	47
--deduct tuition	46
--challenge for corporate responsibility	46
--no tobacco ads for kids	45
--wire schools for computers	45
--superfund	44
--campaign finance reform	42

3. Third Tier:

- \$1,000 scholarship	38
- V chip	37
- evict from public housing	36
- TV ratings	34
- school uniforms	31
- environmental right to know	29
- downsize govt	28

B. Animatics:

1. Hard Kids -- crime, health ins, values, pregnancy
2. Soft Kids -- violence in media, tobacco, environ
3. Welfare
4. Economy
5. Father
6. Education
7. Victims -- Domestic violence

II. NEED FOR BUDGET/WELFARE DEAL

A. Regression analysis shows that rating of effectiveness is the single biggest factor in driving increase in vote

1. second place is values, third place is strength

B. Biggest issue in driving vote is to balance the budget fairly

1. second place is health care and crime

C. Obstacles to Deal are very, very limited:

1. Medicare:

- a. we can go with \$100,000 premium increase**
- b. we can go with larger provider cuts**
- c. by giving Republicans a higher gross cut relative to our a smaller net cut we can bridge the gap in expectations**

2. Medicaid

a. Assured Package of Benefits

- 1. voters agree with Governor control vs. federal say by 49-40**
- 2. possible compromise: specification of minimum benefits in bill, just as minimum population coverage is specified**

b. Judicial Review: state vs federal

- 1. voters back state courts over federal by 67-31**
- 2. with 11 lawsuits all last year, this is hardly a key issue**
- 3. compromise: federal review after state court remedies are exhausted**

c. Obviously, we need to roll back the provider tax kickback in the Governors' plan

**d. Voters do want expansion of coverage to teens
by 63-30**

1. full expansion to 18 would cost \$6 billion

**2. Possible compromise: expand to 15:
\$3 billion**

**e. formula -- obviously, we have to pin down costs
and address the vagueness**

3. Food Stamps

a. entitlement

**1. votes back block grants over entitlement
by: 61-31**

**2. possible compromise: block grant until
trigger of state or national unemploy-
ment is reached. Then entitlement**

a. public backs this by 60-33

**b. if you set the trigger low enough,
you could, in effect, keep
entitlement by providing
the trigger would kick in when the
food stamp needs exceeded the
block grant amount**

**c. if you kept it high enough, it wouldn't
trigger a new CBO scoring**

b. cuts: public wants fewer cuts

1. given choice of cut levels:

- a. cut \$22 billion: 46%**
- cut \$25 billion: 16%**
- cut \$20 billion: 20%**

2. but, that is just comparative. Probably could live with \$25 billion in Senate version

c. Immigrants - SSI

1. public breaks even on food stamps to "families of legal immigrants who are not American citizens, but who are disabled and have children not born in America"

-- 47-48

2. possible compromise: food stamps for limited number of years during which they would either become citizens or lose benefits

4. Welfare

1. Entitlement

a. public backs block grants over entitlements by 63-29

2. Maintenance of Effort

a. public backs 80% maintenance requirement by 54-36; but would back 75% by 51-36

b. big change from November when they
opposed maintenance of effort

III. ECONOMIC MESSAGE -- VALUES MORE IMPORTANT THAN
ECONOMICS; GROWTH IS KEY
ECONOMICS MESSAGE

---Mark Penn

A. Values does better than Economics as Message

1. Values v Economics (defined as wage stagnation, layoffs
insecurity)

-- 60-37

2. Values v Economics (defined as jobs and growth)

--55-42

B. We have Economics voters already and need values voters

1. Of economic driven voters:

Clinton: 57 Dole 27

2. Of values driven voters:

Clinton: 45 Dole 39

3. Swing voters are values driven

4. THEREFORE: stress values, but don't ignore
economics

C. Growth beats Addressing Income Gap

1. Voters back "stronger economic growth" over "closing
the gap between rich and poor" by 74-23

2. Voters back "faster economic growth and expanding educational opportunities" over "encouraging higher pay for lower-skilled people facing stagnating wages" by 71-24

3. Even voters who put economics over values favor growth as the answer by 70-29

4. Among voters who want growth: CI-45 Dole-41
who close income gap CI-66 Dole-17

a. go after marginal voter, not after base

5. THEREFORE: stress growth policies

D. Economic Optimism Remains Strong

1. No real fear of job loss:

a. very afraid: 8%,
somewhat afraid: 15

TOTAL AFRAID: 22%

TOTAL NOT AFRAID: 68%

2. Optimism about career

a. improve in 5 years: 52%
get worse: 11%
stay the same: 34%

3. Optimism about economic position:

a. improve: 46%
get worse: 16%
stay the same: 34%

4. Children better off:

- a. improve: 47%
- get worse: 26%
- stay the same: 20%

5. Economy to get better:

- a. improve: 37
- get worse: 26
- stay the same: 30%

6. pessimism creates Dole voters, optimism creates Clinton voters

7. THEREFORE: Stress optimism

E. Populist Proposals Work without arguments and then crash with arguments

1. Require companies that need fedl approval for merger to disclose layoffs and turn down permission based on impact on workers

support: 62
oppose: 31

- a. but after argument: "cause companies to reduce layoffs and protect jobs vs too much govt interference and promote inefficient companies"

support: 44
oppose: 49

2. Require companies that layoff workers to fund job training vouchers

support: 55
oppose: 30

a. but with argumentation:

support: 43
oppose: 45

3. differential tax rates based on layoffs, benefits, job creation, profit sharing

support: 74
oppose: 20

a. but with argumentation:

support: 52
oppose: 40

4. THEREFORE: Jawbone corporate responsibility in values language but avoid class warfare rhetoric or specific proposals

F. Avoid Fed Bashing

1. Should fed promote more growth 58-19

2. Fed should continue avoiding inflation even if less growth: 40%

Fed goes too far on fighting inflation and not enough to promote growth: 50%

3. No consensus for fed attack

4. THEREFORE: stress growth through budget balancing, tax cuts, educational enhancements, college scholarships, but not as fed bashing.

