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George W. Bush
PRESIDENTIAL EXPLORATORY COMMITTEE, INC.

FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Phone: 512/637-2000

DATE: _____

Fax: 512/637-8800

TIME: _____

To: Fred

FAX: 248 / 350 - 3023

FROM: Karl Rove

NUMBER OF PAGES, INCLUDING COVER SHEET 7

COMMENTS:

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Political advertisement paid for by Governor George W. Bush Presidential Exploratory Committee, Inc

TO: Karl Rove
FROM: Fred Steeper
RE: 2000 Public Poll Summary
DATE: As of March 12, 1999

One figure and 13 tables attached

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY

Figure 1. Trend to George W. Bush Primary Vote: National Polls

The most recent four national polls (including one by Market Strategies) indicate an upward trend to Bush's national primary vote after a downward trend in the January polls. Three of the four polls were completed after Bush's announcement of an exploratory committee on March 2 but before the exploratory committee's media event on March 7 and before Dole's similar announcement on March 10.

Table 1. National Public and Private Polls

The most recent national polls give Bush more than double Dole's support. (See Figure 1 comment on dates of these polls - none of them measure the effect of Bush's exploratory committee composition or Dole's announcement in Iowa.) Three of the polls put Bush's support in the 44% to 48% range with the NBC/WSJ's 53% for Bush being on the high side. Dole has from 17% to 22%.

The only other Republican garnering double digits in a recent poll is Quayle with 11% in a Newsweek poll.

Table 2. State Public and Private Polls

A March 4 Iowa poll has Bush leading Dole by 33% to 15%. This poll confirms a January Iowa poll having Bush as the Iowa frontrunner. There have been no new New Hampshire polls since the last memo.

A New York poll has Bush the 35% to 13% leader over Dole (but with Pataki at 19% and Giuliani at 13% in the asked trial heat). An Ohio poll has Bush the 36% to 25% leader over Dole with Quayle getting 15%.

Two new Arizona polls show McCain with surprisingly low strength, less than 30%. One of them has Quayle ahead of McCain, 27% to 25%.

Table 3. By States: George W. Bush's Favorability Rating

No new results. See February 7 memo.

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

Table 4. National Public and Private Polls

An early March NBC/WSJ poll gives Gore a substantial 65% to 20% lead over Bill Bradley in a two-way race.

GENERAL ELECTION

Table 5. Nationally: George W. Bush vs. Al Gore

The most recent three national polls all give Bush double digit leads over Gore, ranging from a low of 15 points to a high of 21 points. While a few earlier polls had Bush's lead in single digits, the last seven polls have all had Bush ahead of Gore by 10 or more points.

Table 6. Nationally: Elizabeth Dole vs. Al Gore

A Dole/Gore race is a closer race than a Bush/Gore race, according to the two most recent polls that included both trial heats. CNN gives Dole a 5 point lead (compared to a 15 point lead for Bush), and NBC/WSJ gives Dole a 9 point lead (compared to an 18 point lead for Bush). With one exception this year, Dole's leads over Gore have been consistently in single digits.

Table 7. Nationally: Other Presidential Trial Heats

No new results. See February 19 memo.

Table 8. By States: George W. Bush vs. Al Gore

Bush/Gore trial heats have been reported in seven states. So far, the rank order of the Bush margins present a familiar picture of what are likely to be core Republican states and the swing states. Texas, Ohio, and Arizona (usually core states) have the largest margins; followed by Michigan and New Jersey (usually swing states); followed by California and New York. New York is a classic Democratic core state. The low rank order for California is not unusual and warrants a whole separate discussion.

[The rank order of states, by their margins, will determine what the target states will be in a Bush/Gore race; the target states will be those in the middle of the rank order, regardless of the margins at the time of the polls.¹ Table 8 begins the rank order for 2000.]

¹This statement refers to the Electoral Vote Model for state targeting and is more involved in its methodology than this memo describes.

