

VII. DOLE ATTACKS --- GOOD ANSWERS FOR EACH

A. Judges

1. 33% had heard of attack (not great projection)
2. Agree with attack (without rebuttal) agree-39 disagree-44
 - a. likely to vote for Dole 40 likely to vote for Clinton 43
3. Best answer: Sentences under Clinton are longer: 56%-34
 - a. second best answer: ABA approval 51-26
 1. ABA too liberal v ABA prestigious, reliable, useful
pro ABA-49 anti ABA-36
 - b. third best answer: Dole voted to confirm 48-30

B. Partial Birth Abortion

1. Support veto: 56 Oppose: 40
2. Argument: only life exemption not enough, need health exemption
support: 52 oppose: 35
3. Pope and Catholic cardinals said ban needed because of proximity to birth
more likely to vote Cl: 36 less likely: 41
4. Clinton says wanted restrictions but wanted exemption for health, keep decision in hands of doctors:
agree: 50 disagree: 35

5. Opponents say brutal procedure, suck out brains, Pope and cardinals say wrong. Clinton says veto so no slippery slope to ban on all abortion. would sign if serious health exemption included

more likely Cl: 51 less likely Cl: 45

6. Break even, after arguments. Doing OK

VIII. DOLE NEGATIVES

A. Environment-Lobbyists

1. Republican Congressional leaders let lobbyists for corporations regulated by the EPA essentially write legislation changing environmental rules. Then the Republicans let the lobbyists explain the changes to lawmakers even though their companies would be affected by the new rules

more likely Dole 35 less likely: 55

2. Bob Dole supports legislation that would let insurance companies for corporate polluters avoid paying clean up costs for toxic dumping they were liable for prior to 1987, and shift those costs to the taxpayers instead.

more likely Dole 12 less likely 84

3. In 1995, Dole took more than \$200,000 in PAC contributions from companies seeking to weaken the Clean Water Act. In the same year, Dole criticized the Clean Water Act and promised to reexamine the drinking water standards in the legislation

more likely Dole 15 less likely 79

B. Dole Pork

1. Tested:

\$43 mil in funding for Kansas Company to build 12 planes
the Army never asked for less likely: 79

\$6 million to construct a Bob Dole Hall at Univ of Kansas: less-85

bicycle paths in North Miami Beach less: 81

18 mil on new subway station three blocks from Senate 84

\$125,000 study of a mudhole in Kansas 77

\$4 million to build a cosmosphere in Kansas: 86

2. All pork works well -- we'll use it

C. Foreign Lobbyist Advisors to Dole

1. Dole's campaign advisors include many people who serve or have served as foreign lobbyists for governments including Japan, Korea, Mexico, etc. Some say too much influence Others say long term friends would drop foreign work if elected

more likely: 26 less likely: 64 (35 much less)

2. Dole supporters point out that many of Clinton's current advisors and officials served in the past as foreign lobbyists and note that Dole lobbyists would end their foreign connections if Dole won

more likely Dole: 27 less likely Dole: 63

3. Clinton supporters say that not a single important Clinton advisor is a foreign lobbyist

more likely Dole 28 less likely Dole 62

4. Because of our vulnerability on this issue through FOBs who are in lobbying firms, we won't use this offensively but will use it to defend against attacks on China-MFN for example (other countries will take our market share and Dole has advisors who represent these other countries)

IX. PRESIDENTIAL STYLE -- STRONG BACKING FOR PERSUASION AS KEY TOOL

- A. Tested "Clinton is defining a new style of Presidential leadership. He is showing how a President can accomplish things not just through legislation but by getting individuals and groups to cooperate. His words are creating actions. He got the media to put in a ratings system on TV shows, computers-schools, tobacco. This new style is working

strong agree: 36
somewhat agree: 32

total agree 68

disagree: 29

X. EMPOWERMENT MESSAGE -- POWER TO COMMUNITIES AND INDIVIDUALS WORKS WELL

- A. Tested "Pres Clinton is returning power to communities and individuals. While the Republicans are trying to turn programs into block grants of money to be spent by the states, Pres Cl is pushing for programs that give individuals vouchers for job training, tax deductions for college, more choice through charter schools.

strong agree: 38
somewhat agree: 31

total agree 69

disagree 28

XI. ENVIRONMENTAL RIDERS -- ALL VERY UNPOPULAR

A. Tested with argumentation:

- 1. EPA Wetlands 27-71**
- 2. Tongass Forest: 24-71**
- 3. Columbia River: 30-66**
- 4. Mojave Desert: 30-64**

XII. FOREIGN ISSUES

A. Values v Interest:

- 1. Dole says foreign policy should be based on a strict definition of national interest. If no interest, no involvement. Bosnia is example. Clinton says promote values of liberty and peace, prevent killing, stop small wars from becoming big, broader view of interest to include values for safer world**

Dole view: 41 Clinton view: 55

a. lets engage him on this

B. Ranking of foreign policy achievements:

North Korea -- stopped from getting nuclear weapons important: 75

Iraq-Iran -- kept terrorist nations in check important: 69

Bosnia -- negotiated peace settlement and enforced it no loss of life in combat important: 57

Israel -- Peace accords between Israel and Palestinians Important: 53

Ireland -- bring about a cease fire important: 47

Russia -- stabilize the reforms important: 47

Haiti -- Restoring Democracy with no loss of life important: 45

1. Need to get Korea story out
2. Actions against Iran and Iraq still very important

C. Army as "Social Work"

Dole criticized Clinton for using the Army too often for what he calls social work. Haiti, Bosnia, Somalia military in social reconstruction, humanitarian programs outside proper mission. Clinton says right to use military to protect life and solve underlying causes of war

Dole agree: 43 Clinton Agree: 56

- D. Basic point: We have an isolationist group of about 40% which we must try to turn against Dole if he moves too far to the right on cold war issues like Taiwan etc. His calls for toughness can be used to swing these groups against him.

XIII. DEFENSE ISSUES -- DOLE IS TOO FAR TO THE RIGHT

- A. Dole's defense initiatives lack a popular mandate or backing

B. Star wars: 41- 54

1. argumentation: nuclear threats, China, North Korea, rogue nations vs. won't work against terrorism, unproven, money better spent elsewhere

34-60

C. Defense spending: increase: 22 stay same: 55 decrease: 19

1. Has military shown it has the manpower and equipment to meet international crises or is there a need to bolster the military further:

has manpower and equipment: 62
needs further bolstering: 33

D. Strategy: Run demonstrated ability and success of military against Dole's alarmist defense statements.

Faith in the military vs. lack of faith in their current ability

1. Preparedness only works when military screws up: Iran hostages

XIV. INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

We tested each of six interest groups to determine who had worst image

Tobacco Companies priority to cut power: 56 importance of group: 49

Lawyers: priority: 43 importance: 61

News media priority: 43 importance: 72

NRA priority: 40 importance: 47

Christ. Coalition priority 27 importance: 41

AFL and labor priority: 24 importance: 41

Analysis: Good offense possible against tobacco and NRA, but not against Christian Coalition

Worry about attacks on lawyers but not on labor

Need: to develop a defense to lawyer attack apart from specific issues like tort reform

XV. OTHER ISSUES

A. Smoking

Zero tolerance for smoking on school property or at events like games or dances. smoke detectors in bathrooms. Smokers told to leave activity strictly enforced:

more likely vote C1: 63 less likely vote C1 30

great, lets do it

B. Welfare Reform

Require Teenagers Moms to stay in school to get AFDC -- exec order

more likely C1:81 less likely: 13

Bruce says we can do by exec order, lets do it.

C. Child abuse/neglect

Denying free legal counsel that is currently available to parents who have been found guilty of child abuse and are seeking to regain custody of their children, often on grounds that they have changed their ways

agree: 55 disagree: 37

too close for comfort

D. Spouse Abuse

1. Half of insurance companies deny coverage for spousal abuse injuries. Require coverage.

more likely: 89-8

2. Calling on the ABA to encourage lawyers to offer free order of protection services to anyone who is threatened

no polling, well worth doing, obviously popular

E. Tax Credits for Adoption/Marry Single Mothers

Offering an additional tax credit for people who agree to take on the support obligations for a child that is not their own either by marrying a single parent or through adoption of a child

more likely vote C1: 74 less likely: 19

F. Deadbeat Dads

Garnish veterans checks, social security, disability if recipient is *delinquent* in his or her child support payments

more likely: 80-16

G. Community Watch Volunteers

100,000 community watch volunteers to match the 100,000 new cops to serve as added eyes and ears of police in sporting crime.

more likely: 76-21

H. Buy American

Urges all Americans, including every govt agency, every business every consumer to go out of their way in looking for the made in USA label whenever possible as a way to stimulating our economy and showing the pride we take in American workers

more likely 74-20

I. Community Service

Community service for high school seniors working in their communities at hospitals, shelters, nursing homes, and other places to earn credits they could use to pay for college tuition

more likely 86-13

I have in mind urging colleges and high schools to do this voluntarily

K. Out of wedlock children

Major speech on 1/4 children out of wedlock, creates social problems, need to reverse policies to encourage children to have the support of two parents

more likely 88-16

J. Intimidation of Federal Officials

crime to intimidate govt officials through threats of violence

strong agree: 57

some agree: 23

total agree: 80

K. College:

If Clinton said higher education was key to competing international economy. National goal every student have opportunity for some college. High school isn't enough anymore. At least some community college is necessary and we need to give everyone opportunity for college as we did for high school diplomas years ago

more likely Cl: 73 less likely: 26

basic new theme for campaign

L. Employer-Employee Duties

1. Support that employees have a duty to make company more profitable, not just do their job by 72-23
2. Support that employers have a duty to make employees more valuable through job training not just to provide a paycheck by 82-14
3. Support "employees have a duty to make a company more profitable and employers have a duty to make employees more valuable by 93-6

M. Layoff-Stock proposal

1. Some people say companies that downsize should be required to share some of the potential benefits of downsizing with the employees who lose their jobs by giving them stock in the company; others say that this is just unnecessary intrusion into the process and will cause cutbacks in other more useful severance benefits

Require to give stock: 51 Unnecessary intrusion 49

2. No mandate, won't work politically

N. Immigration

1. Best job on immigration: Dole: 38 Clinton: 45

a. less than vote share, so a danger

2. Dole for denying all benefits to illegal aliens who live here such as food stamps, welfare, and disability. Says they are not citizens and not entitled to our help

agree: 66 disagree: 32

3. Clinton says cutting off all benefits to illegal aliens is too extreme and will fill the streets with more social and crime problems. Instead, we should step up deportations

agree: 76 disagree: 23

4. Dole would deny public education to the young children of illegal aliens living in the country

agree: 47 disagree: 50

5. Clinton believes denying education would create social chaos, put tens of thousands of kids on the street. don't penalize kids

agree: 60 disagree 40

6. Dole says allow 500,000 guest workers in from Mexico to help harvests

agree: 40 disagree: 54

7. Some say guest workers take jobs few Americans want, keeps food cheap. Others say depresses wages and they stay after visa and take jobs

agree Dole, let in workers 42 no: 53

8. who would do better job on immigration: D: 43 C: 49

9. Analysis: still a tough issue for us, but we have it blunted. Key themes are: deportations and guest workers.

as defense on benefits for illegals, attack benefits, but defend education based on social chaos and roaming kids

O. Social Security exemption from Balanced budget Amendment:

Support: 58-35

1. After argue that Soc Sec is accumulated investment by people and shouldn't be in regular budget vs if shortfall will cause taxes or cuts like any other program: 68-29
2. After argue that benefits could be cut via backdoor: 62-33
3. But oppose exclusion of Medicare by 48-49

PRIVATE AGENDA FOR THE PRESIDENT

I. IRAN -- A NEED FOR U.S. ACTION

- A. Need for "get well" from arms exposé
- B. Need sharp action against Iran as a way of pressuring Syria-Hezbollah into accord with Peres
 - 1. Peres up 7 pts after Lebanon shelling but slipping now if he cannot produce a deal
 - 2. Peres says that it is Iran that is calling Assad's shots and attributes their standing up of Christopher to Iran
- C. Action against Iran is an essential element of avoiding the necessity of harsh action against China
- D. Recommend unilateral actions -- if there are any we could take -- to restore our credibility on this issue and then follow it with soliciting joint action with the Europeans
 - 1. Real danger if congress passes the anti-Iranian measure that is in the House. A veto would be a disaster. We must override our economic concerns and be perceived as taking bold action here
 - 2. Foreign policy is a metaphor for character and toughness. We need to do something to Iran to fill that void.
- E. Saudis remain able to supply Iranian oil to fill the void an embargo might leave.
- F. Suggest strong pressure on France and Germany for joint action with allies

If Dole says revoke. Penalize human rights, export of nuclear technology to Iran and Pakistan, and Taiwan; Clinton says continue. Don't raise tensions, hurt US economy by starting a trade war denying access to China's growing markets

Dole agree: 36 Cl agree: 54

Dole says Clinton won't stand up to China and giving them MFN is example of weak. Clinton says denying MFN would hurt US economy and help other countries like Japan take over our markets Americans could have won

Dole agree: 28 Cl agree: 65

1. So: good answer based on trade war and other nations take markets

B. Suggest MFN renewal be accompanied by an "anti-military" policy designed to impact military but not civilian sectors

1. tariffs and other restrictions on products made in military owned or dominated factories

2. export controls on technology

C. Key is that we must do something against China, somewhere and somehow

IV. WHITEWATER

A. we tested attacks on Starr --

1. Volunteered to write a brief for Paula Jones

inappropriate: 69
(45% very)

Contributed \$1500 to his firms PAC which gave Dole money

inappropriate: 66

Hired by Republican Governor Thompson to argue school voucher case in court funded by conservative anti-Clinton foundation

inappropriate: 65

Represented tobacco companies in court to dismiss a class action suit while those companies are opposing Clinton on anti smoking measures

inappropriate: 58

Is Starr inquiry a serious, fair inquiry or a politically driven by his ties to Republican Party

Before above list was read: serious: 27 political: 56
(in February: 31-52)

After list was read: serious: 21 political: 66

Should Starr resign: yes: 55 no: 31

V. India-Pakistan

To relieve pressure on China for sales to Pakistan and on us for failing to take effective moves against it. Suggest, after Indian election, a sub-continent American sponsored peace effort with pressure on Bhutto to halt purchases in consideration of Indian agreement to bi-lateral talks they have always resisted

VI. Suggest trip to Sarajevo to build ratings at home. Foreign trips work well

VII. Saudis request that we tell our ambassador to Yemen to bluntly talk to Yemeni leadership about their increasing linkage with Iran

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AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT-- MAY 9

I. TRACKING-- DOLE FAVORABILITY SINKS, HEAD TO HEAD STEADY, CLINTON APPROVAL UP

A. Head to head steady at 18 pts 53-35 (54-36 last week)

B. Job approval up to 60(from 57 last week)

1. renewed stress on positive message and new ad

C. Favorability up to 59 (from 58)

D. Re-elect at 50, up from 49

E. Dole favorability down to 45-50 (from 47-46 last week)

1. Our negatives are cutting him deeply

2. Now, we need to push hard to try to move his unfavorables to an unelectable range

F. Hillary Favorable at 50-40 (from 47-45)

G. Budget tracking

1. Who is most to blame for failure to reach a deal: Cl: 30 Reps: 53

a. up from last week's 33-50

b. But Dole v Cl on blame: D-39 Cl-36 (down from 41-33 last week)

H. Comparison of Adjectives

| | |
|--|------------|
| 1. Peacemaker | Cl 66 D 19 |
| 2. New ideas | Cl 55 D 26 |
| 3. Vision for future | Cl 52 D 30 |
| 4. Effective | Cl 51 D 45 |
| 5. Strong leader | Cl 51 D 41 |
| 6. Does Right even if unpop | Cl 49 D 35 |
| 7. Is on my side | Cl 48 D 36 |
| 8. In touch with my values | Cl 48 D 41 |
| 9. Does things because they are right | Cl 47 D 34 |
| 10. Doing a lot to bal budg | Cl 45 D 33 |
| 11. Takes clear stands | Cl 43 D 38 |
| negative: Flip Flops | Cl 59 D 23 |

analysis: clear leads on everything. Most important:

way ahead on balancing the budget
ahead on values, doing right, strong and effective

only flip-flop remains cause for concern
(but we win by 18 pts even with that concern, so it is not
that serious anymore)

I. Comparison of Issue Areas

| | |
|----------------|------------|
| Education | Cl 59 D 30 |
| Health care | Cl 56 D 33 |
| Foreign Policy | Cl 56 D 37 |
| Welfare | Cl 51 D39 |
| Economy | Cl 50 d 43 |
| Crime | Cl 44 D 43 |
| Taxes | Cl 42 D 46 |

Big leads in Welfare(the result of our ads) and Foreign policy(the result of your achievements) are very important news

II GAS TAX --- LINKAGE TO MINIMUM WAGE IS THE WAY TO GO

A. Recall of the issue is up to 69%

1. growing too fast not to act

B. Dole is seen as initiating the repeal rather than Clinton by 35-24

C. If Clinton urged repeal, they'd back repeal by 56-36

D. If Clinton urged repeal, they'd be more likely to vote for him by 51-35

E. If it were repealed, credit would go to Clinton over Dole by 26-17. but most would give credit to both (15) or neither (32)

1. They don't like Dole and don't like to give him credit for anything

F. But, Clinton's support of repeal would be seen as "political gimmick" and "flip-flop" as opposed to due to change in gas prices and cut in deficit by 58-36

1. When any politician's motives for anything are probed, swing voters will never give him the benefit of the doubt, only his core partisans
2. Dole was seen as hypocrite on the issue by 65% last week
3. Neither of these factors will stop either candidate from reaping positives or negatives from whichever side he takes on the issue
4. This will be used in Republican ads and we cannot give them a clear shot at us by vetoing the repeal
5. It is just too precise and clear that 4 cents a gallon costs a driver 50 cents to fill up his 12 gallon tank each time.
6. You know how these car issues can work (1980)

G. Repeal gas tax now or link to minimum wage increase

Repeal: 35 Link to Min Wage: 57

H. If Clinton favored gas tax repeal without conditions: 52-43

I. If Clinton favored gas tax repeal only if guarantee pass through and pass minimum wage: 75-23

1. past polling indicates that pass through is not the key element, minimum wage is

III MINIMUM WAGE

A. Strong support for minimum wage continues--

- a. An unbelievably strong issue. Much more important than any issue now in play including gas tax.

Support-- 81-18 (Strongly support- 63))

B. Strong electoral connection- Clinton favors, Dole opposes

more likely--63 less likely--27

C. Argumentation: Automation, cut in teen jobs, increase EITC instead of minimum wage vs. living wage, adjusted for inflation, don't hit taxpayers with burden

Support minimum wage increase-- 70-26

More likely Clinton-- 64-32

IV RESPONSE TO DOLE ADS -- NEED FOR INSTANT PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL OF SCRIPTS

A. We need instant access to the President for script approvals in answering Dole ads.

1. When an answer is needed and I call the President for script approval, I would request that he authorize Betty to tell him immediately and request that he either take the call or return it within a few minutes

B. General Procedure:

1. Republican ad sighted in morning of day 1.
2. Response ad anamatics are generated for mall tests on the evening of day 1
 - a. they are digitally conveyed to mall test sites
 - b. They are fact checked during day 1
 - c. script writing is coordinated with Sosnik
3. President is called on morning of day 2 for approval of script that worked in mall tests
 - a. need immediate access as per above
4. Ad is produced on day 2 and satellited to stations

5. Ad airs on one third of the stations on the night of day 3 and on all stations on the morning of day 4

a. 72 hours after attack has hit

C. Emergency Procedure

1. When ad is so dangerous that it cannot be permitted to run unanswered for 72 hours or...

2. When point levels are too high to leave it unanswered for 72 hours, or...

3. When the Republican ad runs on a Thursday. In that case, the emergency procedure will permit a Saturday answer, whereas the regular procedure would only permit a Tuesday start date

Then:

4. Ad is seen in morning of day 1

5. Answer is produced and satellited on day 1

a. fact checked

b. approved by President

6. Ad runs on one-third of stations on evening of day 2 and on all stations morning of day three

a. 48 hours later

7. Mall test is run on evening of day 2

8. Modifications, if needed, are made on day 3 and new ad is satellited on day 3.

D. Dole's attacks on us

1. A test of the themes used against us by Dole in his Nassau Speech Friday evening shows that none of the negative attacks work very well

2. "Clinton has brought weakness and stagnation to the nation

1. disagree: 36-62

2. likelihood of voting for Dole: more: 28 less: 62

3. "Clinton is the rear guard of the liberal tax and spend crowd that gave us big government"

a. disagree: 45-49

a. most credible of the attacks : care on taxes is still essential

b. Likelihood of vote for Dole more: 33 less: 57

4. "Clinton has a weak foreign policy that has lost us the respect of the world"

a. disagree: 43-54

b. likelihood of vote Dole more: 38 less: 55

5. Clinton has done too little to stop drugs...teens..drug use up among teens

a. disagree: 33-64

6. But when Dole goes positive, he can pick up ground:

"America needs a President who is stronger, more decisive in character and Bob Dole's life story shows how he can be that kind of President."

a. agree: 51-48

b. likelihood of vote Dole: more: 46 less: 50

c. The right move is for them to open positive, but I don't think they will

7. Dole's attacks on us are painting him into the corner of being seen as too negative.

a. Who is waging the most negative campaign?

Clinton-19 Dole-48

b. Is Dole spending too much time attacking Clinton instead of campaigning on his own merit.

Too much time attacking-- 69-23

c. Is Clinton spending too much time attacking

Too much time attacking-- 41-52

8. The right move for Dole:

a. On negatives, he needs to take account of 95 and 96 and dismiss them. Instead, he's running as if the move to the center never happened, attacking the 93-4 record as if that's all there is and ignoring the grounds for the vetoes of 95-6

1. It would work:

Clinton is really a liberal who for the last 2 years has been running a clever re-election campaign to appear much more moderate. If he is elected for a second term, Clinton will never have to answer to the voters again and he will go back to being a liberal on issues like gays in the military and raising taxes

agree: 51-46

1. We will work on answers

b. On positives, he needs to make his ads more future oriented in new proposals, not just biographic or rehashes of his side of the budget debate

V WELFARE -- NEW EXECUTIVE ORDER VERY EFFECTIVE IN REBUTTING
REPUBLICAN ATTACKS OVER WELFARE

A. Attack on welfare by Republicans works

Clinton promised to end welfare, but two vetoes, Clinton never
really wanted reform

more likely Clinton: 39 less likely: 51

1. a rare attack that works

B. Clinton says bills penalized children, denied day care, 37 states

more likely Clinton: 54 less likely: 36

C. same answer as B, except add executive order

more likely: Cl 77 less likely 20

head to head: 58-38

D. Same as B, except add deadbeat dad actions:

more likely Cl: 68 less likely: 22

head to head: 55-36

E. Conclusion: Winner is....the executive order and 37 states and penalize kids

VI NEW IDEAS

A. Voluntary teen curfews approved by parents and enforced by police

1. Experiment being tried in SC

2. Strong public support for proposal.

Support 63-32

3. Still support after argumentation- harass children, especially minorities, vs. parents can keep kids away from gangs and drugs.

Support 66-27

- B. Voters support birth control information over abstinence education as best method for High School's to prevent teen pregnancy.

1. Birth control vs. abstinence education

Birth control--60 Abstinence--36

2. We should urge both and have it p to communities, but we do not need to be afraid of leaving the option of birth control available to local communities.

- C. Enforcement of statutory rape laws to combat teen pregnancy--Strong support.

1. Strong support for enforcement of statutory rape as means of fighting teen pregnancy

Support 61-33

2. Argumentation: Statutory rape serious, most teen pregnancy from older men vs. consensual sex OK, get child support don't lock up father

support enforcement 67-24

- D. Support DNA samples from teen mothers to trace fathers

Support 55-39

E. Theme for Foreign Policy Speech -- Steadiness, Judgment, Strength

No longer can a successful foreign policy be run on the basis of rigid ideology. Today's problems, after the cold war, require strength, steadiness, and judgment

- strength when we need it,
- the steadiness to see our policies through and protect our values
- the judgment to understand where we can have influence and where it would be a mistake

These three elements must guide our foreign policy today

support 61-27

VII OLYMPIC THEMES

A. Our participation in the Olympics should be guided by a substantive theme rather than just identification with the event.

1. We should use Olympics as metaphor for our positive theme and return to it again and again in our Olympic involvement.

B. Testing of Themes:

1. Best theme : Assuming responsibility and self-improvement

73-20 (37 much more likely)

"The real meaning of these Olympics is that it shows us examples of what happens when individuals take on personal responsibility for self improvement. It shows what happens when we better ourselves and concentrate our energies on achieving a task. As each of us watches these athletes strive and win as a result of their training, we should be inspired to continue our education, get new job skills, to go back to college and to get degrees to finish HS so we can make the most of our own lives."

2. Second best theme: Race and gender don't matter

72-20

"The true meaning of the Olympics is that race and gender and other superficial differences don't really matter. We are Americans under the skin, all working together, all competing together to help our country win. When the pole vaulter clears the bar we don't think of it as a man or woman, or if he or she is Black, White, Asian or Hispanic- we think that that person is an American and we burst with pride at their successes."

3. Third best theme: AMERICA WINS

70-22

"What the Olympics mean is an example of how America can win if we all pull together. If we train hard. If we set our minds at tasks. If we disregard our differences and work together as one team. When I see Americans winning in the Olympic Stadium, I think of how we can win at global trade, in improving our society and creating more jobs and in Strengthening our families- if we only apply the Olympic spirit of Team America working together."

4. Fourth best theme: Peace

65-26

"The key meaning of the Olympics is that it shows a world at peace where nations put down their guns and their suspicions, and engage in wholesome athletic competition. Let the spirit of peace go from these games to the Middle East, to Bosnia, and to other places where the spirit of war causes to children to die."

5. Worst theme: America united

60-26

"The Olympics is about how this country's strength can be found in working together, because when we are united, we never fail. Through these games we, as a nation, will reach across all of our differences of color, creed or station in life to give those who are willing to work hard a chance to succeed. I believe that this summer the world will see one America, a place where individuals are realized through common efforts. A place where different points of view and different heritage's are held together by the shared values that keep this country great and strong."

VIII MISCELLANEOUS

A. Voters support targeted tax cuts over across the board tax cuts.

1. Across the board tax cut v. targeted tuition, raising children, low income workers back targeting 59-36
2. More likely Clinton if he backs targeting- 61-34

B. Voters opposes messing with SS payroll tax- afraid of impact on SS

1. Oppose cutting payroll tax for fear of impact on SS- jobs encouraged vs. SS endangered

Oppose payroll tax--19-74

2. They oppose cutting SS tax even with income tax subsidy of SS. oppose SS tax cut even with income tax subsidy--28-58
3. Even oppose making SS tax deductible due to concern over deficit 41 oppose making deductible- 41-51

C. Campaign Finance Reform v. Bundling by good groups- Voters want reform anyway.

1. Strongly oppose bundling in general

oppose bundling-- 58-33

2. Oppose Bundling even with argument that it would help women's candidates and groups

oppose bundling 64-30

3. Oppose bundling even with argument that women use bundling to get small direct mail donations and put them together so they can be given to women candidates

oppose bundling: 48-46

4. you should move ahead on campaign finance reform, including anti-bundling provisions

D. Voters oppose privatization of FDA testing when argumentation alludes to the profit motive by private labs in falsifying tests.

Oppose 56-39

1. Strongly support compromise where life- threatening would be publicly tested and private labs would do tests on other drugs and foods

Support- 61--33

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT-- MAY 15

96

I TRACKING -- LEAD WIDENS, DOLE RATINGS DROP

- A. Lead grows to 19 points-- 54-35 (Cl up 1)
- B. Clinton job rating steady at 60
- C. Clinton Favorability up 2 to 61
- D. Clinton Re-Elect up 2 to all-time high of 52
- E. Dole Favorability rises slightly from 45-50 to 48-48 but huge drops in his ratings vs Clinton

| | Last Week | This Week | Gain |
|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------|
| (Clinton v Dole) | | | |
| Effective | 51-35 | 53-34 | +3 |
| Strong Leader | 51-41 | 53-39 | +4 |
| In touch with my values | 48-41 | 53-40 | +6 |
| Is on my side | 48-36 | 55-34 | +9 |
| Takes clear stands on issues | 43-38 | 48-38 | +5 |
| Doing a lot to balance budget | 45-33 | 53-32 | +9 |
| Peacemaker | 66-19 | 66-20 | -1 |
| Offers New Ideas | 55-26 | 58-25 | +4 |
| Does things because they are right | 47-34 | 54-34 | +7 |
| Flip flops on issues | 59-23 | 53-32 | +15 |
| vision for future | 52-30 | 59-29 | +8 |
| Does right, even if unpopular | 50-35 | 50-36 | +1 |

(1)

1. Huge gain on flip flop and big loss for Dole on it (as a result of Senate infighting, possibly)
2. Big gain on balancing budget
3. Important gains in leadership areas

ISSUE COMPARISON

| | | | |
|----------------|-------|-------|-----|
| Economy | 50-43 | 56-37 | +12 |
| Crime | 44-43 | 48-42 | +5 |
| Foreign policy | 56-37 | 54-40 | -5 |
| Welfare | 51-39 | 56-36 | +8 |
| Taxes | 42-46 | 52-39 | +17 |
| Health Care | 56-33 | 67-27 | +17 |
| Education | 59-30 | 65-27 | +9 |

Analysis:

1. Issue accomplishments at the start of current ad, which reflect the achievements in the 96 budget agreement, play very, very well
2. Huge lead on welfare is very important
3. Moving toward dominance on taxes

F. Three way race -- 49-31-13 (Cl up 1, Perot up 1)

G. Hillary Favorability -- 51-40 (up 1)

H. Budget tracking

1. Who trust more to balance Budget?

Clinton: 41 Repubs: 42 (we are up 2)

2. Who trust more to balance budget fair to all?

Clinton: 50 Repubs: 37 (we are up 1, they dropped 3)

3. Who to blame for balanced budget failure?

Clinton: 30 Repubs: 52 (they gained 1)

a. Who to blame for balanced budget failure?