G. Trade Issues:

1. Voters Blame Clinton Trade Policies for Job Loss

Clinton trade policy cost jobs: 42%
gained jobs: 28%

2. But Clinton wins Argumentation on Trade:

a. Initial head to head in poll: 50-35

b. After positive trade arguments:

open foreign markets
invoke sanctions when needed,
have raised exports by 1/3
make more cars than Japan
opened Japan markets,

CI- 62-27

c. After Dole attack:

Clinton ineffective
other countries take advantage
Mexico, Japan
cost US jobs
need to be tougher than Clinton

CI- 49-42

d. THEREFORE: trade is a loser for us, but must be defended vigorously to stop it from hurting very badly. With aggressive argument, we can nullify damage.

IV. RUNNING AGAINST ALEXANDER -- Doug Schoen

A. Summary:

1. His own positive campaign doesn't work
2. If he adopts Clinton agenda, it will work, unless we co-opt it first
- 3 he is highly vulnerable to negatives

B. Positives on Alexander -- Alexander's own currently articulated positive campaign doesn't work:

(% very convincing)

1. new armed force to control borders: 42%
2. cut Congress pay, send them home: 35%
3. Reformed education as Governor: 30%
4. brought in Saturn, jobs as Governor 30%
5. GI bill for children, vouchers, scholarship: 30%
6. protect wildlife, outdoors, environment 30%

7. Head to head after positive argument 49-36

-- very minor gain from baseline of 51-30

even when articulated as themes, they don't work well

8. power back to states-radical change

- power to states
- abolish ed dept
- local charities vs welfare
- real change

48% more likely head to head: 52-31

9. political outsider-conservative vision

- promote responsibility
- outsider,
- conservative vision
- arrogant washington

41% more likely head to head 56-30

C. Positives on Alexander — But, If Alexander adopts Clinton Message, It will work very well:

1. Record as Governor as Centrist

- great governor for 80s
- merit pay for teachers
- 30,000 new jobs
- taxes fifth lowest in US
- balanced budget
- protected environment
- commitment to children
- executive manager

% more likely 63% head to head: 46-42

2. Positive Centrist Republican

- end bickering
- no attack ads
- moderate, centrist Republican
- no one party has all the answers
- balance budget
- power to states
- reform welfare
- environment protection
- good educational policy
- invest in our kids

%more likely 62 head to head: 48-41

**D. Negatives on Alexander -- Alexander Very Vulnerable to
Negatives**

(% very convincing)

1. channeled \$60,000 to Inn wife owned 56%
- 2, liberal, programs would raise taxes 50%
3. deducted \$129,000 for trip to Australia
to write a book 49%
4. as governor, 9,000 inmates released and
offenders served half their sentence 48%
5. gets \$300,000 from law firm as no show,
makes \$250,000 from Martin Marietta
after leaving board includes tax money 48%
6. invested \$6600 in child care company,
promoted as Governor, now work
one million 46
7. armed force on immigration will cost
billions 46%
8. as Gov, welfare up 20,000, in 82 wasted
\$17 million on food stamps 45%

head to head after these hits: 63-22!

addressed as negative themes:

9. Corruption

- abused office
- shady deals
- invested in prison company, made \$130,000
- put down \$1,000, bought million dollar house
- cronies helped with investments

% less likely 63% head to head: 58-28

10. Political Insider and Politician

- life on public payroll
- Washington for decade
- former sec of ed, now abolish
- typical insider, plaid shirts etc. is gimmick

% less likely 56% head to head 57-29

11. Negative Governor Record

- not conservative
- doubled spending
- raised taxes
- released prisoners

% less likely 63 head to head: 52-32

12. Millionaire lawyer

- abused power to get rich
- net worth went up ten times
- taking money from two companies
- he's not working for

% less likely 57% head to head: 51-35

V. RUNNING AGAINST DOLE -- Doug Schoen

A. SUMMARY

1. Not much movement up or down with campaigning
2. Character, bio, experience doesn't work
3. Only Republican balanced budget agenda works
 - if a deal, Dole has absolutely nothing to say
 - if no deal, we give him an agenda to beat us with

B. Positive Arguments on Dole

(% very convincing)

1. tough on crime, parole, sentencing, judges,
juveniles as adults 42%
 2. welfare reform 35%
 3. share corporate profits 34%
 4. close Ed Dept, return power to communities 34%
 5. tax cuts --credit of \$500/child, capital gains 29%
 6. no wall around US 24%
 7. leader with morals and values 23%
 8. experienced 21%
 9. roots in real America, values, self-reliance 16%
 10. mature leadership, war service, 14%
- head to head after positive 47-40

--after 10 positive statements for Dole, a 3 pt Clinton drop

--look at how his core themes of experience, war, roots, morals etc. crash and burn

when lumped into themes --

11. Republican Policies

- balanced budget
- economy sound
- cut taxes
- growth
- victims over criminals
- finish job begun in 94

% more likely 68% head to head: 53-35

-- we have stolen all the issues -- if we don't give them back to him by not getting them done

12. Biography

- experience
- character
- traditional values
- war record
- legislative achievement
- conservative principles
- prepared for job

more likely 37% head to head 53-34

--bio means nothing,

13. Values-Moral Compass

- values
- grew up with religion
- decent, honest, personal responsibility
- against liberal elite's who push violence and porn
- character we can trust to stay consistent
- moral example for America

more likely: 42% head to head: 56-35

--we go up

C. Negatives on Dole

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 1. Medicare cuts, premiums | 40% |
| 2. Anti-women, Packwood, Anita Hill
domestic violence, aff action | 37% |
| 3. voted for 16 tax increases | 36% |
| 4. assault weapons, Brady, 100M cops | 36% |
| 5. families-student loans, EITC, family
leave | 35% |
| 6. Gingrich runs country | 32% |
| 7. Libby Dole's dealings | 26% |
| 8. too old | 25% |
| 8. Archer Daniels | 22% |

— don't need medicare as issue, bite-size
achievement agenda works just as
well — see October, 94 poll

