

Contact: Mo Taggart  
703/684-7848  
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SENATOR DOLE SCHEDULE -- JULY 25, 1994 -- NEW YORK

MONDAY, JULY 25, 1994

3:20 pm DEPART Capitol for National Airport Main Terminal  
Driver: Wilbert

3:40 pm ARRIVE National Airport and proceed to departing aircraft

4:00 pm DEPART Washington for New York/Laguardia  
Flight: US SHUTTLE #6490  
Flight time: 1 hour  
Manifest: Senator Dole  
Mark Miller

NOTE: We also are holding tickets on the 5:00 pm  
US AIR Shuttle # 6500, arriving New York at  
6:00 pm.

5:00 pm ARRIVE New York/Laguardia

Met by: Adam Stoll (WILL MEET AT GATE)  
212/370-9494  
212/370-0064 fax

5:15 pm DEPART airport for Sheraton New York  
Driver: USA Limo  
Drive time: 35 minutes  
Location: 811 Seventh Avenue  
(53rd & 7th Avenue)

MONDAY, JULY 25, 1994

PAGE TWO

5:50 pm ARRIVE Sheraton Hotel and proceed to Fundraising Reception for George Pataki

Location: Imperial Ballroom - 2nd Floor  
Attendance: 1,000 @ \$1,000 per person  
Event runs: 6:00 - 8:00 pm  
Press: Open  
Facility: Riser with podium and mike  
Format: 6:50 pm Mr. Gargano gives welcome and introduces Republican Leaders and VIPs  
6:58 pm Mr. Gargano introduces Senator D'Amato, Senator Dole and George and Libby Pataki  
7:00 pm Rabbi Balkany gives invocation  
7:05 pm Pledge of Allegiance  
7:08 pm Mr. Gargano introduces Betsy McCoy  
7:09 pm Betsy McCoy gives brief remarks and introduces Senator D'Amato  
7:14 pm Senator D'Amato gives remarks and introduces Senator Dole  
7:20 pm Senator Dole gives remarks and introduces George Pataki  
7:28 pm George Pataki gives remarks  
BALLOON DROP

7:35 pm DEPART Sheraton Hotel for CNN

Driver: USA Limo  
Drive time: 10 minutes  
Location: 5 Pennsylvania Plaza  
34th Street and 8th Avenue

7:45 pm ARRIVE CNN and PROCEED TO 20th FLOOR

Contact: Jill Neff (until 5:00 pm)  
212/898-7926  
Bill Nears (after 5:00 pm)  
212/898-7580

7:50 pm- CNN LIVE

8:30 pm

8:35 pm DEPART CNN for Fundraising Dinner for George Pataki

Driver: USA Limo  
Drive time: 10 minutes  
Location: St. Moritz Hotel  
31st Floor - Sky Garden Room

MONDAY, JULY 25, 1994

PAGE THREE

8:45 pm ARRIVE St. Moritz Hotel and proceed to Fundraising Dinner  
for George Pataki  
Location: 31st Floor - Sky Garden Room  
Attendance: 100 @ \$25,000 - \$50,000 each  
Event runs: 8:30 pm - 11:30 pm  
Press: Closed  
Facility: None  
Format: Mix and mingle  
Contact: Margie  
212/736-3895  
212/564-5066 fax

9:15 pm DEPART hotel accompanied by Senator D'Amato and  
Jane Shapiro for Laguardia/Signature Flight  
Driver: USA Limo  
Drive time: 30 minutes

9:45 pm ARRIVE airport and proceed to departing aircraft  
FBO: Signature Flight  
718/476-5200

9:50 pm DEPART New York for Washington/National  
FBO: Signature  
Aircraft: Cessna Citation 2 (KORO)  
Tail number: 21EG  
Flight time: 50 minutes  
  
Pilots: Dave Landis  
Eileen Iandola ?  
  
Seats: 8  
Manifest: Senator Dole  
Senator D'Amato  
Jane Shapiro  
Mark Miller

10:40 pm ARRIVE Washington/National  
FBO: Signature Flight  
703/419-8440

10:45 pm DEPART airport for Watergate  
Driver: Wilbert

11:00 pm ARRIVE Watergate

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ON REPUBLICANS AND SOCIAL SECURITY:

Vice President Gore claimed that no Republicans voted for Social Security.

On June 19, 1935, the Senate voted 77-6 (with 12 not voting).  
There were 25 Republicans in the Senate, 15 of whom voted "yea." (60%)



to expect that good may come from the bill. The result was announced—yeas 77, nays 6, as follows:

President, I wish to say that I have not a doubt about the bill being unconstitutional.