Clinton: 36 Dole: 40 (he dropped 1)

4. Unaided comparison of plans

Clinton's 49 Repubs 36 (we rose 3, they dropped 3)

5. Articulated comparisons of plans

Clinton's 64 Repubs 29

6. The best budget ratings ever -- very well positioned to fight

I. Negative campaigning.

1. Who is more negative?

Clinton: 16 Dole: 51 (was 19-51)

2. Is Dole too negative?

68-22 (same)

3. Is Clinton too negative?

34-53 (better by 3)

4. He is awfully vulnerable to running too negative a campaign

J. Product Liability Exchange -- no erosion due to ads in Michigan

Head to head unchanged in Michigan

Of those who had heard of product liability issue, lead: 54-32

II. DOLE'S RETIREMENT FROM SENATE

A. Superficially the "right decision" voters feel:

"Some people say Dole made the right decision by stepping down as majority leader because running for President is a full time task that requires all of a candidate's effort. Others say that it is wrong for Dole to step down and abandon his responsibility as majority leader leaving behind much unfinished business in Congress"

right decision: 56

wrong decision: 34

B. We must make this a huge mistake on Dole's part:

1. as we get things done in government, he is on the fringe
2. he has no positive message to sustain him on the stump
3. the Republicans in Congress who remain have their own leaders and as he fades, their own agenda of achievement
4. We must keep in the voters' minds the huge failure that has been the Republican Congress for which he bears responsibility.
 - a. we cannot let him become born again as a candidate with no past and no responsibility for 95-96

C. Dangers

1. We must avoid Washington trap by executive actions and values messages
2. Comeback by underdog
 - a. stop it by denying him a message which he needs for traction

D. Free Media Strategy

1. Press Congress for action
2. Progress vs Partisanship -- getting it done while he wants to campaign

3. Send Dole and Gingrich off on the road and get it done here in Washington

4. Vigorous program of public action and statements to highlight contrast between President getting it done for America and Dole running for office

E. Paid Media Strategy

1. Pour it on to thwart his initiative. If he is still 20 points behind after this has run its course, they are dead and they know it

2. Stress themes that work in polling tonight in positive ads

3. Get it done for America, politics can wait. Dole (insert hit) But The President says balance the budget and get it done.

III BUDGET STRATEGY

A. Goal: To stop a bad medicaid-welfare bill from reaching our desk; and if possible, to get a good one we can sign

B. Advertising --- Keep pressure on Republicans

1. Earlier proposed ad did not test well in malls

- to negative
- did not stress 96 accord accomplishments

2. This new suggested ad tested very well. Seek approval

Text:

America's values. Medicare for our parents. Scholarships for our children. Toxic clean-up. Protected in the budget agreement because the President stood firm.

But now, Dole, Gingrich are at it again.

Their latest plan raises taxes on 10 million working families. 18 million children endangered by health care cuts. \$167 billion slashed from medicare. Same old way.

But the President is standing firm. Balance the budget. Reform welfare. Meet our challenges. Protect our values

C. Free Media Strategy

1. VP and Leon and Senators and Cabinet savage budget resolution as its being passed on Thursday and Friday and over weekend

2. Suggest President respond to passage of budget resolution with a "yes, but" press briefing for Tuesday, 5-21

a. We accept their welfare and medicaid proposals if the following changes were made:

1. entitlement in medicaid, enforcement of adequate benefits
2. no tax hike on working people
3. adequate contingency fund for downturns
4. better coverage of legal immigrants in areas such as disability and medicare
5. no block grants on food stamps, child services

Hilly has 4 pts on medicaid and 4 on welfare

3. Then, next week, come in with a list of "areas of flexibility" to show we are moving to meet them

a. not an alternative budget, but areas where we can move closer to their position

b. Hilly has possible list:

1. AFDC block grants
2. Deeming to citizenship
3. No coverage for drug or alcohol abuse
4. various formula changes
5. even if not scored: debit cards instead of cash

4. Continue to push moderate coalition Congressional-based solutions

IV HANDLING DOLE ATTACKS

A. We have war gamed three likely Dole attacks and developed answers that work for each one

1. Taxes and Promises

a. attack ad

middle class tax cut promise--tax hike
end welfare promise -- welfare veto

b. response works that hits Dole tax hikes and praises Clinton tax cuts

2. Character attack

a. attack ad

--Dole from Heartland; Clinton gays in military
--Dole hero, wounded; Clinton draft dodger,
demonstrated in London
--Dole values Clinton: partial birth abortion,
sex harassment suit, Whitewater

b. response works that contrasts Clinton and Dole on "values" issues

3. Welfare attack

a. attack ad

--end welfare as we know it vs two vetoes
--blocking replace welfare with work
--rewards illegitimacy and dependency
--actions louder than words

b. response ad

- quiet revolution in welfare reform
- exec order on teen moms
- 37 states
- day care
- 1.1 million off welfare
- Clinton vetoed old way
- moving people from welfare to work on his own

4. Also tested gas tax attack ad and found it did no real damage

V SECOND TERM CRITIQUE-- THE MOST DANGEROUS DOLE CHARGE

A. Most devastating attack on Clinton is that he is "really a liberal who, for the past two years has been running a re-election campaign to appear

3. Over Budget: --promise to cut deficit
--cut in half
--proposed bal budg plan

65-29

- C. Next best: show how Clinton has changed Democrats to more focus on balanced budget, tax cuts, crime, welfare reform. From government is answer to opportunity, won't go back to old liberal approach

66-27

- D. Third best: contrast Clinton and Dole positions over gun control, extra police, EITC, budget cuts

63-30

VI DOLE AND THE AGE ISSUE

- A. Voters break narrowly, disagree that Dole is too old to be President: 44-53

- B. When told that Clinton always spoke of Dole's "old approach" in his ads, and that the press criticized Clinton, saying this was a way of getting voters to oppose Dole because he was too old, it had little effect on voter attitude on Clinton

More likely to vote for Clinton-- 18
Less likely to vote for Clinton-- 29
No Difference-- 52

- C. Even if voters perceived that Clinton is saying that Dole is too old to be President, the fact that Clinton is making the allegation has little effect on the likelihood of vote for Clinton.

More likely to vote for Clinton-- 14
Less likely to vote for Clinton-- 29
No Difference-- 57

VII VIEW OF DOLE AS MODERATE VS. EXTREMIST

- A. We tested whether Dole "is a true conservative" on constitutional amendment on abortion, guns, budget cuts, or will he "moderate his positions and work to cut "pragmatic deals on these issues"

Public felt he was pragmatic, would move to center --

pragmatic: 53

true conservative: 36

- B. What do they conclude from this pragmatism:

1. Dole doesn't stand for anything, just taking positions to get votes, who knows what he'll do if elected

more likely Dole: 22

less likely Dole: 71

2. Dole is Washington insider, will compromise on promises whatever he says now

more likely: 25

less likely: 70

3. If Dole moves to the center on issues like abortion, guns, etc, we can severely undermine him with insider and stands for nothing attack

VIII TAX CUT- A TRAP FOR DOLE

- A. If Dole advocates an "Across the board" tax cut, he will fall into a major trap.

1. Voters support Dole's proposal for a 15% across the board tax cut by 48-42

a. very tepid margin

2. It, however, has little impact on the race

More likely to vote Dole-- 41
Less likely to vote for Dole--50

Clinton--58 Dole--35

3. When Dole's support for tax cuts is argued (let people keep their own money, spur job growth) it fails in the face of each of two different responses.

a. When Medicare, Medicaid, Education and Environment cuts are cited in opposition to Dole's tax cut, the tax cut fails by

39-53

b.. When targeted tax cuts like tuition, per child, working poor, are cited as an alternative, Dole's tax cut fails by

34-62

c. Given the list of possible alternatives in targeted tax cuts, voters back:

Two-years free Community College-- 73-23

Four-year tuition tax deduction-- 74-22

Increased tax cut to businesses that locate in
low income areas to create jobs for
former welfare recipients-- 82-16

\$1,000 tax credit per child (\$500 this year and \$500
next year)-- 78-20

4. Therefore, if Dole advocates across the board cuts, we should initially hit him over '95 budget arguments, but then move the debate to a grand referendum over whether tax cuts should be across the board or targeted.

a. Dole can't say the money isn't there for our targeted tax cuts because he proposed the tax cut first.

b. It permits us to speak of a utopian second term agenda without having to suffer the Republican chorus of "where's the money?"

i. Unlike Dole, we would not commit to a specific figure, but would indicate the targeted cuts we would support if funds became available through economic growth.

ii. This opens the door for a referendum on their side of the playing field on how to cut taxes, which we will win, that is devoid of the class warfare implications of previous argumentation on this subject.

IX GAS TAX- MINIMUM WAGE

A. Voters back a stand-alone- repeal of the gas tax

1. But a veto would hurt, but not badly.

a. if Clinton vetoed the gas tax repeal:

more likely: 51

less likely: 43

less than head to head, so it would close it up a bit but not a disaster

b. But, a veto tied to the minimum wage would not hurt us:

more likely Clinton: 59

less likely Clinton: 36

2. But, since it is a tax issue, we would be best to avoid a veto

B. Voters expect gas prices to

rise a lot: 16

rise a little: 25

TOTAL RISE: 41

stay the same: 24

drop a little: 26

drop a lot: 1

TOTAL DROP: 27

X SAME-SEX MARRIAGES-- PUBLIC STRONGLY SUPPORTS HOUSE BILL

A. Public backs House bill for federal non-recognition and letting each state make its own laws on same sex marriages, including whether or not to recognize such marriages performed in other states.

53-41

1. Probably seen as too weak by conservatives

B. If Clinton signed the bill, more likely to vote for him

more: 46 less: 43

C. If Clinton vetoed the bill saying he opposes same sex marriages but worries this bill would deny health benefits Clinton... to same sex domestic partners

more likely: 35 less likely: 51

D. Current bill is too liberal on this issue and Republicans will be forced to make it more draconian. We will have to veto that bill. So lets get out a signing statement as soon as we can to cover ourselves

XI EDUCATION AND ECONOMY -- NEW RHETORICAL APPROACHES

A. We tested:

- 150 yrs ago had to own land to get rich
 - Europe land limited -- class structure
 - US lots of land -- equality
- This century, need capital to make money
 - only few had it, so inequalities
- Now knowledge is key to wealth
 - if we use "scholarships and other incentives to open the doors of education wide" help average American move up, dream more accessible, opportunity
 - if we cut education and only a few have it, will have to rely on trickle down which doesn't work

Agree by 77-19 (51% strong agree!)

More likely to vote for Clinton: 67-26

By far the best way to integrate history of changes, class differences, growth, education, economy and budget

B. Also tested:

- old days didn't require much education
- industrial era, primary school education needed
- education need grew greater after World War II in global commerce so GI Bill
- technological literacy today is key
- must grow educational opportunity and lift barriers to college so Americans can share in growth

agree: 83-8 (60% strong agree!)

more likely Clinton: 70-23

**XII WHITEWATER -- ALL DEVELOPMENTS POSITIVE DESPITE
TESTIMONY AND HEARINGS**

A. Is President Clinton involved in serious wrongdoing?

31% yes (37% yes on 4-23)

B. Is Hillary Clinton involved in serious wrongdoing?

45% yes (49% on 4-23)

C. Is D'Amato's hearings:

fair inquiry 23 (was 27 on 4-23)

politically driven to discredit Pres. 67 (was 64)

Continued downward slide.

D. Is Starr's investigation

fair inquiry: 26

politically driven: 59 (was 56)

He is now where D'Amato was three months ago

E. After testimony adamantly denying asking Hale for loan:

Strongly believe Clinton: 21

somewhat believe Clinton 33

total believe Clinton 54

somewhat believe Hale: 16

strongly believe Hale 12

total believe Hale 28

based on testimony: more likely to vote Clinton: 46

less likely to vote Clinton: 47

F. If Starr loses current case close investigation because politically driven during election or complete investigation because good prosecutor and get all the facts out

close investigation 44
complete investigation: 50

G. Should Starr resign, conflicts, paper company, RTC

resign 48-35

H. If McDougal's and Tucker are found guilty is Pres involved in serious wrong doing:

35% (up 4)

1. Hillary-- 46 (up 1)

XIII NEW IDEAS

A. Teen Curfews Revisited -- still works great

1. At the last meeting, some suggested that voters would oppose curfews if given argumentation that it was a waste of time. Voters continue strongly to support parentally imposed curfews enforced by local police despite the argument by

74-22

2. Even when tested against "it would give the police an excuse to stop any teenager for any reason... intrusion of personal freedoms" voters still support curfews by

77-20

B. Coats-Bennet Tax Credits

1. Broadly popular. Magnificent elaboration of community theme.
2. \$500 tax credit to those providing home care for homeless, poor mothers with children, unmarried pregnant women or terminally ill.

67-27

3. \$500 tax credit-- deduction-- for charitable contributions.

65-23

- a. With argumentation that it will prompt more charity donations vs. balance the budget, still support

56-34

- b. But, With argument that money will go to "fringe, non-profit groups with purposes out of step with mainstream America"

42-43

- c. probably not worth pursuing in view of argumentation

4. Reserving 15% of all public housing for married couples.

XIV PRESENTATION ON FREE MEDIA--SQUIER

XV MISCELLANEOUS

A. TEAM Bill

1. Public supports TEAM Bill 53-32

2. But, after argumentation it flips-- Pro: Employee worker communications, useful in non-union plants vs. sham unions and circumvent majority decision by workers on which unions should represent them

21-support

71 oppose

B. Victims Rights--Strong voter support for Constitutional Amendment

1. Constitutional Amendment has been introduced by Feinstein and Kyl in Senate and Hyde in House

Text: To ensure that the victim is treated with fairness, dignity, and respect.....The victim shall have the following rights: to be informed of and given the opportunity to be present at every proceeding in which those rights are extended to the accused or convicted offender; to be heard at any proceeding involving sentencing, including the right to object to a previously negotiated plea, or a release from custody; to be informed of any release or escape; to a speedy trial, a final conclusion free from unreasonable delay, full restitution from convicted offender, reasonable measures to protect the victim from violence or intimidation by the accused or convicted offender, and notice of the victim's rights. (implemented by Congress and the states)

2. Voters back the Amendment by 74-21

a. If Clinton backed it, more likely to vote for him by 61-29

**3. After argumentation-- Pro: Give victims same rights as defendants.
Anti- Prosecutors speak for victims, frivolous Amendment
to Constitution-- Still support it by 58-35**

**4 .After more argumentation-- Pro: Representation in plea bargains.
Anti: More lawyers and delays. Still support by 51-39**

5. argument: do it by law

**law-43 victims should have constitutional protections like
defendants do 49**

6. If Clinton supports, and Dole opposes

Dole agree 58 Clinton agree 35

head to head: Clinton 56 Dole 34

7. This could become the crime issue of the election if we are caught on the wrong side of it. On the right side, it could be a huge deal for us. Recommend support

a. it really holds up well in the face of argumentation

b. we need to be on the right side of this -- Dole could really take it for a ride

C. Campaign reform -- Bundling

1. Oppose bundling by 55-38

2. Tested "groups that work to elect women candidates say they have a harder time raising money...use bundling to get contributions from other states so women...equal chance... Groups don't lobby, not trying influence, reforms should make outsider elections easier, not harder vs. special interests would use loophole to maximize influence"

Groups that don't lobby should be allowed to bundle: 27
Just a loophole for special interests: 59

D. Economic Optimism Continues

1. Better off today than in 91?

better-37 same-41 worse-22

2. economy better than under Bush

better Bush - 35
better Clinton -51

3. Unemployment up or down in past three years

up-35
down-54

4. Inflation up or down in past three years

up-58
down-30

they get it wrong

5. Interest rates up or down in past three years

up-35
down-54

6. Does Dole have an economic record

37-35

PRIVATE AGENDA FOR PRESIDENT

I. Suggest Executive Action against Iran as part of China announcement

- A. attack nuclear proliferation and terrorism risks where they take place
- B. Move against outlaw nation, shields from criticism for lack of tougher moves against China
- C. Executive Action can be patterned after Iran Oil Sanctions Act, now pending in House and Senate:
 - 1. Sanction entities that:
 - a. export to Iran or Libya goods or technology on a UN list of Key petroleum tech items
 - b. Invest over \$40 million a year to enhance petroleum industry in these nations
 - 2. We would impose two or more of these sanctions on such entities:
 - a. deny export-import bank assistance
 - b. deny licenses for export of controlled technology and prohibit imports
 - c. ban as primary dealer in US bonds or as govt fund repository
 - d. Prohibit US banks from lending over \$10 mil per year
 - e. Ban US govt procurement of goods or services from them
 - 3. As does the statute, give yourself flexibility to delay sanctions as needed to consult with other govts or with sanctioned entity
 - 1. can waive sanctions if in national interest
 - 4. By striking with exec order, you pre-empt issue and show toughness, etc.

II Peres race is very, very close (+2-+4)

Suggest statement by you saying that if Israel takes risks for peace, the US will back her up and stand by her side.

1. Peres peace initiatives are seen as imprudent and risky by Israeli public
 - a. Clinton reassurance would remove key problem for him
2. Clinton is MORE effective with swing voters than Peres is -- or than anyone else is
3. It would NOT be a mistake if Clinton is seen as helping Peres by helping protect Israel in the event of a peace accord

III. Suggest Sarejevo visit while in Europe for G7 meetings

IV. Ryan White Signing-- Event still has you meeting with groups after signing. Even though this is supposed to be closed press, this is still a significant and unneeded risk for you.

Suggest avoid meeting with gay groups, even closed door. It will get out and hurt, especially with reports of pressure on gay marriages

V. Suggest one or more visits to San Diego before Republican Convention

Dick

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON MAY 24, 1996

I. TRACKING - DOLE IS ESCAPING FROM THE CELLAR...WE ARE LETTING HIM DO IT

- A. Vote at 54-37-- 17 points. Up 1 for Clinton, up 3 for Dole from last week.
- B. Clinton Favorability at 62-- a new high.
- C. Dole Favorability up 50-45-- 5 point gain from last week's 48-48.
- D. Clinton job approval at 61 and re-elect at 51-- tied with past for record high.

E. Analysis

- 1. Dole has his best week through resignation. While his gains appear modest, the hardest thing to do in politics is switch direction and he did it successfully
- 2. Clinton moved to record high due to effectiveness of paid media.
- 3. Dole is escaping from the box in which we had him and may be getting off the mat.

F. Dole gains from last weeks lows in almost all adjective categories.

1. Adjective

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Effective | Dole gains 5 (Cl ahead by 4) |
| Strong Leader | Dole gains 10 (Cl ahead by 4) |
| Touch w/ values | Dole gains 3 (Cl leads by 10) |
| On my side | Dole gains 3 (Cl leads by 15) |
| Clear stand on issues | Dole gains 20 (Dole leads by 10) |
| Balancing the budget | Dole gains 11 (Cl leads by 10) |
| Peacemaker | Dole gains 10 (Cl leads by 36) |
| New Ideas | Dole gains 17 (Cl leads by 16) |

Does things cause they're right Dole gains 10 (CI leads by 10)

Flip- Flops Dole gains 17 (CI trails by 38)

Vision for future Dole gains 11 (CI leads by 19)

Does right thing even when unpopular Dole gains 10 (CI leads by 4)

New questions --

Liar/ Not truthful CI-42 Dole-18

Says one thing/does something else CI-51 Dole-25

Talker/ Not a doer CI-49 Dole-30

Desperate CI-40 Dole-46

Analysis: These adjectives are lead indicators and suggest that he is breaking through. In the face of a virtual monopoly of paid media, he was able to post double digit gains on:

Strong Leader
Clear stand on issues
Balancing the Budget
Peacemaker
New Ideas
Does things cause they're right
Flip-Flops
Vision for Future
Does right thing even when unpopular

2. Issues

Handling economy Dole gains 17 (CI leads by 2)

Crime Dole drops 2 (CI leads by 8)

Foreign Policy Dole gains 5 (CI leads by 9)

Welfare Dole gains 7 (CI leads by 13)

Taxes Dole gains 17 (Cl trails by 4)

Health Care Dole gains 18 (Cl leads by 22)

Education Dole gains 13 (Cl leads by 25)

Analysis: Adjectives are the lead indicator, favorability is the next indicator, vote share is the lagging indicator

Dole is about to break this race wide open and slash our lead to single digits.

We must not let him

Recommendation: Run our negative ad "empty"

G. Hillary at 1996 record high of 54-40 (up from 51 last week).

H. Negative campaigning-- Clinton has clear advantage although it dropped a bit.

1. Dole is seen as doing more negative campaigning by 46-22
(Compared to 51-16 last week.)
2. Dole is perceived as waging negative campaign by 69-23 (no change).
3. Clinton not waging negative campaign 57-33 (gain of 5).
4. we could carry this edge into our grave. This lead in positive campaigning is to be spent, not hoarded, to buy us credibility to run negatives we need

I. Tracking of news events

1. Court ruling on anti-gay measure-- 65% heard
 - a. Support ruling-- 46-43
 - b. Believe Clinton supports ruling-- 51-25
 - c. Believe Dole opposes ruling-- 27-40
 - d. It is terribly significant that in this week in which so much happened that the single event with the highest recall was

this court decision. It illustrates the extraordinary sensitivity of the public to the gay issue.

1. Fortunately, the public broke even on this issue so we were not hurt.

2. Megan's Law-- 46% heard

a. More likely to vote Clinton-- 46-20%

3. Dole speech on welfare reform-- 28% heard

a. Less likely to vote Dole-- 35-45%

b. But, Dole did pick up 7 points on us in welfare comparison.

4. President's Wisconsin Waiver-- 27% heard

a. More likely to vote Clinton-- 55%-35%

II. REACTION TO DOLE'S RESIGNATION

A. As time has progressed, more people support Dole's decision.

1. On Thursday, the day after, voters back decisions by 67-16

2. On Tuesday and Wednesday night, support grew to 71-19.

B. After argumentation, still support Dole's decision-- 65-28.

C. However, Dole is highly vulnerable on the implications of this decision

Attack on Dole

Leaves behind gridlock Dole pushes budget cuts in medicare etc.

Much less likely Dole-43% Total Less likely Dole-61%

Dole gives tearful speech, then runs negative ads

Much less likely Dole-40% Total Less likely Dole-60%

Dole no leadership, proposed stuff, then flip flopped and left

Much less likely Dole-37% Total Less likely Dole-59%

Dole pension

Much less likely Dole-37% Total Less likely Dole-58%

Clinton leads to do things, Dole won't work with President

Much less likely Dole-36% Total Less likely Dole-58%

Bob Dole leaves country in lurch when key bills come up

Much less likely Dole-35% Total Less likely Dole-58%

Text of Empty Ad without visuals:

Much less likely Dole-39% Total Less likely Dole-57%

Congress and Dole did nothing, now he quits

Much less likely Dole-34% Total Less likely Dole-57%

Bob Dole leadership failed, now quits President?

Much less likely Dole-36% Total Less likely Dole-56%

Clinton says that politics can wait. Now pass welfare etc

Much less likely Dole- 32% Total Less likely Dole-56%

Dole failed to campaign from Senate desperate bid to revive campaign

Much less likely Dole-34% Total Less likely Dole-55%

Dole is highly vulnerable and let's hit him right now to reshape views about his resignation

III. OVERCONFIDENCE AND RISK AVERSION-- THE CREEPING CANCER OF THIS CAMPAIGN

A. This campaign is tongue tied

1. Total failure to make nightly news

CLINTON V DOLE ON NETWORK NEWS
(omits irrelevant non-message coverage on Boorda, FAA
and voice over coverage without candidate speaking)

| DATE | CLINTON | DOLE |
|------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| 5-13 | no | no |
| 5-14 | no | no |
| 5-15 | no | all three -- Dole resigns |
| 5-16 | no | 2 of 3 -- Chicago speech |
| 5-17 | no | no |
| 5-18 | no | no |
| 5-19 | no | 2 of 3 --Florida speech |
| 5-20 | no | no |
| 5-21 | no | all three -- Welfare reform |
| 5-22 | 1 net on star wars | no |

B. The events we didn't do:

1. Suggested answer to Dole's resignation was rejected as "artificial" and the President "wasn't ready"
2. Suggested Presidential announcement of Iraqi oil agreement. was rejected initially as premature and then, later as "too late because the President had taken a nap."

3. Suggested welfare response on Wednesday, was rejected because the decision was too "hurried" and then we made the same statement on Thursday, a day late

C. This is the portrait of a campaign bent on the same self-destructive caution that caused the collapse of 1994.

D. White House and campaign must adopt a pro-response bias.

E. We haven't made a mistake on TV since Houston. The caution and reasons against going out and doing something must not get the upper hand.

F. We haven't made the same adjustment to responding to Dole as a candidate with alternative positives that we did during the budget war vs him as a legislator

1. we rely on bite sized jabbing rapid response replies, which are fine but need to use counter positioning by President and VP as major line of counter

IV. STRATEGY OF ENGAGEMENT-- FREE MEDIA PHILOSOPHY

A. We do best when we are showcased next to Dole

1. Don't avoid engagement by trying to be above the battle -- join it
2. seek out side by side coverage on news
3. comparison with Dole is a relief to people who are used to judging us vs perfection

B. Need one announcement by the President every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. We benefit by contrast with Dole.

1. the theory of doing 2-3 a week, not every weekday night is unsound because we can't predict when events will force us off the air
2. We need to put out a message, by the President, every single weekday night except Fridays (no good TV news)
3. Can do events in Washington to minimize impact on President's time
4. Can do events with minimal visuals, if necessary, the key is to do it--

--whether or not it can be done with good visuals

5. Don't do major initiatives over weekend radio address

a. TV more important than print and no Saturday TV

(compare impact of Meagan -- done on weekday -- vs welfare
Wisconsin waiver done on Saturday radio)

6. Suggest 8:30 conf call on positive message, like 9:00am call on
rapid response

C. We have a higher bar than before on making statements and getting them
covered on the networks

1. must either be bold and important policy proposal

2. or major campaign move vis a vis Dole

3. or important executive initiative

V. A DOLE TAX CUT MOVE-- THE ONLY WAY DOLE CAN WIN

A. Dole's two issue gambits have not worked

1. Gas tax got him nothing.

a. Minimum wage/strategic petroleum reserve tactic worked.

2. Welfare offense so far has done little.

a. We still hold 13 point edge on welfare

i. even though he gained 7 points on this issue.

b. In the absence of paid media, only 28% heard of his welfare
move

c. 27% heard of our Wisconsin waiver which constituted effective
blockage.

B. In going to a tax-cut move, Dole is making his third bid for a breakout.
--his third long bomb

C. A tax cut move that we do not defend can put him right back in the race.

1. When told Dole proposed "major across the board tax cut" the head to head dropped to 45-45. A 17 point gain for Dole.

a. this represents the first time in any simulation in the past four months that we found an issue that gets him back to even

b. tax cut moves always do better in reality than in surveys

1. witness Whitman's "failed" tax cut proposal that eventually powered her past Florio

2. We have never had the credibility on the issue of tax cuts that we have acquired on balancing the budget, fighting crime or reforming welfare

Our lead on... Welfare-- 53-40

Crime-- 49-41

Balanced 44-34
Budget

But Dole wins Taxes by 41-45.

a. Therefore, any Dole move on tax cuts must be handled from a pro tax-cut position.

i. Just like welfare, balanced budget and crime are all addressed from a pro-welfare reform, pro-balanced budget and anti-crime position.

ii. Cannot be perceived as Democratic opponent of tax cut.

D. Opposition to across the board tax cut and support for targeted tax cut must be the lynch-pin of our position.

1. When voters are asked who they would support if Dole advocated an across the board tax cut and Clinton backed targeted tax cuts for families with children, tax incentives for business to create jobs in

empowerment zones and tax deductions to help finance a college education,

Oppose by 30-64

2. Tactical response to Dole proposal should be hypocrisy and pandering.

Dole is a hypocrite and is pandering...Dole has consistently voted for billions in tax increases

Oppose by 36-57

- a. Dole has a lot better rating on hypocrisy than we do, argument is up hill
- b. We are seen as taxers, so it is the bad vs the hypocrite even if we succeed
- c. Hypocrite is a short term, limited gain, harassing response to Dole's tax cut NOT the key to winning the issue

3. Medicare, Medicaid, education environment cut defense must be used very, very gingerly since it suggests opposition to tax cuts.

Oppose only by 41-54

a. We must use this argument only to attack the size of the Dole tax cut and support smaller tax cuts which are targeted.

i. In this debate, a straight liberal opposition to tax cut or even leading with the Medicare argument would be a disaster since we have not established sufficient credibility for our own desire to cut taxes.

E. We can fight all election season on the BIG issue of targeted vs. across the board tax cut.

- 1. The argument is played on their side of the field, how best to cut taxes, so gains come out of their hide. This argument permits us to address democratic goals- education etc...- with Republican tools- tax cuts- and leaves us in perfect positioning.

a. We must seek to make this the big issue over which we fight the election.

i. In the argument of across the board vs. targeted tax cut we have a tax cut equivalent to the debate over welfare vs. targeted education and environment spending and investments

ii. like 1993 spending vs investment distinction

2. It inoculates us against their best charge: that we are high taxers and gives us antibodies against 1993 tax hike hit

a. If we are always debating how to cut taxes, it is hard to sell that we want to raise taxes

b. but, if we use medicare etc to oppose a tax cut, then our propensity to raise taxes becomes highlighted

3. Conclusion

a. use homeowner event next week to move first tax cut proposal

1. no cap gains for home sales up to \$500,000

b. use Princeton speech on June 4 to move big idea of free community college through refundable tax credit

VI. FEAR OF CLINTON SECOND TERM LIBERALISM

A. A very potent issue and they are onto it

B. Will Clinton be too liberal in second term?

concerned-56 not concerned-41

C. Will Dole be too conservative in first term?

concerned-59 not concerned-36

D The answer: raise fears of Dole's first term to overshadow Clinton's second term

Clinton too liberal v Dole-Gingrich pass medicare, guns, environment

fear Clinton 37 fear Dole 54

E. If you knew that Dole's agenda included: medicare cuts, assault weapon repeal, environmental cuts, eliminate Dept of Educ

less likely vote Dole 74 much less likely 52

a. best we have ever seen in hypothetical

F. WE MUST USE DOLE'S OVERT AGENDA TO OFFSET FEARS OF CLINTON'S HIDDEN AGENDA

VII. CONVENTION

A. Central goal is to put the New Democratic Party on display, not the old one;

1. best answer to second term liberal charge

B. And, to make sure the Republican Convention does not change their party image, but, rather, fights along the old lines used in 95 and 96

C. To accomplish these goals, resonate on three levels

1. In the hall
2. In the city
3. In the nation

D. Democratic Convention

1. In the hall

a. be sure that each night is dominated by New Democrats and our issues

b. make sure there are either no platform fights or we win them for moderate positions

2. In the city

a. poll Chicago to identify new democrat themes with local and Daley resonance

3. In the nation

- a. use train trip to show President and our message as convention goes on
- b. run ads during the convention to shape the public attitudes toward it

E. Republican Convention

- 1. in the hall
 - a. maximize intra-party fighting through rapid response team
- 2. In the city
 - a. through San Diego polling, identify Clinton themes that work in the city
 - b. use paid media ads during the weeks before convention to ratchet up public focus on these issues
- 3. In the nation
 - a. run ads during the convention to shape public perceptions of what is going on

VIII. CRIME VICTIMS AMENDMENT

- A. Best way for Dole to get crime issue back
- B. Very important to back it
- C. Statute doesn't suffice since it gives criminal defendant higher standing than victim
- D. must make prompt decision before Dole gets smart and challenges us on it
- E. Suggest start with proposal on amendment and immediate passage of statute while amendment is being ratified

IX TARGETTING -- HOW TO REACH THE SWING VOTERS NEW IDEAS

A. Education -- the New basics

1. While some preach back to basics and we agree strongly, we also need to teach the new basics

Q Many people in education speak of the basics --literacy and math
We need to teach the basics, but we need to teach the new basics too. Things like computer literacy, which are fundamental to the new era we are entering.