--head to head -- 50-36 (up from 47-40 after
positives)

--neither negatives nor positives work
that well.

thematic negatives:

9. Attack on Families

- medicare
- medicaid
- headstart, student loan
- etc
- environment

less likely: 68% 58-30

10. No fresh ideas

- nostalgia
- goes with political winds
- no agenda
- panders
- flip flop

less likely 59% 58-30

11. captive of right wing interests

- assault weapons ban
- 100,000 cops
- environment
- women's issues/ abortion
- cave into radical right

less likely 63% 58-30

12. Washington insider

- ultimate insider
- 35 years in DC
- deals
- campaign money
- not effective,
- no pass Republican agenda

less likely: 59 head to head: 55-32

-- negatives work, but don't drive us up over
60%

SUMMARY; THE WAY TO BEAT ALEXANDER:

- get a deal to show Washington works
- beat him to values rhetoric
- hit him on finances

THE WAY TO BEAT DOLE

- get a deal because your first post-nomination
head to head is likely to be your final one
- use opposition to bite size agenda to beat him
- get a deal so that he has nothing to say
- don't hand him back the only agenda he can have
by a deal

ONLY SURE WAY TO WIN IS TO GET A DEAL

1. Alexander falls, Dole wins
2. Dole has no message left

VI SPEAKING SCHEDULE

1. Recommend strong trade hit on Friday in Japan visit

--positive stuff about trade deals working

2. Recommend un-Buchanan speech on Monday

--stress national unity, uplifting themes

--don't attack Buchanan, but stress opposite of his rhetoric

3. Recommend growth speeches in Michigan on 3-4 and California on 3-8

4. Recommend that coming week and next week be left largely free for budget deal pushing

VII. SOCIAL SECURITY – COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS ARE BAD

A. Public doesn't want SS funds in stock market

--36-54

-- after argument that stocks would earn ore vs too much risk 27-63

B. Public will tolerate more investor control over use of funds but then will oppose it with arguments:

--66-32 support before arguments

--after argue that gives people control over retirement vs they would make unwise investments:

41-52 oppose

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON MARCH 6

196

I. TRACKING POLL — Schoen

A. No change:

1. head to head at 53-36 (same as last week)
2. job rating at 59-39 (same)
3. re-elect at 48 (same)

B. Only change: favorability up to 61-38

1. AT LAST! a number over 60
2. up from 57-40 last week
3. Steady climb since 51% on 1/8

Jan 8 51
Jan 14 53
Jan 20 50
Jan 29 57
Feb 4 56
Feb 11 58
Feb 21 57
Feb 28 57
March 5 61

C. Dole recovers his favorability: 48-45 (last week: 38-52)

D. Hillary consolidates her gains: 50-41 (last week 50-42)

BAD PERIOD -

Jan 8: 39-48

Jan 14 40-48

Jan 20 42-50

RECOVERY-

Jan 29 46-50

Feb 4 47-45

Feb 11 47-48

APPROACHING HEALTH-

Feb 21 50-42

March 5 50-41

E. Who will win Rep Nomination (pre-Tues.)

Dole 75 Buch-10 Forbes-6

1. Dole isn't spending much. Only \$57,000 in NYS and only \$75,000 in Texas and \$104,000 in Fla
2. Forbes isn't either Only \$670,000 in NYS requested avails in Fla and Cal, but no buy yet there or anywhere else
3. Buchanan canceled buy in Texas

F. We are losing edge on the budget:

Unaided: Our plan vs Republicans

	Clinton	Republicans
Feb 4	50	35
Feb 11	51	37
Feb 21	49	37
Feb 28	48	40
March 5	45	41

C. So we should publicly invite Dole and Gingrich to the White House the day after super Tuesday to negotiate a budget deal

- 1. marathon negotiations -- high profile**
- 2. Between Gingrich's desire for a deal and the momentum of the talks, put Dole in an impossible position**
 - a. he can't be seen as the stopper or killer of a deal because he has to run with the blame**
 - b. deprives him of his leadership/effective ratings**
 - c. takes away his only issue: balanced budget**
 - d. If talks break down or explode, we can win blame game**

D. We are slipping in balanced budget ratings, we need public affirmation to regain upper hand

IV.. Media Doctrine -- Squier and Morris

A. Republicans believe in negatives mainly

- 1. they see positives as "pretty pictures and music"**
- 2. they see rebuttals as a "getting off message"**

B. We believe in dialogue

- 1. We see positives as key to winning race**
- 2. We see rebuttal and counterpunching -- dialogue -- as way to nail a race down**

March 6, '96

V. HANDLING REPUBLICAN ATTACKS ON CLINTON

A. RNC offensive will now come very soon -- DNC fund raising is not now equipped to cope with the money needs

1. We have had trouble getting this week's DNC money together

a. this week we needed \$564,000 and got it two days late

b. next week, we need \$941,000 from DNC

c. following schedule:

March 19	\$1,281,000
March 26	1,234,000
April 2	1,234,000
April 9	1,175,000
April 16	1,175,000
April 23	1,337,000
April 30	1,299,000
May 7	1,252,000
May 14	1,252,000
May 21	1,262,000
May 28	1,300,000

TOTAL DNC AFTER THIS WEEK: \$14,747,000

2. Fund raising at DNC level must be improved

a. Republicans will have vast capacity to throw negatives and we must have money to respond

b. needs to have priority in scheduling

B. Testing Impact of Negatives on Clinton

- 1. Recommend Mall tests where we play Dole anti-Clinton ads and test rebuttal needs**
 - a. do we ignore and run positives
 - b. do we ignore and run negatives
 - c. do we rebut?
 - d. do we rebut and tell of positive achievements?
 - e. do we rebut and tell of positive issues?
 - f. do we rebut and tell of Dole negatives
 - g. do we rebut and tell of achievements and issues?
 - h. do we rebut and decry negative campaigning
- 2. Request Mall test of 8 combinations of negatives and responses**
- 3. Presentation of Dole actual positive and possible negative ads for mall testing -- Squier, Knapp**