Table 9. By States: Elizabeth Dole vs. Al Gore

An Ohio poll gives as large a lead for Dole over Gore as for Bush over Dole. Gore may be hurting in the Buckeye state. A New Jersey poll also shows Gore trailing Dole as well as Bush. An Arizona poll, however, places Gore ahead of Dole while the same poll showed a 10 point lead for Bush over Gore.

Table 10. Nationally: George W. Bush's Favorability Rating

An early March NBC/WSJ poll shows Bush continuing to have unusually low "unfavorables" (10%) while supporting high "favorables" (51%).

Table 11. Nationally: Elizabeth Dole's Favorability Rating

The early March NBC/WSJ poll gives Dole a slightly better rating, 56% favorable to 10% unfavorable, than it does for Bush. Both Republicans have been scoring very well on these favorable/unfavorable ratings so far this year.

Table 12. Nationally: Al Gore's Favorability Rating

Most of the national polls since early February have shown the Vice President with an unusually high unfavorable rating. The early March NBC/WSJ poll is the most recent poll to confirm a Gore unfavorable rating of 30% or higher.

Table 13. By States: George W. Bush's Favorability Rating

Only two states have reported favorability ratings for Bush: New York (32% favorable/13% unfavorable) and Michigan (47% favorable/12% unfavorable).

TO: Karl Rove
FROM: Fred Steeper
RE: 2000 Public Poll Summary
DATE: As of February 19, 1999

One figure and 13 tables attached

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY

Figure 1. Trend to George W. Bush Primary Vote: National Polls

No new results. See prior memo.

Table 1. National Public and Private Polls

No new results. See prior memo.

Table 2. State Public and Private Polls

Two February New Hampshire polls place Dole ahead of Bush by single digits. Three of the four N.H. polls this year show Dole leading Bush; the fourth one has it tied. One Iowa poll places Bush ahead of Dole, 30% to 19%. A February Michigan poll puts Bush 7 points ahead of Dole. None of the other national contenders register in double digits in any of these states.

Table 3. By States: George W. Bush's Favorability Rating

No new results. See prior memo.

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

Table 4. National Public and Private Polls

No new results. See prior memo.

GENERAL ELECTION

Table 5. Nationally: George W. Bush vs. Al Gore

Over seven national polls this year, Bush's lead over Gore has ranged between one point to as many as 18 points. The most recent national poll (Zogby) measures Bush's lead at the high end of this range, +16. *The Senate impeachment trial and vote does not appear to have deflected support to Gore.* The timing of these polls does not indicate any trend to these results; they simply disagree on the closeness of the race.

Table 6. Nationally: Elizabeth Dole vs. Al Gore

The recent Zogby poll has the Dole vs. Gore race virtually the same as the Bush vs Gore race. This is Dole's first double digit lead over Gore. Over eight national polls this year, Dole's margin over Gore has ranged from two points *behind* to 16 points *ahead*. The same intra-poll disagreement exists in this race as in the Bush vs. Gore race. Bush's average lead over Gore is 9 points. Dole's average lead is 6 points. [Some polls show large differences in Bush's and Dole's coalitions *by gender*. While the two arrive at similar *total* results, they get there in different ways.]

Table 7. Nationally: Other Presidential Trial Heats

One national poll places Bush ahead of Bradley, 52% to 38% and two national polls put Dole ahead of Hilary Clinton by more than 15 points.

Table 8. By States: George W. Bush vs. Al Gore

A new and second Michigan poll confirms Bush's lead over Gore in this large state. So far this year, four states have reported polls on Bush vs. Gore. In addition to a Texas poll with an overwhelming Bush lead (+49), Bush is ahead in Michigan by nine-to-ten points, is in a virtual tie in California (+2), and trails in New York by four points. These state polls report Bush margins that would be roughly consistent with Bush having an 8 point or better lead, nationally.

The rank order of states, by their margins, will determine what the target states will be in a Bush/Gore race; the target states will be those in the middle of the rank order, regardless of the margins at the time of the polls.¹ Table 8 begins the rank order for 2000.