(best way to describe it: the traditional basics plus the new basics)

80-14 likelihood of Clinton vote (38 much more likely)

| | strong agree | total agree |
|--|--------------|-------------|
| respect for others | 85 | 95 |
| hard work and responsibility | 84 | 95 |
| to resolve disputes without violence | 77 | 91 |
| computer literacy | 66 | 88 |
| how to stay healthy | 64 | 92 |
| parenting | 60 | 82 |
| learning to adapt to new situations and innovate | 58 | 91 |
| learning to analyze media and ferret out the truth | 58 | 82 |
| learning about emerging career fields to make informed judgments | 57 | 89 |

B. Teen Pregnancy

1. still support HS focus even if it cuts time "allocated to teaching academic subjects."

64-31

C. Foreign child labor

1. Strong support for ban on importation of goods made overseas with child labor

68-30 (Including 57% strong support)

D. School Construction --- very important concern; key issue

1. Support increased funds for school construction and repair

86-13 (60 strong support)

- a. one possibility would be an interest rate subsidy of 3 percentage points to localities in their tax exempt borrowing to fund school construction. This would permit a \$10 billion school construction program, for example, with an allocation of only 3% of the total each year -- \$300 Million.

E. Support for Holding Parents Responsible for Crimes of their children

1. Make them pay restitution

66-28

F. Tax Credits

1. \$500 for caring for an elderly person in your home

86-12 (includes 60% strong support)

2. \$500 for charitable donation

polled before, good backing, but pre-empted by Dole yesterday

G Free Community College if high school B average & 90% attendance

75-22 (48 strong support)

FREE MEDIA PROPOSED SCHEDULE

Baer and I propose following schedule of events

Education standards/children safety

May 28 Drugs with McCaffrey

May 29 The new basics in education: computer literacy, citizenship,

parenting, etc.
May 30-teen curfews

Building blocks of American dream: college and homes

June 4-Princeton Speech, pivoting on free public education in first two years of college

June 5-Teen pregnancy, hs education. local option birth control/abstinence and statutory rape

June 6-homeowners event with announcement of no capital gains taxes on homeowner sales gains of less than \$500,000

Family/Environment

June 9-Endangered species condor release at Grand Canyon

June 10-speech on community helping the family at California comm coll

June 11- Immigration in Los Angeles

June 12-truancy guidelines by DOE for enforcement

June 13-appeal to new majority leader to pass McCain Feingold

Fight To defend welfare/medicaid veto

June 17-exec order: no welfare if no ID of fathers

June 18-exec order: no welfare if not immunize

June 19-endorsement of victims' rights constitutional amendment

June 20-posting deadbeat Dad photos in Post Offices, seizure of benefits

June 24-Pregnancy Stamps-from Hillary book-extra food stamps for pregnant women or for first six months of infant

June 25 day off

June 26- enforcement of civil laws (NYC strategy) and community watch volunteers with Bratton if possible

MISCELLANEOUS

A. Community as Olympic Theme

1. tested:

"each athlete got here by a nurturing family of coaches, friends, and role models. We don't strive or succeed alone. This is an example of how

Americans must come together in their communities to meet our nation's challenges in areas like crime, education, and preserving our values"

best of all themes tested -- 75-19 (35 much more)

B. Balanced Budget Amendment

1. basic support

76-21

2. But can be defeated in argumentation

Dole -- need amend to balance, CI not really for bal budg

CI-- cut deficit in half, annual cuts, no need to turn budget over to courts by amendment

oppose by 41-52

C. They really do not feel inflation is down

63-21 say prices are rising faster than in 1991

D. Labor riders

1. break even on no union dues for candidates!

49-47

2. BUT back comp time

75-24

a. even with arguments

give employees choice v unions say workers will be intimidated and will take time when they really need money & that employers wont really give time

76-22

E. MFN

Best argument is that our market share in China will be usurped by Japan etc.

F. Media Needs

Need date to film you for ad footage -- having trouble getting one

Need to buy Competitive Media Reports service to track enemy ads traffic, and rotation.

--CNN and RNC has it, but haven't gotten OK for us to get it

--expensive -- about \$250,000 through election, but we need it to rebut ads when and where they run. With 750 stations in US, only way to keep track

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT--May 29, 1996

I. TRACKING -- DOLE RISE BLUNTED; WHITEWATER HURTS US

A. Head to head down 1 (us down 2, him down 1) to 52-36

B. Job rating up to new high of 62

C. Favorability down 2 to 59

a. personal negatives, not job performance

D. Re-elect down 2 to 49

E. Dole favorability down from 50-45 to 48-46

F. Dole drops, we rise on all most adjectives

| ADJECTIVE | Last week | This Week | Change |
|----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|--------|
| (Clinton v Dole) | | | |
| effective | 46-42 | 50-40 | +6 |
| strong leader | 47-43 | 51-43 | +4 |
| in touch with my values | 50-40 | 51-39 | +2 |
| is on my side | 50-35 | 52-34 | +3 |
| takes clear stands on issues | 37-47 | 41-46 | +5 |
| doing a lot to bal the budg | 44-34 | 45-34 | +1 |
| peacemaker | 61-25 | 67-21 | +10 |
| new ideas | 50-34 | 54-32 | +6 |
| does thing because they're right | 47-37 | 49-36 | +3 |
| flip flops | 61-23 | 61-24 | +1 |
| vision for future | 52-33 | 53-33 | +1 |
| does right even when unpopular | 44-50 | 48-48 | +6 |

Because our ad is a personal character hit, it reverses Dole's rise on all adjectives

①

ISSUES

| | | | |
|----------------|-------|-------|-----|
| economy | 48-46 | 48-45 | +1 |
| crime | 49-41 | 48-43 | -1 |
| foreign policy | 50-41 | 53-35 | +9 |
| welfare | 53-40 | 50-42 | -5 |
| taxes | 41-45 | 47-40 | +11 |
| health care | 57-35 | 58-32 | +4 |
| education | 57-32 | 61-30 | +6 |

We gain in all areas of issue comparisons because of basic trend set in motion by the ad; Dole gains only in welfare and crime, the two areas he hit specifically this week.

G. No hit on us for negative campaigning -- rather a hit on them

1. Who is waging more of a negative campaign

Dole 52-18; up from 46-22 last week

2. Is Clinton too negative:

no 38-52; down from 33-57 last week

3. Is Dole too negative

yes 67-24; up from 69-23 last week

II. WHITEWATER

A. Have you heard of verdict convicting Tucker and McDougals

yes 67

1. Did you watch TV news tonight?

yes 31

B. Rating on Clinton wrongdoing in Whitewater

34% wrongdoing -- up from 31, but not at historic high of 37

C. Rating on Hillary wrongdoing

44% wrongdoing -- down from 45%, not at historic high of 51

D. Did Clinton tell truth in his testimony at Whitewater trial

yes 39-34

a. Huge undecided of 27%. Key swing in this controversy

E. Is Starr's inquiry a serious, fair inquiry or is it politically driven?

serious fair -- 38 political -- 52

(down from 26-59 two weeks ago)

a. this is the major impact, a move up for Starr's credibility and ability to act on other fronts

F. Does this verdict make you more/less likely to believe Clinton's involvement in Whitewater

more: 24 less: 8 no effect: 65

G.Hillary's involvement

more: 26 less: 9 no effect: 60

H. Does verdict make you more/less likely to vote for Clinton

more: 25 less: 46

Impact is important, especially since our historic high in vote share is 54 and 46% are less likely due to the verdict

I. Clinton was a witness for the defense and testified that he didn't pressure Hale to make a loan to Susan McDougal. Does the jury verdict question the credibility of the President or do you think the jury found the defendants guilty on the basis of other evidence without contradicting what the President said?

verdict questions credibility: 21
found them guilty on other evidence: 48

J. Then, we attempt to probe for negative reaction --

1. Supporters of Clinton say these cases did not involve him and point out that the federal prosecutor specifically said that the case does not involve Clinton. Opponents say Clinton is deeply involved. They say that Susan McDougal was charged with getting a fraudulent loan from Hale and that Hale testified that Clinton pressured him to make the loan. In finding Susan McDougal guilty, the jury decided that the loan was fraudulent and that they believed Hale's charge, not Clinton's denial.

more likely vote Cl: 28 less likely: 51

2. Bill Clinton was a witness for the defense in this trial and testified that he did not pressure Hale to make the loan to Susan McDougal. They jury nevertheless, convicted Susan McDougal obviously not believing Clinton's account

more likely vote Clinton: 27 less likely: 51

K. Effect on head to head

At the start of Whitewater series, head to head was 54-37; at the end of the series, it dropped to 52-38

Analysis: We are likely to slip a few more points over whitewater verdict, but if we win the battle of whether the jurors think Clinton told the truth, then we are likely to recover this lost ground next week as our ads defeat their ads and our free media beats theirs.

1. The electorate likes Clinton a great deal and is very reluctant to conclude anything bad about him. Thus, the contour of the ground works very much in our favor.

2. We need to win the battle of the jurors, which we seem to be doing, and use them to amplify that you had nothing to do with the verdict.

3. I believe we will establish a pattern where we drop when we get bad Whitewater news and then go back up to our regular head to head once we overcome it.

L. Paula Jones --

1. Did you hear about Clinton invoking the Soldiers and Sailors relief act to seek to delay a sexual harassment suit brought against him by Paula Jones.

yes: 45

2. Paula Jones is suing Clinton for sexual harassment which she claims took place in a motel room in Arkansas. Clinton is asking the court to delay the lawsuit until after he has left office as president. Should or should not delay lawsuit?

delay: 49 don't delay: 44

a. We do surprisingly well on this. I never would have imagined that we would break even on the issue of delay. It shows how much the voters want to protect the President

3. Lawyers for Paula Jones say that she is entitled to justice now and that delaying the suit might mean that she never gets a fair trial because witnesses forget, die or move away. Lawyers for Clinton say that the president is too busy to participate in a trial and that having to devote the time to it would interfere with his job as president. Should court delay until after Clinton leaves office?

delay: 48 don't delay: 48

4. President Clinton's lawyers recently said that as Commander in Chief of the armed forces, Clinton is protected from civil suits by the Soldiers and Sailors Relief Act which provides that members of the military may not be sued while they're on active duty. This law was passed in 1940 to protect servicemen on active duty. Do you agree that this law should apply to President Clinton...

agree: 44 disagree: 49

5. Republicans attack President Clinton for using this law to delay the suit saying that since Clinton ducked the draft and never wore a uniform, it is hypocritical for him now to claim protection as Commander in Chief. Does this make you more likely to vote for Clinton...

more likely vote Clinton: 34 less: 49

6. Clinton's lawyers say they are not relying on this statute but just used it as an example of how sometimes the President is protected from lawsuits under various statutes, of which this was one. Does this make you more likely to vote for Clinton...

more likely: 35

less: 49

7. Effect on head to head: no effect

Analysis: not a significant flap. A phony issue, not serious.

All this draft-war stuff is just way overrated by people who think in a certain mindset and cannot believe other people think differently

M. Impact of "I'm no quitter" rebuttal by Dole to our ads:

1. Our ad -- Empty -- makes people less likely to vote for Dole by 28-55

2. His rebuttal -- unfair personal attack/ never quit anything/ didn't quit in Italy/ didn't quit when doctors said he'd never walk again/ not quitting now/ taking case to the people/ who is Clinton, who never put on a uniform in his life, to call me a quitter

more likely Dole--43

Less likely--45

3. Our re-rebuttal ad: Fair/Dole resigned while no balanced budget or welfare reform has been passed/ abandoning his pledge to finish the work before Congress/Puts campaign ahead of people's business

more likely Dole: 31

Less likely--55

Analysis: The ad works and his free media answer is offset by our free media rebuttal. The paid media carries the day.

III. AD WAR -- REPUBLICANS BUYING TIME TO START SATURDAY

A. Spending \$3 million this coming week on a mix of 30s and 60s

1. If it were all 30s, it would equal a \$2.4 million buy
-375 pts of 30
-125-150 of 60

May
28, 1996

2. We are on for only \$1.2 million -- need increased buy

-we are on for 270 of 30s

B. With Whitewater in the atmosphere, recommend increase to ...
coming week

-would give us competitive level

C. Their 60 sec ad is:

Dole: We have a moral obligation to give our children an America with
the opportunity and values of the nation we grew up in.

Voice Over: Bob Dole grew up in Russell, Kansas

From his parents he learned the value of hard work, honesty and
responsibility. So when his country called... he answered.

He was seriously wounded in combat.

Paralyzed, he underwent nine operations.

Dole: I went around looking for a miracle that would make me whole
again.

VO: The doctors said he would never walk again. But after 39 months,
he proved them wrong.

Libby Dole: He persevered, he never gave up. He fought his way back
from total paralysis.

VO: Like many Americans, his life experience and values serve as a
strong moral compass.

The principle of work to replace welfare.

The principle of accountability to strengthen our criminal justice
system.

The principle of discipline to end wasteful Washington spending.

Dole: It all comes down to values. What you believe in. What you
sacrifice for. And what you stand for.

D. Their 30 sec ad is:

Annc: To balance the budget we need to end wasteful Washington spending. Bill Clinton just can't do it.

Clinton: "I would present a five year plan to balance the budget.

"... we could do it in 7 years"

"...I think we could reach it in 8 years."

"... balance the budget in 10 years."

"... I think we could reach it in 8 years"

"...so we're between 7 and 9 now"

Annc: No wonder Bill Clinton opposes a Constitutional Amendment to balance the budget.

Clinton: "Seven, nine, ten, eight, five"

Annc: Talk is cheap. Double talk is expensive. Tell Mr. Clinton to stop his wasteful Washington spending.

E. We propose this answer:

Innocent Americans gunned down by deadly assault weapons. The President passed a law to ban them.

But Dole, Gingrich voted no.

Tobacco ads target our children. One million hooked every year.

The President said ban the ads. Dole and Gingrich say no.

Mothers need time to care for newborns. The President passed family leave.

Dole, Gingrich no again.

The President's plan: Balance the budget, reform welfare, protect medicare. Do our duty to our parents and our children. Protect our values.

P 9

May 5

F. We request permission to air this ad on Saturday

a haven't yet mail tested this response per se, but have each of the elements

Analysis: They are using Dole's biography to prove that he will American values.

We must use our and Dole's public record to prove that he won't.

Our mail tests show that their .30 negative doesn't work well. The ad that shows you flip-flopping on the number of years to balance the budget doesn't do much.

If we run our ad and they run their ads for a week at a \$2 million for us and \$3 million for them levels, we will emerge with a decisive win in the exchange

IV. BUDGET TRACKING -- WORRISOME GROWTH FOR REPUBLICANS

A Who trust more to balance the budget:

| | | |
|---------|-------|-----------|
| now-- | Cl 39 | Repubs 46 |
| last wk | 41 | 42 |

B. Who trust to balance in way that is fair to all

| | | |
|---------|-------|-----------|
| now: | Cl 49 | Repubs 40 |
| last wk | 50 | 37 |

C. Who more to blame for failure to bal budg, cut taxes, ref welf

| | | |
|---------|-------|-----------|
| now: | Cl 32 | Repubs 55 |
| last wk | 28 | 55 |

D. Who more to blame...

| | | |
|---------|-------|---------|
| now: | Cl 37 | Dole 40 |
| last wk | 36 | 37 |

E. Analysis: Republican budget is moving the issue in their direction; we must act quickly to regain the issue

V CABINET NEGATIVES -- AN EFFECTIVE REPUBLICAN HIT

A. Tested possible Dole ad:

"Clinton's administration filled with scandal. Three members investigated by special prosecutors -- Cisneros for lying to FBI, Espy for bribes, Brown for hiding assets...O'Leary criticized for trips costing taxpayers....First Lady before a grand jury...special prosecutor investigates President." Does this make you more likely to vote for Clinton...?

More likely--24 Less likely--61

An effective shot at us

B. Reply works well

"Clinton's cabinet and administration done a huge amount for American people...FDA on cigarettes, Dept of Ed computers in schools, high ed standards, headstart. Justice ban on assault rifles, waiting period, background checks, 100,000 police. All this in the administration of Bill Clinton." Does this make you more likely to vote for Clinton...?

More likely--53 Less likely--37

Public values beat private character

VI THEME FOR CONVENTION FILM

A. Tested:

"There is a quiet revolution in America...all part of it...moving from being separate individuals to one community working together..Millions using family leave Clinton passed to bond with newborns. Community groups working with 100,000 new Clinton police....million men march on Washington, more in baseball stadiums, pledge better fathering. billions more in child support due to Clinton efforts. Inter racial adoptions up, teen pregnancy down. TV nets ratings, Clinton requires V chip. Computer companies follow Clinton lead and donate billions in free computers for schools...higher ed standards, outreach to parents. Clinton fight teen smoking and drug use with parents. DWI down. From Okla City to Northern Ireland to Rabin funeral, curb violence. Old wisdom to new landscape. If I trust the best in other person, I'll get the best for me." Support basic premise....?

Support-- 74 Oppose--22

Likelihood of vote for Clinton: More: 58-32

VII CRIME VICTIMS CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

With Dole endorsement of this Amendment, it is now terribly important that we proceed with it.

VIII NEW IDEAS

A. New crime ideas

1. Safety standards at cash machines including video cameras

Support--80 Oppose--16

strong support: 48

2. Computerized fingerprint matching to cut errors and speed process

Support--80 Oppose--15

strong support- 52

3. Video-conferencing with precinct hookups so police interview suspects and witnesses without wasting travel time

Support--66 Oppose--27

strong support- 32

4. Digitized, computerized face identification to make witness descriptions easier and more accurate

Support--83 Oppose--12

strong support-49

5. Computerizing police cars to permit mug shots to be beamed directly into squad cars along with other information

Support--89 Oppose--8

strong support-65

6. DNA testing of all who are arrested to aid in identifying them if they commit another crime

Support--64 Oppose-32

strong support-39

B. School construction for parochial schools

1. If Clinton proposed school construction for public and parochial schools

Support--59 Oppose--31

Compares with 86-13 support without mention of parochial schools last week.

2. Supporters of helping parochial schools say they educate millions and we should help them get a quality education, no constitutional violation if only physical facilities. Opponents say violates separation of church and state and unconstitutional to use tax money for helping parochial schools

Doesn't violate/help schools build--44

Violates church and state/no tax dollars--46

Don't link it to parochial schools, it costs too many points.

C. Comp time

1. Bill pending require employers to offer employees choice of cash overtime payments or time off

Support--68 Oppose--23

We should support this and bill it as Family Leave part II

2. Labor unions oppose bill saying workers in minimum wage jobs would be scared to death to ask for money for overtime and this will permit bosses to intimidate them so that they ask for time off even though they need the money. Supporters of the bill say that many employees want the time off to be with their families as opposed to the cash and this bill permits them to ask for it.

Support--66 Oppose--27

Argument doesn't work, still support.

3. Some oppose this bill saying that employees can be fired before they use the compensatory time and boss will constantly pressure them to postpone using the time off saying that they can't be spared right now. But supporters of the bill say that it requires employers to pay cash whenever 48 hours of compensatory time has been accumulated by an employee.

Support--64 Oppose--30

This is the fourth argument we have run against it and none work.

IX MISCELLANEOUS

A. Star Wars

1. Dole introduced bill for Star Wars missile defense system which costs \$60 billion

Support--27 Oppose--66

(was 41-54 opposed when tested at \$30 billion, extra \$30 billion hurts it badly)

(With higher cost estimate, now a strong liability to him. Wasn't when it was only \$30bil, but is now)

2. Dole says we need \$60 bil Star Wars to protect US from potential missile attacks from rogue states. Dole wants to abolish Dept of Education, which includes anti-drug programs, reading programs, class size...

Support--18 Oppose--77

Can use good old McGovern-like comparisons like this one and now they work well

3. Dole says we need \$60 bil Star Wars protect rogue states....Clinton says system could be obsolete tomorrow and wants instead to spend \$60 bil on 2 free years of college...

Support--31 Oppose--63

McGovern-like social v defense comparison works

- ### **B. Does Republican Convention in California and Democratic Convention in Chicago hurt us? - no**

more likely Dole: 5 less likely Dole: 11 no difference: 84

PRIVATE AGENDA FOR THE PRESIDENT

A. Yeltsin

1. Yeltsin has lengthened lead in first round to 36-21. A huge gain
2. In aftermath of Chechnya peace, he may be able to achieve first round win, although that may be wishful thinking.
3. In any event, he is virtually assured of a second round runoff win.
4. 2-0!

B. Repeat urging of Iran Sanctions to show strength on foreign policy

1. Allies will raise short term hell over our extra-territoriality
2. But, we can explain it is pre-election and the Republicans would likely pass it anyway and we would have to sign it
3. Then, you have the power to determine which companies get sanctioned and how much. That gives you enormous power in leveraging the allies over a host of issues

C. Boutros-Boutros Ghali

1. Letting him be re-elected would be a disaster
2. We have a veto
3. Jamie Rubin reports that support for him is very thin and easily disrupted
 - a. He thinks that you are being sold a "bill of goods" by your NSC and should be aggressive in opposing him. I agree.

D. Reaction to my work for an accused rapist: None.

1. Have you heard of charge that Dick Morris,, a political advisor to the Pres, was an advisor to the defense team in a rape trial?

Yes--9

No/Don't know--91

2. Dole said "one of the President's top advisors is helping an accused rapist beat the rap. He has been advising the rapist's legal team on techniques for selecting an easy going jury" More likely to vote Clinton...?

More likely--8

Less likely--21 No difference: 67

3. "Clinton's advisors points out that all he did was to take a survey to measure the effect of pre-trial publicity in the rape case and found that since 85% of the people had heard of the case in the community in which it was to be tried that the trial should be moved to either of three nearby towns where fewer people had heard of it..." More likely to vote Clinton...?

More likely--10

Less likely--16

No diff: 71

4. "Clinton campaign points out that Clinton has been very strong in prosecuting rapes and preventing them and the activities of one of his advisors in no way reflects on his position on rape." More likely to vote Clinton...?

More likely-- 16

Less likely--16 No diff: 65.

E. Genital Mutilation

We are trying to throw out a woman from Togo who fled here and sought asylum on the grounds of human rights in her effort to escape surgery for genital mutilation. A.M. Rosenthal of the Times ran a special column on it and it sounds like he cares very, very deeply. Recommend that we drop our prosecution of this poor woman and add genital mutilation to the grounds for asylum. Right now the regulation says it can be considered, but needs to be changed so that if a woman can prove that she is in danger of this procedure, that they be granted asylum.

In addition, he urges that you set up a fund to educate people abroad about the need to stop genital mutilation.

He suggests that we might amass such a fund by assessing a 1% charge against each nation's foreign aid allocation. This would be enough to establish a fund of about \$100 million.

He also recommends punishment against any nation that did not have an effective program to fight mutilation by a reduction in foreign aid (perhaps a contribution to this fund) and a reward if they have such a program.

It effects 2 million women a year and involves the removal of their clitoris.

It is Rosenthal's big thing and will have a big impact on the courting and feeding of the NY Times.

F. Jamie Rubin

Recommend that Jamie Rubin be brought over from UN to campaign. He wants to do it and we need a foreign policy person in the campaign since NSC is so obtuse

G. Tom Freedman and Travel

Every week, your legal people raise objections to Tom Freedman on the plane, citing that part of this trip or that one are official.

But, I need him to see as many of your speeches as possible. So where the trip involves official travel and he cannot be on AF One, please issue instructions for the campaign to pay for his private coach class air ticket to the event so that he may attend and give me feed back.

This is very important to us both. Among the slips he has caught -- before Dole did -- are:

1. "Americans are confused" in L.A.
2. "US may not be dominant power in future" in Florida
3. I caught "chief threat Chinese represent is pollution" in CT.

Beyond these faux pas, he gives me a close insight to how you are moving ahead rhetorically and helps me to poll where you are going and come up with words to help you get there.

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON JUNE 6, 1996

I. TRACKING - SLIGHT SLIP IN HEAD TO HEAD AND OTHER RATINGS
DOLE FAVORABLE DROPS SLIGHTLY

A. Head to head lead down to 15 from 16 -- from 52-36 to 52-37

1. Had been 19 pts three weeks ago, then to 17 two weeks ago, then to 16 last week, now to 15

B. Other internals drop slightly

1. Job approval at 58 (down from 62)

- a. some cause for concern in drop, but other numbers are pretty good

- b. historic norm in this measurement is 59, so slight drop

2. Favorability down to 58 (from 59)

- a. historic norm has been 58

3. Re-elect number steady at 49

- a. historic norm is 49

4. Conclusion: Our last pylon in our rock climb was at about 59 job approval, fav of 58, re-elect of 49, vote lead at 15, vote share 52

- a. then we made tentative gain of 3-4 points above each number.

- b. this has erased that tentative gain:

1. whitewater verdict

- 21 minutes of network news this week

2. start of opposition ads at \$3 million

3. resignation

4. massive free media spin for him

5. Israel elections

- 52 minutes of network this week

- c. but no slippage below our pylon

- d. if this is all these events cost us, we're damn glad

JUN 06 '96 06:01PM SQUIER KNAPP OCHS COMMUNICATIONS P.3

4. Balance the Budget: Clinton 44-34

F. Whitewater

1. President and First lady are at their all time high in perception of wrongdoing

a. Hillary up to 50 wrongdoing

1. one above historic high

b. President up to 37% wrongdoing

1. at historic high

2. Jury verdict made voters less likely to back Clinton

less likely: 48%

3. Starr slipped in his credibility in week after verdict to a new low

serious fair inquiry by Starr--30

politically driven--60

(pre verdict had been 26-59. post verdict was 38-52)

Big development. Had not anticipated this drop. He overreached.

4. D'Amato remains highly negative

serious fair inquiry by D'Amato--23

politically driven--68

G. Other Ratings

1. Hillary favorable at 49-45 (from 47-45)

2. Dem v Rep candidate for Congress at 45-38 (from 43-34 on 5/14)

3. Balanced budget — recovered slight slippage

- a. who trust to balance budget — Clinton down 2 (from Clinton -7)
- b.in way to be fair to all — Clinton +8 (from +9)
- c. who blame for failure to agree — Repubs more 16 (from R 23)
- d. who blame — Dole more 5 (from Dole more 3)

4. Negative Campaigning — no real change

- a. Dole more negative by 50-21 (from 52-18)
- b. Dole too negative 70-22 (was 67-24)
- c. Clinton too negative 40-51 (38-52)

5. Network news coverage for the week

a. Topics Covered:

Israeli elections- 51 minutes
Montana Freeman- 29 minutes
Whitewater- 21 minutes
March for Children- 12 minutes
Bosnia war crimes- 8 minutes
Church fires- 7 minutes
Value Jet- 7 minutes
Russian election- 4

b. Clinton v Dole

| | <u>Clinton</u> | <u>Dole</u> |
|--------|---|--|
| May 28 | Whitewater verdict (3 networks)-neg Agent Orange (1 network) | None |
| May 29 | none | Whitewater (2 nets) Crime speech (1 net) |
| May 30 | Curfew (2 nets) Israeli election (1 network) | Israeli election (1 net) |
| May 31 | no | no |
| June 1 | Israeli election (1 network) | Israeli election (1 net) Attack Clinton char (2 nets) |
| June 2 | no | no |
| June 3 | Response on bal budget attack (2 nets) | budget speech (3 nets) |
| June 4 | Princeton speech (3 nets) Japanese air attack (1 net) | Response to Princeton (1 net) Senate farewell |
| June 5 | Medicare (1 network) | Medicare (1 network) |

Positive Clinton + Negative Dole = 9

Positive Dole + Negative Clinton = 18

II AD CAMPAIGN

A. Last night's mall test shows power of tuition tax credit issue

B. We are now assessing how to answer expected Republican attack on tax cut promises "the big whopper"

- a. will test tuition tax credit positive
- b. will test combination positive and negative
- c. have already tested pure negative and it works well

C. Republican bio ad on Dole is waste of time:

74% already know of Dole's wound and loss of use of right arm

III THE CHARACTER ISSUE

A. Dole statement: Race is about character to be President. War record, hospital bed, Clinton ducked draft, womanizing, sex harassment, Whitewater convictions

more likely Dole: 47 more likely Clinton: 46

B. Clinton reply: Character issue is who will do the most to help America's children grow up with character to preserve our values. Family leave, tobacco ads, assault rifles, V chip, head start, school anti-drug, Dole opposed each. That's the real character issue

more likely Dole: 37 more likely Clinton: 56

—the character attack does little in the first place, and we can take it back by hitting them on public values vs. private character

C. Republicans attack Clinton for stealing their ideas

true v untrue: 44-51

more v less likely to vote for Clinton: more: 49 less:36

—may or may not be true, but its a compliment if it is!

