

DRAFT # 1- 8/26/94

Contact: Mo Taggart  
703/684-7848  
Jo-Anne Coe  
703/845-1714

**SENATOR DOLE SCHEDULE - AUGUST 30, 1994 --NEW YORK**

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 30, 1994**

10:35 am DEPART Capitol for National Airport  
Driver: Wilbert

10:50 am ARRIVE National Airport and proceed to departing aircraft  
FBO: Signature  
703/419-8440

10:55 am DEPART Washington for Morristown, NJ  
FBO: Essex Hangar  
Aircraft: Challenger (Schering Plough)  
Tail number: N34CD  
Flight time: 50 minutes  
  
Pilots: Curt Barsi  
John Santucci  
Seats: 6  
Meal: None  
  
Manifest: Senator Dole  
Rob Lively, Schering Plough  
Mike Glassner  
Mark Miller  
Contact: Rob Lively  
202/463-8809

11:45 am ARRIVE Morristown, NJ  
FBO: Essex Hangar  
201/539-6554

11:50 am DEPART airport for Schering Plough Headquarters  
Driver: Mr. Luciano's driver  
Drive time: 5 minutes  
Location: 1 Giralda Farms  
Madison, NJ

11:55 am ARRIVE Schering Plough Headquarters  
201/822-7440

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 30, 1994**

**PAGE TWO**

12:00 N- ATTEND Lunch with Bob Luciano, Chairman of Schering Plough  
1:30 pm

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Driver: Mr. Luciano's driver

Drive time: 5 minutes

1:35 pm ARRIVE airport and proceed to departing heliicopter

FBO: Essex Hangar

201/539-6554

1:40 pm DEPART Morristown, NJ for New York

Helo pad: 34th Street Helo pad

Aircraft: S-76 (Schering Plough)

Tail number: W36CD

Flight time: 15 minutes

Pilots: Russ Wood  
George Pisa

Seats:

Meal: None

Manifest: Senator Dole  
Rob Lively, Schering Plough  
Mike Glassner  
Mark Miller

Contact: Schering Plough Hangar  
201/539-6554

1:55 pm ARRIVE New York

Helo pad: 34th Street Helo pad  
212/889-6368

2:05 pm DEPART Helo pad for Waldorf Towers

Driver: USA Limo - Mark  
718/871-5600

Drive time: 10 minutes

Location: 301 Park Avenue

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 30, 1994**

**PAGE THREE**

2:15 pm ARRIVE Waldorf Towers  
212/355-3000  
212/872-7272 fax

**NOTE: Mike or Mark will have to pick up key for Apartment 42H at the front desk when they arrive.**

**PRIVATE**

3:00 pm MEET with David Koch  
(Mr. Koch's # 212/682-5755 - Margo Berger)

4:00 pm MEET with George Klein  
(Mr. Klein's # 212/355-7570 - Julia)

5:20 pm DEPART Waldorf for Metropolitan Club  
Driver: USA Limo - Mark  
718/871-5600  
Drive time: 10 minutes  
Location: 1 E. 60th Street

5:30 pm ARRIVE Metropolitan Club  
212/838-7400  
Contact: Jim Nolletti

5:30 pm- ATTEND/SPEAK RNC Pharmaceutical Meeting

6:30 pm Location: Governor's Room  
Attendance: 12 (names coming)  
Event runs: 5:00 - 6:30 pm  
Press: Closed  
Facility: Conference table  
Format: 5:00 pm John Moran introduces Newt Gingrich  
5:04 pm Newt Gingrich gives remarks  
5:14 pm John Moran gives slide presentation  
5:34 pm Haley Barbour introduces Senator Dole  
5:36 pm Senator Dole gives remarks  
5:44 pm John Moran gives remarks  
5:51 pm Q & A  
6:15 pm Meeting concludes  
Contact: Mary Heitman  
202/863-8720



**TUESDAY, AUGUST 30, 1994**

**PAGE FOUR**

6:30 pm DEPART Pharmaceutical Meeting for Fundraiser for George Pataki

Driver: USA Limo - Mark  
718/871-5600  
Drive time: 5 minutes  
Location: Home of Milton and Carroll Petrie  
834 Fifth Avenue - between 64th and 65th streets

6:35 pm ARRIVE Petrie Residence  
212/988-3388

6:35 pm ATTEND/SPEAK Fundrasing Reception and Dinner for George Pataki

Location: Residence  
Attendance: 40 @ \$10,000 a couple  
Event runs: 6:30 - 7:00 pm Reception  
7:00 - 9:00 pm Seated Dinner  
Press: Closed  
Facility: Seated in rounds  
Format: 6:30 - 7:00 pm Reception - Mix and mingle  
7:00 pm Guests seated for Dinner  
7:05 pm ? introduces George Pataki  
7:06 pm George Pataki gives brief remarks and  
introduces Senator Dole  
7:11 pm Senator Dolc gives brief remarks  
Dinner served  
Contact: Barbara Briggs  
201/368-0900  
201/368-0349 fax

8:30 pm DEPART Petrie Residence for Helo pad

Driver: USA Limo - Mark  
718/871-5600  
Drive time: 15 minutes  
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10:10 pm DEPART airport for Watergate

Driver: Wilbert

10:25 pm ARRIVE Watergate

SCHEDULE

FINAL

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BIOS



## **NEW YORK**

### **Eunice B. Whittlesey National Committeewoman**



#### **Present**

National Committeewoman, New York, elected - April 13, 1977  
Board Member, National Museum Services Board

#### **Previous**

Vice Chairman, New York Republican State Committee, 1970 - 1977  
Presidential Elector, 1972, 1980  
Member, National Steering Committee, Bush for President  
Presidential Scholars Commission, 1982 - 1985  
Legislative Liaison, New York State Committee on Commerce and Economic Development  
Legislative Liaison, Interstate Cooperation  
Advisory Committee, Maritime Association of Ports of New York and New Jersey, 1989  
Executive Director, New York Statue of Liberty Celebration Foundation

#### **RNC Activity**

Delegate, Republican National Convention, 1972, 1976, 1980, 1984, 1988  
Member, RNC Advisory Council  
Chairman, Committee on Housing, Republican National Convention, 1980  
Member, RNC Executive Committee, 1982 - 1984  
Member, Committee on Arrangements, Republican National Convention, 1984, 1988, 1992

(cont.)