I am willing, however, to waive my own opinion on the question of constitutionality in favor of the opinion of those who claim to be better students of the Constitution. I have seen at least nine "brain trusters" on the floor of the Senate since the bill has been under consideration, all of whom evidently claim the bill to be constitutional. Since it is the order of the day to accept the opinion of the "brain trusters" on all constitutional questions which may arise, I am not so sure that before the case would reach the Supreme Court some of the judges of the Supreme Court might die and some of these "brain trusters" might be placed on the Supreme Court bench in time to consider the bill when it shall reach that Court for consideration. That being so, there is that chance of the bill being declared constitutional. I shall give them the benefit of any hazard of a doubt which might accidentally flow into consideration of the bill.

I would have it known by my record that there is no desire on my part to obstruct anything having a pretense of being for the public good, though in this case, as in others similar to it, I shall be very much surprised if a single member of the Court, if it shall remain constituted as it is today, should hesitate for an instant to declare the bill unconstitutional. I should be even more surprised if a single bit of good should come out of the bill, but I give the sponsors of the bill all the benefit of the doubt.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I should like to have a yeas-and-nays vote. Other Senators may desire it or may not desire it. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

The amendment was rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, and read the third time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is, Shall the bill pass?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD (when his name was called). On this question I have a pair with the Senator from California [Mr. McAdoo], who is unavoidably detained. If he were present, he would vote "yea." If I were permitted to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. LA FOLLETTE (when Mr. NYE's name was called). I was requested to announce that the junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. NYE] is paired with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS], who is necessarily detained. The junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. NYE] is absent on account of illness. If present, he would vote "yea." I am informed that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS], with whom he is paired, would vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. DAVIS (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LOGAN], who is unavoidably detained. I am informed that if present, he would vote as I have voted. Therefore I allow my vote to stand.

Mr. BULKLEY. I repeat my announcement of my general pair with the senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CAREY]. I am advised that if he were present, he would vote as I intend to vote. I am therefore free to vote. I vote "yea."

Their names being called, Mr. TYDINGS and Mr. GORE answered "present."

Mr. LEWIS. I wish to announce that the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] is necessarily detained in an important committee meeting.

The Senator from UTAH [Mr. THOMAS] is necessarily detained on important public business. If present, he would vote "yea."

## YEAS—77

Adams	Connally	Keyes	Pope
Ashurst	Coolidge	King	Radcliffe
Bachman	Copeland	La Follette	Reynolds
Bailey	Costigan	Lewis	Robinson
Bankhead	Davis	Loneragan	Russell
Barbour	Dickinson	Long	Schall
Barkley	Dieterich	McCarran	Schwollenbach
Blibo	Donahey	McGill	Sheppard
Black	Duffy	McKellar	Shipstead
Bone	Fletcher	McNary	Steiner
Borah	Frazier	Maloney	Thomas, Okla.
Brown	George	Minton	Trammell
Bulkley	Gerry	Murphy	Truman
Bulow	Gibson	Murray	Vandenberg
Burke	Guffey	Neely	Van Nuys
Byrnes	Harrison	Norris	Wagner
Capper	Hatch	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Caraway	Hayden	Overton	Wheeler
Chavez	Johnson	Pittman	White
Clark			

## NAYS—6

Austin	Hastings	Moore	Townsend
Hale	Metcalf		

## NOT VOTING—12

Byrd	Glass	McAdoo	Smith
Carey	Gore	Norbeck	Thomas, Utah
Couzens	Logan	Nye	Tydings

So the bill was passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "An act to provide for the general welfare by establishing a system of Federal old-age benefits, and by enabling the several States to make more adequate provision for aged persons, blind persons, dependent and crippled children, maternal and child welfare, public health, and the administration of their unemployment-compensation laws; to establish a Social Security Board; to raise revenue; and for other purposes."

Mr. HARRISON. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments, ask for a conference thereon with the House of Representatives, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will appoint the Senate conferees later.

The VICE PRESIDENT subsequently appointed Mr. HARRISON, Mr. KING, Mr. GEORGE, Mr. KEYES, and Mr. LA FOLLETTE conferees on the part of the Senate.

## FARMERS' HOME CORPORATION

Mr. BANKHEAD. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 2367, commonly known as the "farm tenant bill."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Alabama.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2367) to create the Farmers' Home Corporation, to promote more secure occupancy of farms and farm homes, to correct the economic instability resulting from some present forms of farm tenancy, to engage in rural rehabilitation, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, with an amendment.