D. Republicans attack Clinton for talking conservative and governing liberal

true vs. untrue: 45-38

more vs. less likely to vote for Clinton: 45-45

—blunted the impact

E. Republicans say Clinton promised balanced budget, tax cut, welfare reform but instead raised taxes, vetoed bal budg and welf ref. Clinton says Repubs went too far so he vetoed, Clinton broadened death penalty, 100,000 cops, teen mothers in school, ratings for TV, conservative steps

More likely Clinton: 59 less likely: 34

— values win out over flip-flop

F. Thus, the values agenda permits us to defeat — in an exchange — the two leading negatives that have dogged us: character and flip-flop

IV MEDICARE — REPUBLICAN CUTS HURT THEM, BUT DON'T GO INTO SPECIFIC IMPACT OF CUTS

A. The cuts make voters less likely to back Dole, but they do not believe us when we warn of dire consequences of cuts — so don't overreach

1. Hospitals forced to close:

believable: 17-62

more/less likely vote Dole 32-59

2. Rural hospitals close

believable: 20-49

more/less likely vote Dole 32-57

3. Hospitals close wings and units

believable: 29-50

more/less likely vote Dole 33-56

4. Cuts in hospital personnel, nurses

believable: 32-46

Likely vote: 30-57

5. drop in cleanliness in hospitals

believable: 18-71

likely vote: 29-58

6. less qualified staff in hospitals

believable: 23-58

likelihood vote 31-58

7. cuts in staff training and medical education

believable: 22-58

likelihood vote 32-57

8. cuts in research

believable: 30-46

vote: 31-58

V COMP TIME - KEY INITIATIVE FOR NEXT WEEK

A. Strongly supported

71-25 (41% strongly)

B. Tremendous help/let parents be with kids -- 59

vs.

employers would never give time off/would hurt workers -- 31

support 59-31

C. Need initiative of major magnitude for next week

D. Urge approval

1. issues: should workers be covered if they make under \$12 an hour

favor coverage: 66-24

. argument: employees under \$12 are easily intimidated by
bosses to forgo extra money they need - 66

vs

give all employees the option of comp time - 28

still favor coverage by same margin

2. How to protect employees from employer pressure not to use
the time:

1. Republican bill provides for automatic cash-in of time
after 240 accumulated comp time hours

a. seems like too high a figure

b. at whose option will comp time be taken

2. Republicans give employers power to say no to any particular day

3. Unions want automatic employee right to schedule time

4. We should urge something in between

VI NEW INITIATIVE: FAMILY LEAVE PART 2

A. Retroactive view of family leave

1. more likely to vote for Clinton 72-21
2. legislation did all we need to do to allow people to take time off for family matters--34

vs.

was a major success, concerns never materialized, need to do more to help workers balance work and family --54

- B. Proposal: allow employees 4 hours off each month, at their own discretion, without pay for medical visits, doctors visits for kids, school functions, etc

Support -- 69-28 (49 strong support)

Fully as potent an issue as family leave ever was

1. 1 hour a month for PTA conferences or school volunteer work

87-11 (66 strong support)

2. 4 hours a month for medical needs of children or aged parents

87-13

3. 2 hours a month for own medical needs

77-26

4. These proposals burdens employers too much vs. allow employees to do what they do now without fear

burden: 22

do what they now do but without fear: 73

5. Should we encourage or require

encourage: 39

require: 58

6. allowing comp time would solve problems, wouldn't need these new rights vs. need new rules

comp time enough 32
need new rules 61

7. allowing the equivalent of one week's leave to participate in proceedings aimed at adopting a child

81-16

C. Give employees right to refuse overtime

1. right to refuse overtime whenever employee wants — 73-26

—41% strong support

2. right to refuse overtime above 40 hrs per year 62-25

- #### D. Encouraging business to set up employees at home with computers, faxes, dedicated phone lines to increase number of people who work from home

73-25 (43 strong support)

VII CRIME VICTIMS AMENDMENT

- #### A. Need not endorse a specific text

- #### B. Can specify whatever limitations you want in speech,

- #### C. But urge endorsement of principle of Const Amend on victims rights

- a.. Dole has already endorsed and we cannot leave this wedge open for him to drive an ad through

VIII FOREIGN POLICY

- #### A. What are important issues?

1. Voters think nuclear terrorism, drugs, and Iran-Iraq are important
2. Strong isolationist sentiments

3. Trade decidedly less important than terrorism issues, but more important than traditional country issues like Russia, China, Korea, etc

4. Moral values like human decency and freedom more important than national interests and political values like spreading democracy and freedom

Importance of Global Issues

% Extremely Important

| | |
|--|----|
| Keeping nuclear weapons out of the hands of terrorists | 92 |
| Stopping nuclear weapons from going to nations like Iran | 84 |
| Stopping the flow of drugs into the U.S. | 84 |
| Protecting values of human decency and freedom | 74 |
| Opening foreign markets to American products | 66 |
| Protecting American workers from foreign trade competition | 60 |
| Stopping Japan from taking advantage of us | 60 |
| Stopping Russia from returning to Communism | 58 |
| Coping with the threats posed by China | 58 |
| Stopping war from breaking out in Korea | 56 |
| Protecting America's interests abroad | 55 |
| Spreading democracy and liberty abroad | 43 |
| Stopping trade wars between us and our trading partners | 41 |
| Helping Eastern Europe become democratic and free | 30 |

Summary of Importance of Global Situation

| | Importance |
|------------------------------------|------------|
| Terror-- Iran-Iraq | 84-92 |
| Drugs | 84 |
| Isolationist responses | 74-80 |
| Values | 74 |
| Trade | 60-66 |
| Illegal Immigration | 58 |
| Making Mexico pay | 59 |
| Russia-China-Korea | 56-58 |
| Middle East | 47 |
| Spreading Democracy and Liberty | 43 |
| Eastern Europe | 30 |
| Mexico-economy | 24 |

B. What has Clinton Achieved

1. Taking strong action to protect America, as in the Gulf against Iran works best
2. Voters don't believe we did much on nuclear proliferation and opening foreign markets
3. Voters believe we did good things in Bosnia, Mideast, Ireland, and Haiti, but they aren't very important to them

Credibility and Importance of Clinton Accomplishments

| | Credibility | Importance | Index |
|--|-------------|------------|-------|
| Clinton took strong action to defend America by giving it the tools it needs and by using force when necessary, such as deterring Iraqi threats in the Persian Gulf. | 53 | 68 | 172 |
| Clinton reduced nuclear threat, making unprecedented progress in curbing proliferation of nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union and North Korea. | 35 | 69 | 139 |
| Clinton advanced peace in Mid-East and Northern Ireland playing a crucial role in helping people in these regions reach their first-ever peace agreements. | 42 | 54 | 138 |
| Clinton stopped fighting in Bosnia, ending four years of terror, war, and ethnic cleansing. | 39 | 57 | 135 |
| Clinton restored Democracy to Haiti, effectively ending the violent and oppressive regime which encourages the dangerous flow of refugees to U.S. shores. | 40 | 54 | 134 |
| Clinton cracked open foreign markets, creating high wage for American workers and benefits for American business through agreements such as NAFTA. | 36 | 60 | 132 |

Also tested: Is Clinton losing the respect of world leaders: 43-52 he isn't

Only Strength really works as accomplishment

C. Comparison of Clinton and Dole

1. Adjusting to change, Innovation, and Strength work best for us
as comparisons

2. Only making tough decisions is close

Clinton/Dole Comparison

| | Who would do better job? | |
|---|--------------------------|------|
| | Clinton | Dole |
| Adjusting to new situations as they develop throughout the world | 59 | 35 |
| Innovation in foreign policy | 57 | 37 |
| Strength in foreign policy | 56 | 39 |
| Steadiness in foreign policy | 51 | 38 |
| Judgment in foreign policy | 51 | 35 |
| Making tough decisions about foreign policy | 49 | 47 |

Big win for foreign policy effort that strength goes for us

D. Dole Negatives

1. What works is: rigid-inflexible/ can't inspire youth/ doesn't get
peacekeeping/ not modern world leader

Dole Negatives

| | Credibility | Importance | Index |
|--|-------------|------------|-------|
| Dole will be too rigid and inflexible. | 51 | 64 | 166 |
| Dole won't be able to appeal to the young people of the world to follow America's example and our leadership. | 46 | 66 | 158 |
| Dole won't understand how American military must excel at peacemaking, not just at winning wars. | 35 | 71 | 141 |
| Dole won't be a modern world leader. | 37 | 65 | 139 |
| Dole won't be able to adjust enough to changes as they take place throughout the world. | 34 | 59 | 127 |
| Dole is too much of a legislator to be an effective world leader. | 33 | 61 | 127 |
| Dole, too often, will act unilaterally, with the United States going it alone and not taking account of world opinion and the views of our allies. | 31 | 54 | 116 |
| Dole won't be able to inspire other countries to follow our policies. | 26 | 64 | 116 |
| Dole lacks actual, hands on experience in foreign policy. | 29 | 57 | 115 |
| Dole will be too dominated by his right wing colleagues like Jesse Helms. | 32 | 48 | 112 |

| | Credibility | Importance | Index |
|---|-------------|------------|-------|
| Dole won't understand global economy and won't be able to advance American interests in it. | 23 | 66 | 112 |
| Dole won't be able to tame the isolationists in his party. | 32 | 44 | 108 |
| Dole will bring a cold war mentality to international situations. | 24 | 58 | 106 |
| Dole too often will respond with only the military and not use other tools like economic sanctions and persuasion often enough. | 21 | 63 | 105 |
| Dole won't be able to adjust to the realities of the post cold war world. | 28 | 46 | 102 |
| Dole won't pay enough attention to trade issues. | 19 | 59 | 97 |

STATEMENT ON FOREIGN POLICY

We live in a rapidly changing(a) world where new threats, often involving (b) terrorism, drug trafficking, and rogue states like Iran and Iraq, command our attention and threaten our security. We need a President who is strong(bb) and can innovate(c) and adjust to new situations to confront these threats.

President Clinton has shown himself to be(d) strong, innovative and able to adjust to change. He has used his ability to innovate and adjust to change to keep America(e) out of war and to defend our values of decency and freedom(f) throughout the world. In the new global environment, he has taken (g)strong action to defend America by giving the military the tools it needs and by using force when necessary, such as in deterring Iraqi threats in the Persian Gulf.

Dole is(h) too rigid and inflexible to adjust to these changes and cannot inspire the young people of the world to follow America's example, leadership and values. He cannot be a(i) modern world leader who understands these changes and adjusts to them. In particular, he is ill equipped to grasp the need for our (j)military to excel at peacemaking, not just at winning wars.

- (a) Dole not seen as adjusting to change.
- (b) Terrorism, drug trafficking, and Iran-Iraq were seen as top three threats.
- (bb) Strength works to our advantage over Dole
- (c) Clinton's top three advantages over Dole are strength, innovation and adjustment to change.
- (d) See (c).
- (e) Keeping America out of war was the fourth greatest foreign policy concern, right after terror, Iran-Iraq, and drugs.
- (f) Values of decency and freedom were top positive generic theme at 74, well above "spreading democracy and liberty" at 43.
- (g) Of five Clinton achievements (nuclear threat, defend America, Bosnia peace, Mideast-Ireland, and Haiti) only defend America was credible.
- (h) Dole's three highest negatives are rigid-inflexible, can't adjust, can't inspire young.
- (i) Dole's fourth negative was not a modern world leader.
- (j) Dole's fifth negative as military peacemaking vs wars.

IX PAUL TAYLOR

A. We do not want a "blockade" format where all three nets run the same side by side presentation at the same time, increasing viewership

1. It shows Dole at his best: talking into camera with teleprompter for a minute or two

2. It will defuse tension about the debates. We will win debates, so we want high viewership

B. Tactic: start accepting individual offers by individual networks before Taylor can coordinate them. Then say we have accepted enough so we don't have to participate in "roadblock" and can kill it

X NEW ISSUES

A. Capital Gains Tax Cut -- Support a cut

1. Support 53-30

2. After argument -- stimulate new investment and growth -- 49

vs.

help rich investor and enlarge deficit -- 38

3. Will it be revenue neutral

believable: 50 not believable: 40

--pretty good on believability--

4. If loss of revenue is offset by other savings back cut 59-27

5. Would back capital gains cut for companies that locate in inner cities and draw more than a third of their workers from there

65-22

6. Support exempting up to \$500,000 of capital gains from home sales

55-28

B. Delaney Bill – Cancer additives

1. Delaney Bill bans color additive or drug in food supply that increases cancer risk. Dole change law to allow “negligible or insignificant” cancer risk. Will cut regulations, more flexibility, better foods, lower costs. vs. Clinton opposed. Never quite know full effects of some carcinogens until it is too late

Agree Dole: 25

Agree Clinton: 67

C. Statutory Rape Laws

1. More enforcement

support 70-14

2. Make it a more serious crime with a longer sentence if pregnancy results

support 84-15

3. Argue: gives govt harsher penalties for child support and discourage older men from making a teen girl pregnant – 58

vs.

current laws strict enough and won't really solve problem - 38

D. Drug testing of parole and probation

support 75-22 (50 strong support)

1. we do it at federal level, explore cutoff of fedl funds if not done by states (will poll more)

E. Give adoption tax credit to anyone who adopts the child of his or her spouse, making binding legal commitment to child's support

support 86-13 (58 strong support)

XI MISCELLANEOUS

A. People know Dole's war record, all these ads don't supply new information

1. Did Dole serve in WW II 72-4

2. What happened to him (open ended)

wounded 41

lost use of right arm 33

paralyzed, never walk 7

B. Opposition to Off Shore Oil Drilling

1. Oppose ban on off shore oil drilling

2. Oppose ban on off shore drilling in California, New Jersey, and Fla

42-50

C. Partial Birth Abortion

1. We have turned away criticism on this issue with President's
stand up performance on it. Now back veto by 55-40

D. Takings Legislation

1. Support 56-33

2. But reverses after VP Gore's creative argumentation --

Argue: protect property owners from environmental laws that strangle
business and landowners lose money from development
curbs -- 27

vs

paying companies to do what they should do anyway, clean
up their pollution and meet standards to protect our environ -- 65

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT, JUNE 12, 1996

I. TRACKING -- THE SLIDE CONTINUES -- WE STAY STEADY, DOLE RISES

A. Clinton not down, Dole is up. Head to head from 52-37 to 53-39

1. Since May 14, race has gone from 54-35 to 53-39

a. We lost a point we had not really solidly gained
(just one prior week at 54)

B. But Dole has gained steadily from 35 to 39

B. Clinton's positive ratings are not down, but are actually up slightly

1. Job approval up from 58 to 60

2. Favorability up from 58 to 61

3. Re-elect number up from 49 to 51

4. FBI has not hurt much at all

5. Our ads, tuition, curfews, church burnings issues are all moving us up

C. But Dole is rising. We are letting him get off the mat

1. Dole favorability up from 48-48 to 51-45

2. In a three way race, Perot drops from 14 to 11 as rumors that he won't run
Mount. Dole picks up all these votes rising from 31 to 36 in a
Three way (was 48-31-14; now 47-36-11)

D. Adjectives reflect Dole's rise

| | Last week | This Week | Change |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| Big Dole Gains: | | | |
| Clear stands on issues | 43-41 | 39-46 | minus 9 |
| Doing a lot to balance the budget | 44-34 | 43-41 | minus 8 |
| Doing right even if unpopular | 49-34 | 46-39 | minus 8 |
| Flip flops | 60-25 | 65-22 | minus 8 |
| Strong leader | 50-41 | 47-45 | minus 7 |

1. Hillary favorable from 49-47 to 48-43

2. Budget:

A. Who trust more to balance Repubs from 44-42 to 46-40

B. Who trust more fair to all Clinton from 48-40 to 46-42

C Who blame for no bal budg deal

1. Blame Repubs from 33-49 to 35-51

2. Blame Cl v Dole 35-40 (blame D more) to 39-38 (tie)

D. Which budget favor: Clinton's from 49-40 to 46-42

E. Not much gain for 2 weeks of TV negatives and amendment floor fight

3. Negative Campaigning

A. Who does more? Dole from 50-21 to 49-22

B. Is Dole too negative? Yes from 70-22 to 67-24

C. Is Clinton too negative? No from 40-51 to 42-48

II. NEWS WATCH FOR WEEK

A. Time allocated on networks to Issues

| | Number of stories | Total time |
|---------------------|-------------------|------------|
| 1. Freeman | 14 | 31 minutes |
| 2. Church fires | 16 | 25 |
| 3. Dole resigns | 6 | 17 |
| 4. Alaska fires | 8 | 14 |
| 5. FBI files | 10 | 11 |
| 6. Dole/Abortion | 7 | 10 |
| 7. Dole Interviews | 3 | 9 |
| 8. Russian election | 6 | 9 |
| 9. Valujet | 4 | 7 |
| 10. Ron Brown plne | 5 | 6 |

| | | |
|---------------------|---|---|
| 11. Travel Office | 3 | 6 |
| 12. Unemploy | 3 | 5 |
| 13. Whitewater | 1 | 4 |
| 14. Dole--bal bud | 1 | 2 |
| 15. Dole-election | 1 | 2 |
| 16. Clinton FHA | 1 | 1 |
| 17. Clinton SF trip | 2 | 1 |

B. Totals on Network

Positive Dole 38 minutes
Negative Clinton 14 minutes

Pro Dole total 52 minutes

Negative Dole 0 minutes
Positive Clinton 20 minutes

Pro Clinton Minutes: 20 minutes

C.. By Day

| | Pro Clinton | Pro Dole |
|---------------|---|---|
| Wed. June 5 | Medicare 1 net | Medicare 1 net |
| Thurs, June 6 | Mortgages 2 nets | Balanced Budget 1 nets Abortion 1 net |
| Fri, June 7 | Unemploy 2 nets Church fires 1 net Bosnia 1 net | Economy 1 net Abortion 2 nets Senate record 1 net |
| Sat, June 8 | Church fires 3 nets | FBI files 3 nets Dole on past Presidents 1 net |
| Sun, June 9 | Crime 1 net | FBI files 3 nets Move to center, Powell 1 net |
| Mon, June 10 | Church fires 2 nets | FBI files 2 nets Dole Interview 1 net |

Tues, June 11

none

Leaves Senate 3 nets

Interviews 2 nets

Challenges ahead 1 net

D. Recommendations for coming week:

Monday: Russian elections

Tuesday: Order requiring identification of Dads for welfare

Wednesday: Crime Victims Amendment

Thursday: More on church fires

Suggest 1 hour every Monday, Tues, Wed, and Thurs in Washington

Reserved for unspecified message event

E. Voters who have heard of different developments in campaign

Clinton's condemning church bombings 80

(62-21 more likely vote Cl over Dole)

FBI files 57

(33-38 more likely Dole over Cl)

Clinton's \$1500 tax credit for tuition 50

(51-29 more likely vote Cl over Dole)

Dole's move to center on abortion 50

(41-37 more likely vote Cl over Dole)

Dole's bal budg amend and Cl opposition to it 50

(43-38 more likely Cl over Dole)

Clinton FHA closing cost cut 44

(51-27 more likely vote Cl over Dole)

Dole backs tax cut 36

(36-43 more likely Dole over Clinton)

Lessons:

- A. church bombings beat out FBI
- B. FHA was disproportionately high
- C. Tax cuts began to work for Dole
- D. Public is not in an uproar over church bombings, just somewhat Negative
- E. Abortion, bal budg amendment did not do much to help Dole

III. FBI FILES -- PUBLIC DOESN'T BELIEVE US AT ALL

- A. Was there a White House Coverup of Watergate like activities or was it simply a mistake and the white house asked for the wrong files

| | |
|-------------------------|----|
| Watergate-style coverup | 52 |
| Simple mistake | 26 |

- B. With Argumentation --

Even with argumentation, people are inclined to disbelieve what we say

- 1. First we tried summary argument:

If Army investigator who asked for files swears that he got them as part of routine security work and got wrong files

| | |
|------------|----|
| Coverup -- | 46 |
| Mistake-- | 42 |

- 2. Then we tried Republican attack --

Among files was Bill Dale, Republicans charge white house trying to dig up dirt. Clinton supporters say was bureaucratic error

Agree Republicans 50
Agree Clinton supporters 38

3. Last, we tried extensive explanation. It did no better than short one

White house says error was because the needed to review files of who had access to the White House. But got an old list of those who had access under Bush. By the time the guy reviewing the files realized the mistake he had gotten up to G. Dale's file was, as a result, one of those examined. Repubs say convenient mistake and Clinton always stonewalls

More likely Clinton: 43
More likely Dole: 42

4. Conclusion: the issue a loser for us no matter how we argue it. Best course is to distract attention with other issues

IV. DOLE AND ABORTION

A. Dole announced favor changes in anti-abortion plank. Still pro life but reasonable people can disagree

More likely Dole -- 52
Less likely Dole -- 41

Works well for him.

B. Argument:

Supporters of Dole doing right thing, turning down volume, less polarizing.
Opponents say he's pro-life will still appoint judges to make abortion illegal

More likely Dole: 41
Less likely Dole: 54

C. Conclusion: He has successfully blunted abortion issue and best we can do is to make it perform at our head-to-head. Will never again be a leader issue for us

We have blunted partial birth abortions (10 point positive view of veto). He has blunted his vulnerability. It will not play a big role with marginal voters in the campaign

Reason: voters mainly don't want abortion in the public debate. They are sick of both sides and think that they should have agreed long ago. They want to turn their attention to other issues and also feel that such discussion of an essentially private topic is

inappropriate for politics. While this gives the pro choice movement its majority over the issue, it also makes the public very comfortable with a policy of silent accommodation with abortion rights.

V. DOLE'S MOVE TO THE CENTER-- CREDIBLE AND EFFECTIVE

A. Dole moderating conservative views and moving to center as he runs for Pres or has he always been a moderate

Always moderate: 49
moderating views to run: 39

People buy his move to the center

B. but it is a device to get votes--

Device to get votes 53
was always a moderate: 40

C. Likelihood of vote for Dole based on move to center

More: 41
Less: 50

Does him some good, performs above vote share

D. Answer: remind them of his record

Critics of Dole say he says he's in the center and moderate, but Medicare cuts, Medicaid cuts, education, environ--meant it when he cut it and should be held responsible now

More likely Dole: 25
Less likely Dole: 66

VI. EFFECT OF LAMM CANDIDACY

A. Big positive for us

1. He will attack us, but will be auditioning for their voters

A. The opposite of Nader who will be attacking Dole and auditioning
For our voters

2. He gives the undecided a place to go

3. He forces Dole to wage a positive campaign to keep his votes from going
To Lamm

A. Lamm will outclass Dole positives

B. See Dole's primary performance

4. For example, this week, Perot dropped from 14 to 11 and all the votes went
To Dole

A. Leading division is pro and anti incumbent

1. He splits the anti-Clinton vote

B. Clinton is more popular among pro-Clinton voters than Dole is with
Anti-Clinton voters

1. We will always do better at holding our vote in a three way
Than Dole will

B. We should pray that Lamm gets FEC funding so he can do Dole damage

1. Even if he runs wall to wall anti-Clinton ads, he attracts votes that would
Otherwise go to Dole...does us a huge favor.

A. If he attacked Dole, it would hurt us since he would audition for our
Vote

C. Lamm's positions make him easy to disqualify for our voters

1. Lamm proposed Medicare cuts up to 5 times as large as the Republicans
In Congress

More likely: 8

Less likely: 79 (65 much less)

2. Some people say that half of Medicare is spent in last year of life and it is time
to re-examine how we spend our medical funds because we are spending
Too much money on the elderly in the final stages of their lives. Others
Say that this is an inhumane attitude and older Americans should be
Entitled to the same quality of medical treatment as any other American

Inhumane attitude: 81

Re-examine spending 16

----Duty to die quote would be even worse for him

VII. CRIME VICTIMS AMENDMENT

A. Support constitutional amendment by 87-10 (69 strong support)

B. Argument: don't need amendment, can use statute vs. If give criminals const rights, must give same to victims

61-31 support amendment

C. If Dole for Amendment and Clinton opposed:

Agree Dole: 53

Agree Clinton: 37

VIII. CAPITAL GAINS TAX CUT

A. Support 64-24

B. Argument: will generate jobs, make up for lost revenue, cost no money

Vs

Not realistic, won't pay for itself, fuzzy thinking, lead to deficits
Little new investment or jobs, just make rich richer

Still support: 52-39

C. If Clinton backed capital gains cut

More likely: 51

Less likely: 35

D. If Clinton said use money it generates for homeowner exemption

Support 48-36

E. If Clinton said use money for investments in inner city and jobs for welfare
Recipients

Support 61-30

Evidence of post-welfare reform liberalism I've been predicting

Call this Welfare Reform Part 2 and make it a key theme of second term

F. Against argument that Clinton is flip-flopping

Still more likely vote Clinton 45-42

G. Against argument that Clinton is pandering

44-42

H. Recommendation:

Cut capital gains rate (not retroactivity and not indexing)

**Summers says this will not cost anything and will add \$10 billion
In revenues**

**Suggest using the money for some form of welfare recipient or inner city
Job creation and investment incentive**

**Pandering and flip-flopping arguments won't catch up with the positive and
With the chance to talk about welfare job creation**

IX. CLINTON GROWTH IN OFFICE -- FOR USE IN INTERVIEWS

NEW IDEAS

A. Expand family leave -- broad support

1. Now only for 50 or more employees, expand to all businesses

Support 64-31 (strong support 49)

2. Expand to businesses with 25 or more

Support 73-24

**3. Argument: supporters say basic right; opponents say huge hardship for
Business with one or two employees**

Still support 58-38

4. Small business impact

A. OK with owners for over 25 employees --

13% of electorate own small business or spouse does

1. expand to all 45-51
2. Expand to over 25: 61-36
3. Head to head vote

B. Very popular with small business employees --

57% of electorate work for firms of under 50 employees
Or have spouse that does

35% work in firms of under 25 employees or have spouse that does

1. Expand to all -- 73-28 (among under 50 empl)
2. Expand to over 25 employees -- 81-18
3. Head to head vote

5. Recommendation: Go strongly for it. Dole has to oppose it. Make it a
Key issue in the election

B. Drug tests for Parolees

1. Support requiring states to drug test parolees and lock up again if using

81-14 (63% strong support)

2. Funding: Just make the test a mandate which requires funding; make the
Re-imprisonment something we talk about, but not strictly part of
The legal requirement so we don't have to pay for everybody's prison
System

C. Holding parents responsible for crimes of kids

1. Back liability for civil damages for actions of children

72-22 (46 strong support)

2. Argument: will force parental control, make sure they are accountable

V

Unreasonable to expect parental control 24 hours a day
In punishing parents, we punish the wrong people

Still support 64-29

MISC

A. Public is evenly split on denying education to illegal immigrants

47-49

Arguments for denying education

| | |
|---|-------|
| No obligation to pay for families that broke our laws | 70-28 |
| Discourage others from coming | 75-22 |

Arguments against denying education

| | |
|---|-------|
| Kids did nothing wrong, don't punish them | 65-33 |
| Deport them, but while here, keep in school | 63-32 |

Two sided argument:

| |
|---|
| Costs \$6 bil to educate them, spend money on American kids -- 41 |
| Vs |
| Turned loose hundreds of thousands roam streets -- 55 |

Post-Argument vote:

49-47 no change

Analysis by voter segment:

| | Pro | Anti |
|--------------|-----|------|
| Clinton base | 33 | 63 |
| Swing One | 52 | 47 |
| Swing Two | 52 | 48 |
| Dole Base | 61 | 33 |

Minorities 35 62

Must do all we can to avoid having to make a decision

But, at the end of the day, we won't lose a single vote if we sign it, but will
Lose a lot if we veto

Must not issue veto threat unless we are sure that such a threat will underscore
A successful filibuster which will assure that we won't really have to
Veto it

Analysis:

B. Progress on TV Network/Paul Taylor negotiations

1. Suggest key priority is to avoid roadblocks

C. Environment as foreign policy issue -- of some use, but limited

In last series on foreign policy, we neglected to test the environment as an issue

1. Is protecting global environment important 52 rated it highly

(On our list, this places it below: terror, Iraq-Iran, drug flow, isolationist
Arguments, trade, values, Russia, China, Korea, but ahead of
Protecting American interests, Bosnia, Mideast, Haiti)

Not very strong relatively

2. Is it credible that Clinton has done a lot to protect the global environment

Yes: 31 No: 30

3. Who better on global environment:

Clinton: 55 Dole: 28

4. As negative on Dole that he wouldn't do enough for global environ

True: 27 Not true: 35

Important to you? 68-15

D Oppose letting parents sue schools to stop teaching things they don't like
By

27-68

D. Use of Internet for Campaign

1. 17% use Internet for "more than just casual purposes"

2. 20% have Internet account

3. Use for:

E-mail 40
Research 23
Entertain 19
Getting news 7
Shopping 2
Getting political information 2

4. So, news isn't normal form of use, but --

If Clinton had a live Q and A session on Internet would you watch?