## **NEW YORK**

### **William Powers Chairman**



#### **Present**

Chairman, New York Republican State Committee, elected -  
January 14, 1991  
Chairman, National Republican State Chairmen's Advisory  
Committee, 1993

#### **Previous**

Director, State Operations, U.S. Senator Alfonse D'Amato,  
1980 - 1991  
Chairman, Rensselaer County Republican Committee, 1985 -  
1991  
Campaign Consultant, New York State Campaign Committee,  
1989 - 1991  
Director, Member Services, New York State Assembly, 1978 -  
1980  
Director, Campaign Operations, Duryea for Governor, 1978 - 1979  
Director, Field Operations, New York State Assembly, 1976 -  
1978  
Jaycees Outstanding Young Men of America, 1976  
United States Marine Corps, 1961 - 1966

#### **RNC Activity**

Member, Committee on Call, Republican National Convention,  
1992  
Member, RNC Budget Committee, 1992  
Chairman, New York Delegation to the Republican National  
Convention, 1992  
Delegate, Republican National Convention, 1992

(cont.)

## **NEW YORK**

### **Joseph Mondello National Committeeman**



#### **Present**

National Committeeman, New York, elected - August 18, 1992  
Executive Committeeman, Levittown West Republican

Committee, 1974 -

Chairman, Town of Hempstead Republican Committee, 1983 -

Chairman, Nassau County Republican Committee, 1983 -

Brigadier General, New York Guard, 1990 -

Nassau County Bar Association

Nassau Lawyer's Association

Columbia Lawyers Guild

Order Sons of Italy in America

Ancient Order of Hibernians

Presiding Supervisor, Town of Hempstead, 1987 - 1993

#### **Previous**

Councilman, Town of Hempstead, 1979 - 1987

#### **RNC Activity**

Member, RNC Rules Committee, 1993 -

#### **Personal**

Spouse: Linda

Children: Three

Education: B.A., Hofstra College;

J.D., New England School of Law

164 Post Avenue

Westbury, NY 11590

(516) 334-5800 (o)

(516) 333-4406 (f)

Shering Plough



Sep. 28. 1993 12:35PM S/P PUBLIC AFFAIRS

No. 3505 P. 4/5

32/  
1993

ROBERT P. LUCIANO

Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer  
Schering-Plough Corporation  
Madison, New Jersey

Robert P. Luciano is chairman of the board, chief executive officer and a director of Schering-Plough Corporation, a research-based company engaged in the discovery, development, manufacturing and marketing of pharmaceutical and health care products worldwide.

Following a legal practice with the firm of Rogers & Wells in New York City, Mr. Luciano joined the law department of CIBA Corporation in 1966. He subsequently held various executive marketing and administrative positions with CIBA-GEIGY Corporation and was appointed president of the pharmaceutical division of CIBA-GEIGY Corporation in 1975. He became president of Lederle Laboratories division of American Cyanamid Company in February 1977 and held this position until July 1978, when he joined Schering-Plough Corporation as senior vice president - administration. He became executive vice president - pharmaceutical operations in July 1979, president and chief operating officer in October 1980, assumed the position of president and chief executive officer in February 1982, and added the title chairman on January 1, 1984. On January 1, 1986, Mr. Luciano relinquished the title of president when the company created a new executive position, president and chief operating officer.

- more -

Sep. 28. 1993 12:35PM S/P PUBLIC AFFAIRS

No. 3585 P. 5/5

2

Born in New York City, Mr. Luciano holds a bachelor's degree in business administration from City College of the City University of New York and a law degree from the University of Michigan.

Mr. Luciano is chairman of the New Jersey Business Roundtable. He is a member of the board of directors of Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.; AlliedSignal Inc.; Borden, Inc.; C. R. Bard, Inc.; New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce; Puerto Rico Community Foundation; United Way of Tri-State, New Jersey Performing Arts Center, Co-Operation Ireland and Project HOPE. In addition, he serves on the board of trustees of The Partnership for New Jersey.

# # #

06/93

David Koch

MEMORANDUM

AUGUST 29, 1994

TO: SENATOR DOLE  
FROM: JO-ANNE

SUBJ: MEETING WITH DAVID KOCH - 3:00 PM TUESDAY

In the process of requesting the appointment for you to meet with David Koch, we stumbled across the fact that just moments before my phone call, Haley Barbour had called Koch in an attempt to raise big-bucks (\$1 million was quoted) from Koch for the RNC.

When my call came in, Koch assumed the purpose of your requested visit was to hit him up for the money for the RNC. Koch indicated he has no interest in supporting the RNC project financially, and that all he is really interested in is Senator Dole and the Better America Foundation.

This information comes to me from Kerry, who had received a phone call from John Venners, who represents Koch. I don't know if Koch actually knows anything about BAF -- we have not faxed any information to him, and I don't know if Jordan Haines ever spoke with Charles Koch about the matter.

Bottom line: he may be "warmed up" to the prospect of contributing to BAF, but you could just as easily be shooting from the hip on this one.



George Klein

Joyce -  
Jo-Ann set up the  
Klein meeting. I will  
ask her if she has  
anything to include in  
the briefing book -

S.

RNC Pharmaceut.

As of 8/29/94  
11:00 a.m.

**NATIONAL FINANCE COMMITTEE NEW YORK MEETING**  
**AUGUST 30, 1994**

**MEETING AGENDA**

- Location:** Metropolitan Club  
1 East 60th Street (corner of 5th Avenue & 60th Street)  
Club Phone: 212-838-7400  
Jim Noletti - General Manager
- 5:00 p.m.** Meeting w/Pharmaceutical Leaders  
Governor's Room  
Host: Raymond (Ray) Gilmartin, MERCK  
Speaker: John Moran  
Guests: Senator Bob Dole and Congressman Newt Gingrich
- 6:30 p.m.** Meeting concludes  
Senator Dole to Patacki (NY) event. Congressman Gingrich to  
Washington via Delta Shuttle.