VI. DOLE NEGATIVES -- Doug Schoen

- A. We revisited Dole negatives, as requested by President, to reflect thematic negatives without specifics that cross cut in different directions**
 - 1. We found that anti-family negatives worked when used in this context**
 - 2. caveat: we asked Clinton positives before asking Dole negatives. That likely bumped up the Clinton vote from the 53% baseline to the 57-58% range most achievements scored.**

B. Ranking of Dole Negatives

1. Best: family issues

(Dole not pro family. anti-student loan. tax increase on 8 million working families earning less than \$30,000, anti-family leave)

a. moves head to head to 64-30

b. rebuttal: (Dole fought in WW II for families, balanced budget, keep pay not send to Wash in taxes, \$500/child tax credit, pro-life, school prayer, film industry attack)

c. moves head to head to 61-33

2. Second best: Washington insider

(half of life in Wash, deals, self-advancement, six pay raise votes include 23% increase in 91, \$25,000 expense account, created own PAC and raised \$20 million while voting against PACs)

a. moves head to head to 61-30

b. rebuttal (experienced, break gridlock, works with Dem and Rep Presidents, tax reform of 86 cutting taxes).

c. moves head to head to 61-32

3. Third best: Medicare

(voted against Medicare in 65, cuts \$270 billion raises premiums)

a. moves head to head to 60-30

b. rebuttal: (protect medicare, big spending liberals bankrupt it. increases spending on medicare more than inflation. makes medicare sound)

moves head to-head to 59-31

4. Fourth: No New Ideas

(running for 20 years, no new ideas. Kassenbaum says Dole blows whichever way the wind blows" no clear reason to run, no agenda, ambition and nothing else, cant be sure where he stands

a. moves head to head to 59-35

b. rebuttal: (Dole knows time to end liberal policies of past. power to states and local, shape own destiny eliminate Dept of Ed, get IRS off backs,

c. moves head to head to 56-38

5. Fifth: Flip Flops vs Always Conservative

(flip flop. promised no taxes, then voted to raise them by \$137 billion. attacks Hollywood but opposes V chip, anti-cable child tv protections, flipped on affirmative action)

a. moves head to head to 55-35

b. rebuttal (beware of sudden new conservatives. Dole has always fought for conservative values. balanced budget amendment, spending cuts, bal bud plan 7 years, anti Hollywood, war hero, in touch with our values

moves head to head to 56-34

6. Sixth: Special Interest Captive

(captive of special interests, anti-assault rifle ban, cut environmental enforcement, opposed family leave changes abortion position, appease far right)

a. moves head to head to 55-37

b. rebuttal (Dole will bring change we need, doer, not talker, effective leader, stand up to special interests, bring Americans together, fights for America)

moves head to head to 52-40

7. Summary: Key vulnerability is anti-family, all others move numbers unconvincingly

VII CLINTON ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND POSITIVE --Penn

A. Phases of Positive Message

1. at the beginning: 34% vote, 41% approval in Nov., 94
2. May-July -- crime ads, balanced budget speech to claim centrist position
 - a. moved vote share to low 40s
3. August-January -- holding firm on balanced budget, opposing shutdown, medicare, medicaid, environment, education
 - a. moved vote share to high 40s
4. January-now -- State of Union speech, values ads, TV ratings
 - a. moved vote share to low 50s

B. We hope we get budget/welfare deal to move numbers to 57-60. That sets stage for use of positive accomplishments/advocacy to move our baseline

1. raises possibility of moving numbers through prolonged siege of positive accomplishment/advocacy ads to reach 56-59 level and defend it.
2. particularly possible if Republicans use negatives rather than outlining a competing vision
 - a. we are relatively less vulnerable to negatives
3. We couldn't do positives on accomplishments when we had low approval and favorability, but now voters are willing to listen

C. Accomplishments/Advocacy Ranked

1. all do about the same, in moving vote share up 4-6 points to 57-59%.
2. need long term, mutually reinforcing positives
3. with budget/welfare deal, easier sell
4. Rankings:
 - a. crime bill 37% much more likely to vote CI
 - 100,000 cops
 - assault weapons
 - 3 time felons get life, no parole
 - death penalty
 - domestic violence
 - Brady Bill

b. strengthen families 35% much more likely

- family leave
- child support
- immunization

c. health insurance 34% much more

- portability
- pre-existing
- cut \$15 in fraud

d. balanced budget 33% much more

e. improve schools 32% much more

f. children's values 30%

g. cut taxes 31% much more likely

h. welfare 29%

i. world peace 29%

j. environment 28

k. immigration 28

l. work together 26

m. deficit cut 25

n fair trade 25

o. streamlined govt 22

D. All positives bring us to 57-60% vote share

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VIII. ECONOMIC MESSAGE -- Penn

A. Growth is key message

1. number one concern on economy is lack of jobs
2. insecurity v values -- 41-59
but growth v values -- 46-54
3. who is best on job insecurity: 49 CI 39 R
but who is best on job growth: 45 CI 45 R
 - a. already winning insecurity, must win growth
 - b. overwhelmingly have insecure voter
 - c. don't let liberal press move you to insecurity solutions, real issue is will we have enough growth/

B. Corporate Responsibility

1. Put it in value terms
2. encouraging corps to do the right thing
3. encouragement only, not regulations or laws
4. suggest event on Friday on Corp Responsibility where you lay out principles of good corporate citizenship
 - a. moves issue to positive, not negative
 - b. makes it values, not class warfare

C. Michigan Speech

- 1. Very positive reception to optimism, growth message**
- 2. Use of term "confusion: is very dangerous**

**--recalls funk which recalls Carter's malaise
--sets up Carter-Reagan metaphor, we want
Reagan-Mondale Metaphor**

(13)

**3. Polling messages shows optimism by itself is best
optimism with positive spin on change works second
best. Confusion is worst**

a. Optimism:

- economy was in recession 4 years ago**
- now no recession**
- 8 million jobs,**
- lowest combined unemployment-inflation**
- construction and auto booming**
- more cars sold than Japan**
- some faced layoffs, but created more jobs
than lost**
- stronger pensions, health care, training**