If have Internet hookup:

Very interested: 19
Some what interested 28

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON JUNE 20, 1996

I. TRACKING POLL DATA -- AMAZINGLY, NO SLIPPAGE DESPITE POUNDING

A. Head to head steady at 52-38

1. both dropped a point from 53-39 last week
2. first week since May 7 without any slippage
3. In our media buy 54-37 (17 pts)
Out of media buy 51-39 (12 pts)
 - a. out of buy includes areas where ads started on Tues
4. Published polls:

| | |
|-------------|---|
| CNN (today) | 19 pts |
| Wash Post | 20 |
| NY Times | 19 |
| CNN-old | 6 (now repudiated, in effect by new poll) |

B. Job approval at historic high of 61

1. except for one week at 62, this is our highest level

C. Favorability of 60-40

1. two points below all time historic one week high of 62

D Hillary Favorability is at 47-46

June 19: 47
June 11: 48
June 5: 49
May 28: 47
May 22: 54
May 14: 51

1. After drop in May, no real change in past few weeks

E. Whitewater-FBI

1. 65% had heard of FBI story but it made only 37% less likely to

vote for Clinton

2. 43% had heard of Freeh saying he was victimized by White House, but it made only 31% less likely to vote for Clinton

3.. Was President Clinton involved in wrongdoing? - 32 yes

a. answers on this question have ranged between 31-37

b. so 34 represents no increase

4. Was Hillary involved in wrongdoing? - 48 yes

a. her range has been 44-50

b. so this represents no increase for either

5. Did investigations show the Clintons are responsible for a lot of wrongdoing? -Yes 39, No 35

a. not cutting very much

6. Voters regard D'Amato inquiry as partisan

a. Do you think that Congressional hearings by D'Amato are a serious fair inquiry into Whitewater or are they politically driven to try to discredit the President by keeping old stories in the news as the election approaches

serious, fair: 23
politically driven: 68

Clinton base: 7-74
Swing I 13-78
Swing 2 28-52
Dole base: 61-30

b. For Starr:

serious, fair: 31
political driven: 59

Clinton base: 6-86
Swing 1: 13-78
Swing 2: 30-58

2

Dole Base: 59-30

7. Who are the voters who are less likely to vote for Clinton because of

FBI files issue:

Clinton base: 14%

Swing I: 6%

Swing 2: 28%

Dole Base: 71%

a. Only people affected are those against us anyway

8. Net of exchange on Whitewater didn't hurt with swing I and base

does the Whitewater committee report challenging Hillary's credibility and charging a pattern of coverups surrounding her role make you more likely Clinton or Dole

| total | 34- Cl | 44-D |
|--------------|--------|------|
| Clinton base | 77 | 3 |
| Swing I | 45 | 21 |
| Swing II | 11 | 54 |
| Dole base | 4 | 85 |

9. Lindsay as unindicted coconspirator could present a problem

1. makes 56% less likely to vote for Clinton, including 32% much less likely

2. People break even on whether this is a political trick by Starr (41%) or shows serious wrongdoing (43%)

F. But ... Dole favorability rose again to 52-43

1. Closing gap in favorability

2. Rise in recent weeks:

June 19: 52

June 11: 51

June 5: 48

(3)

May 28:48

3. But Dole rise in adjectives has basically stopped

a. Dole Gained: 4 Clinton gained: 3 No change: 5

b. Dole gained:

Strong leader Dole gained 7
Vision for future: gained 6
effective gained 5
in touch with my values: 2

c. No change:

on my side
takes clear stand on issues
doing a lot to balance the budget
offers new ideas
does things because they are the right thing to do

d. Clinton gained:

Peacemaker Clinton gained 2
Flip flops Clinton improved 1
Doing right even if unpopular 1

4. On issues, Dole move also stopped

a. Clinton gained on 3, Dole gained on 4, No change on 1

b. Dole gained:

education +11
foreign policy +10
crime +7
economy +2

c. no change on defense and military

d. Clinton gained

welfare +5
taxes +2
health care +1

4

5. But expansion of negatives into new buying area that started two days ago should be effective in blunting this rise

II. NEWS REPORTS OF THE WEEK -- HUGE BIAS AGAINST US

A. TV NEWS -- 2:1 ANTI CLINTON RATIO CONTINUES

1. Summary for week of June 12-19

| | |
|---|---|
| Pro Clinton: 14 min. (all church fire stories) | Pro Dole: 4 min (Ohio speech, Russian elections) |
| Anti-Dole 3 min (tobacco) | Anti-Clinton 32 min (FBI, Whitewater) |
| TOTAL Helps Cl: 17 | Hurts Cl: 36 |

2. Topics, total allocated time:

| | |
|------------------------|------------|
| 1. Russian elections: | 67 minutes |
| 2. Whitewater/FBI | 58 minutes |
| 3. Freeman | 29 minutes |
| 4. Church fires | 28 |
| 5. Valujet | 10 |
| 6. Internet decision | 8 |
| 7. IRA bombing | 6 |
| 8. Redistricting | 6 |
| 9. Tobacco/candidat | 4 |
| 10. Same sex | 4 |
| 11. Bosnia | 3 |
| 12. Military sex haras | 2 |
| 13. Japan air crash | 2 |
| 14 Lott as leader | 1 |
| 15 Symington | 1 |

C. Day by Day

| | Clinton | Dole |
|------|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 6-12 | Church fires (2 nets) FBI (1) | Ohio speech (1) |

(5)

| | | |
|------|---|--|
| 6-13 | Same sex (1) Churches (2) Redistricting (1) | Same sex (1) |
| 6-14 | FBI (1) | FBI (3) Tobacco (1) |
| 6-15 | none | Tobacco (1) |
| 6-16 | non | Russian election (2) Whitewater (1) |
| 6-17 | Churches (2) Whitewater (1) | none |
| 6-18 | Whitewater (1) | none |
| 6-19 | Whitewater (3) FBI (3) Paula Jones(1) Churches (2) | none |

D. Press Review for the Week

1. We reviewed up to 25 dailies around the nation in swing states.
 2. We do it daily now. Here is the weekly % of the papers that ran each topic on their front pages during the week
- (100% would mean that the story topic was on the front page every day in all 25 papers)

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| Whitewater/FBI/Lindsey net | 65% |
| Whitewater | 28% |
| Lindsey | 24% |
| FBI | 17% |
| Russian Election | 15% |
| Church fires | 10 |
| HIV | 7 |
| Income gap rich v poor widens | 3 |
| China trade | 3 |
| Polly Klass killing | 3 |

fought to deny welfare, food stamps

The Republican immigration bill refused to raise penalties
when employers hire illegals

Opportunity

President Clinton proposes tax breaks for tuition

The Dole Gingrich budget slashed scholarships

President Clinton's plan protects our values

3. Polling data on immigration:

- a. illegal immigration has increased in past year 65-4
- b. In January, 96, people did not believe Clinton had stemmed
the flow of illegal immigrants from Mexico by 33-54
- c. In Feb, 96, people found a negative attack on us over
immigration very convincing

Clinton has failed miserably to stop illegal immigration
People are pouring in over our borders, driving down
American wages, living off welfare, bringing in drugs
crowding our schools, and causing crime, we need a
President who is ready to crack down on illegal immig-
ration, not one who closes his eyes

very convincing: 45
somewhat convincing: 24

not very or not at all convincing: 31

closed head to head 14 pts

- d. But, when read Clinton's record of increased border patrols
50%, more deportations, and ban on fedl contracts to
those hiring illegals, they approve of Clinton record by
67-20

- 1. are more likely to vote for Clinton by 47-14
(tested on March 5)

e. national data shows break even on ed for illegals, California mirrors this finding:

Calif only: deny ed to illegals 47-48

deny to new students, don't throw out old ones: 51-48

C. We are mail testing response and polling on the issue tonight and this weekend

1. will have recommendation Monday morning

2. request meeting time to get quick approval

D. New ads which have tested well:

1. Values

2. Stop Them

3. Tobacco -- being tested tonight

F. Impact of watering down a negative ad -- Dole as taxer

1. Showings of old negative that worked and watered down one that didn't

2. Deleting bad pictures of Dole and deleting the 35 year line significantly weakened the impact of the ad

IV. THE PANDER ISSUE

A. Concern is that substantive positions now are seen as a pander race with Dole and a desperate attempt to counter FBI and Whitewater

B. Conventional wisdom is now that your polls are not down

C. Just as the public is following the stories it chooses : churches, not FBI, so it sorts through the chaff of press accusations to find the wheat of the issue

D. Just as nobody on our staff can understand why we haven't fallen
(because voters can and will defy media spin especially when ads are running)

So, too many overrate the danger that press spin and pander attacks will

10

X

undermine the substance of what we are doing

E. This concern threatens to deny us the free media hits we need at exactly the time that we need them the most

--the political equivalent of bleeding the patient when he is sick and most needs blood

V. COMP TIME -- URGE WE DO IT IN NASHVILLE

A. Great issue--

Makes people more likely to vote for you by 64-24

B. Garrin did a phony poll for labor on the issue. He biased the question by phrasing it as if employers would decide which to give employees overtime pay or time off. Even so --

people backed it in our version of his poll by 56-39

C. But when told that the employee would have the option, not the employer

people backed comp time by 76-16

D. With argument:

some say employers could pressure employees to take time not money
(32)

vs

employees would, as a practical matter have free choice (62)

E. If comp time required to pay time if they lay off workers or he leaves

more likely C1 52 less likely 14 no difference 23

F. If labor doesn't come off its opposition, it is just time for you to declare a bit of independence here. They don't own you. We're glad they're advertising. But most of it is congressionally aimed and we can do more for our members and insurgents by winning by a big margin than by

assuaging labor.

Also, they have no place to go

VI. CHURCHES

- A. This issue is holding us afloat and aloft almost by itself
- B. Our event yesterday was the fourth straight event in which we really didn't propose anything of substance
- C. Must revisit issue to make clear that we are going to protect churches, not just investigate arson
- D. Urge a definite plan, state-by-state, which we tell the media all about each day to defend and guard churches
 - 1. Use Dems like Hunt and Chiles to set up models. Then press Repubs to join in implementation
 - 2. Feed lots of stories of federal agents and local cops deploying to protect churches
- E. If arson continues, then we should use this to escalate our actions leading to the inevitable, which is use of the Guard in concert with Governors
 - 1. If Governors don't cooperate, and arson continues, we can isolate the Governor and lay a case which leads to federalization
 - a. don't forget, many are racist Republicans -- like Fordice -- with no more national credibility than Wallace or Barnett or Faubus had.

VII. VICTIMS AMENDMENT

- A. No matter what, lets do it on Tuesday
 - 1. If not, we won't do it until mid July
 - 2. If Dole uses this issue, he can get back on top on crime
 - 3. Word is getting out to press and that could force Dole move if we don't move

VIII. G 7 TRIP

A. Urge that you use arrival speech opportunity for major foreign address

1. We've never gotten an ounce of credit on Russia on any network
2. We will be dark on Wed and Thurs as things now stand -- need to get on

B. Substance:

1. How our economy is leading the world
 - a. G7 kept on our case about deficit. We fixed it and now we are doing great
 - b. (by implication, the only nation that is doing great is us)
2. Iran blast on terrorism
3. Criteria for foreign policy in modern world:
 - a. strength (we lead Dole on this by 20 pts)
 - b. steadiness in commitment to our values
 - c. judgment in assessing new situations
innovation in meeting new challenges
flexibility in adapting to changes

(we lead Dole on all three, the last two by a lot)

IX. FCC VOTE

Coming up on Thursday

We need to send out letter urging good vote to make issue ours' when it happens

X. NO NEED -- NO NEED FOR GET WELL SPEECH ON FBI AND WHITEWATER

A. Remember how press conference when you answered charges against Hillary backfired and people felt it was now your scandal (when you said you'd punch Safire if you weren't President)

B. People aren't taking this seriously and all your comments could do is make them take a second look at it

XI. DOLE'S IMPROVING IMAGE

A. Since May 7, Dole's favorability has climbed from 45 to 52, while Clinton's has remained even at 59

1. He's closing the gap on favorables which would presage movement on vote share

B. Percent saying Dole has improved - declined - stay the same

Will get things done - 32-15-45

Vital enough to be President 31-21-42

Strong effective leader 30-14-52

High moral character 30-9-53

Vision for future 28-17-45

Honest 21-14-60

Consistent 20-23-52

XII. WHAT WAS CLINTON'S FIRST TERM ALL ABOUT -- WHAT HE'LL DO IN SECOND TERM

A. Best summary of what Clinton did in first term -- Opportunity and Responsibility:

1. BEST THEME: He worked to provide citizens with opportunity and demanded from them personal responsibility -- 70% more likely

a. Best specifics behind it:

immunization

V Chip/ TV Ratings

Tobacco Ads

Deadbeat Dads

College scholarships

Family leave

(with specifics: 79% more likely)

2. Other themes:

- Maintained America's leadership at home and abroad - 64
- Protected children - 61
- Prepared us for 21st Century - 59
- House was in disarray, straightened it out - 58
- Transcended brain dead choices of past with new approaches -
- Stopped rt. wing Repubs from ruining country - 55
- Seemed like sunset for America, but Clinton stepped in and prepared us for next century - 53

56

B. Agenda for Second Term -- in order of popularity

1. Deadbeat Dads: 55 much more; 86 total likely to vote for Clinton
2. Welfare Reform -- Work for Welfare: 50 much more; 87 total more
3. Education standards -- tests for promotion 50 much; 83 total more
4. Empowerment zones, create jobs for welfare to work: 46/77
5. Cut corp subsidies and use funds to shore up Medicare, Soc Sec 43/77
6. Tobacco ads 43/76
7. Balance the budget 42/77
8. Worker training 41/79
9. School construction 40/78
10. tuition tax aid 40/75
11. Go after teen gangs 40/75
12. Computers in school 38/76
13. Cut abortion by making inter-racial adoption easier 34/74
14. Extend family leave 33/71

C. Great Agenda

15

1. Is this enough?

too much -- 18

enough -- 41

not enough -- 28

2. Is it realistic

can make progress -- 50

not realistic -- 49

(pretty good given cynicism)

XIII. WOODWARD BOOK WILL SAY YOU GOVERN BY POLLS

A. Here is list of unpopular actions you have taken despite polls --

Flag burning amendment

School prayer amendment

Bal budg amendment

anti busing amendment

Bosnia

Mexico bailout

Nafta

Affirmative Action

Prop 187

Haiti

China MFN

Wouldn't deny aid to unmarried mothers

Wouldn't deny ed to illegals

Preserved benefits for legal immigrants

opposed term limits

vetoed partial birth abortion

opposed restricting US participation in peacekeeping under UN

Product liability veto

Securities reform veto

16

~~16~~ ✓

**XIV. ABORTION -- DOLE HAS FOUND A WAY TO BLUNT IT
OUR COUNTER MOVE MUST BE ADOPTION**

A. We retain a basic lead on abortion

1. People agree with Clinton over Dole, unaided, by 56-25

a. They agree with Democrats over Republicans by 56-27

b. When offered their choices on abortion:

| | | |
|---------------------------------|----|----|
| expand right to abortion | 25 | |
| maintain current rights | | 38 |
| further restrictions | 17 | |
| <i>ban almost all abortions</i> | 15 | |

B Dole's move to the center cannot be defeated by referring to Republican support for a constitutional amendment

1. tested:

Republicans tolerant on abortion; all sides should feel comfortable in party; abortion shouldn't stop anyone from voting for Dole - 40

vs.

Dole and Republicans back constitutional amendment banning abortions, not really tolerant supporting them just helps pro-life cause - 38

2. Therefore, neither constitutional amendment argument nor appointing pro-life judges works

3. Dole has effectively nullified abortion as an issue in the way it has worked for the past 30 years; must come up with new approach

C. RU-486 approval won't help any

1. break even on approval - 48-44

**2. more likely to vote for Clinton if favored approval - 41
more likely to vote for Dole if opposed approval - 36**

D. Only effective answer is to match Dole's move to the center by adoption

Tested:

We need to keep abortion safe and legal and make it rare.

- enforce statutory rape laws
- birth control material in schools with parental OK
- interracial adoptions
- adoption tax credit

These are things we can all agree on, should work together to achieve these goals

more likely: 64-27

(but, tested separately, the birth control part of this proposal is a little risky. More on that next week)

XV. NEW IDEAS

A. Violence on Children's TV

1. Major concern; strong support for network voluntary curbs

- a. Urge networks to restrict violence in children's programming particularly on such children's shows as Power Rangers and Mutant Ninja Turtles

Much more likely to vote Cl 36

Total more likely: 71

less likely: 23

2. Suggest this be the theme of our network summit in July

B. Toys that are based on violence

- 1. Urge toy manufacturers to label their toys based on violence and sexual content, like movies are rated, so also to discourage mothers from buying violent or sexually suggestive toys for children

Much more likely to vote Cl: 31

Total More likely: 67

- 2. Set up a program where children and mothers could trade in their gun toys for books

18

X

Much more likely: 41
Total more likely: 81

3. Suggest outreach to toy manufacturers and children's' book publishers to announce such a program

C. National computer bank to track child sex abusers

1. Does great like all sex issues

a. 58 more likely; 84 total likely

2. With arguments:

some say computer bank invades privacy, stigmatizes for life after served time (6)

vs

necessary, repeat offenders, community right to know (86)

D. Empowerment zone preference on set asides

1. Support giving a preference when govt contracts to companies that relocate into inner cities where the poorest people live

76-18

2. Argument:

help welfare get work become productive, improve neighborhoods (60)

vs

treat all equally, no preferences (34)

E. Alternative Sentences for Minor crimes

1. When kids commit petty crimes like graffiti, should they receive fines and jail sentences, suspended sentences, or be given alternative sentences such as community work or clean up

alternative: 87%

2. Argument: too soft, let people off the hook vs sends the right message of teaching responsibility for their actions

support alternative sentences 82-14

3. If Clinton urged each state to do alternative sentencing

66-21

- F. Assign social workers to work in teams with police to bring social services along with the police as they do their law enforcement

70-23

1. Some say social work is not part of policing and that this would divert police from their real duties (29)

vs

much of police work involves home situations that require immediate social work and that would help reduce crime (67)

2. But not for federal personnel

not appropriate for federal law enforcement personnel
but OK for local 67
Inappropriate for all police, shouldn't be involved 26

3. Proposal: that we require social workers hired with fedl money to work in teams with community based policing

XVI. SENATE RACES -- HUGE, HUGE ANTI-INCUMBENT MOOD REGARDLESS OF PARTY

- A. 9 of 16 incumbents are under 50%

1. Usually, just 2-3 are

- B. Democrats Up for Re-election (from most recent published poll)

Wellstone 42%

Harkin 46
Baucus 49
Kerry 49

Levin 54
Rock 69
Biden 71

C. Republicans up for Re-election

Pressler 38
Smith 40
Helms 46
Gramm 47
Thurmond 49

McConnell 50
Craig 54
Thompson 57
Warner 58

D. In open seats, Dems lead now in 11 of 13

Ark Bryant up 22
La Landrieu up 21
Ill Durbin up 20
Ore Ruggere up 12
Ga Cleland up 10
Me Brennan 10
RI Reed up 7
Kan Thompson up 7
NJ Torecilli up 6
Wyo Carpan up 5
Neb Nelson up 4
Kan Docking up 1

Ala Browder down 7 (Bedford down 17)
Col Strickland down 7

E. Lesson:

- a. When we move up, we carry Congress
- b. We had better pass some bills in a damn hurry unless we want to lose a whole lot of our incumbents

(21)

X

XVII. MISCELLANEOUS

INTERNET CASE

1. break even on court decision 48-44

a. break even on appealing it 44-49

2. But when issue is phrased in terms of free speech vs. restricting access
to children, support for ruling drops to 36-62

3. Suggest we keep looking for an out:

a. one idea, which we'll test next week, is to try the V chip
approach on internet self policing as opposed to an
appeal

b. possible augmentation is to make a criminal act of seeking to
avoid V chip (called Gateway for the internet) coding to
send out pornography

22

X

2.

Vice-President
Gore

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT, JUNE 25, 1996

I. TRACKING -- THE ANTI-GRAVITY-CONTINUES

A. Head to head -- no change from last week or week before -- 52-38

1. Slide which began on May 22, seems to have ended on June 11

a. since then, notable for its stability

2. In buy: 54-37

Out buy: 49-42

B. Internals solid

1. Job approval at 60 (down 1)

2. Favorability at 59 (down 1)

3. Re-elect number at 52 (new record high--up 3)

C. Dole favorability drops 2 to 50 after three week rise

1. May 7 45

May 14 48

May 22 50

May 28 48

June 5 48

June 11 51

June 19 52

June 24 50

(1)

D. Impact of FBI/Whitewater/Seance Stories --- Only on Swing II and Dole voters

(More likely Clinton/More likely Dole)

| | FBI | Whitewater | Seance |
|-----------------|-------|------------|--------|
| Total | 38-34 | 39-42 | 37-35 |
| (30%) CI base | 73-5 | 78-4 | 82-2 |
| (22%) Swing I | 44-12 | 53-26 | 42-10 |
| (17%) Swing II | 19-36 | 15-52 | 10-45 |
| (31%) Dole base | 8-82 | 2-87 | 3-79 |

Swing I and Swing II voters are not paying close attention to WW/FBI

E. . We also are beginning to turn both FBI and Whitewater Report around

Change in Impact of FBI/Whitewater from last week to this week

| | Last Week | This Week | Gain/Loss |
|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| FBI | 21-37 | 38-34 | +20 |
| Whitewater | 34-44 | 39-42 | + 7 |

1. Must NOT issue a Presidential statement or interview or anything on FBI or any other such issue
 - a. It just makes it the President's issue and his negative when it isn't now
 - b. See comparison with what happened in the "punch Satire in nose" press conference

F. Hillary favorability up 2 to 49

1. Is Hillary hurting ticket? --- Is Dole hurting their ticket???
 - a. Her favorability and Dole's are about even and pretty much always have been

(2)

b no need to "hide" her; she should do as much as she wants and be as active and visible as she wishes

2. On Convention poll, we neglected to ask Tipper's favorability -- its 46-23

G. Adjective Comparison -- Solid gains on adjectives Cl up on 7, Dole up on 2

| | Clinton | Dole | Change |
|------------------------------|---------|------|-----------------------|
| Flip flops on issues | 58 | 25 | +11 (pro-Cl movement) |
| Has vision for future | 54 | 35 | +8 |
| Strong leader | 47 | 44 | +8 |
| Takes clear stands on issues | 41 | 44 | +4 |
| Offers new ideas | 56 | 31 | +4 |
| Peacemaker in the world | 64 | 24 | +3 |
| On my side | 51 | 37 | +1 |
| Does things because right | 45 | 41 | 0 |
| In touch with my values | 49 | 41 | -1 |
| Effective | 42 | 44 | -1 |

H. Issue Comparison -- Gains on all eight issues

| | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|-----|
| Crime | 50 | 40 | +13 |
| Balance budget | 44 | 34 | +8 |
| Foreign Policy | 51 | 41 | +7 |
| Education | 58 | 31 | +6 |
| Welfare | 54 | 36 | +5 |
| Taxes | 45 | 44 | +4 |
| Health Care | 57 | 33 | +3 |
| Defense and Military | 36 | 52 | +2 |
| Economy | 48 | 46 | +1 |

Strategic imperative is:

- * a 10-12 point lead in favorability
- * a 20-40 point lead on liberal issues like ed, env, medicare
- * a lead on conservative issues like: crime, bal bud, welfare, taxes

--most difficult is the third task. We now satisfy this criteria

I. Hillary--Eleanor Communicating with spirits---no real political impact

1. Have you heard of Hillary consult spirit advisor, talks to Eleanor? 77%

- a. More likely vote: Clinton 37 Dole 35
- b. More/less favorable to Hillary? More: 36 less: 46
- c. Hillary reached out for fringe elements to help her cope: 27
Hillary just trying to examine how Eleanor responded to
difficult situations as first lady: 54
- d. Was Hillary trying to actually communicate with Eleanor: 17

or just trying to examine how Eleanor responded to
criticism as first lady: 60
- e. Do you believe it is possible to communicate with the spirits
of people who have died

Yes: 25 No: 65
- f. They don't believe she was doing anything weird, they buy that
she was just thinking of how Eleanor might respond. But it
still has a slight impact on Hillary favorability, but not much
on Clinton's vote share
- g. Better this than FBI, better FBI than Whitewater, better Whitewater
than issue attacks on Clinton

J. Negative Campaigning

1. Who is doing more negative campaigning?

Cl 26 Dole 47

Look back:

(Margin of Dole over Clinton on neg campaigning)

| | |
|---------|----|
| May 7 | 30 |
| May 14 | 35 |
| May 22 | 24 |
| May 28 | 34 |
| June 5 | 29 |
| June 11 | 27 |
| June 19 | 23 |
| June 24 | 21 |

Gap closes, but....Clinton is doing better on waging positive race

2. Is Clinton spending too much time attacking Dole and not enough talking about his own positive ideas?

Yes 34 no 57 —

Clinton margin of no over yes:

| | |
|---------|----|
| May 7 | 16 |
| May 14 | 19 |
| May 22 | 20 |
| May 28 | 14 |
| June 5 | 11 |
| June 11 | 6 |
| June 19 | 14 |
| June 24 | 23 |

In light of these solid gains, I do not attach much significance to the gap closing on who is more negative

3. Is Dole too negative?

Yes 67 No 24 -- little change over the entire period

K. Budget Comparison -- our position vs Republicans improves, but Dole is escaping blame by leaving

1. Who trust more to balance budget: up 2 to Repub: 46 Cl: 42
2. Who trust more to balance fair to all up 4 to Repub: 40 Cl: 51
3. Who more to blame for failure down 1 to Repub 44 Cl: 40
4. Who more to blame for failure on bal bud, tax cut, welfare

big drop from Cl: 37 Dole: 40 to Cl: 46 D: 38

a. He's not still here and we are.

1. He's no longer of this world

b. Potentially quite dangerous

c. Need legislative progress

5. Whose plan favor: up 8 from Cl 45 R 41 to C 50 R 38

5

II. WEEKLY NEWS SUMMARY

A. Inputs

1. TV Network News Monitoring

a. Bias of coverage:

(6/20-24)

Pro Clinton: 15 min
Neg Dole 13 min

Pro Dole: 1
Neg Clinton 44

Good for Clinton: 28

Good for Dole: 45

(Last week: 17-36 negative
Week before: 20-58 negative)

Cumulative 3 weeks

Good for Clinton: 65
Bad for Clinton: 139

b. Topics in TV news:

| | |
|-------------------|------------|
| Arab summit | 21 minutes |
| FBI files | 12 minutes |
| Hillary/Eleanor | 11 minutes |
| Abortion | 10 |
| AIDS | 10 |
| 3 strikes unconst | 8 |

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| Clinton--sex abusers | 6 |
| Dems family agenda | 4 |
| Paula Jones | 4 |
| Wild fires | 4 |
| AFSCME speech-- | |
| neg labor link | 4 |
| Clinton/Chicago | 3 |
| Domestic violence | |
| in Ky | 3 |
| Pope in Germany | 3 |
| Abortion/Dems | 2 |
| GOP convention | 2 |

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Iraq chem weapons | 2 |
| Admin problems | 2 |
| Church fires | 1 |
| Dole running mates | 1 |
| Nabisco | 1 |

c. Stories on Campaign, day by day

| | Clinton | Dole |
|-----------|---|--|
| Th, 6-20 | N-Whitewater(1) N-FBI (2) | none |
| Fri, 6-21 | P-AFSCME speech(1) N-FBI (3) N-Labor money(1) N-Abortion(1) | N-Abortion (2) |
| Sat 6-22 | P-sex offenders(3) N-Travel Docs(2) N-Hillary seance(1) N-FBI(2) | N-Abortion(3) P-Ethics attack (1) N-Conven '92 mistakes(1) |
| Sun 6-23 | N-Hillary seance(2) N-First famly siege(1) P-Dem agenda(3) N-FBI (2) | N-Abortion(1) P-running mates(2) |
| Mon 6-24 | P-Flex time(2) N-Hillary seance(3) N-Paula Jones(3) N-FBI(1) | none |

2. Newspaper monitoring in 15 key states

(Friday, Monday, Tuesday)

Total with front pages having negative Clinton stories: 49%

Total with front pages having positive Clinton stories: 11%

% Of time story was on front pages of 25 newspapers combined

| | |
|---------------------|-----|
| Arab Summit | 20% |
| Hillary/Psychic | 20 |
| Yeltsin fires aides | 15 |
| FBI Files | 15 |
| Comp time/fam leave | 12 |
| Paula Jones | 11 |
| Olympics | 7 |
| Church fires | 7 |
| 3 strikes unconst | 6 |
| MOVE bombing | 6 |
| Gingrich | 3 |
| Soft money ban | 3 |
| Space Shuttle | 3 |
| Valujet | 3 |
| Polio Shots | 3 |
| Lindsey | 1 |
| Whitewater | 1 |
| Abortion/GOP | 1 |

B. Outputs -- Effects

Summary of Did you hear of:

a. Investigation of FBI files? 64%

1. More likely: Clinton: 38 Dole: 34

2. Innocent mistake: 22 Coverup: 59

3. They think we are lying, but they don't care about the issue.
It just doesn't grab them.

b. Republican dispute on abortion in platform? 48%

1. More likely Clinton: 46 Dole: 31

c. Dole's considering list of VP Choices? 37

1. More likely Clinton: 40 Dole: 27

d. Dole's criticism of Clinton ethics? 42%

1. More likely Clinton: 42 Dole: 27

2. Dole does himself no favors and Clinton no damage when he attacks Clinton ethics

e. Whitewater Committee charge Hillary coverups? 68

1. More likely Clinton: 39 Dole: 42

2. Report proves wrongdoing, Clintons tried to derail invest: 36

vs

Politically motivated, ignored facts and evidence: 53

f. Lindsey unindicted co-conspirator? 52%

1. More likely: Clinton: 41 Dole: 32

2. Political trick by Starr: 44

vs

Shows serious wrongdoing: 38

g. Clinton Administration opposes UN Boutros-Ghali re-election 26

1. More likely: Clinton: 41 Dole: 19

III. NEW STUMP SPEECH

A. Three simple ideas for 21st Century:

1. Keep American dream alive for everyone,
2. Come together with greater sense of community and family
3. Make America greatest force for peace and freedom in world

62-28

B. Achieve greater community and family if basic bargain: opportunity/responsibility

65-25

C. Economy

1. New approach to economic opportunity. Cut deficit, trade, invested in people. Said would create 8 mil jobs, actually created 9.7 mil -- 54-36

Or

2. Same with partisan shots at Republican doomsayers, job killer etc. --62-32

--Makes sense to do partisan comparison

D. Crime

1. New approach: 100,000 cops...Brady Bill...assault rifles....60,000 felons and fugitives....results clear: crime too high, but down for three years -- 57-35

Or

2. Same with partisan shots -- 68-24

--Partisanship makes sense here again

E. Welfare

1. New approach: responsibility...welfare to work...day care...new jobs.... health care for kids...Waited for Republican action...now quiet revolution, Times says...waivers 40 states...result: 1 million off welfare, 40% child support increase, exec order stay in school for moms 71-23

--here, again, partisanship works

F. Family and Medical Leave

1. Make sure people have tools to bring up children...never choose between success at job and at home...family leave...12 million have used --70-22

Or

2. Same but with partisan shots -- 76-16

G. TV Violence and Cigarette Ads

1. Protect kids from violence on TV...V chip...rating system...cigarette ads aimed at kids...3000 smoke each day, 1000 die from it
64-26

Or

2. same with partisan shots -- 72-19

H. Father responsibility

1. Responsibility from parents...father child support...teen pregnancy fought in high school....domestic violence hot line

78-17

I. 95 Budget fight

1. 95 showed critical choices....Medicare, Medicaid, ed, env contrasts

65-29

J. Face 21st century get young people ready

1. Changes sweeping world...lifetime health, ed, pensions...min wage...health reform....college...adult upgrade skills...comm college free...