## SENATOR FROM WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, on the 3d day of last January the credentials of the Senator-elect from West Virginia were laid before the Senate. The Senator-elect [Mr. RUSH D. HOLT] is now present and ready to take the oath of office.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, on April 18, 1935, and subsequently during the month of May, two petitions in the nature of protest and contest were filed with the Senate, and by the Senate referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The committee has had under consideration the protest of Henry D. Hatfield, former Senator from West Virginia, who likewise claimed the seat in the Senate, and has also considered the memorial of various citizens from the State of West Virginia in the matter of RUSH D. HOLT, Senator-elect from the State of West Virginia. The committee is now ready to report, and begs leave to submit its report—Senate Report 904.



## GUBERNATORIAL RACE

Gov. Cuomo continues to plummet in the polls. The following four polls show the slide:

## 6/2-5 Harris Poll

## TWO-WAY

**Cuomo** 48%  
**Pataki** 41

## THREE-WAY

**Cuomo** 47%  
**Pataki** 40

## CUOMO JOB

Approve 45%  
Disapprove 49

## AMONG PATAKI VOTERS

Voting against Cuomo 79%  
Voting for Pataki 15

## CUOMO RE-ELECT

Time for a change 65%  
Deserves re-elect 31%

## 6/16-19 Gallup Poll

## GENERAL ELECTION MATCH-UPS

**Cuomo** 44%  
**Pataki** 38

**Cuomo** 47%  
**Rosenbaum** 36

## CUOMO JOB

Approve 43%  
Disapprove 49

## HOW DOES RELATIONSHIP WITH 'D'AMATO AFFECT VOTE FOR PATAKI?

No Effect/More inclined 70%  
Less inclined 26

## 6/22-26 Zogby Group Poll

## GENERAL ELECTION

**Pataki** 40%  
**Cuomo** 35

## CUOMO JOB

Positive 29%  
Negative 69

## 7/5-7 Luntz Research Poll

## TWO-WAY

**Pataki** 47%  
**Cuomo** 42  
Undec. 11

## FOUR WAY

**Cuomo** 39%  
**Pataki** 37  
**Stern** 6  
**Walsh** 5  
**Undec.** 13

## CAMPAIGN ISSUES

- Abortion -- Sen. Pataki has moderated his pro-life position and is now under attack from both ends of the political spectrum.
- Death Penalty -- As you probably read, Gov. Cuomo has proposed that the state legislature approve a state constitutional amendment that would give voters three options for murder penalties: the death penalty, life without parole or life with the possibility of parole. In the past, Cuomo has been militantly opposed to the death penalty. However, since polling indicates that the New York electorate strongly supports the death penalty, Cuomo is trying to distance himself from his earlier position. (Those who favor the death penalty are now about 3-1 over those who oppose it -- Pollster Zogby.) See enclosed pieces on the debate.
- Cuomo commercials -- One features Cuomo's support in '84 for the nation's first mandatory seatbelt law. The other is the Roswell Park Hospital with Roswell Park IV taking about how Cuomo has saved that institution by spending state money. Number one, New Yorkers do not favor the seatbelt law and they also know that Cuomo had nothing to do with the law's passage. Secondly, people do not want to hear about how Cuomo has been spending all their hard-earned money. These are strange messages for the Cuomo ad campaign.

U.S. SENATE RACE

Cook Ratings from July 13 keep this race in the "Solid Dem" slot.

One controversy with the Castro campaign was the hiring of Political consultant Ed Rollins. The Moynihan campaign called for the dismissal of Rollins saying Moynihan "deplores the hiring of a political operative who thinks it is appropriate to slander African-America clergy order to inflate his own ego and reputation." But Castro manager Howard de Martini responded with "The real issue is not whether Ed Rollins should continue to represent Bernadette, but whether Senator Moynihan should continue to represent New Yorkers."

(NOTE: Sharpton did file for this seat).

The most recent poll (6/16-19) reveals that Moynihan continues to be very strong:

GENERAL	ALL	LONG I.	MEN	WOMEN
Moynihan	64%	56%	67%	62%
Castro	21%	30%	22%	19%
DEM PRIMARY	ALL	NYC		
Moynihan	67%	60%		
Sharpton	15%	21%		
OPINION OF	FAV/UNFAV			
Moynihan	65%/18%			
Castro	19 / 12			
Sharpton	14 / 61			



MEMORANDUM  
JULY 20, 1994

TO: SENATOR DOLE  
FROM: JO-ANNE  
SUBJ: GEORGE PATAKI EVENTS

I have talked with Pataki's campaign manager and finance director regarding a possible date for a "super event" with Bob Dole in New York. Best date for them now appears to be Tuesday, August 30. If you have had a chance to review the proposed schedule I submitted previously for August and September, you will note this date was set aside for vacationing in New Hampshire or in D.C. DO YOU WANT TO COMMIT TO THIS DATE FOR PATAKI?