- head to head: CI 59 Dole 34**

b. Optimism plus positive treatment of change

- time of change**
- information replaces industrial**

c. Time of Confusion

(actual text of speech used)

- time of fundamental confusion
 - how growth in mfging and autos but people work harder for same or less
 - Juvenile crime is up, so are layoffs
 - last time such confusion was 100 years ago
 - emphasize mind over muscle
 - treat everyone fairly and meet challenges together
- head to head CI 56% Dole 37

IX SLOGAN

A. John Alter says you said it was :moving forward together

B. It should be: meeting America's new challenges

1. tested very well after on-point polling
2. worked well in state of the union

C. New realm in Presidential Leadership

1. not just bully pulpit or jawboning
2. rather, its how a President leads in the information age -- by summoning forth change in each of us by challenging us

D. Problems are broad based, not just a few miscreants

1. problems like teen pregnancy, drugs, drinking, teen smoking, lack of education, corporate responsibility, getting off welfare, fathering, domestic violence etc require broad persuasion of millions, not just laws and regulations

2. President is the national leader

a. people want less government, but more leadership

b. old way was to change externals: give out money, pass laws and regulations

c. new way is to change each of us within by persuasion

1. lower health care costs

2. don't smoke

3. don't use drugs

4. stay in school

5. fathering

etc

d. national service must be a state of mind

X. IMMIGRATION – Penn

A. People don't feel situation is getting better

1. Illegal immigration has increased (65%) not decreased(4%) or stayed the same (25%)

2. But they do feel the are more deportations (43%) not less (10%) or stayed the same (35%)

B. We have no edge on issue, but Republicans have lost their edge

1. Clinton better: 42% Reps in Cong better: 44%

C. Immigration Measures

1. Stepping up border patrols, electronic equipment

--26% much more, 31% somewhat more likely to vote for Clinton if he backs this (57% more likely total)

2. proof of citizenship for drivers license, deny licenses to illegal aliens

--24% much more, 31% somewhat more (55% more)

--works even if we delete traffic cop enforcement piece which caused all the problems. Just make life unattractive in US to illegals--works by itself

3. unannounced raids of businesses employing illegals

--21% much, 25% somewhat (46% more)

4. speeding up deportations to 30 days

--16% much, 26% somewhat (42% more)

D. Immigration after Arguments

1. deportations up 30%

--Clinton: 53 Republicans in Congress: 38

2. illegal immigration cut 30% by border guards

--Clinton: 51 Republicans in Congress: 41

3. cut in immigration more remarkable because of Mexico economic problems

-- Clinton: 51 Republicans in Congress: 39

4. Counter: Dole says enforcement too lax and prompts Mexicans to try to come here

-- Clinton: 48 Republicans in Congress: 42

**XI. ISRAEL -- SUGGEST EMOTIONAL "PEACE IS WORTH IT"
THEME AT HUSSEIN VISIT TOMORROW**

- A. visit to Israeli embassy too late to be covered**
- B. speak of need to persevere in cause of peace**
- C. courage needed for peace**
- D. but peace is worth it**
- E. high minded appeal to peace-loving peoples not to give up**
- F. Connect to domestic terrorism**

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PRIVATE AGENDA FOR PRESIDENT ONLY

I. BUDGET

A. take vigorous, personal lead in direct talks with Gingrich

**B. Play out public invitation to marathon negotiations with
Gingrich in private**

- 1. he doesn't want Dole elected, he wants to run in 2000**
- 2. He needs a deal, he thinks, to ratify his speakership**
- 3. work out substantive details with Gingrich in advance**
- 4. catch Dole in squeeze play**

**C. Deal details -- this is not a bargaining position, it is rather
where I think you can go politically in the final deal**

1. Medicare

**a. MSA compromise keyed to national quota on
enrollment and annual adjustment of
capitation fee based on risk experience**

- 1. sell to Gingrich as annual increases in
enrollment caps leading to full
national availability**
- 2. sell to liberals because it allows only
limited damage each year**
- 3. sell to liberals because it allows reduction
in capitation fee to reflect cherry picking**

b. Balance billing -- hold firm against it

c. Premium Overcharge

- 1. we should allow private plans to keep profits if they provide lower cost services**
- 2. we should not allow higher premiums for basic benefit package**
- 3. we should allow private plans to charge higher premiums for supplemental benefits – like drugs – without limitation. Market can control**

d. Recruitment and Enrollment for Private Plans

- 1. we could allow aggressive recruiting, but provide for annual review to monitor cherry picking. Also insist on available to all recruitment as we do FEHBP.**

e. Medigap

- 1. we want to improve on current law to allow people to re-enter medigap market if their experiment with MSAs fails and they want to re-enter fee for service and buy medigap**
- 2. Republicans worry that these people will be very sick and will drive up medigap costs and bankrupt insurance companies**
 - a. we can allow medigap premium increases, but limit them or create re-insurance high risk pool to absorb them**

f. Can go up to mid 140s net savings

1: but may need to open lower in bargaining

2. 10 from premiums over \$100,000

3. 10 from provider cuts

a. lower the rate we pay managed care plans

b. move hospitals up to minus 2 pts (we are now at minus 1.5, going up to 2 saves 7 bil. (market basket minus 2)

c. in out years, cut physician fees slightly physicians would buy it because they like single conversion factor Republicans had deeper cuts than we did and physicians bought it.