65-28

K. Give parents tools

1. Flex time...family leave expansion

73-20

L. Best days ahead of us

1. Age of possibility...meet challenges...protect values...cannot stand still
in time of change 66-28

Or

2. Same with Republicans go backwards 71-20

Partisan attacks help the stump speech message in every case

--theory of comparing Clinton to Dole, not to utopia

--same reason for our ads using comparisons, not just pre positives

Head to head: 57-34

Comparison of Stump Themes:

| | |
|--|-------|
| Family leave -- partisan | 76-16 |
| Flex time/family leave | 73-20 |
| V Chip/Tobacco | 72-19 |
| Welfare -- partisan | 71-23 |
| Best days ahead/meet challenges of future - partisan | 71-20 |
| Crime -- partisan | 68-24 |
| Opportunity/Responsibility | 65-25 |
| Prepare young for 21st century | 65-28 |
| Budget battle -- partisan | 65-29 |
| 3 themes -- dream alive, family-community, Amer for peace free | 62-28 |
| Economic Opportunity -- partisan | 62-32 |

-- all work very well. Great new speech

-- suggest avoid other ideas, but focus on these

-- partisan comparisons always work better

-- values: family leave, flex time, V chip, tobacco all work the best

--economic opportunity does OK, but isn't key element of speech any
more, values are

-- In a sense, we are updating your stump speech to sound more like
the ads

IV. CLINTON'S FIRST TERM ALL ABOUT --WHAT HE'LL DO IN SECOND TERM

A. Best summary of what Clinton did in first term -- Opportunity and Responsibility:

1. BEST THEME: He worked to provide citizens with opportunity and demanded from them personal responsibility -- 70% more likely

a. Best specifics behind it:

Immunization
V Chip/ TV Ratings
Tobacco Ads
Deadbeat Dads
College scholarships
Family leave

(with specifics: 79% more likely)

2. Other themes:

- Maintained America's leadership at home and abroad - 64
- Protected children - 61
- Prepared us for 21st Century - 59
- House was in disarray, straightened it out - 58
- Transcended brain dead choices of past with new approaches - 56
- Stopped rt. wing Republicans from ruining country - 55
- Seemed like sunset for America, but Clinton stepped in and prepared us for next century - 53

B. Agenda for Second Term -- in order of popularity

1. Deadbeat Dads: 55 much more; 86 total likely to vote for Clinton
 - a. They feel increasing child support a lot is realistic 71-29
2. Welfare Reform -- Work for Welfare: 50 much more; 87 total more
 - a. They feel making welfare recipients work is realistic 77-21
3. Education standards -- tests for promotion 50 much; 83 total more

4. Empowerment zones, create jobs for welfare to work: 46/77
5. Health care benefits for 6 months after person loses job 44/71
6. Cut corp subsidies and use funds to shore up Medicare, Soc Sec 43/77
7. Tobacco ads 43/76
8. Balance the budget 42/77
9. Worker training 41/79
10. School construction 40/78
11. Tuition tax aid 40/75
 - a. They feel expanding number of children in college is realistic - 60-37
12. Go after teen gangs 40/75
13. Computers in school 38/76
14. Cut abortion by making inter-racial adoption easier 34/74
15. Cutting teen pregnancy 34/63
 - a. Is it realistic? 48-50
16. Extend family leave 33/71

C. Great Agenda

1. Is this enough?

too much -- 18
 enough -- 41
 not enough -- 28

2. Is it realistic?

can make progress -- 50
 not realistic -- 49

(pretty good given cynicism)

V. NEW IDEAS

A. New Issue against Dole: His vote to block grant and cap (and therefore cut by \$400 Million) funds for child protective services

B. Violence on Children's TV

1. Major concern; strong support for network voluntary curbs

a. Urge networks to restrict violence in children's programming particularly on such children's shows as Power Rangers and Mutant Ninja Turtles

Much more likely to vote Cl 36

Total more likely: 71

less likely: 23

2. Suggest this be the theme of our network summit in July

C. Separation of Juveniles from Adult criminals in prisons--Hatch Bill backfires big time

1. Hatch and McCollum both have bill to end federal requirement that adults and juveniles be separated in jails

2. Public strongly backs separation: 73-19 (after argument)

3. Dole backs Hatch bill

D. Support govt funds to pay for health insurance for 6 months for people who lose their jobs

71-23 (44% strong support)

1. Reed remembers cost estimate as about 2 billion/year

2. In our current budget and paid for in that budget

a. Nobody knows its there

b. Can use it as part of second term agenda without increased

cost

- c. We should identify this as the next step after Kennedy-Kassenbaum, once it passes

E. Brady Bill Expansion

1. Bar handgun purchases by anyone who has been convicted of a Misdemeanor offense under domestic violence law?

75-21 (61 strong support)

2. Argument:

Domestic violence usually misdemeanor, but law now only bars felons
No spousal abuser should have a gun--62

Vs

Misdemeanor is minor, long time ago, not grounds to deny a gun -- 30

3. If amendment barred handguns to anyone with a 10 year old or less misdemeanor conviction?

68-25

4. This issue comes from a bill by Lautenberg.

--He says every year, there are 150,000 domestic violence crimes committed with a gun

5. Great new issue! Recommend we go with it. Keeps gun control alive and takes it directly into violence against women

F. Require hospitals to identify fathers to get medicaid funds

83-14 (incl 64 strong support)

Great new issue, let's use it!

G. Allow mothers to sue state to get help in collecting child support funds

71-22 (incl 55 strong)

H. School Construction

1. Support major program to provide funds to localities for school construction and repair

81-12 (includes 52 strong support)

2. \$8 billion for school construction and repair to build or renovate 25% more schools a year for the next four years?

76-18 (incl 51 strong)

3. Support/oppose if aid conditioned on being open throughout day and into evening as community center for youth and elderly

71-21 (incl 42 strong)

4. Support/oppose if aid conditioned on raising educational standards and kids must pass state-formulated tests to promote?

74-19 (incl 50 strong)

5. Program great, money works, community center tack works.

--may be a way into education standards issue with federal mandate, but we will poll to develop it more

- a. I was surprised, it's the first federal mandate on educ that works but we need more testing to check it out with arguments

I. Toys that are based on violence

1. Urge toy manufacturers to label their toys based on violence and sexual content, like movies are rated, so also to discourage mothers from buying violent or sexually suggestive toys for children

Much more likely to vote Cl: 31
Total More likely: 67

2. Set up a program where children and mothers could trade in their gun toys for books

Much more likely: 41

Total more likely: 81

3. Suggest outreach to toy manufacturers and children's book publishers

J. Alternative Sentences for Minor crimes

1. When kids commit petty crimes like graffiti, should they receive fines and jail sentences, suspended sentences, or be given alternative sentences such as community work or clean up

alternative: 87%

2. Argument: too soft, let people off the hook vs sends the right message of teaching responsibility for their actions

support alternative sentences 82-14

3. If Clinton urged each state to do alternative sentencing

66-21□

K. Social workers linking with community based police officers in patrols

71-26

1. Still support even after argument:

Some say social work is not part of policing and that this would divert police from their real duties--29%

Vs.

Much of police work involves home situations that require immediate social work and that would help reduce crime-67%

2. Would favor requirement of such teaming up for social service agencies that use federal funds -- 57-36

3. Recommend we move on it

VI. SENATE RACES -- HUGE, HUGE ANTI-INCUMBENT MOOD REGARDLESS OF PARTY

A. 9 of 16 incumbents are under 50%

1. Usually, just 2-3 are

B. Democrats Up for Re-election (from most recent published poll)

Wellstone 42%

Harkin 46

Baucus 49

Kerry 49

Levin 54

Rockefeller 69

Biden 71

C. Republicans up for Re-election

Pressler 38

Smith 40

Helms 46

Gramm 47

Thurmond 49

McConnell 50

Craig 54

Thompson 57

Warner 58

D. In open seats, Dems lead now in 11 of 13

RI Reed up 25

Ark Bryant up 22

La Landrieu up 21

Ill Durbin up 20

Ore Ruggere up 12

Ga Cleland up 10

Me Brennan up 10

NJ Torricelli up 8

Kan Thompson up 7

Wyo Carpan up 5

Neb Nelson up 4

Kan Docking up 1

Ala Browder down 7 (Bedford down 17)
Col Strickland down 7

E. Lesson:

- a. When we move up, we carry Congress
- b. We had better pass some bills in a damn hurry unless we want to lose a whole lot of our incumbents ☐

VII. ABORTION -- DOLE HAS FOUND A WAY TO BLUNT IT
OUR COUNTER MOVE MUST BE ADOPTION

A. We retain a basic lead on abortion

- 1. People agree with Clinton over Dole, unaided, by 56-25
 - a. They agree with Democrats over Republicans by 56-27
 - b. When offered their choices on abortion:

| | |
|--------------------------|----|
| expand right to abortion | 25 |
| maintain current rights | 38 |
| further restrictions | 17 |
| ban almost all abortions | 15 |

B. Dole's move to the center cannot be defeated by referring to Republican support for a constitutional amendment

1. tested:

Republicans tolerant on abortion; all sides should feel comfortable in party; abortion shouldn't stop anyone from voting for Dole - 40

vs.

Dole and Republicans back constitutional amendment banning abortions; not really tolerant; supporting them just helps pro-life cause - 38

- 2. Therefore, neither constitutional amendment argument nor appointing pro-life judges works
- 3. Dole has effectively nullified abortion as an issue in the way it has

worked for the past 30 years; must come up with new approach

C. RU-486 approval won't help any

1. break even on approval - 48-44
2. more likely to vote for Clinton if favored approval - 41
more likely to vote for Dole if opposed approval - 36

D. Would even support broader inclusionary language in our platform

1. Should the Democratic party include a clause ... "many people may disagree with this approach and we recognize their right to do so and nevertheless welcome them into the Democratic party"? 63-28
2. I am not including this to suggest it, but to show how much our abortion position has been undermined.

E. Only effective answer is to match Dole's move to the center by adoption

Tested:

We need to keep abortion safe and legal and make it rare.

- enforce statutory rape laws
- birth control material in schools with parental OK
- interracial adoptions
- adoption tax credit

These are things we can all agree on, should work together to achieve these goals

more likely: 64-27

(but, tested separately, the birth control part of this proposal is a little risky. More on that next week)□

VIII. FOREIGN POLICY THEMES

A. Indispensable nation

"America only indispensable nation. Our values..democracy..beacon of hope...Our economy drives global economy....our military...makes difference between peace and war and loss of innocent life...Must remain strong to meet challenges, but never squander strength on excessive intervention, but not withdraw...world depends on us"

1. Agree/Disagree 84-14
2. More/less likely vote Clinton 58-26
3. Head to head 55-38

B. Strength, Steadiness, Judgment Qualities in world leader today

"3 qualities for global leader...strength...to take lead and action...Steadfast in commitment to values...Judgment to adapt and flexible to changing global situations...World totally different from cold war and leader must have flexibility and judgment to cope with change"

1. Agree/Disagree: 94-3
2. More/Less Likely vote Clinton 59-29
3. Head to head 56-37

Recommend departure speech emphasizing latter theme

--best shot because it sets up Dole contrast over innovation and coping with change

IX. CONVENTION

A. Theme nights:

1. Idea has been suggested of theme nights for the 7-9 PM period each night of the convention. This is pre-network and the idea is to attract viewers by the nature of the theme

2. Ranking of likelihood of watching it theme is:

(ranked by much more likely to watch)

1. Improving the lives of children: 56
2. Improving education: 55
3. Fighting Crime: 49
4. Reforming welfare: 49
5. Helping families: 42
6. Protecting the environment: 41
7. Protecting medicare and medicaid: 40

B. Speakers

Who would make you more favorable to Clinton if they spoke at convention:

| | |
|-----------------|----|
| Walter Cronkite | 32 |
| John Kennedy Jr | 30 |
| Bill Gates | 27 |
| Oprah Winfrey | 26 |

(We did not ask about Christopher Reeve but he tested very well
In previous poll)

| | |
|------------------|----|
| Caroline Kennedy | 23 |
| Maya Angelou | 22 |
| Michael Douglas | 22 |
| Ray Charles | 21 |
| Sally Ride | 21 |
| Aretha Franklin | 19 |
| Whitney Houston | 19 |
| Tom Hanks | 18 |
| Magic Johnson | 16 |
| Michael Jordan | 16 |
| Garth Brooks | 15 |
| Reba McIntyre | 15 |
| Lily Tomlin | 14 |
| Gloria Estefan | 13 |
| Garrison Keilor | 12 |
| Travis Tritt | 10 |
| Michael Bolton | 9 |
| Tricia Yearwood | 9 |

X. MISC

A. Social Security Preservation

1. Voters agree, by 76-19, that Social Security is running out of money
And that it is necessary to take measures to shore it up or it
will go bankrupt in the next 30-40 years

2. But, they disagree with all the major proposals to fix it:

| | |
|---|-------|
| Raise retirement age to 70 for those now under 35 | 39-60 |
|---|-------|

| | |
|--|-------|
| Cut retirement benefits for those now under 35 | 26-68 |
|--|-------|

3. Switching funds from corporate tax breaks to shoring up SS system

64-32

- a. but, when argued that tax breaks encourage jobs, they switch to break even

43-44

- 4. They support "increased education...so that workers can become more productive and afford to support the social security system even when a larger number of people are collecting benefits"

58-35

- 5. Conclusion: There is really nothing you can do here except get hurt and it would be very bad to deal with this before the election

- a. Urge you keep comments on the education/productivity focus so one worker can support more elderly

- 6. This is on a short list of remaining ways we can blow this lead

B. Internet Indecent Materials Decision

- 1. Break even on decision by 46-48
- 2. But, when argued about free speech vs restricting access, they flip and strongly oppose this decision by 36-62
- 3. We get some back, but not all when we posit a voluntary ratings system by software "which will give parents the ability to stop their children from accessing this kind of sexual material"

They still want to appeal court ruling by 57-40

- 4. We're not there yet, we need to test other options

PRIVATE AGENDA FOR THE PRESIDENT

A. BOSNIA

1. As you know, voters would be less likely to vote for Dole if he moved away from one year commitment by

24-56

2. And would like it if you affirmed 1 year commitment by

56-28

3. BUT, I know that you need the threat of staying there to keep the Serbs from messing up the election, and
4. We can't do nothing because of the Gingrich letter challenging you to restate the one year commitment, so.....
5. I propose you issue a statement:

--reaffirming 1 year commitment in strong terms

--not knocking Dole, since we don't need the issue

--and saying that "But we will monitor carefully the conduct of all sides in the election in September and I just want to warn those who are thinking of disruption, that, as my predecessor Ronald Reagan said: "An American President never says never"

6. Longer term policy:

--respond to provocations very toughly, especially around their elections

--even if we have US casualties, public will like tough response

--but no fishing expeditions to round up Karadzic and Mladic

--no attrition casualties -- get in, hit hard, suffer what losses we may and Get out of raid

--but, don't renege on 1 year commitment , instead use Reagan language, looking ominous, that never say never

D. PERSONAL NOTE

1. I just want you to know that I refused to speak to Time, Woodward, Wall St. Journal or any of the other pieces that are coming out about me. They are all done without my co-operation or involvement
2. Weld denied, on the record, yesterday that I said you would be indicted, as reported in the Woodward book: Weld said "I don't remember Morris ever saying anything disloyal about Bill Clinton" and noted that "He told me to stay out of the 96 race because Clinton would be popular" (Covered in USA today)

Doing right thing for people.

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON JULY 3

I. TRACKING -- STILL 14 PT LEAD; ALTHOUGH DOLE FAV RISES

A. Head to head: 53-39 -- was 52-38 --both Dole and Clinton rise 1 pt

1. Fourth week at 14 pt lead (do you think they're sending us all a message)

B. Job approval at 58 -- down 2 from 60

C. Favorability at 59 no change

D. Re-elect number at 50 -- down 2

E. Dole favorability up to 53 -- up 3

| | |
|---------|----|
| May 14 | 48 |
| May 22 | 50 |
| May 28 | 48 |
| June 5 | 48 |
| June 11 | 51 |
| June 19 | 52 |
| June 24 | 50 |
| July 2 | 53 |

Gap between Clinton and Dole favorability is at an all time low of 6 pts

While all the free media attention has focused on whether Clinton is dropping (We aren't). Nobody is paying attention to the real move: a rise in Dole's favorables

Possible reasons:

--as focus is on integrity, while we don't lose votes because of our issues, integrity is a strong suit with him and he looks better

-- with all the shots at us, nobody is taking shots at him

-- our paid media in competitive areas must, by necessity, focus on defense -- to defeat their issues to keep our lead and ultimately, our strategic control of the race

F. Verbatim Responses show: Dole ratings in verbatim mentions are relatively flat-- ---slightly more personal positives

(1)

- slightly more social issue negatives
- slightly more other issue negatives

But Clinton has highly varied verbatim ratings:

- much more personal negatives
- much more social issue negatives
- much more other issue positives

| | Fav mentions | Unfav mentions |
|----------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| Personal Ratings--Dole | 30% | 22% |
| Social Issues -- Dole | 5 | 10 |
| Other Issues -- Dole | 12 | 20 |
| Personal Ratings-- Clinton | 26 | 63 |
| Social Issues--Clinton | 4 | 23 |
| Other Issues -- Clinton | 68 | 25 |

Analysis: Clinton's lead on other issues is a blockage which holds against slippage on social issues as the right galvanizes and on personal ratings as the scandals take their toll

Solution: Continue high visibility on "other issues" it is our most important defense to either personal or social issue slippage

Specifics:

Likes about Clinton

| | |
|--------------------------|-----|
| Personal qualities | 26% |
| Budget, Medicare, Ed etc | 21% |
| Foreign | 10 |
| Health Care | 10 |
| For people/helps all | 7 |
| Agree/issues | 7 |
| Welfare Reform | 6 |
| Churches | 4 |
| Crime | 3 |

2

Dislikes About Clinton

| | |
|---------------|-----|
| Scandals | 37% |
| Weak | 29 |
| Social Issues | 23 |
| Budget, taxes | 9 |
| Foreign | 5 |
| Hillary | 5 |
| Liberal | 4 |
| Health Care | 3 |
| Welfare | 3 |

Likes about Dole

| | |
|--------------------|----|
| Personal | 30 |
| Social Issues | 5 |
| Budget, fiscal | 4 |
| Welfare | 3 |
| Record, Accomplish | 2 |

Dislikes about Dole

| | |
|----------------------|----|
| Personal, age, | 22 |
| Social Issues | 10 |
| Budget, Medicare, ed | 7 |
| Too conservative | 3 |
| Taxes | 2 |

- Analysis --Clinton weakness too high and that can be cured
--Not enough social issue positive for Cl. Pro-choice, anti-gun has gone to sleep again
--Good progress on age offense against Dole
--Great breakthrough on our issues through free and paid media

G. Adjectives-- Clinton rises on 7 Dole rises on 4

Clinton increases

Offers new ideas +9
Vision for future +5
Does things because right +3
On my side +3

In touch with my values +2
Clear stands on issues +2
Effective, gets things done +2

Dole Increases

Flip flops -6 (loss for Clinton)
Balance budget -4
Peacemaker -2
Strong leader -2

H. Issues -- Clinton up on 5 Dole up on 2

Clinton increases:

Economy +9
Education +3
Taxes +3
Defense, Milit +3
Welfare +2

Foreign 0

Dole increases

Health care -1
Crime -4

New Comparisons:

| | | |
|--------------------|-------|------|
| Immigration policy | Cl 42 | D 39 |
| Balancing Budget | Cl 42 | D 45 |
| Medicare | Cl 55 | D 36 |
| Medicaid | Cl 56 | D 33 |
| Environment | Cl 55 | D 25 |

I. Hillary favorability at 46, down 3

J. Whitewater/FBI etc.

1. More important to have President who does good than good character

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| a. Is doing right things for people | 68 |
| Highest moral character | 27 |

b. Cares about people like you 62
Highest moral character 34

c. Shares your values 59
Highest moral character 35

d. Once again: public values beats private character

2. Did President Clinton do something illegal in Whitewater

Yes: 43

No 37

Of those who say yes, but vote Clinton anyway, Why--

33 Dislike Dole, better than Dole

27% good Pres, values, parent

27 He didn't do anything really bad

Reason we are holding up:

a strategy of contrast with Dole

b. Positive values message

c rapid response team defending scandals

3. Did Hillary do something illegal in Whitewater

Yes: 52

No: 28

4. Did President Clinton do something illegal in FBI

Yes: 36

No: 41

5. After argument, they oppose security privatization

a. Initially they break even 41-45; but reject idea after argument:

--only FBI has authority to do thorough review--55

--privatize would remove abuse of power--31

5

thoroughly

Analysis: Still losing on the scandals, but holding race due to issues

K. Budget Issues -- big change in our favor in blame game for failure to reach deal

1. Not much change on budget per se

a. Down 42-47 on who trust to balance budget us or Repubs (was 42-46)

1. But Clinton v Dole is 42-45

b. Up 49-40 on balance fair to all (was 51-40)

2. But big change in blame game in our favor

a. Now blame Dole for failure to get it done: D45 C1 39 (was D38 C46)

b. Now blame Repubs in Congress for failure: R44 C1 34 (was R44 C40)

L. Negative Campaigning -- Dole gets hurt a bit

1. Dole more negative by D52 C19 was: 47-26

2. Dole too negative by 66-28 was 67-24

3. Clinton not too negative by 34-58 Was 34-57

II NEWS TRACKING

A. Television -- Much more equal news coverage:

1. Tone of coverage

Pro Clinton 29 minutes

Pro Dole minutes: 1 minute

G7, Pos on Saudi,
Hillary trip, Gore NASA

Running mate, Saudi

Neg Dole 7 minutes

Neg Clinton 38 minutes

Tobacco

FBI, Aldrich

(6)

TOTAL HELPS CLINTON 36

TOTAL HELPS DOLE: 39

(Saudi stories were scored as Clinton positive when he spoke on camera and not included either way otherwise)

2. Content Analysis

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| Saudi bombing | 106 minutes |
| FBI files | 29 |
| Arizona Militia | 19 (only 2 days old) |
| G7 | 13 |
| Russian election | 12 |
| Tobacco | 9 |
| Okla city trial | 7 |
| Valujet | 6 |
| Aldrich book | 6 |
| NASA shuttle | 5 |
| VMI gender case | 5 |
| Sup Ct Aff Act | 4 |
| Christian Coalition | 4 |
| Foreign policy and campaign | 4 |
| Hong Kong | 3 |
| Sup Ct cable indecency | 3 |
| Church fires | 1 |
| Hillary trip | 1 |
| Campaign finance law | 1 |

3. Day by Day

| | Clinton | Dole | Other |
|------------|---|------------|----------------------|
| Tues, 6-25 | FBI(2 net) G7 (1) Cl and Saudi(2) | | Politics-Religion(1) |
| Wed 6-26 | G7(2) FBI(3) | | Polls(1) |
| Thurs 6-27 | FBI(3) G7 (3) | Tobacco(2) | |

(7)

| | | | |
|----------|--|--|--|
| Fri 6-28 | FBI (3) G7 (1) | | |
| Sat 6-29 | G7 (3) FBI (1) Aldrich(1) | For policy(1) Saudi(1) | Latinos and elect(1) Youth & elect(1) |
| Sun 6-30 | Saudi Mem Svce(3) Aldrich book(3) FBI (1) Hillary trip(1) | | |
| Mon, 7-1 | FBI (1) | Running mate(1) Christ Coalition(1) | Poll(1) |
| Tues 7-2 | FBI (2) Church fire(1) Hillary trip(2) Gore/Shuttle(3) | Tobacco(2) | Lamm(1) |

B. Newspapers (based on 25 in 15 swing states)

1. Saudi bombing 43% of front pages (all every day after it happened)
2. Arizona militia 19
3. FBI 15
4. VMI Case 11
5. Saudi Memor 11
6. NASA 8
7. Bosnia 8
8. Russia elect 8
9. G7 7
10. Sup Ct S&L 5
11. Sup Ct Aff Ac 5
12. Power out 5
13. FAA 4
14. Dole vp 3

C. Impact -- from poll

1. Saudi bombing 78% heard

More likely Clinton: 43

More likely Dole 25

--pulled it out

2. Arizona militia 70% heard

Clinton: 46

Dole: 26

--should do much more to inject ourselves into story

3. FBI files 67% heard

Clinton: 32

Dole: 38

--continue to get decent break

4. G7 Summit 65% heard

Clinton: 42

Dole: 25

5. Whitewater Trial of Branscom 58% heard

Clinton: 28

Dole: 40

Hurting more than all the FBI hoopla; Starr more credible than Congress

6. Aldrich Book 56% heard

Clinton: 33

Dole: 31

-- good defense

7. Supreme Court on Affirmative Action 53%

Clinton: 35

Dole 26

8. Dole says pro choice VP is OK 38% heard

Clinton: 35

Dole: 33

--continues to blunt our social issues

9. Dems family first agenda 33% heard

Clinton: 45

Dole: 16

10. Dole considers VP in genl 30%

Clinton: 34

Dole: 25

11. Campaign finance reform killed by Republicans 22%

Clinton: 60

Dole: 39

Analysis of Scandal Issues

FBI 67% heard

Branscom trial 58

Aldrich Book 56%

Cl: 32 Dole: 38 -6

Cl 28 Dole: 40 -12

Cl: 33 Dole: 31 +2

Winning on Aldrich

Holding our own on FBI

Getting hurt by Branscom

① Deal w/ ST
Story

② Temp
O'connor
Smoking approval

③ Power on
Smoking
distribution
to SOS,
etc

④ Power on
buy

III. ADS

A. In competitive markets, we must continue to answer immigration ad

1. Always answer

2. 3 pt 42-39 lead on immigration shows its working, but still in play

①

3. As long as they run ad, we have to run rebuttal

4. Ultimately, once we defeat their ads on : immigration, taxes, crime, welfare,
and balanced budget,

we lock race in to secure framework

B. In non-competitive markets, we recommend tobacco ad

1. Reflects free media focus

2. knocks Dole favorability down

3. Could build up horse race lead

C. We have three other ads that work:

1. Newborns -- family leave

2. Stop them -- budget fight

3. Dole as Taxer

IV. HOW TO EXPAND LEAD

I believe we must move head to head up over 55% on a sustained and stable basis.
The only way to do this is legislative accomplishment. So lets keep our eye on the
ball. We need to work on passing and signing:

--Kennedy Kassenbaum

--Minimum Wage

--Welfare Reform

-- Immigration bill

--Comp time

IF we do at least these, I think we will see our head to head move over 55% and stay there

V. SAUDI BOMBING -- recovered from Friday and looking great

A. Approve Clinton handling 73-20 Big gain from 63-20 on Friday

B. Should keep troops in Saudi 58-35

(11)

1. Argument that they contain Iraq works 61-33

2. Argument that don't buckle to terrorists works 65-29

C. Security was adequate 52-40

1. But, should have known to expect bigger bomb and had stronger security in place

55-36

2. But its not Clinton's fault 18-76

VI. TRAIN TRIP

Urge immediate OK

VII. SPEECH ISSUES FOR JULY

1. At NGA in Puerto Rico, Reed says we can do executive order work requirements

2. Must grant Wisconsin waiver. Their job guarantee offer (non-entitlement) is just what we support in the Senate welfare bill we committed to sign

--cannot get into fight with Thompson over trying to make entitlement

3. Recommend you don't go to disabled vets speech in New Orleans that Hershale Gober wants you to go to

--can only hurt you. You are neither disabled nor a veteran. Dole is both

4. Should do advocacy of FCC rule on 3 hours or ed TV a week at Boys Nation

--must get credit for it and a speech right before the vote will help a lot

5. Suggest July 21 public housing event Cisneros proposes

--push a button in Newark and demolish a public housing structure in Newark and 4 or 5 around the nation

--then photo opp at good example of new public housing

6. Suggest vacation in August be in Rockies

--lots of vigorous hiking (not golfing) shots to show age contrast with Dole's Florida sunning

--Event at Yellowstone announcing deal to save park from mining

--Event in Utah designating national memorial by exec action

--take vacation during Repub conven and these 2 news events will doubtless punch through. We can get it in context of vacation, not other wise

7. Don't go to Galviston Texas at end of month

--not a target state

--can get off the hook with Gary Mauro by doing it later on, if Tex comes into play

--way too weak in swing state visits in July (no trip to a single real swing state all Month)

VIII. FOREIGN POLICY

A. Half Sample read this Dole attack:

"Clinton's indecision, vacillation and weakness of foreign policy in situations such as Somalia and Bosnia have made the world a less secure and more dangerous place --

More likely Dole: 37 less likely: 53

Dole: 39 Clinton: 55

B. Half Sample read this alternate Dole attack linked to Saudi Arabia

"Clinton's indecision, vacillation, weakness, and inaction in fighting the terrorists who killed our soldiers in Saudi Arabia has made the world a less secure and more dangerous place

More likely Dole: 40 less likely: 51

Dole: 40 Clinton: 53

C. Dole says we have no clear purpose in Bosnia and that Clinton's policy has no clear mission for American troops

More Likely Dole: 45 less likely: 45

Dole: 43 Clinton: 52

IX. TOBACCO

A. Cigarettes are addictive

Some say cigarettes are addictive because they contain nicotine -- 73

v

(Dole quote) "Smoking is just a habit some can quit easily and others don't quit. It's addictive to some and not to others -- 24

B. Clinton says ban tobacco ads aimed at children

v

Dole opposes ban. Children just say no to smoking

More likely Clinton: 62 Dole: 33

CI 54-40

X. SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

A. Want both new construction and modernization--but more modernization

New: 32
Modernize: 59

XI. NEW IDEAS

A. Expansion of Brady Bill to Domestic Violence Misdemeanors

1. Support 71-24 -- including 58% strongly support

2. Argumentation:

150,000 domestic violence cases with guns each year
Those with history shouldn't get guns --- 61

v

Bad precedent. Soon any misdemeanor will bar gun
Purchase. Then graffiti spraying or shoplifting, etc.
Just next step in making guns illegal -- 34

3. Likelihood of Clinton vote:

More: 58 Less: 33

4. Head to head

Clinton 55-39

B. Cop Killer Bullets Ban

1. Support: 77-20

2. Argument:

Political grandstanding. No such bullet now exists
that can pierce body armor. -- 23

v

Ban would stop development of bullet. Crackdown if
ever developed or sold -- 70

C.