1 OKAY \_\_\_\_\_ NO

As far as next Monday's event is concerned, here are the details (D'AMATO STRONGLY URGES YOU TO ATTEND FULL EVENING OF EVENTS):

6:00-8:00 PM Reception  
Sheraton New York Hotel  
(2nd Floor - Imperial Ballroom)  
811 Seventh Avenue  
(53rd and Seventh Ave.)  
600-1000 people at \$1,000 per person

Dinner to follow: Will probably run 9:00-11:30  
San Moritz Hotel on the Park  
(31st Floor - Sky Garden Room)

Less than 100 people -- only those who have  
contributed \$25,000-\$50,000 each)  
(Even those who donated \$10,000 are not invited.)

They are NOT PUBLICIZING the dinner -- only the  
specially invited guests know its location.

Note: Under New York law, a corporation may contribute  
an aggregate \$5,000 annually to all candidates for State  
office -- anything in addition to that must be directed to the  
State Party's "housekeeping account". Thus, much of the  
money coming in for the dinner will be personal funds.

PLEASE ADVISE:

\_\_\_\_\_ WILL ATTEND \_\_\_\_\_ REGRET

**SENATOR BOB DOLE**

**TALKING POINTS**

**GEORGE PATAKI FUNDRAISER**

**THANK YOU. I'VE BEEN AROUND  
POLITICS FOR A LONG TIME, AND ONE  
THING I'VE LEARNED IS THAT PEOPLE  
DON'T LIKE SOMEONE COMING IN FROM  
ANOTHER STATE AND TELLING THEM  
HOW TO VOTE. I ALSO LEARNED A**

**THING OR TWO BACK IN 1988, WHEN  
GEORGE BUSH GET AROUND THAT  
PROBLEM BY PROCLAIMING THAT EVERY  
STATE WAS HIS HOME STATE.**

**AND SINCE MY YEARS IN THE  
MILITARY INCLUDED SEVERAL MONTHS  
TAKING AN ENGINEERING CLASS AT  
BROOKLYN COLLEGE, I WANT TO MAKE IT  
CLEAR THIS EVENING THAT YOU'RE NOT  
LISTENING TO BOB DOLE, KANSAN.**



**YOU'RE LISTENING TO BOB DOLE, NEW  
YORKER.**

**ACTUALLY, I AM VERY FAMILIAR  
WITH WHAT NEW YORKERS MUST FEEL  
LIKE. AFTER ALL, I WORK ON CAPITOL  
HILL. THAT'S A PLACE WHERE THE  
DEMOCRATS HAVE CONTROLLED THE  
HOUSE FOR 40 STRAIGHT YEARS, AND  
WHERE THEY'VE CONTROLLED THE  
SENATE FOR 32 STRAIGHT YEARS.**

**AND HERE IN NEW YORK, THERE'S  
BEEN A DEMOCRAT IN THE GOVERNOR'S  
OFFICE FOR ALMOST 20 CONSECUTIVE  
YEARS.**

**BUT AS NEW YORKERS 1994 IS A  
YEAR MADE FOR STREAKS TO BE  
BROKEN. RUDY GIULIANI WAS SWORN IN  
AS NEW YORK CITY'S FIRST REPUBLICAN  
MAYOR IN 20 YEARS. AND, OF COURSE,**

**THE NEW YORK RANGERS WON THEIR  
FIRST STANLEY CUP IN 54 YEARS.**

**\*AND I'M BECOMING INCREASINGLY  
CONFIDENT THAT MORE STREAKS WILL  
BE BROKEN ON ELECTION DAY, AND  
COME NEXT JANUARY, BOB DOLE WILL  
BE SENATE MAJORITY LEADER, NEWT  
GINGRICH WILL BE SPEAKER OF THE  
HOUSE, AND GEORGE PATAKI WILL BE  
GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.**



**\*47 IS WHAT I CALL THE "MAGIC  
NUMBER."**

**\*IT'S NOT THE NUMBER OF  
POSITIONS PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS  
HAD ON HAITI.**

**\*IT'S NOT THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE  
WHO HAVE LEFT TO THE WHITE HOUSE  
TO GO BACK TO ARKANSAS.**