August 29, 1994

TO: John Moran  
Scott Reed  
Mary Heltman

FROM: Dayna Crawford

RE: New York

The following is the updated RSVP list (as of 8/29 at 3pm) of attendees for the New York "Pharmaceutical" meeting on August 30, 1994.

1. Ray Gilmartin, MERCK
2. Teel Oliver, MERCK
3. Kurt Landgraff, Dupont/MERCK
4. Tom Norton, Searle
5. Horst Wallrabe, Miles, Inc.
6. John Stafford, American Home Products
7. Howard Solomon, Forest Laboratories
8. Ralph Larsen, Johnson & Johnson
9. David Beier, Genetech
10. Phillip Tracy, Burroughs-Wellcome
11. Patrick Zenner, Hoffman-LaRoche
12. Steve Stitle, Eli Lilly
13. Robert Hawthorn, Rhone-Poulenc Rorel
14. John Brown, Ciba-Geigy

The following companies have passed the invitation along to their number 2 person, and are potentially going to show (I will know better by tomorrow morning):

1. Sandoz

The following CEO's have declined the invitation, and will not be sending a representative:

1. Albert Cortello, American Cyanamid
2. Charles Hembold, BristolMyersSquibb
3. Phillip Frost, Ivax



4. Henry Hoyt, Carter-Wallace
5. Duane Burnham, Abbott Laboratories
6. Gavin Herbert, Jr., Allergan Pharmaceuticals
7. Gordon Binder, Amgen
8. C. Ray Holman, Mallinckrodt Group
9. Fred Lyons, Jr., Marion Merrell Dow
10. William Steere, Pfizer
11. Joseph Patterson, Ph.D., Hoechst-Roussel
12. Robert Luciano, Schering-Plough
13. John Zabriskie, Ph.D., Upjohn
14. Melvin Goodes, Warner-Lambert

August 29, 1994

TO: Senator Dole  
FROM: Vicki *Vicki*  
RE: Pharmaceutical Event

You are scheduled for an event in New York with a group of pharmaceutical CEOs. They, of course, have had a lot of concern in the last year over the effect of health care reform on their industry, specifically the creation of a drug benefit. What a drug benefit would do is to place price controls on new drugs entering the market. The industry has responded by describing the crippling effect these price controls would have on the research and development efforts. The pharmaceutical companies argue that for every 4,000 drugs that are researched, only one makes it to the market place. That's a lot of risk for businesses to take. Price controls will quickly lead companies to decide that the risk isn't worth it.

The Mitchell Bill does contain a Medicare Drug Benefit. I have attached a summary of that proposal.

The Mainstream proposal does not contain a drug benefit, although Senator Pryor may still decide to offer one as an amendment on the floor, depending on what is decided in the Democratic Caucus.

You will be traveling with Rob Lively from Schering-Plough. This company, along with Merck and American Home Products will be sponsors of your prostate screening booth at the Kansas State Fair next month.

Steve Stitle of Eli Lilly will also be at the event. Eli Lilly received good news yesterday from the FDA. The PSA test, developed by Hybritech, a subsidiary of Eli Lilly, has been approved for screening purposes. This will make a big difference in terms of insurance companies, and possibly Medicare, in their willingness to reimburse for PSA tests when a person does not actually have cancer, but instead is just being screened.



## An Alternative to the Medicare Drug Benefit in the Mitchell Health Care Reform Bill

### Background

Under the latest version of the Mitchell health care reform bill (dated August 10, 1994), a new outpatient prescription drug benefit would be added to the Medicare program, effective January 1, 1999. Under the bill, Medicare beneficiaries would:

- choose from one of three options for obtaining drug coverage: a fee-for-service option, an HMO option, and a qualified drug benefit plan option such as those offered by pharmacy benefit management companies.
- pay a \$700 deductible and 20% copay, up to an out-of-pocket limit of \$1,275. The deductible and out-of-pocket limit would be updated annually so that the same percentage of beneficiaries benefit in future years.
- pay 25% of new program costs through an increase in their Part B premium. General revenues would cover the remaining 75%. Program costs would also be partially financed through mandatory manufacturer rebates.

According to CBO, the new Medicare drug benefit would cost the Federal government \$95 billion, after taking into account beneficiary premiums and manufacturer rebates, over the 1999-2004 period.

### Problems with the Mitchell Approach

The Mitchell proposal is the wrong solution to addressing the drug coverage needs of the elderly because it:

- provides an expensive, open-ended, new entitlement -- a Medicare outpatient prescription drug benefit -- to all the elderly, regardless of ability to pay.
- replaces better drug coverage currently provided through retiree benefit plans, private Medigap insurance, Medicaid, and state programs.
- would cost the Federal government \$95 billion over the first six years (1999-2004) and require the elderly to pay higher Medicare premiums, regardless of existing sources of coverage.

In addition, the Administration proposes to control Medicare drug expenditures by requiring manufacturer rebates and by permitting the Secretary of Health and Human Services to



-2-

restrict access to pharmaceuticals through prior authorization. Such broad power to control costs for over one-third of the U.S. pharmaceutical market could stifle the development of new pharmaceuticals which often replace more expensive medical and surgical treatments and, in the case of the elderly and disabled, allow people to live independently at home.

### PhRMA's Proposal

PhRMA proposes an alternative approach to meeting the elderly's need for prescription drug coverage. The proposal would supplement existing coverage for the elderly through a Federal drug benefit for the low-income elderly. The PhRMA proposal would:

- cover the elderly and disabled whose incomes are below 133% of the Federal poverty line.
- not replace existing drug coverage provided under Medicaid, retiree health plans, or private Medigap insurance.
- not require an increase in Part B premiums.
- provide eligible individuals with the choice of receiving the benefit: (1) by enrolling in a managed care plan, or (2) through a freestanding fee-for-service drug benefit.
- provide a benefit that would have no more than a \$500 drug deductible and a \$5 copay. Managed care plans would be free to offer a lower deductible and copay.