Table 9. By States: Elizabeth Dole vs. Al Gore

No new results. See prior memo.

Table 10. Nationally: George W. Bush's Favorability Rating

A new Washington Post poll shows a very good ratio of favorable to unfavorable impressions of Bush, 51% to 13%. This is not quite as strong as last months L.A. Times survey's 60% favorable to 8% unfavorable rating for Bush. Still, both are very good ratings on this measure.

Table 11. Nationally: Elizabeth Dole's Favorability Rating

The new Washington Post poll gives Dole a better rating than Bush with Dole having higher favorables (57%) and the same unfavorables (13%). Last month's L.A. Times survey, gave Bush the better national rating of the two.

¹This statement refers to the Electoral Vote Model for state targeting and is more involved in its methodology than this memo describes.

Table 12. Nationally: Al Gore's Favorability Rating

Four new national polls all confirm Gore's unfavorable rating to be 30% or higher. This is an unusually high national unfavorable rating for the Vice President.

Table 13. By States: George W. Bush's Favorability Rating

No new results. See prior memo.

TO: Karl Rove
FROM: Fred Steeper
RE: 2000 Public Poll Summary
DATE: As of February 7, 1999

One figure and 13 tables attached

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY

Figure 1. Trend to George W. Bush Primary Vote: National Polls

Nine national polls this year indicate a slight downward trend in Bush's national support for the Republican nomination. This is due to a bump in support for Dole and for Quayle. Both Dole and Quayle had more publicity toward the end of the current series of polls than at the beginning.

Table 1. National Public and Private Polls

Since January 7, Bush's support has been ranging between 36% and 48% and Dole's between 22% and 26%. Figure 1 indicates there has been some downward trend in the fluctuating results for Bush. Quayle was in the 5% to 7% range until late January. The last four national polls place his support anywhere from 8% to 17%! No one else is in double digits in any national poll of Republicans.

Table 2. State Public and Private Polls

Two New Hampshire polls show essentially a two-way tie between Bush and Dole. One Iowa poll places Bush ahead of Dole, 30% to 19%. No one else shows any strength in either state.

Table 3. By States: George W. Bush's Favorability Rating

The New Hampshire poll showing a tie between Bush and Dole, records an excellent 75% favorable to 4% unfavorable rating for Bush. The low negative for Bush among New Hampshire Republicans (and the high favorable) is very encouraging news.

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

Table 4. National Public and Private Polls

Gore's support ranges between 35% and 52%; Jackson ranges between 6% and 17%; and Bradley ranges between 7% and 14%. All these polls included Gephardt (7% to 13%). Remember, all upsets have been on the Democratic side. Even so, it still seems unlikely this time.

GENERAL ELECTION

Table 5. Nationally: George W. Bush vs. Al Gore

Over six national polls this year, Bush's lead over Gore has ranged between one point to as many as 18 points. The timing of these polls does not seem to indicate any trend pattern to these results; they simply disagree on the closeness of the race.

Table 6. Nationally: Elizabeth Dole vs. Al Gore

Over seven national polls this year, Dole's margin over Gore has ranged from two points *behind* to nine points *ahead*. The same intra-poll disagreement exists in this race as in the Bush vs. Gore race. Bush's average lead over Gore is 7 points. Dole's average lead is 4 points. So, Bush is just moderately stronger. [Some polls show enormous differences in Bush's and Dole's coalitions *by gender*. While the two arrive at similar *total* results, they get there in different ways.

Table 7. Nationally: Other Presidential Trial Heats

One national poll places Bush ahead of Bradley, 52% to 38% and Dole ahead of Hilary Clinton, 54% to 35%!

Table 8. By States: George W. Bush vs. Al Gore

So far this year, four states have reported polls on Bush vs. Gore. In addition to a Texas poll with an overwhelming Bush lead (+49), Bush is ahead in Michigan by nine points, is in a virtual tie in California (+2), and trails in New York by four points. These state polls report Bush margins that would be roughly consistent with Bush having an 8 point or better lead, nationally.