2. Medicaid

a. Formula

1. by killing provider tax and raising matching levels back up to current levels, we cut the Governor's plan down to appropriate size since they will not want to come up with hard money matches for all the goodies they added in CBO will likely reflect this in its scoring

2. assure that there is no cap of enrollment index

b. eligibility

1. try to expand to teens up to 15 as compromise

a. Breaux Chaffee keeps up to 18

c. benefits

1. guarantee "adequate" benefits and have HHS oversee

d. enforcement

1. state courts for benefits
federal courts for eligibility

e. savings

1. Republicans are at 85; we are at 59

a. Breaux-Chaffee is at 62

1. good formula
2. good benefits and eligibility deal
3. 8-10 Republicans in the group

2. If need to go higher than 59 or 62

a. For each 0.1 percent lowering of growth cap, we get \$2.5 billion

3. Welfare

a. food stamps

1. have state option block grant until certain triggers are reached and then entitlement

a. so if we need it, we can get entitlement

b. state-by-state and national triggers

c. acts like entitlement when triggers indicate block grants would run out

b. immigrants

1. Republicans cut 23 bil, we cut 6 by deeming

a. cut 4 bil extra by extending deeming to Medicaid and over 75 year olds

b. add diaper voucher for legal immigrant disabled with kids.

1. Republicans will get adult cuts

2. we will get kids being covered

3. probably 3-5 bil in cuts, bringing total to 13-15 -- halfway between 6 and 23

c. child protection – kill block granting

d. savings

1: Republicans at 64, we are at 40. Govs are at 43 (minus 23 in immigrant cuts on which they take no position= 20)

a. we can add back to the Gov's 20:

1. 3-4 bil from matching requirement so gov's don't use all goodies

2. 10 by deeming on SSI, Medicaid

3. 3-5 by cutting adults on legal immigrant SSI

4. 3-5 bil by counting \$500 per child tax credit in EITC income calculation

II. IRAN

A. urge tough action on Iran.

1. we need foreign toughness so we don't take too much heat for being reasonable on Russia and China

2. Israeli bombings plus Bosnia interference set up good motivation for world wide action

B. Suggest oil embargo

1. Iran produces 3 million barrels per day

a. 1.5 increase is expected from non-OPEC sources

b. Saudis will likely be willing to maintain fixed OPEC production at 26 mil barrels to protect OPEC market share even if embargo cuts out Iran

- a. more money to them
- b. less to Iran
- c. use OPEC as excuse to raise their production

2. European motivation

a. France: concerns about Islamic fundamentalism in Algeria

b. Britain: is there an Iran-IRA link?

c. Europe generally: Bosnia intervention by Iran

a. attempt to create Islamic fundamentalist state in Europe

d. Japan: encourages terrorism as in nerve gas attack

3. Demand: That Iran cease support of terrorist organizations

III. SHOULD YOU GO TO RUSSIA AND JAPAN ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF OKLAHOMA CITY -- it would miss a great opportunity for you.

IV. On Michigan trip, Tom says that at private fund raisers, there were private video cameras in the room, while you talked pretty intimately --

a. said on Japan, you were the only one able to name the last 5 prime ministers of Japan

b. attacked Dole on Christian Coalition

1. might be embarrassing if tapes got out since we are not attacking Dole at this point so as not to start race

c. suggest no video taping, or be more careful and don't let your hair down

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196

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON APRIL 1

(DISCLAIMER: Nothing in this memo is intended to be construed as a celebration of the rites of April 1st)

I GOALS OF THE PRE-CONVENTION PERIODS- TO COMPARE AND CONTRAST CLINTON VS. DOLE

A) Voters Have Seen an extensive, updated view of Clinton in 1995-1996.

- 1) Values Orientation**
- 2) Decisiveness- No Flip-Flops**
- 3) Sure hand in foreign Policy**
- 4) Upbeat, optimistic assessment of economy**
- 5) Centrist positioning on welfare, tax cut, balanced budget, crime**
- 6) Pro-Values Differences with extreme Republican initiative in these areas.**

B) But Clinton Still falls far short of perfection- especially when measured against their high hopes of 1992

1) Current Poll Data:

- 1. in touch with my values 39-39**
- 2. does things because they are right 39-35**
- 3. strong leader 36-33**
- 4. effective 29-33**
- 5. Ratings are no better than OK, and certainly don't reflect a 52% vote share**

2) However, when measured against Dole, Clinton's ratings acquire a new buoyancy:

Dole- Time tested, mature/ Clinton- young, immature
True- 28% Not true -51%

Dole- Strong, decisive leader/ Clinton- weak and flip-flops
True- 30% Not true- 52%

Dole- Practical and down to earth/ Clinton- too abstract
True- 26% Not true- 52%

Dole- Doer/ Clinton- Just a talker
True- 21 Not true- 51%

Impact of above on head to head: NONE

C) The Mission: To contrast Clinton and Dole

1) Dole: To express Clinton's achievement, positioning and personal skills
in the context of Dole's weakness'

a) Economy- contrast 91-91 recession with current
prosperity

1) Show Dole's absence of economic
program in 91 when the country
needed it.

b) Achievements: Stress how Dole opposed Clinton's
achievements

1) Student loans, immunizations, family
leave, Brady Bill

c) Positioning on Budget: Express how Dole tried to
destroy America's values by
extremism in budget debate:

270B in Medicare cuts
Medicare premium increase
Entitlement for Medicaid children
Nursing homes
Head start
College scholarships

Federal help for schools
Environmental policies
EPA enforcement
Toxic waste
Tax cut for working families
Tuition deductibility

d) Advocacy: Contrast Clinton and Dole differences over ongoing issues:

V-Chip
Federal role in education and education standards
Tobacco/smoking
Minimum wage
domestic violence
100,000 cops
Campaign finance reform,

D) Overall Conclusions:

1) To show Dole's inadequacies:

- a) Dole lacks generational perspective to embrace new era.
- b) Dole is too much of a worn-out insider to seek dynamic change.
- c) Dole is too much of a Washington figure to understand real values issues.
- d) Dole embraces Republican passivity and inaction in the face of economic difficulty.

2) To show that Clinton has the right vision for America

- a) Clinton is generationally suited for a new look at America's problems at turn of the century.
- b) Clinton is an active, energetic proponent of new ideas.
- c) Clinton embraces the values of America as it copes with change
- d) Clinton actively and vigorously seeks to foster economic growth

E) Paid Media Implementation of These Themes.

- 1) Respond to Dole attacks with contrast between them which underscores and elaborates this agenda.
- 2) To show visual contrast between them by constant video juxtaposition.
- 3) To elaborate Clinton's achievements and positions through this dialogue and to lend them relevance and saliency by contrasting them with Dole's opposition.