The PhRMA proposal targets the specific needs of the elderly for drug coverage and could be implemented for roughly one-third of the Federal cost of the Mitchell proposal. By the year 2000, about six million low-income elderly and disabled who currently lack prescription drug coverage would be eligible for the Federal drug benefit. The Administration's proposed funding for a comprehensive Medicare drug benefit requires new general revenues, still deeper cuts in the Medicare program, additional premiums from Medicare beneficiaries who already have prescription drug coverage, and government cost controls over one-third of the U.S. pharmaceutical market. The PhRMA proposal is the more appropriate approach to improving drug coverage for the elderly.



8/29/94

NEWS FROM  
HYBRITECH

STORY SUBJECT: Food and Drug Administration Clears the Hybritech  
Tandem® PSA to be Marketed as an Aid in the Detection of  
Prostate Cancer

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: David Pomfret (317) 276-5795

NEW YORK-- For the first time, the Food and Drug Administration has cleared a PSA blood test, Hybritech® Tandem® PSA, for use as an "aid in the detection of patients with prostate cancer." The test is intended to be used in conjunction with Digital Rectal Examination (DRE).

"This indication represents a significant milestone in diagnostic testing and the medical community's attack on cancer," said Terry Shepherd, president and CEO of Hybritech. "Tandem PSA is the first blood test of any kind proven safe and effective as an aid in detecting cancer; in this case specifically prostate cancer.

"This is also a significant step because it has now been shown in a clinical study involving 6,630 men, that the consistency and accuracy of Hybritech Tandem PSA, when used in conjunction with DRE, increases the detection of organ confined prostate cancer over DRE alone, by as much as 78 percent," Shepherd added, referring to a study recently published in the Journal of Urology by William J. Catalona, M.D.

*Creating a significant difference in human health worldwide*

Corporate Office 11095 Torreyana Road • San Diego, CA 92121 • (619) 455-6700 • Fax (619) 453-4124  
Mailing Address P.O. Box 269006 • San Diego, CA 92196-9006



## THE CLINTONS' WAR ON THE PHARMACEUTICAL AND BIOTECH INDUSTRIES

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- Both President and Mrs. Clinton have demonstrated a consistent pattern of lashing out against specific health-care industries in order to create "enemies" against which to rally support for their government-run health care plan. For instance, during his speech to Congress last year introducing the Health Security Act, Mr. Clinton accused drug companies of charging "three times more for prescription drugs made in America here in the United States than they charge for the same drugs overseas."
- In 1993 retail prescription drug prices rose only 3.9 percent, the smallest annual increase since 1975 (*Hartford Courant*, 1/24/94).
- The Clinton Administration's closest ally is the Association of Trial Lawyers of America, which has successfully stifled product liability reform for years. A Rand Corporation study released in September 1993 found the "unpredictability of liability costs discourages companies from taking risks that society would want them to take. [The system] discourages the development and marketing of products that could be socially valuable." The study's author added, "Liability can substantially decrease incentives to innovate in product areas for which large liability costs seem plausible or financial disaster from liability is believed to be even a slight possibility" (*Liability Week*, 9/27/93, *Business Insurance*, 10/4/93). Liability also has caused companies to withdraw from the market products -- products that had been approved by the Food & Drug Administration -- which enjoy widespread support in the medical community, including vaccines.
- The Clintons' health plan proposes to establish a special committee appointed by the Secretary of Health and Human Services to determine whether the prices of breakthrough drugs are reasonable. Moreover, their plan would give the Secretary power to stop reimbursing Medicare recipients for new and breakthrough drugs judged to be excessively priced (*Washington Post*, 4/21/94).
- The Clintons' health plan would mandate that drug manufacturers provide the government with a 17 percent rebate for drugs paid for under a new Medicare benefit. Additional rebates also would be required from manufacturers for each drug whose price exceeded the rate of inflation (*Hartford Courant*, 1/24/94). These provisions will result in shortages or rationing.

- The Democrats in Congress are running away from the Clintons' plan like scalded dogs. Rep. Lynn Schenk (D-CA), "whose district includes more than 100 pharmaceutical firms employing 15,000 workers, wrote in a letter to [House Energy and Commerce Committee Chairman John] Dingell (D-MI) that the [breakthrough drug] advisory council's 'mere inclusion in the President's Health Security Act has already influenced the investment community and forced many small biotechnology companies to cut back on research and development efforts. ... Venture capital has dried up, and those companies that are not cutting back are transferring their production overseas'" (*Los Angeles Times*, 4/21/94).
- Since the Clinton managed health care reform plan was first articulated, the following economic events have occurred:
  - The market value of U.S. pharmaceutical companies has declined by \$100 million (Source: Standard and Poors, 1994).
  - Venture capital flowing into the biotechnology industry has plummeted (Source: Biotechnology Industry Association, *Report on Financial Markets*, September 1993).
  - Market capitalization declined by 40% among biotechnology concerns (Source: Biotechnology Industry Association, *Report on Financial Markets*, September 1993).
  - Research and development spending by the pharmaceutical industry in 1993 grew by the smallest rate since 1972 (Sources: *Washington Times*, 5/1/93 and Citizens for a Sound Economy, *Cutting Health Care Costs: A Private-Sector Success Story*, 4/14/94).
  - The exodus of medical device manufacturers to foreign locations has accelerated. (Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, *Survey of Current Business*, July 1993).

As of 8/29/94  
3:30pm

### **TRANSPORTATION SCHEDULE**

National Finance Committee -- New York  
Pharmaceutical Event  
Metropolitan Club, 1 East 60th Street  
August 30, 1994

RNC contacts: Dayna Crawford  
Mary Heitman  
Cynthia Pazuk  
212-838-7400, Metropolitan Club  
202-863-8723, DC office

**Senator Bob Dole**  
Staff: Mark Miller  
August 30, 1994

X:00 p.m. Departure: Dole staff to coordinate  
Arrival: Dole staff to coordinate  
Transportation To: Metropolitan Club  
5:00 p.m. Meeting Begins  
5:15 p.m. Dole arrives  
6:30 p.m. John Moran and Senator Dole departe for Pataki (NY) event



As of 8/29/94  
11:00am

### TRANSPORTATION SCHEDULE

National Finance Committee -- New York  
Pharmaceutical Event  
Metropolitan Club, 1 East 60th Street  
August 30, 1994

RNC contacts: Dayna Crawford  
Mary Heitman  
Cynthia Pazuk  
202-863-8723, DC office  
212-838-7400, Metropolitan Club

#### Congressman Newt Gingrich

Staff: Barry Hutchinson  
August 30, 1994

3:00 p.m. Departure: National Airport  
USAir Shuttle  
Flight # 6480/ John Moran to fly with Gingrich

3:59 p.m. Arrival: LaGuardia Airport

Transportation To: Metropolitan Club Provided by John Moran's car & driver

5:00 p.m. Meeting Begins

6:30 p.m. Meeting Ends

7:30 p.m. Departure: LaGuardia Airport  
Delta Shuttle  
Flight #1767

8:30 p.m. Arrival: Washington National Airport  
Transportation: Gingrich met by staff.