Family Hour on TV from 8-9 PM

1. If Clinton encouraged networks to do this:

(15)

More likely: 70 less likely 29
(48 much more)

D. State should collect child support for all women

1. Regardless of income:

Should collect for all women -- 66

Only for poor who might need welfare -- 28

2. Argument:

Help any woman get support. Society wants to help children, even middle class often can't afford suit -- 59

v

No business spending money helping well-off mothers
Only get involved when chance of welfare charge -- 36

E. Use IRS to track down fathers who owe child support

82-17

Argument:

Mothers need the money. We shouldn't have to pay through welfare -- 70

v

IRS too large a role in our lives already hassles too many people without adequate reason -- 27

F. Separate Juveniles in Prisons from Adults

1. Support separation --

Currently, they are separated by fedl law. Now a bill says no separation where juvenile is tried and convicted as an adult

Supporters: juveniles who commit serious crimes shouldn't

be put in with other juveniles. --33

v

Keep all juveniles separate avoid adult corruption -- 63

G. Require Moms to name dads to get Medicaid ID

Support 79-19 (inclu 57 strong support)

H. ROTC Programs for High Schools

1. Police ROTC in high schools

84-12

2. Military ROTC in high schools

90-9

I. Employee Stock Ownership

Tax deduction for buying stock on the company they work for

59-37

Argument:

Encourages employees to take personal stake in their company: 53

Could encourage bad investment: 40

J. Tax exemption for investments in community development banks in empowerment areas

Support 76-19

K. Postage Stamp for Breast Cancer

Let people buy either 32 cent stamp or 33 cents with the extra penny going to breast cancer research

(17)

59-29

L. No Sweat Label on Clothing

Certifies no sweatshops, decent wage in production

Support 76-19

Didn't Work ---

Health insurance for all children, paid by govt

--family income under \$40,000 59-26

-- under \$30,000 62-24

But, if slight increase in taxes:

--49-49

Cop in Every High School

--Argument:

Would cut crime, violence, drugs --43

v

Better spent on other educational priorities -- 52

Ban on Liquor Ads on TV and Radio

13

1. Voluntary ban not honored any longer. Propose mandatory ban

58-39

2. If Clinton supported such a ban:

49 more 35 less

3. Too close to go with

No tobacco tax deductions for ads

1. 51-47

2. Argument:

Tobacco health risk for children. Ad target kids. -- 43

v

Legal product. Why single out tobacco. Others can deduct.
liquor, beer wine can deduct -- 52

3. Shouldn't push this

Let mothers sue state to collect child support

42-52

AGENDA FOR MEETING ON JULY 9, 1996

I. TRACKING -- GAIN TO 15 PT LEAD-- DOLE FAVORABLE DOWN TO 50

A. Head to head: 52-37

1. Dropped from 19 to 14 lead from May 15 to June 11
2. Then held steady at 14 from June 11 to July 2
3. Now, at last, back up to 15
4. 3 way: 50-33-11

--lead up 2 with Perot

B. Clinton ratings:

1. Job approval at 61 (up 3) -- highest since May 28
2. Favorability at 59-39 (from 59-41)
3. Re-elect number at 49 (down 1)

C. Dole favorability at 50-46 (from 53-45)

| | |
|---------|----|
| May 22 | 50 |
| May 28 | 48 |
| June 5 | 48 |
| June 11 | 51 |
| June 19 | 52 |
| June 24 | 50 |
| July 2 | 53 |
| Now | 50 |

Must hold him at 50%

D. Party gap for Congress: D44 R37

E. Adjectives: Up on 8, Down on 3

Clinton Gain:

| | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Effective | +10 |
| Doing a lot to bal budg | +10 |
| Doing right even if unpop | + 8 |
| Strong leader | + 6 |
| Peacemaker | + 6 |
| Flip flops | + 5 (Clinton improved) |
| Takes clear stands | + 3 |
| In touch with my values | + 1 |

Dole Gains:

| | |
|-------------------|-----|
| On my side | - 2 |
| Vision for future | - 3 |
| Offers new ideas | - 6 |

Overall ratings:

Strong Clinton edge (more than vote lead)

| | |
|----------------------------|---------------|
| Peacemaker | +45 over Dole |
| New ideas | +27 |
| Vision | +21 |
| Doing a lot Balance Budget | +16 |
| On my side | +15 |
| Effective | +15 |

Some Clinton edge (less than vote lead)

| | |
|----------------------|-----|
| In touch with values | +11 |
| Strong leader | + 9 |
| Clear Stands | + 2 |

Dole edge

| | |
|-----------------------|------|
| Honest and forthright | - 6 |
| Flip Flops | - 34 |

Incredibly, Dole leads on only 2 issues

F. Issues -- 9 Clinton gain 4 Dole gain

Clinton Gain:

| | |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Foreign policy | +11 (Yeltsin win) |
| Immigration | +10 (WE WIN FIRST AD EXCHANGE!!!) |
| Environment | + 8 |
| Balancing Budget | + 7 |
| Crime | + 4 |
| Defense/Military | + 2 |
| Taxes | + 2 |
| Medicare | + 2 |
| Health Care | + 1 |

Dole Gain:

| | |
|-----------|-----|
| Education | - 1 |
| Medicaid | - 1 |
| Welfare | - 4 |
| Economy | - 4 |

Clinton edge over vote lead:

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Environment | + 38 |
| Tobacco | + 38 |
| Education | + 29 |
| Health Care | + 24 |
| Medicaid | + 22 |
| Medicare | + 21 |
| Foreign Policy | +20 |
| Welfare | +16 |

Clinton edge less than vote lead:

| | |
|------------------|-----|
| Immigration | +13 |
| Crime | +10 |
| Economy | + 7 |
| Taxes | + 6 |
| Balancing Budget | + 4 |

Dole edge:

Defense and Military -11

Dole leads on only 1 issue

On liberal issues, Clinton has good leads of +21 to +38

On conservative issues, Clinton has good leads of +4 to +16

G. Importance of Issues

| | |
|------------------|----|
| Education | 17 |
| Economy | 17 |
| Crime | 14 |
| Health Care | 12 |
| Balancing Budget | 12 |
| Taxes | 6 |
| Environment | 5 |
| Medicare | 5 |
| Welfare | 3 |
| Foreign Policy | 2 |
| Defense/Military | 2 |
| Immigration | 2 |

H. Budget Battle

1. Good shift in our direction

a. Approval of our plan vs. their plan is up to 50-38 from 47-42

1. Our ads were on budget issues

b. Blame for no budget up to C 32 Repub 52 (from 39-45)

I. Negative Campaigning

1. Dole more negative by 24-54, was 19-52

2. Dole spending too much time attacking Clinton 71-21, from 66-28

3. Clinton spending too much time attacking Dole 43-49, from 34-58

a. Still 30 points up

J. News Stories -- all but the testimony worked in our favor

1. Yeltsin's re-election 85% heard

--Pro Clinton 44-25

--so even without a lot of media credit, it still helps us

2. Clinton testimony in Branscum trial 76% heard

--Pro Dole 36-42

--marginal impact, overwhelmed by other news

3. Arizona Militia arrests 72% heard

--Pro Clinton: 42-23

-militia has a good cast for us; we need anti-militia protections

--want to make it a crime to intimidate govt officials 80-18

--want more FBI power to investigate militia 60-34

**--want govt list of organizations that encourage terror so
people can be warned not to join them 75-18**

4. Church fires bill 71% heard

--Pro Clinton: 60-19

--our single best issue

5. Hillary's trip 63% heard

--Pro Clinton 40-26

6. Unemployment down 55% heard

--pro Clinton 49-30

--on some level, people do absorb that good eco news is pro-Clinton news

--Is unemployment at lowest level in 6 years?

Yes: 64-24

7. Meat Inspection

55% heard

--Pro Clinton 58-23

--let no one say these issues are too insignificant

--we almost decided not to do this address at least three times

8. Dole on Tobacco

51% heard

--Pro Clinton 52-23

--big winner

--does Clinton favor ad ban for kids?

74-11

--does Dole?

42-38

--they know our record, but don't know Dole's

K. Analysis of News Impact

1. If high awareness of news: Cl over Dole 53-36

... if not: 49-39

--good leading indicator

L. News Content Analysis -- vast change in tone to pro-Clinton

(6)

1. Bias of stories -- 4:1 pro Clinton

Pro Clinton 34 minutes
Neg Dole 7

Pro Dole 2 minutes
Neg Cl 8

Good for Cl: 41

Good for Dole: 10

2. Television stories of the week 7/3-7/8

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------|
| 1. AIDS | 28 minutes |
| 2. Russian election | 17 |
| 3. Delta accident | 15 |
| 4. Bosnia war crimes | 12 |
| 5. Unemploy down | 11 |
| 6. Meat inspection | 8 |
| 7. Saudi bombing | 8 |
| 8. Clint testimony | 7 |
| 9. Space shuttle | 7 |
| 10. Hillary trip | 6 |
| 11. Church fire bill | 5 |
| 12. Gun tracking | 5 |
| 13. Immigration | 5 |
| 14. Global warming | 5 |
| 15. Hurricane | 5 |
| 16. Power outage | 4 |
| 17. Schiavo resigns | 4 |
| 18. Candidates on 4th | 4 |

3. TV, Day-by-day

⑦

| | Clinton | Dole | Other |
|--------|---|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| July 3 | Churches(2) | Tobacco(1) Reagan (2) | Lamm(1) |
| July 4 | July 4(3) | July 4(3) | |
| July 5 | Unemploy(3) Tobacco(2) | Tobacco(1) | Reform mails ballot(1) |
| July 6 | Meat (3) Hillary trip(3) Testimony(1) | | Min wage (1) |
| July 7 | Testimony(3) | | Privatize FBI(1) Ga, redist(1) |
| July 8 | Gun tracking(3) Dem Tobacco ad(1) | Powell(3) | HMO costs cuts(1) |

4. Front Pages in Swing State Newspapers
(two days only -- Mon and Tues)

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| Hurricane | 28% |
| Delta | 23% |
| AIDS | 17% |
| CI Testimony | 13% |
| Bosnia | 13% |
| Gun tracking | 9% |

II. IMPACT OF SCANDALS

A. Attitudes toward scandals in genl and trial in particular are structured by basic views of Clinton and Dole

1. As such, they serve to limit our ability to move above 52-54% vote share, but don't threaten to erode it much.

a. Likelihood to back Clinton based on Branscum trial by voter groups:

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Clinton base | 77-8 |
| Swing I | 45-20 |
| Swing II | 20-53 |

Dole base 2-80

--does not effect our Clinton base + Swing I, but does
impede our ability to get over 54% of vote by
hurting use with Swing II

b. Overall 22% have heard of Clinton testimony in Branscum trial, but
it doesn't make them more or less likely to vote for anyone

--this group ultimately actually votes for us by 51-30

--at the perimeter of the Dole vote lies a group of people who
follow the scandals, but vote for us anyway

B. Values offset Scandals

1. Of voters who have heard of our values issues, this week, the more they
heard, the more immune to scandal negatives they became:

If heard of Branscum testimony and heard of:

| | Cl | Dole |
|--|----|------|
| Of voters who had heard no values issue: | 34 | 56 |
| If heard of only one | 46 | 43 |
| If heard of two or three | 54 | 34 |

(The values issues were: churches, tobacco, meat)

C. Good economic news offsets scandals

| | | |
|---|----|----|
| If heard of Branscum and of good unemployment news | 54 | 26 |
|---|----|----|

D. Ultimate Point --

1. To defend our 52-54% vote share against Whitewater, put out as many
values/economy messages as we can each week

a. The more the better

b. Try for one-a-day pace

2. To transcend our current 52-54% vote share in the face of scandals, we will need legislative accomplishments

- a. Kennedy Kassenbaum
- b. Minimum Wage
- c. Welfare Reform
- d. Immigration bill
- e. Comp time

E. Defense on Branscum

1. Impact of conviction could hurt, but we can contain injury with values message

Clinton accused accepting illegal camp contribs from Branscum in 90.
Branscum now on trial. If Branscum convicted of making \$20,000 illegal contrib in 90

More likely Clinton: 9

Less likely Clinton: 34

No difference: 56

2. If knew that Dole Finance Vice Chairman was fined \$1 million for making illegal contribs to Dole's current campaign for Pres

More likely Dole: 8

Less likely Dole: 41

No difference: 48

3 Good offset, but no big difference either way

III. ADS

A. Republicans are replacing immigration ad with a new ad -- likely a welfare negative

1. Welfare negative ads hurt us badly -- cause 8 point drop

2. Response brings us back past even to a gain of plus 6

a. In exchange, our rebuttal scores a 228

b. Gain in ballot +6

B. Republicans are holding their buy at \$1 million

1. We will have a match with them in 35% of the nation and will have total domination of another 20%

2. Likely a factor in widening the lead

IV. WELFARE

A. July will be welfare month in which this issue will be fought

1. We enter it with a 16 point lead on welfare reform

2. Republicans have to dislodge this to shake your margin in vote share

B. Dole's major offense will be on welfare

C. Must do Wisconsin waiver

1. Lack of entitlement or guarantees on jobs should present no problem

a. Neither Breaux-Chaffee nor the Senate welfare bill included guarantees or entitlements

b. In granting this waiver, we are only permitting Wisconsin to do what we, ourselves, have indicated we would sign

c. Recommend we grant waiver with no entitlement or best efforts requirement

2. Time limits

a. Again, we are just letting Wisconsin do what we have already advocated nationally

3. Worker displacement

- a. Say that we cannot legally grant this but would support change in law to allow it

4. Minimum Wage

- a. Suggest we say that we will grant state's request to pay min wage for 30 hours per week of work
- b. But would not allow them to pay for education or training since this would drop compensation below min wage

5. Residency requirement

- a. Agree with Reed and Counsel's office that we grant a residency requirement for "the period up to 60 days for which the state can demonstrate an interest satisfying Constitutional standards."
- b. Grants state's request but makes state defend it in court

6. Medicaid

- a. Turn them down as much as you'd like
- b. 65% of voters oppose Medicaid cuts while only 25% oppose welfare cuts

D. Strongly suggest exec order on work requirements

1. Require all JOBS participants to have personal responsibility contract (covers about half the caseload)

a. Include commitment to be working within 2 years

1. States can then cancel the mother's share of benefits, just like in Dad ID program

2. If State doesn't do it, we will cut the state off

b. Urge States to waive requirement for exclusion of Moms with kids under 3 and lower it to kids under 1

Voters back exclusion for 1 or under: 57-39

But oppose 3 or under: 35-61

2. Urge states to tighten their JOBS work requirements to

- a. Count ed and training for 2 years, but not forever
- b. Limit time to look for work
- c. Can count people who are working but also on welfare

E. Suggest Puerto Rico speech to highlight impact of proposals

F. Do not suggest giving medicaid waivers

- 1. People want welfare cuts by 70-20
...but oppose medicaid cuts by 20-65

V. SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION -- KEY ISSUE, OVERWHELMING SUPPORT

A. Back "fedl funds to schools to modernize, renovate, safety, new technology and new schools"

83-16 (58% strong support)

B. Also like "universal 2 years of preschooling like Headstart"

72-25 (51 strong support)

C. If have to choose, want school construction

School construction: 65
Pre school 31

D. Proposal: \$5 billion over 2 years for 50% interest subsidy

- 1. Curent spending on school consturuction is \$20 billion per year
- 2. \$2.5 billion per year at 50% interest subsidy would pay about a third of total debt service
- 3. Thus, it would leverage about \$7.5 billion per year
- 4. \$7.5 billion per year would represent one third more construction than now goes on
- 5. A highly serious step which wold be treated with great significance

VI. ENVIRONMENT -- STRONG PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR BROAD EXPANSION OF EFFORTS AGAINST POLLUTION

A. Prevention

1. Public supports creation of a new crime of conspiracy to cause pollution -- 79-16

2. Even after argumentation, still support:

Some say that such a law would permit environmental protection agencies to intervene and stop pollution, like toxic dumping, before it occurs

v.

Opponents say this would just be another law that will allow environmental bureaucrats to intervene and investigate more and more legitimate businesses and find so-called crimes where they really don't exist.

66-26

B. Use the FBI

1. People support expanding FBI role in environmental crimes -- 68-28

C. Asset Forfeiture

1. People support asset forfeiture for environmental crimes

Some have proposed that we enact asset forfeiture laws for environmental criminals like those used for drug dealers. These laws would allow authorities to seize equipment such as dump trucks and other industrial equipment used by businesses that illegally dumped toxic wastes. This equipment would then be sold and the proceeds used to help clean up the wastes.

-- 83-13

2. In extreme cases would support:

- a. Would support seizure of "factories and plants" owned by companies that generate illegal pollution and toxic dumping" -- 71-23

- b. Would support seizure of "office buildings, computer equipment and offices" owned by companies that generate illegal pollution and

toxic dumping -- 68-28

D. Superfund

1. Contrary to Washington talk, people feel it has been effective in cleaning toxic sites -- 55-35
2. But do not feel Clinton made it more effective --
More effective -- 20
About the same -- 57
Less effective -- 7
3. Would support cleaning up remaining 1000 superfund sites as important second term objective -- 58-31

E. Expand right to know legislation

1. Voters support requiring businesses to disclose where it stores hazardous or toxic materials
87-10 (68 strong support)
2. Voters support disclosure of transportation of such materials
87-9 (73 strong support)
3. After argument:
Community right to know/can raise objections 71
Bureaucratic regulation/ does little to protect public 22

VII NEW IDEAS

A. No Sweat Labels

1. Concept: "No sweat" labels in clothing, manufacturer buys label, money pays inspectors to investigate and determine if child labor or sweatshop is used; if no access or bad conditions, no label.
Support 77-18 (52 strong support)
2. People feel it would be effective if forcing firms to stop using sweatshops and child labor 55-35

3. Voters say they would only buy no sweat labels -- 71-25
4. . . . but doubt others would look for the label -- 41-53
5. Support despite arguments against: costs, won't work, circumvent systems -- 55-35
6. More likely to vote for Clinton if proposed no sweat labels -- 60-27
7. Voters give priority to child labor in no sweat labeling but would also support anti-sweatshop conditions
8. Perception that sweatshop are not extensive in America (28-56), but are in foreign imports -- 78-12

B. Hit Dole on Abolition of CPB -- Corporation for Public Broadcasting

1. More likely Clinton over Dole based on opposite stands on this issue
69-25 (45% strong support)

C. Good idea to bring in FHA cuts in closing costs to our ads

68-19

D. Hit Dole in economy ads for unemployment benefit positions

1. Clinton over Dole when know opposite positions on extending unemployment benefits 13 extra weeks during 91 recession

60-30

2. Clinton over Dole on taxing unemployment benefits

60-30

VIII. MISCELLANEOUS

A. Tobacco Contributions

While people want us not to take tobacco money by 61-21,

--but, they would be less likely to back us if we refused new tobacco money, but don't give back past money

39-41

--and they would be less likely if we refused PAC but took lobbyists

33-49

Lesson: if we switch focus to our money, we get hurt because we can't get pure enough....and we are winning tobacco anyway, so why raise it?

B. Smoke regulations in workplace -- Dangerous, support caves quickly

1. Public backs regulations against workplace smoking -- 68-28
2. And, especially backs it where conditions are crowded and ventilation is poor -- 84-14
3. BUT support evaporates after argumentation -

Supporters say that second hand smoke in crowded, confined spaces has been proven to cause diseases and might be as dangerous as actually smoking yourself. They say that people who don't smoke and are just trying to earn a living shouldn't be exposed to this danger at work.

v.

Opponents say that this is not something that should be regulated uniformly by the federal government and is something that should be left to states and local governments to decide.

50-46

C. People oppose a preference for married couples in public housing

Some people propose that 15% of all apartments in public housing be reserved for married families. Supporters of this idea say it will encourage marriage.

D. Opponents say this would be unfair to single mothers who need apartments.

Oppose 39-57

E. Tough choice on regulating HMO incentive fees....on balance suggest no

1. Object of front page, lead article in Sunday Times

A. DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

1. Suggest you choose your nominator and keynoter from the following list:

Evan Bayh
Joe Lieberman
John Breaux
Roy Roemer
Zell Miller
Dennis Archer
Ed Rendell

- a. Suggest we get a tape from each one, informally, and then do a mall test of each as a speaker

- b. Each, we feel, can be kept on a Opportunity-Responsibility message (I don't know Archer, but Sosnick says we can)

2. Suggest that you ask Gore to ask Cronkite to speak to Monday's session

-- The best of any speaker we tested -- keeps a lot of liberals off the podium -- Gore should explore what he'd like to talk about so we can see if it will work

3. Other speakers --Baer has a list of 20 people whose lives you have affected including Sarah Brady, and Mark Klaas as well as a number of lesser known people.

-- We would like to poll them and their stories -- then we would like to film the 7 or 8 that work the best -- then we would like to mall test them

-- then the winners could be used as:

seconders -- five minute inserts on prime time -- as part of the state by state roll call

- c. Suggest Dodd be chairman

6. Suggest Daschle and Gephardt be given 10 minute prime time network filmed speeches after Cronkite speaks

-- We have to give them the time -- but by doing it on Cronkite night they won't get much coverage or air time

7. Recommend that Ann Richards speak after the keynoter

-- a largely negative speech attacking Gingrich and Dole

-- she polls incredibly well and people loved her speech

-- this permits the keynote to be largely positive which is important for the convention to succeed

-- kind of a positive/negative dual keynoters

8. Suggest that all Senate candidates, women senators, Jackson, Jackson's son, Daley, get "prime time speech" -- but prior to the start of network coverage

-- This would make them feel good but they wouldn't get much coverage

9. Also request that you ask Gore to approach Christopher Reeve

-- would be used as a seconding speech Wednesday night

10. Immediate requests for approval:

a. Ask Gore to approach Cronkite

b. Ask Gore to approach Reeve

c. Let us approach nominator-keynoters for tapes of their speeches

(We would say it's for a convention video)

--Please advise as to other possible names for nominator-keynoter

SAUDIS

A. Suggest you order military to:

--prepare new security steps in all bases

--report to you by Sept 1

B. It will show strength, ordering something

C. Will provide inoculation from hearings as they blame Perry

D. Pentagon will do it anyway, why not get credit for being commander in chief and ordering it?

STUMP SPEECH

1. Don't allude to health costs of tobacco as key reason for your action as you did in Chicago on July 2 -- polling doesn't show its a very effective argument next to saving lives of 1 in 3 children
2. Refer to values issues in less tentative and more moral terms.
 - not "we ought to" but "I will fight to" or "we must"
 - too unemotional in treatment of values issues and too impersonal
3. Be tougher on church burnings
 - more passion
 - don't use it as a "first amendment argument," use it as moral and religious and personal
 - don't say arsonists are sick people who "need therapy". Dole could pounce on us if he were alive. They need jail
 - don't blame atmosphere, blame arsonists

STEPH ON REPUBLICAN CONVENTION -- Very important that he go to San Diego with his whole rapid response team

- He's doing a good job and we need him on the ground out there
- He wants to go, but is getting opposition on it.

JERUSALEM-- SUGGEST NO MOVE OF EMBASSY

1. Voters strongly support moving embassy to Jerusalem despite argument that "some people say that moving our embassy to Jerusalem would send a strong signal that we are taking Israel's side on the issue of ownership of all Jerusalem, which has never been resolved under international law." -- 67-16
2. But, if they feel it would impede peace process, would switch and oppose moving embassy -- 56-33

2. Public splits on incentives and bonuses without argument by 47-48

3. But with argumentation, they oppose incentives

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| Incentives needed to hold down costs | 37 |
| Incentives tempt doctors to cut care | 57 |

4. People initially support fedl regulation of these incentives

77-20

5. But, with argumentation, it drops dramatically

| | |
|---|----|
| Regulations would protect quality of care | 52 |
| Regulations would add more bureaucrats, costs | 40 |

6. Conclusion: regulations won't survive argumentation and will summon memories of 94 health fight

a. If we get Kennedy-Kassenbaum, who needs this to be the health issue of the campaign??

SAUDI TERRORIST ATTACK

A. Good statement this evening

1. great that you went right out and did it
led all evening news programs

B. Defensive--

1. We need to get ahead of the story and deal with
all the Lebanon-like incompetance questions

C. Offensive---

1. There will be a defensive problem on this, most
likely. Why wasn't this done? Why wasn't that
done?
2. To get ahead of it, we need to go to military
action as soon as possible
3. Key is massive and sustained aerial retaliation
4. Must be disproportionate and ongoing

CHURCH BURNINGS

A. good statement tomorrow on firefighters that Witt has keyed up

1. switch from investigation to protection
2. initially through firefighters

B. First step in gradual escalation keyed to probable continuation of the fires

C. Next step: Get Witt \$12 million to give to states and localities to hire security guards

D. Next step: Deploy marshalls, ATF, and FBI

E. Next step: As Govs to do limited guard unit call ups

F. Final step: Where necessary, federalization of guards

G. Each step would be propelled or cancelled based on whether the burnings continue

1. If they stop, we stop

IRAN -- G7

A. We have never really told Deutsch to come up with the juiciest morsels that prove Iran backing for Mid east terrorism in a form where you can share with the other G7 leaders

1. this kind of step has never been done at a G7 but Jamie Rubin thinks it would be a good idea
2. Chirac, for example, galvanized group by his information about what was going on in Bosnia at a past meeting
- 3, Suggest you tee this up as a big play for this G 7

AGENDA FOR JULY 24, 1996

I. TRACKING -- GOOD MOVEMENT UP. HEAD TO HEAD LEAD UP TO 18

A. Head to head: 53-35 (up from 52-36 last week)

1. We have now recouped all but 1 pt from the May slide from 19 ahead to 14 ahead.
2. Three way is 47-31-13 -- 16 pts -- same as last week
3. Gender gap: lead is +4 among men and +31 among women
 - a. we are topped out among women; need to show toughness to get men over terrorism and Saudis
4. Among Swing II we are 37 Dole -- 34 Clinton

B. Ratings

1. Clinton job approval up to 61 (from 60)
2. Favorability holds at 59
3. Re-elect number at 49, down from 51
4. All three of these ratings have ebbed and flowed within 4 points for months

C. Dole favorability at 47-48

drop from:

July 2: 53-45
July 8: 50-46
July 17: 49-47
July 23: 47-48

D. Hillary at 47-46

E. Gore at 55-31

F. Generic Congress ballot at 44-40

G. Adjectives: Gain on 3 Loss on 6

| Gains | Losses | No Change |
|----------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| Doing right +5 | Peacemaker -7 | Clear stands on issues 0 |
| Flip flops +4 better | honest -5 | Effective 0 |
| Strong leader +2 | bal budget -5 | New ideas 0 |
| | Vision -2 | |
| | values -1 | |
| | on my side -1 | |

-- analysis: losses: terrorism causes peacemaker drop
bal budg ad came off
ongoing Whitewater

gains: stand up in terror and Olympics

H. Issues -- Gain on 3 Loss on 8

| Gains | Losses | No Change |
|-------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| Environ +3 | For Policy -10 | Taxes 0 --victory in tax ads |
| Health +3 | Bal Budget -6 | |
| Medicaid +2 | Crime -5 | |
| | Welfare -3 | |
| | Defense, Military -2 | |
| | Medicare -1 | |
| | Education -1 | |
| | Economy -1 | |

analysis: getting pasted on total silence on TWA 800 !!!
balanced budget ad off the air
speculation about veto beginning to hurt

Clinton still leads Dole on swing issues:

Welfare +13
For Pol + 8
Economy +8
Taxes +6 -- victory in tax exchange of ads!!
Crime +5

X

I. Negative Campaigning -- offsetting changes

1. Who is doing more? Dole 47-25 (down from 50-23)
2. Is Dole negative? yes 68-24 -- no change
3. Is Clinton negative no 35-56 (better than 41-49 last week)

II. IMPACT OF NEWS

A. Heard of?

1. TWA crash 99%

More likely Clinton: 30
More likely Dole: 15

(we are nowhere on this issue. Nowhere)

2. Child support enforcement 77%

More likely Clinton: 65
More likely Dole: 20

(great, great, great)

3. Clinton at Olympics 76%

More likely Clinton: 41
More likely Dole 18

4. Clinton saying he'd approve welfare bill 73%

More likely Clinton: 61
More likely Dole: 19

(need to feed perception of approval;
suggest letter to conferees)

5. FDA nearing approval of RU 486 71%

More likely Clinton: 40
More likely Dole: 32

(dangerous for us)

6. Dole voucher plan 58%

More likely Clinton: 36
More likely Dole: 42

(his first good hit in a while)

7. Dole saying all abortion views can be
tolerated in Republican Party 51%

More likely Clinton: 41
More likely Dole: 35

(not really helping him)

8. Dole moderates views on gun control 47%

More likely Clinton 48
More likely Dole 30

(hurts Dole, doesn't help)

9. Powell to speak at convention 44%

More likely Clinton 34
More likely Dole 32

10. Clinton announces cell phones to crime watch 43%

More likely Clinton: 52
More likely Dole: 23

11. Karadzic to resign 42%

More likely Clinton 52
More likely Dole 23

analysis: look at high numbers of recall and of support for the events
we generate....

| | | |
|-----------------|---------|-------------------|
| Deadbeat Dads | 77% saw | 65-20 for Clinton |
| Olympics | 76% saw | 41-18 |
| OK Welfare bill | 73% saw | 61-19 |
| Cell phones | 43% saw | 52-23 |

Importance of doing events every day. Not finding reasons not to do them

B. TV News Content

| | |
|----------------------|-------------|
| TWA crash | 180 minutes |
| Olympics | 55 |
| Welfare Reform | 10 |
| Dole/Age | 9 |
| Reform Party | 6 |
| Karadzic resigns | 4 |
| RU 486 | 4 |
| Clinton at Olympics | 3 |
| Food poisoning Japan | 3 |
| Dole tax cut | 2 |
| Powell to speak | 1 |

C. TV News bias -- lopsided win for us

Good for Clinton

Pro Clinton: 8 min (Olympics, Dads, Welfare, TWA)

Neg Dole: 9 min (age)

Total: 17 min good for Clinton

Good for Dole

Pro Dole: 3 min (Powell, tax plan)

Neg Clinton :16 sec (Whitewater)

Total: 3 minutes good for Dole

D. TV news, story summary:

Clinton

Positive:

Olympics (3 net stories/ 3 minutes)
Deadbeat Dads (2 nets/1 minute)
Welfare reform (3 nets/ 7 minutes)
TWA crash comments (2 nets/1 minute)

Negative:

Whitewater testimony (1 net, 16 secs)

Dole

Positive:

Tax plan (1 net/2 minutes)
Powell to speak (2 nets/1 minute)

Negative:

Birthday/Age (5 nets/9 minutes)

E. Front Page News from Papers in Swing states

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| TWA | 90% |
| Olympics | 73% |
| Senate pass welfare | 16% (first day story on 87% of front pages) |
| House pass welfare | 10% (first day story on 50%) |
| FDA panel OK Ru486 | 9% (first day story on 73%) |

Israeli-Hezbollah exchnng

| | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| prisoners | 4% (first day 22%) |
| Dole Bday | 2% |
| Karadzic resigns | 2% |

III. CLINTON AND TWA/SAUDI ATTACKS

A. Is Clinton doing "all he can to investigate" TWA crash "and punish those responsible"

Doing all he can: 67
Could do more: 23

1. Approve of FAA handling of airport security, but just barely

53-42

2. good ratings because it just happened last week

B. But, on Saudis, public patience wears thin:

Is Clinton doing all he can to investigate Saudi bombing
and punish those responsible or is there more he can do

Doing all he can: 54
Could do more: 32

1. as event ages, it takes a heavier toll on Clinton.

C. But an attack on Clinton -- Works for Dole

Out of control. Two airline disasters, one linked to terrorism. FAA asleep
at switch. Terror in Saudi Arabia. Bosnia could blow up. Mid east
peace process faltering

More likely Dole: 44
More likely Clinton: 36

Head to head: 50-39

D. We tested two alternate defenses to this attack: Peacemaker or Toughness
(toughness worked better)

1. Peacemaker:

Clinton is peacemaker. Brought together Arabs and Israelis. Ireland. Bosnia cease fire. Use strength to bring about peace.