F) Free Media Implementation of Above Strategy- Presidential

- 1) Continue positive exposition and elaboration of the State of Union agenda into our basic message:

Tobacco,
education standards
television violence
teen gangs,
going to college,
corporate responsibility
pension reform
health care portability
job training vouchers
responsible parenting,
criminal sentencing,
anti-terrorism
domestic and spousal abuse
education technology,
environmental protection
school uniforms...

- 2) To highlight economic optimism and current economic growth
- 3) To accomplish closure on conservative themes of budget balancing, tax cuts, welfare reform, crime, immigration reform.
- 4) To highlight international role as peacekeeper and statesman
- 5) The goal of Presidential free media activity is not and should not be to raise Dole's negatives.

G) Free Media Implementation of Above Strategy-- Non-Presidential

- 1) To interfere with the elaboration of Dole's message with tactical hits as opportunities arise
- 2) To use the Senate Floor to show Dole's lack of leadership and inability to be an effective President.
- 3) Force Dole into a position which exemplify the issues outlined above.
- 4) To distract Dole and break his momentum by tactical intervention in his campaign and in his legislative leadership.

H) Summary: (What do we want people to remember about Clinton and Dole)

- 1) Dole is too old, stuck in another era, but Clinton is current and with it.

Single word translation- Generational

- 2) Dole is too tired and mired in the status quo to permit him to seek change. Clinton is active, energetic and committed to change.

Single word translation- Status Quo

- 3) Dole is a Washington insider who does not get the fundamental values of America. Clinton is embracing those values in his program and politics.

Single word translation-Values

- 4) Dole is committed to passive economic policy while Clinton dynamically seeks growth.

Single word translation -Growth

I) RECAP; Generation, Status Quo, Values and Growth

II TARGETING -- HOW TO IDENTIFY THE FIVE MILLION AMERICANS WHO HOLD THE ELECTION IN THEIR HANDS
- MARK PENN

A. In the past, there has been virtually no successful targeting of swing voters

1. Swing voters is too big a category -- it embraces tens of millions of Americans -- to be useful

2. Standard election statistical analysis offers case models too unique to be of importance and only targets precincts, not voters

B. Now, we are developing the capacity to target the actual households which are the swing voters, in the swing markets, in the swing states to control the election if the race were to be a 52-48 or 48-52 race.

C. Methodology for targeting:

1. Already done:

- a. geographic/demographic targeting
- b. lifestyle targeting
- c. past electoral history
- d. current polling data

1. too small a sample for truly state by state or market by market polling

2. Next Step

a. New Polling : 10,000 interview poll in 20-25 key states

1. gives us statistical power to understand who is swing voter

2. Permits planning for Perot factor

3. Prioritize each state market and community type

- a. for Presidential events
- b. for surrogate events
- c. for organizing
- d. for time buying

4. Permits us to understand which of the 64 lifestyle clusters we need to target

a. allows us to identify the key lifestyle variants that identify a swing voter

5. Permits geographic targeting of paid media messages based on this analysis of which Dole attacks will hurt where and of which Clinton ads will work where

a. permits multitrack paid media

3. Then --

a. determine where, in the zip plus four geographic analysis these voters who are identified by lifestyle clusters live

b. factor in:

1. electoral data
2. demographics
3. state by state polling
4. breakouts from our own 10,000 sample poll
5. where we are advertising and where they are

c. We determine, at each level of the vote, who the swing the voters are, name by name and address by address

1. At a 52-48 race, they are different than at a 55-45 race

2. They will vary depending on Perot's candidacy and how it does

3. But the targeting model can adapt to these variations as they occur before field resources are actually committed

4. Final Application

1. Once families are identified, a heavily focused phone and mail hit becomes possible.

2. If we identify 5 million families -- 8 million voters -- 4% of electorate

a. We can mail and phone them at reasonable costs with incredible frequency

1. 5 mailers and 3 phone calls would cost about \$15 million

7

2. Can concentrate these in the last two weeks so they get a Clinton hit almost every day

b. Can adjust targeting until about 3 weeks out to adjust to moving electoral conditions

3. We can identify where Presidential time needs to go in states where we are in trouble

4. We can weight time buys

5. We can shift messages with great precision to hit targets

III LEGISLATIVE HITS ON DOLE

A. Terrorism Bill (items cut by House Republicans)

1. prohibit fund raising by terrorists, (Hamas)

2. deport aliens faster

3. tagents for bomb tracing

4. cop killer bullet study

B. Anti Militia Bill

1. prohibit intimidation of local govt officials (i.e. Montana)

C. Reverse Frank

1. Make Senators pay for mail out of fixed budgets, but public mails in free

D. Electronic Weapons Detector

1. NRA and ACLU oppose, but public heavily favors

E. Food safety

1. Improvements on meat inspection threatened by panel to see if they are needed -- we move to delete the panel

2.
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORE

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT ON APRIL 24

I. TRACKING -- NO CHANGE SINCE TWO WEEKS AGO, BUT NOW REAL
JOB APPROVAL GROWTH INTO 60s

A. Head to head still at 51-37

B. Job approval still at 61-38

1. second in a row, likely lasting change

2. room for growth now in head to head

C. Favorability at 60-38

1. now also in the 60s, hopefully to stay -- second week

D. Dole favorable at 49-44 (2 weeks ago at 49-44 also)

E. Hillary at 49-42 (last week at 47-43)

F. Three way at 46-34-11 with Perot

G. Perot favorability at 32-58

H. Budget tracking:

1. who is more to blame for failure to reach a balanced budget, tax reform
and welfare agreement this year?