**MEMORANDUM TO SENATOR DOLE**

August 30, 1994

**FROM: SUZANNE HELLMANN**

**RE: EVENT FOR GEORGE PATAKI, NEW YORK**

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**POLLS**

The most recent poll published shows Cuomo with 46% to Pataki's 37%, leaving 17% undecided. An unpublished poll has them even closer, I'm told.

**CAMPAIGN THEMES/ISSUES**

The issues that the Pataki campaign is stressing are threefold:

- ◆ Favors the death penalty
- ◆ Lower Taxes
- ◆ Improve the economy

Legislation reinstating the death penalty has been passed by the State legislature 12 times and 12 times Governor Cuomo has vetoed the bill. Pataki would sign the legislation.

On taxes, Pataki claims that NY is Number One in high taxes and wants to reduce them by \$1.5 billion per year. He is currently working on a proposal to do this.

New York is also the number one State in welfare spending and thus a prime target for welfare reform which is expected to surface in Congress next year.

## OTHER ISSUES

- o President Clinton will be in New York on October 19 to raise \$2 million for the Cuomo campaign. According to the Pataki campaign, Pres. Clinton's negatives are high and hard.
- o The \$369,182 given to the Pataki campaign by Sen. D'Amato was ordered returned by State Supreme Court Justice William Garry. I'm told the Pataki campaign will not appeal and will return the money.
- o The Christian Coalition gave Pataki a 100% rating on four secular issues. The Christian faction is strongest in Western NY and plays a factor in the primary but not so much in the general election.
- o Evans-Novak reports on some "intra-party squabbles" between Sen. D'Amato and Mayor Giuliani which lead Evans and Novak to believe that the Governor's seat is "leaning Democratic Retention".
- o Pataki currently has two commercials on the air to build up name recognition.
- o Pataki is pro-choice.

# NEW YORK

**Status of Incumbent:** Gov. Cuomo (D) Eligible to seek reelection.

**Primary Election:** Sept. 13

## REPUBLICANS

George Pataki, State Senator

Richard Rosenbaum, Former GOP Chairman

## DEMOCRATS

Mario Cuomo, Incumbent

## **Early Summary**

State Senator George Pataki won "official candidate status" of the New York Republican Party on May 23. NYU Dean Herb London missed the opportunity to be placed on the ballot when he received 22% at the GOP convention, 3 points short of what conservatives said London would need to be taken seriously at the Conservative Party convention. Then, as expected, on June 6 Senator Pataki was nominated by the Conservative Party. Former Republican State Chairman Richard Rosenbaum will continue to try to obtain enough signatures to be on the primary ballot September 13.

A Putnam County state Senator, George Pataki has a history of defeating popular and powerful incumbents. His first political victory was in the Democratic city of Peekskill over the three term Democratic Mayor. He then beat the Democratic Assemblyman from his area. His most recent upset was over an incumbent Republican state Senator in a primary.

He grew up on a farm and graduated from Yale and Columbia Law School. He worked in the Legislature before he ran for Mayor of Peekskill. To this day he manages his farm and sells fruits and vegetables at a family stand in Peekskill. Over the years in the Assembly and Senate, he has been forced to spend much of his time trying to slow Democratic legislation. His connections to a New York low-tax group have, in the past, strained relations with GOP Senate Leader Ralph Marino. Marino had been a target of this group. (However, Marino had tried to recruit Senator Pataki to run for Governor in 1990.) Senator Pataki has been a favorite of fiscal conservatives, but environmentalists as well.

He has called for deep tax cuts, reduced government spending and the death penalty in this campaign. He is also pro-choice, but favors restricting Medicaid funding of abortions.



In addition to the strength at the top of the ticket, the rest of the ticket is very strong. The coup of the Republican convention was the selection of Manhattan Institute Senior Fellow Elizabeth P. McCaughey as the Lieutenant Governor candidate. She recently came to the public's attention with her scathing criticism of the Clinton Health Care Plan in the *New Republic*. After losing the Republican nomination for governor, NYU Dean and economist Herb London decided to join Senator Pataki as the nominee for State Comptroller.

As a Rye fireman told *The New York Times*, the state needs somebody who can "shake the tree a little." He went on to say, "we're a little too complacent. A little change is good." Cuomo aides fear this sentiment more than any other. The feeling is borne out in recent polls. A *New York Daily News* poll, from June 2-5 shows that 65% of those surveyed feel that it is time for a change. His approval rating is only 45%. Cuomo leads Senator Pataki 48% to 41%. With Libertarian nominee and radio shock jock Howard Stern included, Cuomo receives 47%, Pataki receives 40% and Stern receives 7% (margin of error +/- 3.3%). People see crime throughout New York and yearn for the return of the death penalty which Cuomo opposes. They perhaps more than anything are just tired of the misplaced priorities. As a suburban general contractor noted in the *New York Times*, you can receive many kinds of non-health related nonessential surgery on state aid, "but the average guy can't get his teeth cleaned. They pay \$3,000 a month for putting homeless people in hotels. Who's in charge? Mario wants the kudos, but he doesn't want to make the hard political decisions."

In a survey released on June 28, Pataki led Cuomo 40%-35% (margin of error +/- 3.5%). The survey was conducted June 22-June 26. The survey also shows Cuomo's job performance rating has dropped seven points since March to only 29% positive.