More likely Clinton: 51

More likely Dole: 39

Head to head: 50-39 (no recovery of lost territory)

2. Toughness:

Clinton tough. Standup for American interests. Against foreign companies doing business in Cuba. Sanctions against Iran. Anti-terrorist legislation. Held up by Republicans. Prosecuted World Trade Center bombers

More likely Clinton: 54

More likely Dole: 32

Head to head 53-37 (recoups the entire lost ground)

E. Voters back tough measures and believe in their effectiveness:

| | Sup/Opp | Effect/Ineffect |
|--|---------|-----------------|
| 1. Modern X-ray machines at airport | 90-7 | 50-12 |
| 2. More security personnel at airports | 92-6 | 60-13 |
| 3. Picture ID for travelers | 92-6 | 70-26 |
| 4. Wiretap on pay and hotel phones | 70-26 | 49-24 |
| 5. Tagents | 92-6 | 65-14 |
| 6. INS investigate and deport aliens suspected of terrorism | 90-8 | 60-17 |
| 7. US Military domestic intervention to aid in anti-terrorism | 82-16 | 57-18 |

(these effectiveness numbers are very, very high. They are on a five point scale where voters normally use a "3" to describe their ambivalence)

F. Dole's opposition to these measures hurts Dole

Clinton proposed expanding military role, wiretaps, tagents, but
Republicans including Dole killed these bills last year

More likely Clinton: 67

More likely Dole: 25

G. Anti-Militia Plan

1. Highlights successful Arizona arrests

2. Includes:

- a. Advance notification of fedl and local authorities before
training or maneuvers: 77-19
- b. Inventory of weapons 66-32
- c. Toughen penalties against intimidation of govt officials 80-18
- d. More FBI power to investigate militia 60-34
- e. Government list of organizations the encourage terror 75-18

H. Recommended Plan:

1. Air Safety event

- a. X rays
- b. increased personnel

2. Anti Terror speech

- a. wiretaps
- b. tagents
- c. Posse Comitatus
- d. More INS money

3. Push for terrorist bill passage by recess at Mubarak visit

4. Push for militia package

IV. DOLE MOVE TO CENTER -- DEEP BELIEF IN DOLE'S INSINCERITY

A. As indicated last week:

1. Voters feel Dole's views are "too extreme":

too extreme: 50

fit in with most Americans: 35

2. Voters say his move to center is not sincere:

Sincere: 33

Saying things he doesn't intend to do: 61

3. Voters say that Dole's move to center doesn't matter because Gingrich will pass extreme bills and Dole wouldn't veto them:

agree: 61

disagree: 36

B. This week, we tested best rebuttal to Dole centrism -- its his insincerity:

Some people say Dole knows some in Rep Party too extreme and he has shown he's moderate on abortion, assault rifles, Medicare moderation, backing for schools and environ;---

Rebuttals to Dole's centrist move

Moderate vs. can't be trusted
just trying to get elected

Moderate: 39
Can't be trusted: 58

Moderate vs. desperate to win,
changing positions, will say
anything

Moderate: 39
Desperate: 58

Moderate vs. right wing will
force him back to their

Moderate: 39
Right wing will force: 54

Moderate vs Dole weak, goes
with wind

Moderate: 43
Dole weak: 51

C. Abortion -- Dole will appoint bad judges, but they won't sway the court.
Anyway, little impact on anyone's vote

1. Dole will appoint judges who will take away a woman's right to choose

his judges would uphold choice: 27
his judges would end right to choose: 56

2. But...even if Dole named these judges, the court would still uphold
choice

uphold choice: 52
end right to choose: 33

3. If court ruled against choice, legislatures would outlaw abortion:

legislatures would make abortion illegal: 68
states would not make abortion illegal: 26

4. Do Dole's potential Supreme Court nominations make you more/less
likely to vote for him:

More likely: 14
Less likely: 34 (include 25 much less)
No difference: 51

5. Conclusion: Dole's Supreme court appointments are the best way to
attack his move to center on abortion

V. COUNTERING DOLE'S CONVENTION AND POST CONVENTION SURGE

A. Does Powell, Bush, and Ford speaking about character, wisdom and
determination of Dole make you:

More likely Dole: 38
Less likely Dole: 41

Head to head: 50-40

B. At convention, Dole will share his vision of America's future and the need for America to renew its economy through tax cuts to stimulate growth

More likely Dole: 49
Less likely Dole: 41

Head to head: 47-41

C. Conclusion: Dole can do himself a lot of good at his convention and probably will

1. Evidence indicates that he is avoiding extremism and avoiding negatives
2. We must anticipate a Dole bounce from the convention. It is quite likely

D. We tested rebuttals to Dole if he surges at his convention, as we expect

| Rebuttal | Head to head | fav Dole | fav Clinton |
|----------|--------------|----------|-------------|
|----------|--------------|----------|-------------|

1. Gingrich-Dole; budget, social

Gingrich-Dole team, pass bad bills, sign them, budget cuts social legislation too: abortion, sex ed, assault weapons

| | | |
|-------|-------|-------|
| 58-33 | 34-58 | 67-37 |
|-------|-------|-------|

2. Ging-Dole, budget

Gingrich-Dole team, pass bad cuts: Medicare medicaid, ed, environ. If Dole wins nobody there to stop them

| | | |
|-------|-------|-------|
| 57-34 | 26-66 | 60-37 |
|-------|-------|-------|

3 Clinton accomplishments

Clinton accomplishments. Economy, ten million jobs, increase min wage. Kennedy Kassenbaum, welfare reform.

| | | |
|-------|-------|-------|
| 56-36 | 37-62 | 63-30 |
|-------|-------|-------|

4. Dole historical opposition to programs

Dole Record: anti establishing
Medicare, anti-establishing student
loans, anti setting up head start
anti-min wage

56-36

26-67

60-30

5. Dole wrong on values issues

Dole's values wrong. tobacco,
family leave, child immune, Brady
bill, assault rifles, Medicare

55-36

24-68

59-32

6. Dole is negative

Dole too negative, character
attacks, mean spirited

54-36

24-67

56-34

7. Dole out of date

Dole no 21st cent leader, age,
younger, innovative, values on
Medicare, medicaid ed, environ

53-38

26-60

52-39

8. Dole no experience/vision

Dole no vision. 35 yrs but no
exper in administering, for pol,
economy, outdated

53-39

29-59

53-37

9. Dole backs right wing

Dole backs right wing. const ban
on abortion, assault rifles ban,
Pat Robertson agenda, backs
Reed and Christ Coalition

52-39

36-58

53-39

10. Powell and Dole disagree

Powell won't run with Dole,
disagree on abortion, guns,
Medicare. just loyal republican

51-40

29-58

50-37

VI. CONVENTION

A. Urge approval of train trip

B. Urge you to ask Gore to approach Cronkite and Reeves

C. Urge approval of following speakers list:

Keynote: Bayh

Nominator: Dennis Archer (favorable 45-11 in Michigan; 79-10 in
Macomb County)

Negative Keynote: Ann Richards

Other speakers: Sarah Brady

D. Urge approval of use of nonpolitical speakers as polling indicates

Kenneth and Rosemarie Weaver (family leave) 46

Lillie Harden (ex-welfare mother, now working) 43

Capt. Josephas Rozier (American soldier in Bosn) 37

Velaida Shepard (Americorps -- at risk children) 34

Steven Sposato (wife killed in SF law office of massacre) 32

Rebecca and Craig Cummins (federal loan, became doctor) 30

Richard Dean (rescued people in Oklahoma City) 27

Catherine Hamill (9 year old, dad killed in Belfast) 27

Magic Johnson (on AIDS) 23

Dimitrio Theofians (immigrant kitchen worker, jobs, crime) 21

VII. DOLE AND SCHOOL VOUCHERS -- DEFEAT IT BY LINKING IT TO
PUBLIC EDUCATION CUTS

A. From last week, support for "vouchers for public, private and parochial
schools" was: 57-35

B. 58% heard of Voucher plan

More likely Clinton: 36

More likely Dole: 42

~~X~~ ✓
X

- C. But, when you explain how vouchers actually work, support drops to 47-51 because they get that money will come from public schools (among Catholics -- 51-46)

parents get vouchers. Can go to any public, private or parochial school they want. Enough to pay parochial school tuition. Parents can select other public school. Money follows child.

Catholic

| | |
|-------------|----|
| support: 47 | 51 |
| oppose: 51 | 46 |

- D. When you explicitly argue that money is taken away from public schools to pay for it, support crashes to 36-59 (37-57 among Catholics)

Dole says permits choice, etc.. Clinton says money is taken from public schools. As more money leaves public schools, they get worse and soon more kids leave and we won't have public schools at all

Catholics

| | |
|-------------|----|
| support: 36 | 37 |
| oppose: 59 | 57 |

1. When you itemize public school cuts and go back to Dole-Gingrich education cuts, voters oppose Dole proposal by 40-56 (35-58-Cath)

- E. Constitutionality doesn't work as well as an argument: only gets to 42-53 (39-48 among Catholics)

VIII. SCHEDULE THROUGH REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Tomorrow, July 25: Terrorism (re-introduce wiretap, tagents, posse comitatus which were defeated by the Republicans in the terrorist bill)

Fri. July 26: ATM Safety (cash machines) (endorses bill for mandatory safety standards at ATM machines including lighting, video cameras, tapes in cameras, visibility from sidewalk--Rubin opposed)

Sat, July 27, Radio Address: Approve Wisconsin Waiver

Sun, July 28: Disabled Veterans Convention -- you're on your own
(I fail to see what we can do to pre-empt Dole before
this particular audience)

Mon., July 29, Network Summit -- Welcome their "voluntary" decision to air
three hours per week of educational TV for children

Tues, July 30 -- Terror statement (at Mubarak event) demand that Congress pass
anti-terror package before they recess (or they have to drive
home!)

Wed., July 31 -- (scheduled as a day off, but I would urge you to do:)No Sweat
Label event in Wash.

Thurs., Aug 1 -- Economic news/speech. Release economic stats for second
quarter and use that occasion to call for staying the course
and steady implementation of deficit reduction, targeted
tax cuts, govt reinventing, education investment, and open
market trade policies. (By implication, reject any formula
which balloons the deficit)

Fri., Aug 2 -- Environment. At a toxic waste site, call for legislation calling for
making it a crime to conspire to pollute, call for an environ-
mental crimes unit in the FBI, and for some form of
restitution/asset forfeiture for environmental crimes

Sat., Aug 3 -- Public Housing blow up Newark project and cut ribbon on new
form of public housing

Theme of this week is to do what Republicans will say they
can do the next week at their convention, but to do it better

Mon, Aug 5 -- Sign Iran-Libya Sanctions Bill and give anti terrorist foreign
policy speech pledging tough action under this new law

Tues, Aug 6 -- Sign Welfare Reform Bill

Wed, Aug 7 -- in Missouri, gun event: Cop Killer Bullets, Special licenses for
possession of large numbers of handguns -- an "arsenal
license" (see New Ideas, backed 66-29). Also limit of one
handgun purchase per month (63-34)

idea: to enrage NRA and incite them to dominate convention

Thurs, Aug 8 -- Tax cut exempting home sales of under \$500,000 from capital gains taxes

Fri, Aug 9 -- Parental responsibility (let federal judges impose fines on parents as they sentence their teenagers for juvenile crimes)

Then, on the day their convention starts

Mon., Aug 12 -- Save Yellowstone Park -- Announce either agreement by mining company not to mine, or announce a prohibition on mining due to encroachment on wetland areas for storage facilities

Fri., Aug 16 (day after their final gavel) Order Creating Red Rock Natl Monument in Utah. (these two events both override the intent of riders the Republicans sought to attach, unsuccessfully, to appropriation bills)

Mon, Aug, 19 Receive report on Saudi base security and announce its implementation.

Tues., Aug 20 -- Receive and implement report on national system to track child abusers and go to NJ to the site of Meagan tragedy

IX. DOLE ECONOMIC/TAX CUT PLANS

A. Could provide a way for Dole to move into the forties

1. More/less likely to vote for Dole if he proposed 10% across the board tax cut

more likely: 43

less likely: 48

2. If he proposed repealing Clinton's 93 tax increases:

more likely: 48

less likely: 46

3. If he proposed repealing Bush's and Clinton's tax increases:

more likely: 46

less likely: 45

4. Argument -- targeted tax cuts work as answer

Dole says stimulate eco growth, productivity -- 36

vs

Cl says targeted, not across the board tax cuts -- 59
(college, \$500 per child, IRA for ed, med, home buy)

5. Argument -- if repeal Cl tax hike, then can defend hike as only on rich

Dole says repeal Clinton taxes. Slowed eco growth, hurt people --36

vs

Cl says only increase on above \$140,000 -- 56

X. DRUG ATTACK ON US

A. Approve of Clinton job on drugs by 55-40, about same as head to head

1. Believe Clinton is doing an equal job to what Bush did on drugs

Better: 37

Worse: 38

2. Believe Clinton is doing a better job than Reagan did on drugs

Better: 49

Worse: 34

B. An attack on Clinton on drugs doesn't work

Clinton failed to lead fight against drugs. Former drug users on White House staff. Clinton no inhale, increased drug use among teens

More likely Dole: 38

Less likely Dole 49

Head to head: 54-38

C. Rebuttal by Clinton works well

Raised fedl anti drug funding in schools. Dole-Gingrich tried to cut it. McCaffrey. Drug arrests, seizures up. 100,000 new cops. Dole tried to cut.

More likely Clinton: 67
Less likely Clinton: 34

Head to head: 55-37

D. Conclusion: Fear not.

XI. NEW IDEAS

A. IRS collects child support from delinquent fathers:

Support: 84 (64 strong support)
Oppose: 14

1. Important element of acceptance speech plan
2. IRS would routinely deduct payments along with taxes from weekly paychecks for delinquent fathers
3. But not from fathers who owe support but are not delinquent (30-67)

B. Use of Internet for Crime Fighting

1. for citizen tipoffs, most wanted and missing children lists.

support: 82-9 (include 48 strong support)

38-24 it will be effective in fighting crime

C. International Organized Crime

--no safe haven in America for intl criminals, criminal action in US against those who attack Americans abroad

Support: 86 (include 65% strong support)
Oppose: 10

D. New anti-gun measures

1. On Brady Bill extension, we will wait until police organizations have made their endorsements (Rahm's advice)

2. Limit of purchase of one handgun per month 59-38

Support: 59

Oppose: 38

(unusually large opposition)

a. Argument: in effect in Virginia to stop illegal resale in NY

vs.

one more gun control on slippery slope

(63-34)

3. Special license to own large number of handguns to limit ability to
amass arsenal

Support: 66

Oppose: 29

E. Meth

1. Heard of drug called Meth? 47-52

2. If Clinton proposed strong measures to stop importation of materials
used to make Meth, a new amphetamine...

More likely Clinton: 60

Less likely Clinton: 21

F. AIDS Testing

1. require AIDS testing of all pregnant women who give birth

Support: 70

Oppose: 25

2. Argue: If positive test, drastic steps can be taken, replace blood supply of infant, avoid AIDS

v

Not need to require all to get tested. Discourage women with AIDS from getting adequate care during pregnancy

still support: 54-36

3. If Clinton backed mandatory AIDS testing of all pregnant women

More likely Clinton: 52

Less likely Clinton: 36

G. HMOs

1. Do HMOs take shortcuts on quality of patient care to save money?

Agree: 74

Disagree: 15

2. Support/oppose requiring all HMOs to inform patients about all treatment options, not just lower cost option

Support: 90

Oppose: 6

3. Argue: Important patients be able to make choices about care based on all information

v

Requiring doctors to tell patients is excessive regulation

still support: 86-7

4. Support/oppose allowing doctors in HMOs to tell patients about treatment alternatives without being penalized by HMO

Support: 82

Oppose: 9

5. In view of strong support, recommend we do it, especially the stronger measure to requiring that patient be informed

H. GIRL SPORTS IN SCHOOL

1. Girls sports fair and equal treatment and funding in public high schools?

Treated equally: 26

Not treated equally 62

2. If Clinton proposed equal expenditures:

More likely Clinton: 63

Less likely Clinton: 25

AGENDA FOR MEETING ON AUGUST 1, 1996

I. TRACKING -- LEAD HAD DROPPED TO 17, BUT AFTER LAST NIGHT'S INTERVIEWS RETURNED TO 18 (53-35)

A. Head to head

1. For Monday and Tuesday nights, lead was 52-35.
2. Last night after welfare signing, it jumped to 54-35 (19 points)
3. Combined head to head -- 53-35
 - a. Welfare bill signing made voters more likely to vote for Clinton by 70-19
 - b. Perhaps a bit of rally around the Chief was behind last week's gain to 18. This might be a normal correction.
 - c. But all around positive news gives us good potential for growth
 - d. Moment of uncertainty:
--Atlanta, Saudi, TWA, legislative issues
-- with accomplishments, investigative and legislative, vote should move up

B. Job Rating is at new all time high of 63-36

1. Strongly disapprove is down to all time low of 20%.
2. Favorability at 61-38
 - a. at all time high -- highest since June 11
3. Re-elect is at 51 -- at its all time high
4. Right track: wrong track is at 42-right and 49-wrong
 - a. highest since Gulf War
 - b. highest in your administration
 - c. Olympics beat terrorism
5. Dole Favorability holds at 47-48 (same as last week)
 - a. continues to be held down below 50
6. Hillary Favorability at 51-41

7. Congressional advantage at +11

a. all time high

b. big move up from +2 - +7 range of previous polls

1. may be aberration

C. Adjectives -- up on 9 down on 3

Improvements:

| | |
|-------------------|----|
| Offers new ideas | +8 |
| vision for future | +8 |
| Peacemaker | +8 |
| On my side | +5 |
| Honest | +4 |
| Clear stands | +3 |
| In touch values | +2 |
| strong leader | +1 |
| Bal the Budget | +1 |

Declines:

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| Doing right even if unpopular | -10 |
| Flip Flops | - 5 |
| Effective | - 1 |

D. Issues -- Up on 9 down on 1

Improvements:

| | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| Crime | +12 |
| Economy | + 7 |
| Foreign Policy | + 5 |
| Education | + 4 |
| Environment | + 4 |
| Welfare | + 3 (to 16 pt lead) |
| Health Care | + 2 |
| Defense, Mil. | + 2 |
| Medicare | + 2 |

Declines:

| | |
|----------|-----|
| Medicaid | - 2 |
|----------|-----|

(no change in Bal budg or Taxes)

-- (we continue to win the tax exchange and hold 6 pt lead on taxes)

E. Negative Campaigning

1. Dole seen as more negative by 21-53 (up from 25-47 last week)
2. no other real changes

F. Impact of Dole Hollywood speech on Independence Day

1. More likely Clinton: 38
More likely Dole: 30

--isn't working

G. News Content

1. Top TV stories

| | |
|---------------------|----------|
| Atlanta bombing | 110 mins |
| TWA 800 | 81 mins |
| Olympics | 39 mins |
| Welfare rfm | 14 mins |
| Airline security | 8 mins |
| WH Terrorism smt | 6 mins |
| CI & Airline Safety | 5 mins |
| Dole & Hollywood | 4 mins |
| Valujet | 4 mins |
| Kids Educ'l TV | 4 mins |
| CI & Atlanta bomb | 3 mins |

2. Bias of TV stories

Good for Clinton

Pro Clinton: 33 mins (TWA families visit/airline security, response to Atlanta bombing, anti-terrorism measures, kids' educational TV, will sign welfare bill, taxpayer bill of rights, trade sanctions)

Neg Dole: 1 min (gender gap)

Total: 34 mins good for Clinton

Good for Dole

Pro Dole: 11 mins (Hollywood speech, Bush endorsement, running mates, small business tax breaks, on terrorism/Atlanta)

Neg Clinton: 3 mins (Whitewater trial/Hillary and Livingstone)

Total: 14 mins good for Dole

3. Summary of TV stories

Clinton

Positive/neutral:

TWA families visit/airline security (3 net stories/5mins)

Cl response to Atlanta bombing (3 nets/3 mins)

Anti-terrorism measures (7 nets/13 mins)

Children's educational TV (3 nets/4 mins)

Will sign welfare bill (3 nets/7 mins)

Signs taxpayer bill of rts (1 net/1min)

Cl denies Pollard clemency (1 net/1 min)

Cl and trade sanctions (1 net/1 min)

Cl and Oly gymnast (1 net/1 min)

Negative:

Whitewater trial (3 nets/1 min)
Hillary & Livingstone (1 net/2 mins)

Dole

Positive/Neutral:

Hollywood speech (3 nets/5 mins)
Bush endorse (2 nets/1 min)
Running mates (include. Mack, Keating) (3 nets/4 mins)
Tax breaks for small biz (1 net/1 min)
Dole and Oly gymnast (1 net/ 1min)
Dole on terrorism/Atlanta (3 nets/1 min)

Negative:

Gender gap (1 net/1 min)

Other

Health insurance deal (5 nets/3 mins)
Tobacco money in politics (1 net/1 min)
Reform party candidates (1 net/1 min)
Camp finance bill loses (1 net/1 min)
Buchanan & Rep convention (1 net/1 min)
Welfare reform passes (1 net/2 mins)

4. Front-page stories in swing states

1. Atlanta bomb 68% (out of 5 days story could have appeared)
2. TWA 55%
2. Educational Kids TV 55% (out of 1 potential day for story)
4. Airline Security 50% (2 days)
5. Olympics 49%
6. FEC Complaint 26% (1 days)
 against Chr Coalition
7. Welfare bill passes 21% (2 days)

II. TERRORISM -- SOLUTIONS HAVE TO STAY AHEAD OF THE PROBLEMS

A. Heard of/Impact of Stories:

1. Bomb in Atlanta: 99%

a. More likely Clinton v Dole: 34-20

no political impact

2. Investigators saying TWA was likely destroyed by bomb 97%

a. More likely Clinton v Dole: 32-24

no political impact

3. Clinton's plan for airport security 94%

a. More likely Clinton v Dole: 54-15

answers work

4. Clinton meeting with TWA families 84%

a. More likely Clinton v Dole: 50-16

5. Clinton's anti terrorist bill 67%

a. More likely Clinton: 54-17

B. Trust Clinton more than Dole by 48-33

C. Approve of Clinton on terrorism 72-26

1. Clinton is acting like a strong leader in response to terror 61-30

2. Clinton is moving swiftly to counter terror vs. dragging feet 54-30

3. But our efforts are seen as scattered

a. Coordinated plan: 35 Scattered: 48

D. We are winning the personal battle for strength; but need to be seen as having more solutions and more coordination among solutions

1. If we ever let problems get ahead of solutions, we risk Israeli precedent
2. People now are not worried about their safety 23-74 (and 33-52 after argumentation designed to scare) but that could switch in a hurry unless we are out there with solutions-- aggressively and constantly

E. Approve of three part formulation on terrorism:

- international cooperation, sanctions on Iran and Iraq
- expand FBI powers and death penalty
- airport security

75-16

1. But, demand more measures beyond these by 62-33

F. Then, approve of three new measures:

- wiretap
- taggants
- Defense Dept involvement

84-14

1. Still some appetite for even more: 48-45

G. If learned Clinton backed terror package and Dole, Gingrich opposed them:

More likely Clinton: 63
More likely Dole 27

1. Huge negatives against Republican opposition on taggants. Big error.
2. Suggest we get a wiretap bill passed now and keep pressing for taggants

a. Don't get political and anti-NRA, let the public do that, instead just stay on high road about how important taggants are

b. Constantly press for taggants

H. Possible new measures against terror:

1. Using undercover agents to infiltrate suspected terrorist organizations

93-6 Effective: 60-11

2. Economic sanctions on countries that harbor terrorists or assist terrorists even if they didn't explicitly sponsor terrorist act

82-16 Effective: 50-25

3. Military action against suspected terrorist installations in nations that harbor terrorists or assist terrorists even if they didn't explicitly sponsor a terrorist act

77-21 Effective: 45-23

4. Use military domestically and abroad to pursue terrorists

77-19 Effective: 39%

I. Possible new measures against domestic militia:

1. Context: We didn't lose lives in Arizona, or in Washington State, or due to the Georgia militia. We stopped them just in time. Now, enact bold anti militia agenda so we don't have to play this kind of roulette with the lives of our people.

a. Advance notification of fedl and local authorities before training or maneuvers: 77-19

b. Inventory of weapons: 66-32

c. Toughen penalties against intimidation of govt officials 80-18

d. More FBI power to investigate militia 60-34

e. Govt list of organizations that encourage terror 75-18

2. This is the fifth agenda in which these ideas have been proposed. Please get Justice to get them moving

J. Attack on Clinton doesn't work as well as last week on terror:

1. "With Clinton in charge, things are out of control. Airline disasters, bad FAA, Saudi bombing, Bosnia could explode. Terror. Iran Syria (not updated to include Atlanta to provide comparability)

More likely Dole: 46 (last week was: Dole: 55
More likely Clinton: 47 Clinton: 45)

Head to head: 51-40 (had been 50-39)

- a. Still is an anti-terror argument for Dole to aim at Clinton weakness

- b. Must move debate to anti-terror bill so as to avoid allowing Dole to exploit our weakness on this

1. Recommend signing limited anti terror bill now; but as we do, continuing to push for perfect package when Congress returns

2. As long as there is an unfinished agenda looming, we have insurance against more attacks

III. RESPONSE TO DOLE'S ECONOMIC PLAN

A. Dole plan of:

--across the board tax cut
--\$600 billion
--FICA deductible
--\$500 per kid credit

more likely Dole 59
less likely: 33

moves horse race to Cl 52 Dole 41

deduction of FICA on income tax is popular by 65-27

(after argument still popular by 57-31)

B. Three Answers tested:

1. Hypocrite-Don't rock the boat-Targeted Tax cuts

more likely Clinton 65-25

horse race to Cl 59 Dole 33

(split sample)

2. Deficit-Don't rock the boat-Targeted tax cuts

more likely Clinton 68-26

horse race to Cl 57 Dole 34

(split sample)

3. Comparison of Plans: factual

favor Clinton plan 59-33

horse race Cl 59 Dole 34

4. Conclusion

a. Hypocrisy and don't rock the boat are more important than swelling the deficit

1. He's "repealing the Dole tax hike of 1990"

b. Use targeted tax vs. across the board comparison

IV. ADS

A. Now have tax vs. tax ad exchange still going on.

1. With welfare now ended as an issue for them; taxes aren't working either. Corruption isn't working for them. So they have nothing left except positive economic plan and Dole's "innate charisma"

B. Also now have economy spot on the air laying basis for attacking Dole's plan

1. Urge switch to anti plan ad as soon as he announces it.
2. Will follow the above line of argumentation

V. THE BIG CHOICE: POST REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

A. Republican Convention is likely to produce bounce:

1. When told that convention would feature Powell, Bush, Ford and Dole would offer new tax cuts, vision of America, stimulate economy

head to head Clinton 49 Dole 40

B. If Republican convention causes bounce, we have three alternate ways of fighting it:

1. Attack Dole's plan (gets Cl vote to 59)
2. Attack Dole-Gingrich link and program (nobody there to stop them) (gets Cl vote to 61)
3. Stress Clinton Accomplishments: jobs, welfare, Ken Kassen, Min wage (gets Cl vote to 56)

C. We need to poll this right after their convention to make decision.

D. As things now stand, alternative 2 -- stop them has an edge

VI. SCHEDULE

August 1 Economic Data and Warning about Rocking the Boat

August 2: No Sweat Labels

August 3: Sign Pesticide or Clean Water Bill

August 5: Foreign Policy Speech

August 6: Sign A bill (Welfare, Ken-Kassen, Min Wage)

August 7: Girl Sports in High School (at Olympic ceremony)

August 8: Parent Responsibility for Crimes of their Children

August 9: Sign A bill

(if we get min wage, welfare, and KK, we might need another bill day)

August 12: Yellowstone Park

August 15: Saudi Base Briefing and Action (right before Dole's speech. Makes evening news right before he speaks)

August 16: Utah Park Red Rocks

August 21: Meagan's Law; announcement of national network to track abusers

VII. CAPITAL GAINS HOMEOWNER EXEMPTION

A. Support exempting homeowners from capital gains when they sell

62-29

B. Don't care at what level of money exemption kicks in

1. If profit under \$500,000 56-35

2. If profit under \$200,000 59-32

3. If sales price under \$500,000 59-32

4. If sales price under \$200,000 62-28

C. Arguments:

encourage new construction, more homes, lower cost

vs

costs billions better spent elsewhere

58-32

D. Dole is going to move on this on Monday. Suggest we do it during Saturday radio address

VIII. RU 486 -- a 50-50 split in country; now way out of it; but not voting issue

A Public breaks even 49-47

a. 32 strong support 38 strong oppose

B. Argument:

Avoids surgery, 15,000 serious complications annually; danger of going to clinics with violence

vs

deregulation of abortion; any reason at all; irresponsibility; slaughter unborn

47-49

C. Argument:

Can't hold back science. If alternative to surgery, govt can't tell people not to use it

vs

deregulation of abortion etc.

48-49

D. If Clinton approved of selling the pill and Dole opposed it

More likely Clinton: 51
More likely Dole: 38

E. They are deeply divided; set in their ways. Won't be persuaded, but won't shift votes based on it

IX. STUMP SPEECH

We tested three paragraphs that you have been using ---

Summary:

1. "election is about how we raise our children" 36 strng 70 total
2. "opportunity, responsibility, community" 32 strng 70 total
3. "We've got to do this together....magic is helping each other do better" 29 strng 65 total

---children and opptunty-resp-comm work best

---don't let unity eat up too much of the speech; it doesn't work as well

Full texts:

1. Children:

- help families raise children
- Repub Congress not cooperated
- tobacco ads
- immunizations
- environment laws
- college tax credit
- character and values of children

2. Opprtny Responsbty Community

- enduring values in new age
- Offer opportunity, demand responsibility
- mutual obligation come together as community
- help families help themselves
- govt can only help; Americans must do their part
- meet responsibilities, take advantage of opportunities

3. Unity

- We've got to do this together
- helping each other do better makes us magic
- don't define ourselves by resentments or looking down on somebody who looks different
- this makes us special

X. NEW IDEAS

A. College Savings Accounts

If Clinton proposed letting parents save money which fedl govt would invest for them and, if they contributed a certain amount, such as \$10,000 for a young child, govt guarantees free college

66-29

If Clinton proposed this:

More likely: 74-23

B. Inflation indexed savings bonds -- Rubin Bonds

If Clinton proposed savings bond guarantee 3% return above inflation so as inflation rose, so would interest to keep pace plus 3%

69-27

C. Tax deductible savings bonds if used for education

74-23

D. Make inmates pay for cost of imprisonment, including work off while in prison

79-16

E. Rohypnol

1. Heard of drug which induces hypnosis and has been used in date rapes around the country

46% yes

2. If Clinton proposed banning it?

More likely: 58-21

F. Adoption

1. If Clinton wanted to encourage adoption and end years of waiting in foster care:

-- require no interracial bars by states

--limit of 1 year in foster care before declaring child adoption eligible, unless extraordinary circumstances

78-16

G. Ethanol -- Can be cut for funds to be used for other things

1. Sample in: Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Wisconsin:

Currently, tax subsidy for ethanol, mix gas and alcohol. Supporters say cuts gas use, helps farm economy. Opponents say wastes billions

Repeal subsidy: 50

Keep subsidy: 32

a. If Clinton repealed ethanol for cut in cap gains for poor areas
to get jobs for welfare recipients

More likely Clinton: 68
Less likely Clinton: 20

b. If Clinton repealed ethanol for cut in homeowner cap gains

More likely Clinton: 63
Less likely: 30

XI. MISC

Medicare "cut" or "not a cut"

Rep budget increased Medicare payments from \$4800 to \$7100
Clinton calls it a cut, but its not. Clinton's numbers don't add up

More likely Clinton: 56
More likely Dole: 41

head to head: 56-36

so, it's a cut after all