The rank order of states, by their margins, will determine what the target states will be in a Bush/Gore race; the target states will be those in the middle of the rank order, regardless of the margins at the time of the polls.¹ Table 8 begins the rank order for 2000.

Table 9. By States: Elizabeth Dole vs. Al Gore

Two states have reported polls on Dole vs. Gore. The Michigan and New York polls measure Dole's lead over Gore as virtually the same as each had for Bush over Gore. (While the total results are similar the unreported gender pattern may have been very different.)

Table 10. Nationally: George W. Bush's Favorability Rating

A late January L.A. Times survey recorded a 60% favorable to 8% unfavorable rating for Bush. This is a very good rating on this measure.

¹This statement refers to the Electoral Vote Model for state targeting and is more involved in its methodology than this memo describes.

Table 11. Nationally: Elizabeth Dole's Favorability Rating

In the same L.A. Times survey, Dole received a 52% favorable to 13% unfavorable rating.

Table 12. Nationally: Al Gore's Favorability Rating

Six national surveys have reported favorable/unfavorable ratings of Al Gore this year. There is significant disagreement among these surveys, partly due to measurement differences. The L.A. Times recorded an unusually high 39% unfavorable rating for Gore. The other five national surveys, however, do not substantiate such a high negative for the Vice President.

Table 13. By States: George W. Bush's Favorability Rating

Just one state poll has recorded a general electorate rating of Bush. A Michigan survey measured Bush's rating at 47% favorable to 12% unfavorable during the third week of January. Forty-one percent of Michigan voters have no impression of Bush to report.

Date: 4/1/99 12:18 AM
Sender: Fred Steeper
To: "Jan van Lohuizen"<jrvanlo@ibm.net>
Priority: Normal
Subject: Research Plan

Thanks for your March 29 email on our plan. I'm going to make some "the way we did it in the past" type comments. Judge these as (1) it worked in the past; experience should be listened to and (2) just because that is the way it was done in the past is no reason to do the same now.

In 88 and 92 we did not do much state daily tracking. We did stand alone statewide and had them going all the time. We kept rotating through the upcoming states two or three weeks out to see if things were holding or collapsing. The week of NH in 88 we were actually polling in SC and the super Tuesday states and relying on the numerous public polls for NH. We saw the South was holding firm in spite of the shaky Iowa and NH situations. (plus back then, we would have exceeded the NH spending limit if we had polled.)

I agree with your comment about this being more of a national campaign needing national polling. But, this will be tough to sell. The campaign people will be in a state by state mode of thinking. Let's propose it (national polls as well as state polls) and see what happens.

I'm seeing repeated references to our needing \$50 million if we go on our own. A part of that you have to deduct for legal and fund raising expenses, maybe 10 million. We need some guidance from Karl.

McKinnon agrees with early focus groups. I talked to him Wed about this. He is going to take a run at Karl about this. Yes, I often segregate men and women; depends though. Mark is now thinking of a third week of April meeting so no way can have these in hand by then.

We do an almost monthly national internally and have been measuring the primary with it. We need to aggregate our results. We need to discuss. (Common question, etc. so the data fits together.) I need to send you the summary table of this.

Kristen had a "Kevin Shuvalov" (<---luv it) fax us the latest state primary schedule with delegate counts. If you don't have, call her. We should receive this every time they update it. I agree with most of your assessment of the states. New York - not sure about this one. The rules are rigged and Pataki will control; so not sure it is in play.

What states will need research/tracking/regular look-sees is Karl's call in the end. I think we should propose some generic designs and costs that the campaign can apply as needed. We could show them an example of how it might be applied by connecting the designs to particular states without committing us to saying "these are the states you should do." That will be a group/Karl call. Here are some suggested designs (I use lower sample sizes than I would for the general election because Republicans are not as heterogeneous as the general voters, so we don't need as many interviews to know how competitive the state is:)

Stand Alone State Checks (30 questions or so) N=300, 400, 500 (California - your call, N=800?) Might do three or four of these in one state over two or three weeks instead of daily tracking in the state.