Many of the statistics continue to mount against Governor Cuomo as well. From July 1990 through September 1993 for example, New York has realized a decrease of 6.94% of its payroll jobs. This places New York 47th in the country for that period. By the 1992-1993 school year, New York students scored about 15 points below the national average on SATs. New York has one of the lowest graduation rates and one of the highest adult illiteracy rates in the nation.

#### 1992 Presidential Vote

Clinton (D)	3,444,450 (50%)
Bush (R)	2,346,649 (34%)
Perot (I)	1,090,721 (16%)
Total	6,881,820

### 1990 Gubernatorial General Election Results

Mario M. Cuomo (D-L)	2,157,087 (53%)
Pierre A. Rinfret (R)	865,948 (21%)
Herbert I. London (C)	827,614 (20%)
Four Others	206,247 (5%)
Total	4,056,896

### New Polling Information

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, JUNE 2-5, 1994, (N=874 PROBABLE VOTERS, MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 3.3%)

TWO-WAY MATCH-UP		THREE-WAY MATCH-UP		CUOMO JOB	
Cuomo	48%	Cuomo	47%	Approve	45%
Pataki	41%	Pataki	40%	Disapprove	49%
		Howard Stern	7%		
CUOMO RE-ELECT		AMONG PATAKI VOTERS			
Time for a change	65%	Voting Against Cuomo			79%
Deserves Re-elect	31%	Voting for Pataki			15%

LOUIS HARRIS & ASSOCIATES FOR THE DAILY NEWS JUNE 2-5, 1994 (N=874 PROBABLE VOTERS STATEWIDE):

#### GENERAL ELECTION TRIAL HEATS:

Mario Cuomo(D)	48%	Mario Cuomo(D)	47%
George Pataki(R)	41%	George Pataki(R)	40%
Undecided	11%	Howard Stern(L)	7%
		Undecided	6%

ZOGBY GROUP POLL JUNE 22-26, 1994 (N=708 RV's MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 3.5%):

	NOW	3/94	CUOMO JOB	NOW	3/94
Pataki	40%	27%	Positive	29%	36%
Cuomo	35%	39%	Negative	69%	61%



*GOP PRIMARY*

Pataki	29%
Rosenbaum	13%
Undecided	54%

*DIRECTION OF STATE (AMONG ALL)*

Wrong	56%
Right	22%

HOTLINE 8/9/94

\*17 NEW YORK: CUOMO'S NOT AFRAID TO BE SEEN WITH BIG BILL

N.Y. POST's Dicker reports that Pres. Clinton has agreed to hold his third fundraiser for Gov. Mario Cuomo (D) this year, a \$1,000-per-plate event in NYC to be held 10/19. The dinner is "expected to raise \$2 million" for Cuomo's "toughest-ever re-election effort." While Clinton has "slumped" below 50% in national polls, he still "remains a popular figure in New York." Clinton helped Cuomo raise a total of \$1.2 million in the previous two events, one in Washington and one in Manhattan. The campaign of state Sen. George Pataki (R) reports it raised "nearly \$3 million" at a Manhattan event last month that was attended by Senate Min. Leader Bob Dole. Both the Cuomo and Pataki campaigns have vowed to spend \$10 million or more before the general election (8/9).

Misc.



# D'Amato Gives Pataki a Lift, But May Be a Load to Carry

By KEVIN SACK  
Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, Aug. 21 — J. Morton Davis, a wealthy investment banker, had put both his money and his mouth firmly behind Richard M. Rosenbaum's gubernatorial campaign until his phone rang a few weeks ago.

It was Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, calling to plead for George E. Pataki, the Republican candidate he has led — sometimes literally by the hand — through the 1994 campaign. A few days later, Mr. Davis, who had already contributed \$6,000 to Mr. Rosenbaum, sent Mr. Pataki a check for \$25,000.

"Whenever D'Amato asks me to do something, I like to help out," said Mr. Davis, the chairman of D. H. Blair & Co. "He said Pataki is a sure winner and it's important to beat Cuomo and that I should get on board."

Since October, when he announced he would not challenge Gov. Mario M. Cuomo himself, the irrepressible Mr. D'Amato has played a major role in making Mr. Pataki a heavy favorite to defeat Mr. Rosenbaum in the Sept. 13 Republican primary. After years of enjoying a seeming non-aggression pact with Mr. Cuomo, he also has helped Mr. Pataki become a competitive challenger to New York's third-term Democratic Governor.

In the process, his involvement has become a significant campaign issue and a potential liability that could haunt Mr. Pataki through November. With Mr. Pataki doing little to establish his own identity for voters, his

opponents hope to depict him as the puppet of a man whose career has been marred by ethical questions.

Mr. D'Amato, who played little role in the 1986 or 1990 gubernatorial campaigns, said in an interview last week that his active participation in this year's race was motivated purely by a desire to improve state government.

But his friends offered other rationales, ranging from his resentment of Mr. Cuomo's attacks on him during his 1992 campaign to his interest in creating a Republican power base for the 1996 Presidential race. Mr. D'A-

Continued on Page B4, Column 1

## D'Amato Gives a Lift But May Be a Load

Continued From Page A1

mato does not completely dismiss their speculation.

"I wasn't happy," Mr. D'Amato said of the Cuomo administration's assault on him two years ago. "That's certainly not the reason for me supporting Pataki. But it certainly made it easier for me to say, 'Well, listen, I don't owe anything to an administration or political establishment that does that.'"

Mr. D'Amato gave Mr. Pataki, a freshman State Senator from Putnam County, instant credibility by announcing his support for him last year. He and his operatives at the Republican State Committee used a combination of heavy persuasion and back-room maneuvering to drive other candidates from the race and to insure Mr. Pataki's anointment at the state convention in May.

### Pledged Own Funds

He pledged to use the nearly \$400,000 he raised for his own gubernatorial race to pay bills for the Pataki campaign. Democratic leaders challenged the practice in State Supreme Court, and it was struck down last week by a judge who ruled that it exceeded legal contribution limits. Mr. D'Amato plans to appeal.

In addition, Mr. D'Amato has supplied the Pataki campaign with lists of contributors, sponsored receptions that have raised millions, and lent the assistance of his 1992 finance chairman, Charles A. Gargano, who is now Mr. Pataki's fund-raising chairman.