**\*IT'S NOT HOW MANY  
BUREAUCRATS YOU'LL HAVE TO SEE**

**BEFORE YOU SEE YOUR DOCTOR UNDER  
THE CLINTON HEALTH PLAN.**

**\*NO, A GAIN OF 40 REPUBLICAN  
HOUSE MEMBERS, AND 7 REPUBLICAN  
SENATORS WILL GIVE US CONTROL OF  
THE HOUSE AND SENATE.**

**\*AND I JUST LEARNED THAT 47  
ALSO STANDS FOR SOMETHING ELSE.  
FROM JULY 1990-SEPTEMBER 1993, NEW  
YORK RANKED 47TH IN THE NATION IN**

## **THE CREATION OF NEW PAYROLL JOBS.**

**\*IN FACT, JOB "CREATION" IS  
ACTUALLY THE WRONG TERM, BECAUSE  
THERE WAS A DECREASE OF NEARLY 7%  
IN PAYROLL JOBS IN THAT TIME PERIOD.**

**LET ME FINISH BY GIVING YOU A  
LITTLE TEST...ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS  
ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS YES OR NO.**

**AFTER TWELVE YEARS OF A  
GOVERNOR WHO LIKES MORE TAXES AND**



**MORE SPENDING, ARE YOU READY TO  
PUT A STRONG FISCAL CONSERVATIVE IN  
THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE?**

**AFTER TWELVE YEARS OF A  
GOVERNOR WHO CONSTANTLY VETOES  
THE DEATH PENALTY, ARE YOU READY  
FOR A GOVERNOR WHO WILL MAKE  
GETTING TOUGH ON CRIMINALS AND  
INSTITUTING THE DEATH PENALTY A TOP  
PRIORITY?**

**AFTER TWELVE YEARS OF THE  
STATUS QUO, ARE YOU READY FOR A  
GOVERNOR WHO WILL TAKE NEW YORK  
IN A NEW DIRECTION?**

**AFTER TWELVE YEARS OF  
GOVERNOR CUOMO, ARE YOU READY FOR  
GOVERNOR PATAKI?**

**CONGRATULATIONS, YOU PASSED  
THAT TEST WITH FLYING COLORS.**

**AND AS YOUR REWARD, YOU NOW  
GET TO WELCOME YOUR NEXT  
GOVERNOR, GEORGE PATAKI.**



## SENATOR BOB DOLE

## TELECOPY COVER SHEET

DATE AND TIME:

7/24

PLEASE DELIVER TO:

JOYCE

FAX# ( )

PHONE# ( )

FROM:

SUZANNE

FAX# (202) 408-5117

PHONE#(202) 408-5105

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW:

4

COMMENTS:

JUST HEARD THE SENATOR IS

TRAVELING TO NY FOR PATANKI. I'LL

TRY TO GET SOME MORE INFO.

PLEASE CALL (202) 408-5105 AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IF THIS TRANSMISSION IS NOT COMPLETE.

\*\*\*\*\*  
CONFIDENTIALITY NOTICE

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## 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%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,056,896</b>

**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***

<b>Pataki</b>	<b>29%</b>
<b>Rosenbaum</b>	<b>13%</b>
<b>Undecided</b>	<b>54%</b>

***DIRECTION OF STATE (AMONG ALL)***

<b>Wrong</b>	<b>56%</b>
<b>Right</b>	<b>22%</b>

## HOW DOLE-PACKWOOD HELPS THE MIDDLE CLASS

\*PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS PUBLICLY STATED THAT THE DOLE-PACKWOOD HEALTH CARE PLAN DOES NOTHING FOR THE SO-CALLED "MIDDLE CLASS."

\*I ASSUME THE PRESIDENT IS TALKING ABOUT AVERAGE HARD-WORKING AMERICANS WHOSE PRIMARY INTERESTS ARE KEEPING A JOB AND PROVIDING FOR THEIR FAMILY.

### \*HERE'S HOW THE DOLE-PACKWOOD PLAN HELPS THOSE AMERICANS:

\*TAXES: IF THERE'S ONE THING THAT MIDDLE-CLASS AMERICANS ARE TIRED OF, IT'S TAXES. THE DOLE-PACKWOOD PLAN DOES NOT CONTAIN ONE CENT OF NEW TAXES, NOR DOES IT RAISE ANY EXISTING TAX. THE SAME CANNOT BE SAID ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN, OR ABOUT THE PLAN PASSED BY THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE. NO ONE KNOWS FOR SURE WHAT ACTUALLY PASSED IN THAT COMMITTEE, BUT SOME ESTIMATES ON THE NEW TAXES THE BILL CONTAINS ARE AS HIGH AS \$500 BILLION OVER FIVE YEARS.