Strategic State Polls (50 questions; 80 questions) same sample sizes - do one

of these in, say, the most important 6 or so states.

State tracking (20-30 questions) N=100 per day, 150 per day, 200 per day. I can see this being done in California. Not sure what other single state deserves it. Remember, there will be lots of public state polls we can take advantage of - especially N.H. Our state polls should partly fill in where there is not much of a variety of public polls going on. (We should never rely on one polling org in a state; but some states might have three or four orgs polling them that relieves the pressure on us polling them. I just average them all together.)

I don't have a clear thought on the national polling for the primary right now, so I will skip it. (daily track? quick stand alones spaced a few days apart or longer depending on events?)

Jan, a big methodological issue for us - RDD polling or voter list samples for the primary. We need to discuss. We have asked Kristen to find out what voter lists the campaign is getting.

I note your reservations about my dial test method. I think the dial methodology can be misused and abused. I'll give you two references - Don Sipple and Paul Wilson. They swear by it now. It really depends on how it is designed beforehand. The dials themselves produce no magic. I look forward to convincing you. You should know.....we used the dials in 94 and 98 for GWB, and I think Karl and Mark are believers.

Well, that is enough for now. This will be fun. Looking forward to it all.

*

Date: 4/1/99 12:41 AM

Sender: Fred Steeper

To: "Karl Rove" <kr@rove.com>; "Mark McKinnon" <mmckinnon@pstrategies.com>; "Jan van Lohuizen" <jrvanlo@ibm.net>

Priority: Normal

Subject: Questions

Jan and I are working on a research plan for the primary....state polls, national polls, focus groups, ad testing, the works. Here are some initial questions (the first of many to come), the answers to which can help us along.

1. Budget: is it fair to have 5% or so of the campaign budget for this research and is the total budget for the primary campaign looking like \$40 million plus legal/fundraising?
2. Where good ones exist, we can/should use registered voter lists to pull the samples for the primary polls. Is the campaign collecting these for other purposes (and we can use)? Or, should we not wait and start inquiring ourselves on state list availability? This is a major item for us; the sooner we get started on it the better. ("Good lists" are hard to come by.)
3. Target states: we need to discuss soon our state strategy so Jan and I have an idea of what the campaign needs to "see". Some of it is obvious, some of it is not. And, of course, the calendar of states is in flux; nevertheless we need an initial feel for this.

New York: will it be "rigged" as in the past, making research there dubious?

That's a start.

Date: 3/31/99 11:17 PM
Sender: Fred Steeper
To: "Karl Rove"<kr@rove.com>; "Mark McKinnon"<mmckinnon@pstrategies.com>; "Jan van Lohuizen"<jrvanlo@ibm.net>
Priority: Normal
Subject: California

In Jan's March 26 email on California he said, with GWB ahead of Gore, 50 to 43, "California is definitely in play." I want to make a point about this without picking on Jan. GWB is also ahead of Gore by the same identical margin in Rhode Island in a poll I just finished. RI is typically in the five worst states for us presidentially.

All these state results must be judged in the context of GWB's national lead of about 55 to 40. With that kind of lead GWB is going to be ahead in almost all the states with maybe only DC for Gore. If we have that kind of lead in Nov 2000, state targeting will be irrelevant. What matters for the state results now is how they are rank ordering on Bush's margin over Gore. A seven point lead would rank order fairly low right now and not place the state in our best 30+ states for an electoral majority in a close race. Table 8, in my public poll summary to Karl shows the beginning of this rank ordering of the states. This rank ordering will begin to reveal the "state structure" for this election, along with the electoral vote model we have to smooth out the noise in the survey results. (Mark and Jan probably need a briefing about this tool we have.)