A computer analysis of financial disclosure records by The New York Times found that 47 percent of the 128 individuals who have given at least \$3,000 to Mr. Pataki had previously contributed to Mr. D'Amato. Even Mr. D'Amato's brother, Armand, who was convicted on Federal mail fraud charges last year, came up with \$50 for Mr. Pataki.

The Pataki campaign is heavily populated with top officials tied to Mr. D'Amato. Arthur J. Finkelstein, Mr. Pataki's pollster, and Kieran Mahoney, a political strategist, have long associations with Mr. D'Amato. Gary Maloney, a researcher hired by the Pataki campaign to investigate Mr. Cuomo's record, performed the same job for Mr. D'Amato's 1992 race against Robert Abrams.

The firm that produced Mr. D'Amato's television commercials that year, Russo Marsh & Associates of Alexandria, Va., is now working for Mr. Pataki. Jeffrey Weisenfeld, an assistant to Mr. D'Amato in his New York City office, recently joined the campaign's finance operation. Zenia Mucha, Mr. D'Amato's press secretary, is expected to move to the cam-

paign shortly.

The Pataki campaign also is receiving unapologetic support from leaders of the Republican State Committee, including its chairman, William D. Powers, a former D'Amato aide. State law prohibits the expenditure of party funds to assist a candidate before the Sept. 13 primary, and Mr. Rosenbaum has filed a complaint against the committee with the State Elections Board. State Republican officials maintain that party money has not been spent to assist Mr. Pataki.

Mr. D'Amato's aides said it was only natural that the Pataki campaign would hire his strategists. "Senator D'Amato has successfully run three statewide campaigns for election and obviously the people who have worked for him in those campaigns are experienced in that area," Ms. Mucha said.

Throughout most of Mr. D'Amato's senatorial career, he and Mr. Cuomo have granted each other a wide berth, seemingly respectful of the other's power. That began to change in 1991, as Mr. Cuomo was mulling whether to run for President. Mr. D'Amato began traveling to Albany to criticize Mr. Cuomo's fiscal policies, leading Mr. Cuomo to call him an "attack dog" for President Bush.

The relationship deteriorated during Mr. D'Amato's 1992 campaign against Mr. Abrams. The year began with Mr. Cuomo and Mr. D'Amato fighting for a common microphone and cutting off each other's sentences during a joint appearance. Then Mr. Cuomo's Lieutenant Governor, Stan Lundine, said at the state Democratic convention that Mr. D'Amato's ethical problems made him "more suited for 'America's Most Wanted' than for the United States Senate."

Shortly before the election, Mr. Cuomo accused Mr. D'Amato of being "part of the Republican gang that pillaged and ransacked the state." By June of last year, Mr. D'Amato was poking his finger into Mr. Lundine's chest and shouting obscenities at him during a rally in Plattsburgh.

### Greater Problems Cited

Mr. D'Amato said in the interview that he had chosen to play a more prominent role this year than in past gubernatorial campaigns because "the problems were not nearly as pronounced as they are today."

"It has become obvious that this state is in need of a change of direction, in need of help, and I don't think Mario Cuomo's going to change direction," he continued. "He's had a chance."

But a number of D'Amato friends suggested other reasons.

"Cuomo seriously tried to take D'Amato out in '92, and for Alfonse now it's payback time," said Richard

N. Bond, the former chairman of the Republican National Committee. "And what could be more fun than taking out Mario Cuomo?"

Mr. Bond also said a Pataki victory would impress Mr. D'Amato's Senate colleagues and help him secure the chairmanship of the National Republican Senatorial Committee next year. Other D'Amato allies theorized that Mr. D'Amato is looking toward 1996, when a friendly Republican in the state Capitol could help him swing the New York primary for the candidate of his choice.

That could be the Senate Majority Leader, Bob Dole, whom Mr. D'Amato backed in 1988. Mr. D'Amato said it was premature to commit himself, but added that he has "great respect for Bob Dole, great affection for Bob Dole."

The Cuomo and Rosenbaum campaigns, meanwhile, have maintained that Mr. D'Amato's interest in Mr. Pataki has to do with patronage, and the 3,800 appointments controlled by New York's Governor.

The two campaigns have competed to contrive the most fanciful metaphor to portray Mr. Pataki as Pinocchio to Mr. D'Amato's Geppetto. Cuomo aides rejoiced when a news photographer captured Mr. D'Amato leading Mr. Pataki by the hand through the crowd at a July fundraiser. They have tried to secure a print, presumably for possible use in advertising.

For Aug. 30<sup>th</sup>



88/27/94 16:10

P-87

23-18-1994 10:40 AM FROM LINDA RESEARCH

GREENBERG  
RESEARCH  
IC



515 2500  
WASHINGTON DC  
TE 202 541 2000  
FAX 202 541 2000

Senata - FYE -

Sujan H.

Date: June 28, 1994

To: The Democratic Leadership

From: Stan Greenberg

RE: STRATEGIC GUIDE TO THE 1994 ELECTION  
Preliminary Report

This memorandum provides preliminary guidance for Democratic candidates running for office in 1994. The goal here is not to improve the standing of the President, Congress or the Democratic Party, but to maximize the number of Democrats winning re-election in a rough year.

To develop this guide, we conducted surveys and played out the prospective campaigns with the actual candidates in four congressional districts - in a Mountain state, on the West coast, in the deep South and Midwest. These are all swing districts where the incumbent Democrat is in a genuine battle for re-election. All the incumbents are running against the tide. In each one of these districts, the Republicans are viewed more favorably than the Democrats and trusted more to address the country's problems; Clinton would lose three of these districts in a 1996 contest against Bob Dole. The Democratic House incumbents are in no great shape. All run ahead of their relatively unknown challengers, but only two are getting more than 50 percent of the vote. In none of the districts does more than 57 percent of the electorate believe the incumbent deserves re-election; in only one of the districts is the member's job performance rated positively by more than 38 percent.