\*QUALITY: POLLS SHOW THAT 85% OF AMERICANS ARE SATISFIED WITH THE HEALTH CARE THEY RECEIVE. AND THE AMERICAN HEALTH CARE SYSTEM--THOUGH CERTAINLY NOT PERFECT--IS THE BEST IN THE WORLD.

WHO DO YOU TRUST TO MAINTAIN THAT QUALITY? YOUR DOCTOR OR THE GOVERNMENT? THE DOLE-PACKWOOD PLAN PLACES ITS TRUST IN YOU AND YOUR DOCTOR. I BELIEVE THE CLINTON PLAN PLACES ITS TRUST IN MORE GOVERNMENT, MORE REGULATIONS AND MORE MANDATES.

\*NO INCREASE IN DEFICIT: AMERICANS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THEIR CHILDREN. AND IF THERE'S ONE THING THAT ENDANGERS THAT FUTURE, IT'S THE FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT. THE DOLE-PACKWOOD PLAN PROVIDES A FISCAL "FAIL-SAFE" MECHANISM TO ASSURE THAT REFORMS ARE IMPLEMENTED ON A "PAY AS YOU GO" BASIS.

THE CLINTON PLAN, ON THE OTHER HAND, PROMISES EVERYTHING TO EVERYONE. EVEN THE NON-PARTISAN CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE HAS ESTIMATED THAT THE CLINTON PLAN WILL ADD AT LEAST \$70 BILLION TO THE DEFICIT BY THE YEAR 2000.

\*CHOICE: IN TODAY'S MARKET, PEOPLE BUY THE INSURANCE THEY THINK BEST FITS THEIR NEEDS--AS IT SHOULD BE IN A FREE COUNTRY. THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN MAKES IT ILLEGAL FOR AMERICANS TO BUY ANYTHING LESS THAN THE STANDARD PLAN THE GOVERNMENT APPROVES. THE DOLE-PACKWOOD PLAN, HOWEVER, CONTAINS NO "ONE SIZE FITS ALL" MANDATED PLAN. AMERICAN FAMILIES WILL STILL BE ABLE TO OBTAIN THE COVERAGE THAT BEST FITS THEIR SPECIFIC AND UNIQUE NEEDS.



\*NO JOB-KILLING EMPLOYER MANDATES: AMERICANS WANT HEALTH CARE--BUT THEY DON'T WANT TO PAY FOR IT WITH THEIR JOBS. MANY WILL, HOWEVER, IF THE CLINTON PLAN--OR ANY OTHER PLAN--CONTAINING AN EMPLOYER MANDATE--OR A "TRIGGERED" EMPLOYER MANDATE PASSES.

\*PORTABILITY: MANY AMERICANS HAVE FOUND IT IMPOSSIBLE--OR PROHIBITIVELY EXPENSIVE--TO OBTAIN HEALTH INSURANCE IF THEY OR A FAMILY MEMBER ARE ALREADY SICK OR HAVE A HEALTH CARE PROBLEM. THIS IS CALLED A "PRE-EXISTING CONDITION" AND IS ONE OF THE REASONS PEOPLE GET LOCKED INTO JOBS THEY DON'T LIKE. THE DOLE-PACKWOOD PLAN WOULD GUARANTEE THAT PEOPLE WILL BE ABLE TO GET INSURANCE AT AN AFFORDABLE PRICE, AND NOT RISK LOSING IT IF THEY CHANGE JOBS.

\*FAIRNESS: THE CLINTON PLAN SAYS THAT EVERYONE SHOULD PAY THE SAME AMOUNT FOR HEALTH INSURANCE, A PROCESS KNOWN AS "COMMUNITY RATING." THE DOLE-PACKWOOD PLAN SEES THIS PRACTICE AS UNFAIR TO YOUNGER PEOPLE WHO MOST OFTEN USE LESS HEALTH CARE. THAT'S WHY DOLE-PACKWOOD ALLOWS FOR VARIATIONS IN THE PRICE OF INSURANCE BASED ON AGE.

NEW YORK TRIED COMMUNITY RATING NOT LONG AGO. THE INCREASED COSTS LED 25,000 YOUNG NEW YORKERS TO DROP THEIR INSURANCE IN THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF ENACTMENT. WHY SHOULD A YOUNG AMERICAN, JUST STARTING OUT AND MAKING \$15,000 A YEAR, SUBSIDIZE THE HEALTH CARE OF A MIDDLE-AGE PROFESSIONAL MAKING \$50,000 A YEAR?