Clinton 33 v Republicans 50

Clinton 33 v Dole 41

2. Suppose Dole says it is time to stop negotiating and get a balanced
budget done. He says he has the votes to pass a new version
of the budget with fewer cuts in Medicare than before and the
Republicans should pass it and put a new balanced budget on
Clinton's desk to sign or veto

agree 59 disagree 35

vote: Cl 47 Dole 43

①

4/24/96

3. Supporters of Clinton say that if Dole really wants a balanced budget, not just political posturing, he will finish the negotiating with Clinton. Dole knows that the issues are so important that only a budget carefully reviewed and agreed to by both sides will be passed and signed. Dole should negotiate if he really wants to achieve a balanced budget, not just go back to the Republican tactics of 1995.

agree 74 disagree 21

vote: Cl 56 Dole 36

4. Analysis: If he projects his line before we can get our line out, he can acquire permanent advantage. We must press our line of negotiations before he can get his line of unilateral action out to the public.

5. Steps to take:

1. Friday: Challenge Dole to come in and talk
And say we will meet with Congress to put together an agreement.

2. Next week: meet with Breaux-Chaffee
meet with Stenholm-Sabo

always calling on Dole to talk

3. The week after: through out individual areas where we can find agreement:

capital gains for tuition tax credit
we will explore other areas to propose later

4. Finally, release our proposed compromise as we released our seven year budget plan

II. AD CAMPAIGN

A. Crime ad now on where unopposed. Tax answer on where opposed

2. Welfare:

92: end welfare as we know it

93-4 EITC

95-6 37 state waivers

Second term: finish welfare reform; empowerment zone job creation

strong agree: 38

some agree: 41

total agree: 79

3. Taxes

92: middle class tax cut

93-4: EITC

95-6: fought for tuition tax deductions, tax credit for each child

second term: get the program passed

strong agree: 50

some agree: 33

total agree: 83

4. Deficit

92 campaign: pledged a cut

93-4: cut deficit

95-6 now cut in half

second term: balance the budget

strong agree: 36

some agree: 33

total agree: 69

5. economy

campaign: focus like a laser

93-4: cut deficit, opened markets

95-6: 8.4 million jobs

second term: go to college, job training vouchers

strong agree: 33

some agree: 36

total agree: 69

6. crime

92 campaign: fight crime promise

93-4: Brady Bill, assault rifles, 100M cops

95-6: get cops hired, terrorism

**second term: get federal sentencing requirements adopted by states
so felons serve 85% of sentences**

strong agree: 53

some agree: 29

**IV. CHARACTER ISSUE --- ACQUIRING IMMUNITY BASED ON PUBLIC
LEADERSHIP ON VALUES ISSUES**

**A. Our agenda of public values issues has become a highly effective response to
attacks on the President's character**

**1. people increasingly see the President's public
values agenda as a more relevant indicator of his character
than the allegations of personal prior conduct**

2. Even when subjected to a harsh set of attacks, the public values agenda beats them back

Format: Some people say that Bill Clinton has shown that he does not have the character to be President when you consider.....Others say that while these things should have been considered three years ago when Clinton did not have a track record, now he has shown his real values in office by.....

a. negatives: failed promises, Whitewater, draft

vs.: assault weapons, education, Medicare, tobacco, TV ratings, Oklahoma City, Rabin

bad character: 35
has real values: 63

b. negatives: failed promises, Whitewater, draft

vs. assault weapons, education, medicare, tobacco, TV ratings --
no Okla or Rabin

bad: 36
values: 61

c. negatives: womanizing, pot smoking, sexual harassment suit

vs. peace in Bosnia and Mid east, tax cuts for working families,
Brady Bill,

bad: 35
values: 60

d. negatives: womanizing, port smoking, sex harassment suit

vs. domestic violence, truth in sentencing, health portability

bad: 34
values: 63

3. Conclusion: Any attack on private conduct and character can be met reference to virtually any of our values agenda issues and defeated in the context of these actions showing his "real" values

B. President's character perceptions are highly competitive with Dole.

1. We do best on public values and do OK on private values

2. Question: Does this apply more to Clinton or Dole?

a. Works to help majority of people CI 57 D 33

b. Inspiring: CI-52 D-29

c. Doing right even if unpopular 53-37

d. Keeps campaign promises: 41-31

e. Someone you would leave your kids with 40-33

f. responsible 45-44

g. represents basic American values 46-46

h. decent 44-45

i. trust 44-46

j. strong on defense 39-52

3. Analysis:

a. big progress in leads on doing right and promises

b. good progress in break even on personal character stuff

1. margins like this are not the basis for a campaign against us.

V. RESPONSE TO DOLE ATTACKS

A. Generic Goals:

1. Make Dole seem nasty

a. take away his ability to wage a negative campaign by making him pay with nastiness adjectives for each shot he takes

2. Make Dole seem incompetent

- a. by peddling the story that his attacks aren't working or are a blunder, make him seem incompetent
- b. put him through the same ringer we went through in the opening months

3. Stress Dole hypocrisy

- a. by contrasting proposals with past positions, make him seem flip floppy. Take away affirmative advocacy as an option

4. Use to showcase our accomplishments

- a. Just as we used Republican

VI. GENERATIONAL THEME -- THE BASIC STORY WE HAVE TO TELL

A. We tested two story lines on generational issues.

1. Clinton vs Clinton --

Clinton is the first of a new generation to hold the Presidency. He was young and inexperienced at the start but now he really understands how to govern and has become a solid leader who will be even better in the second term

vs

He is typical of young people who lack discipline, character, and maturity. He doesn't understand or respect how the older generation worked to make the country what it is and we need to bring back leadership that understands the old ways and has greater maturity and understanding

Good Clinton -59 Bad Clinton: 36

2. Clinton vs Dole

Clinton is the first of a new generation to hold the Presidency. He was young and inexperienced at the start but now he really understands how to govern and has fresh ideas. Dole represents the older generation trying to take back power just as the younger generation is coming into its own and doing a better job. It would be wrong to let Dole turn back the clock on America's leadership and its new direction

VS

He is typical of young people who lack discipline, character, and maturity. He doesn't understand or respect how the older generation like Bob Dole, worked to make this country what it is. We need to bring back leaders who understand that our old values are still useful and give people like Bob Dole, who understand those values, one more turn to lead us in the right direction

Clinton: 56 Dole 37