In this survey exercise, we ran a strong Republican challenge - providing him or her with a biography and a positive message, based on the actual race. But we also mounted a strong attack on the Democratic incumbent, as presented below:

Republican Tom Brown was [CANDIDATE DESCRIPTION]. He is very critical of John Smith for supporting President Clinton's budget and tax program that gave the country the largest tax increase in history. Smith even supported Clinton's proposal to force gays into the military and Clinton's proposed government take-over of health care that would undermine the quality of care in America. It's time for a change in Washington.



08-12-1994 10:11AM FROM LANCE REEDER

10/17/1994 5:04



## Strategic Guide: 1994

Our task here is to see how Democrats can best run for office this year while Republicans are mounting a strong challenge. Fortunately, our research shows, Democrats can run forcefully and confidently — if they take ownership of the work that has been accomplished and if they properly develop the contrast with the Republicans. At the end of this survey — after the scenarios were played out — all the Democrats won, some by big margins. The main strategic recommendations are summarized below:

- Voters are ready to support Democrats who join battles and win — not for Clinton or the Democrats — but as personal battles for the people at home. Democratic members should take individual ownership of the agenda that has been fought for in Washington.
- A Democratic candidate who takes ownership of the agenda will generally achieve stronger results when emphasizing the middle class character of the fight. But a reformist agenda (lobby reform, deficit reduction and spending cuts) also scores well, allowing the Democrat to show he or she is fighting for change.
- The incumbent's agenda message should focus on accomplishments that matter most to people: Three-strikes-and-you're out, cut 250,000 federal bureaucratic positions, tax relief for 15 million working families, tax incentives for 94 percent of small businesses, and the Brady bill and assault weapon ban.
- The Democratic candidates must take the race beyond "gridlock" and progress. When the Democratic incumbent gives specific content to Republican inaction — "don't vote for candidates who would take us back to Reagan policies that favored the wealthy and hurt the middle class" — he or she makes important gains with target voters.
- The key groups that swing back to support the Democratic incumbent after hearing the message and accomplishments, include Perot voters and non-college educated voters (first older then younger, first women then men). These voters constitute the main target audience for an aggressive Democratic campaign.

08/29/94 16:14  
08-15-1994 10:45AM FROM LINDA BARRON

P.09  
7.01



## Strategic Guide: 1994

- Voters want to know that their member of Congress is fighting to get things done for them, not advancing some national or partisan agenda. When the Republican candidate runs this race against Clinton, the Democrat fighting for people makes substantial gains. Voters want an independent candidate and, in any case, are predisposed to favor candidates who will help Clinton succeed.
- The conflict with the radical religious right favors the Democrats in every one of these districts. At the same time, it helps mobilize Democratic-base voters and appeals to independent voters, particularly Perot supporters.



09-18-1994 10:15AM

FROM JOHN FEESEY

0000000000 2.00



## Strategic Guide: 1994

### Taking Ownership of the Agenda

In each of the districts, we began by advancing a profile of the Democratic candidate as an "independent fighter for the state." Our emphasis was on personal biography and the issues the Member had championed in the district (based on reports in the local newspapers); we included accomplishments as well as legislative sponsorship to demonstrate that this was an effective member "fighting to make sure [state] gets its share from Washington and gets its economy moving."

This *accomplishment profile* ran reasonably well. The race tightened, of course, since respondents were introduced to the Republican, and the Democrat came under sharp attack for supporting the Clinton tax increases and big government solutions. Only in the Mountain state district did the race close to a dead heat; in the other districts, the Democrats won with near double digit margins. Clearly, there is a lot of room for members, even in the current environment, to run effectively on what they have done and fought for.

We also ran an *agenda profile* against the same Republican where the Democrat took ownership of the legislative battles of the last year-and-a-half, as described below:

Democrat John Smith is an independent fighter for [state]. He's voted to change things in Washington - backed tough restrictions on lobbying and a tough anti-crime bill. He voted to put our economic house in order - a bold deficit reduction package budget that helped produce three years of lower deficits for the first time in 50 years, the highest economic growth in 9 years and three times more jobs than created in the entire 4 years of the Bush administration. The budget raised taxes for the wealthiest 1 percent, but he fought for the tax cut that gave relief to 30,000 [state] families with modest incomes. Smith is a tough, independent fighter for [state].

In the Mountain state and west coast districts, the agenda profile ran stronger than the accomplishment profile. In the other districts, the agenda was nearly as strong.

Voters are ready to support Democrats who join these battles and win - not for Clinton, whose name does not appear in the profile - but as personal battles for the people at home. Voters respond strongly to a candidate who has fought for tax relief, deficit reduction, and jobs. Democrats in the Congress have no reason to be defensive or timid but, instead, should take individual ownership of the agenda.





Strategic Guide: 1994

### Democratic Candidates as Middle Class Reformers

A Democratic candidate who takes ownership of the agenda will generally achieve stronger results when emphasizing the middle class character of the fight. But a reformist agenda also scores well, allowing the Democrat to show he or she is fighting for change.

Again, we ran the race against the actual Republican candidate buttressed by a strong attack on the Democrats, as presented below:

Republican Brown favors less government and less taxes and opposes Clinton's big government solutions, including the biggest tax increase in history and his policy to put gays in the military.

The middle class message below, was the strongest message in the deep South and west coast and a close second in the other districts. In each case, the Democratic incumbent fighting for the middle class agenda was seen as nearly 20 points more convincing than the Republican attacking big taxes, gays or big government.

The middle class message: John Smith has fought for change that would help people. He agreed with higher taxes for the top 1 percent, but also fought successfully for tax relief for small business and 30,000 families of moderate income in our area. He voted to extend college loans to the middle class and expanded job training for the non-college bound.

The reformist message was strongest in the Mountain state and Midwest districts and quite strong in the Deep South as well:

The reformist message: John Smith is fighting to clean up the mess in Washington. He voted for severe restrictions on lobbying and limits on campaign spending. He voted for the biggest deficit reduction in history, cutting back 250 thousand bureaucratic positions and making spending cuts in 100 programs.

A message that emphasized pure economic performance or one that focused on progress and breaking gridlock did not position the Democrat as well. Assertions about economic performance press up against the public's skepticism and do not sufficiently underscore the incumbent's fight for people. As we shall see later, the anti-gridlock argument does not have sufficient power when it comes to partisan choices, since Democrats are seen to share in the problem.