\*SMALL BUSINESSES: SMALL BUSINESSMEN AND WOMEN ARE THE BACKBONE OF AMERICA'S ECONOMY. THE DOLE-PACKWOOD PLAN HELPS SMALL BUSINESSES IN MANY WAYS: HERE ARE THREE:

1. SMALL BUSINESSES CAN JOIN TOGETHER IN "POOLS" TO PROVIDE MORE COVERAGE AT BETTER RATES TO THEIR EMPLOYEES.

2. SMALL BUSINESSES AND THOSE WHO ARE SELF-EMPLOYED CAN ENROLL IN THE FEDERAL EMPLOYEES HEALTH BENEFIT PROGRAM--GIVING THEM THE SAME CHOICE AMONG BENEFIT PACKAGES THAT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT NOW ENJOY.

3. CURRENTLY, IF YOU'RE A SELF-EMPLOYED SMALL BUSINESS PERSON OR AN INDIVIDUAL WHO BUYS HIS OWN INSURANCE, YOU CANNOT DEDUCT YOUR HEALTH CARE INSURANCE COSTS. THE DOLE-PACKWOOD BILL PHASES IN TAX DEDUCTIBILITY TO 100%--GRANTING YOU THE SAME TREATMENT AS THAT RECEIVED BY ANYONE WHOSE EMPLOYER CONTRIBUTES TO THEIR HEALTH INSURANCE COSTS.

\*DOES THE DOLE-PACKWOOD PROPOSAL HELP MIDDLE-CLASS AMERICANS? YOU BET IT DOES--THAT'S ONE OF THE REASONS WHY I AM A CO-SPONSOR, AND WHY IT HAS EARNED THE SUPPORT OF 40 REPUBLICAN SENATORS AND MANY OUTSTANDING ORGANIZATIONS.



Republican  
National  
Committee

Haley Barbour  
Chairman

To: <i>Paul Rediter</i>	Date	Republican National Committee
Co.	# of Pgs. <i>5</i>	
Dept. <i>For tonight's</i>	From <i>Haley B.</i>	
Fax No. <i>Show!</i>	Phone # <i>224-3163</i>	Fax #

July 25, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR SENATOR BOB DOLE  
DR. BERNADINE HEALY

FROM: HALEY BARBOUR *Haley B.*

RE: CNN APPEARANCE

The attached memorandum is for your consideration for our show with Charles Bierbaur on CNN tonight.

The memo outlines and sums up the six points I believe we should make in tonight's show and assigns to each of us areas of concentration. The six points are:

1. Republicans support good health care reform, and we have a good plan. (ALL)
2. The country has rejected the Clintons' proposal, as the Democrats now seem to admit. The country rejected it because it is bad policy, which would hurt quality, reduce choice and cost jobs. (BERNADINE)
3. Now the Democrats, in secret, are developing another bill. Many fear it will be ClintonCare without Clinton's name. No one knows what they will propose. (BOB)
4. We will not be rushed. After learning about the Clintons' proposal, the country rejected it. The people must know what is being proposed before Congress passes anything. Congress meets every year, so there must be no artificial deadlines. (BOB)
5. Our proposal is for specific reforms that solve the problems facing health care without destroying the system that has given us the finest medical care in the world. We solve these problems without the negative results of the Clintons' plan. (ALL)





6. Republicans are proceeding in a bi-partisan fashion. The Democrats continue to take a partisan approach. The Clintons' original proposal was designed in secret by a White House task force; the committee bills in Congress were worked in private by Democrats only; and now the Democrats are again meeting in private, with Democrats only, to develop their new proposal. We are reaching out to like-minded Democrats. (BOB, HALEY)

The attached is a fuller treatment of these six points.

TALKING POINTS  
CNN APPEARANCE  
JULY 25

Our goal is to make sure people know Republicans are for health care reform but will not accept bad reform, such as that proposed by the Clintons. Our first point, therefore, should be that Republicans are for health care reform and had health care reform bills pending in Congress before President Clinton ever introduced his. The Republican approach is targeted, specific reforms that solve the problems without reducing the quality of care, eliminating choices for consumers or costing jobs. The Dole-Packwood bill, known as the American option, in the Senate and the Michel bill in the House have more co-sponsors, respectively, than any other bills, including the Clinton bill. The bi-partisan Rowland-Bilirakis bill in the House, with 35 Democrat and 35 Republican co-sponsors, is very similar to both the Dole bill and the Michel bill. (ALL)

While we are pushing for these bills, no one even knows what the White House and the Democrat leadership will propose. (BOB)

The American people have rejected the Clintons' health care proposal because it is bad policy. They rejected it because it would have created a government-run health care system financed by a gigantic payroll tax and would have resulted in the quality of care getting worse, choices for health care consumers being eliminated and a huge number of jobs lost. Nevertheless, many expect the Democrats to try to re-package the Clintons' plan without Clinton's name on it and bring it forward as a new approach. Camouflaged ClintonCare is unacceptable. (BERNADINE, BOB)

The Republican approach can avoid all the pitfalls of ClintonCare. We propose reforms that solve the problems without hurting the quality of care, eliminating choices for consumers or costing jobs. Plus the American option requires no new taxes or tax increases, while Clinton requires billions in taxes on top of the gigantic payroll tax contained in the employer mandate. (ALL)

Our reforms would: (All need to be familiar and chime in on them.)

- a) Provide health security by assuring people would not lose their insurance if they lose or change their jobs, get sick or move;
- b) Make sure that no one will have their coverage canceled because they get sick or will be unfairly denied coverage or charged exorbitant premiums if they have a pre-existing condition or illness;



- c) Allow small businesses to reduce their cost by joining voluntary purchasing pools to have the buying power of big business;
- d) Provide for serious medical malpractice tort liability reform that will reduce the cost of care;
- e) Give tax fairness by allowing the self-employed and individuals the same tax treatment of their health insurance premiums as the employees whose employers provide coverage;
- f) Reduce costs and increase consumer choices by allowing medical savings accounts to be established;
- g) Expand coverage through vouchers for low-income, Medicaid ineligible people; and
- h) Accomplish all this without any tax increases or deficit increases. Our bill is paid for!

We need to make plain that a trigger for an employer mandate is as unacceptable as an immediate employer mandate. A phase-in requirement is, too. The right approach is to have a mandatory look-back provision, as there is in the Dole bill, so if the target percentage of coverage is not reached, Congress will consider all options to expand coverage and not be bound to an approach that we are rejecting this year. (HALEY, BOB)

The employer mandate is a payroll tax. In the Kennedy-Clinton bill there is a payroll tax of up to 12% on employers and up to 3.9% on employees, plus other taxes. These payroll taxes will cost jobs. We need to make plain that government-imposed spending limits on health care, whether through global budgets, premium caps or price controls, will hurt the quality of care, reduce health care research and development and inevitably lead to the rationing of care. (HALEY)

A government-imposed standard benefits package means government decides what insurance benefits you should have and requires you to buy it, whether you want it or think you need it. It takes away choices from everyone and particularly penalizes young people by forcing them to buy coverage benefits they don't need. We don't need to blow up the system and replace it with a government-run system. (BERNADINE)

Strict community rating also penalizes young people by making them pay much higher premiums. Coupled with a gold-plated standard benefits package, pure community rating would result in the greatest inter-

generational transfer of wealth in history — from young adults, who typically have lower incomes, to people ages 50-65, who are at the peak of their earnings. (We should note that people over 65, since they are already covered by Medicare, would not be affected by this, only up to age 64.) (BERNADINE, HALEY)

We should reiterate that the Dole-Packwood bill does not have (a) employer mandates or any mandate now or triggered in the future; (b) global budgets with spending limits on health care; (c) required standard benefits package or (d) strict community rating. (BOB)

Another point we should get in wherever possible is that we are trying to build a bi-partisan coalition for specific reforms by working with the many like-minded Democrats. The White House and Democrat leadership have been pursuing a Democrats-only strategy. We are bi-partisan, and they are partisan. They're crafting a bill in secret and will try to cram it down the country's throat before anyone even knows what's in it. They want to force through their idea of health care reform "regardless of the views of the American people", as Senator Jay Rockefeller put it. (BOB, HALEY)

Many are concerned the Democrat leadership will use the rules to quash bi-partisanship and force a quick vote on something the American people have hardly even seen. (BOB)

We should not rush. This is too important. It is one-seventh of the economy and involves literally life and death decisions for millions of families, so we should take our time and get it right. There should be no artificial deadlines, even if we need to delay the recess, or delay adjournment or come back next year. (BOB, BERNADINE)

The American people learned from the Clintons' proposal, that it is crucial they learn what is in a health care reform bill before Congress votes on it. It is not so much the Republicans are entitled to know what's in the bill, as it is that the public is entitled to know what's in the bill before it is voted on. After all, Congress meets every year. (BOB, BERNADINE)