We need to all be on the same page about this. It is one of the more fun things to play with in developing a presidential strategy. Also, a pretty serious one, too. Having said all this, I realize California will always be a special case and don't mean to imply that it is no more important than little Rhode Island. However, you will probably find me challenging California's status from time to time. I think we carry California in a landslide but lose it in a closer race against Gore.
The primary is a whole other matter.

OTHER EMAIL

MEMORANDUM

TO: Karl Rove
FROM: Daron Shaw
CC: Fred Steeper
Jan van Lohuizen
DATE: December 8, 1999
RE: Vote loss in NH

The latest Zogby Poll gives us some additional data from New Hampshire. I'm not convinced that the polls are entirely comparable since it is not clear that the October survey included any independents. If the sample populations are the same, however, we can assume several facts.

1. Bush's loss appears to be concentrated among men (-10) and those under 50 (-31 among those 18-29 and -11 among those 30-49). We have lost some women (-6) and older voters (-3 among those over 50) but are basically holding steady. The age result is somewhat contrary to my earlier suggestion that our losses may be concentrated among older men; it may be that we never really had them. The losses among younger voters may be overstated. This is a relatively small group (at least among likely voters) and margins of error are undoubtedly high. It may also be that adding independent voters to the mix (which occurred in the December poll) significantly changed the preference profile of younger voters (many of whom are independent). The loss of younger voters is, however, consistent with the notion that younger voters are less attentive and more susceptible to bandwagon effects driven by positive media coverage.

2. McCain's tide is now lifting all boats. He has significantly increased his support among men (+16) but women aren't far behind (+12). He has improved his numbers among those over 65 (+15), but those in the middle of the age distribution are also moving his way (+18). It seems that media infatuation with his campaign has reached less attentive voters (i.e., younger, more independent New Hampshire-ites).

	BUSH			McCAIN		
	October 8-10	December 4-5	Change	October 8-10	December 4-5	Change
<i>All</i>	40%	32%	-8	21%	35%	+14
<i>Male</i>	40%	30%	-10	23%	39%	+16
<i>Female</i>	40%	34%	-6	19%	31%	+12
<i>18-29</i>	54%	23%	-31	17%	28%	+11
<i>30-49</i>	42%	31%	-11	17%	35%	+18
<i>50-64</i>	37%	35%	-2	27%	36%	+9
<i>65+</i>	35%	31%	-4	21%	36%	+15

Source: Zogby Int'l Polls. Conducted 10/8-10/99 (N=608 likely NH Republican Primary voters) and 12/4-5/99 (N=453 likely NH Republican Primary voters; 306 registered Republicans and 139 registered independents).

In short, Bush has lost some men and younger voters but is holding steady elsewhere. McCain is picking up across the board. He has been especially successful getting older (probably male) voters from other candidates as well as those in the parent trap (30-49 year old voters).

My guess is that changes in support among demographic and political groups are strongly correlated with attentiveness to the campaign. This is not to say there aren't issue and candidate trait considerations behind the numbers as well. Rather, following the departure of E. Dole I think McCain's anti-establishment image and personal biography moved enough voters to get the media's attention and now they (the media) are driving bandwagon effects among less attentive groups.

We can also compare December gender and party registration figures to those from April 1999 (keeping in mind the same caveats about sample population). Here we see confirmation of what we all suspected; independents have driven the rise (this backs the interpretation that his anti-establishment agenda is his main appeal). It is worth noting that the December Zogby Poll also shows McCain significantly improving his standing among registered Republicans.

	<i>BUSH</i>			<i>McCAIN</i>		
	April 15-16	December 4-5	Change	April 15-16	December 4-5	Change
<i>All</i>	38%	32%	-6	9%	35%	+26
<i>Male</i>	36%	30%	-6	14%	39%	+25
<i>Female</i>	41%	34%	-7	4%	31%	+27
<i>Republicans</i>	44%	35%	-9	7%	31%	+24
<i>Independents</i>	27%	27%	0	12%	43%	+31

Source: Zogby Int'l Polls. Conducted 4/15-16/99 (N=305 likely NH Republican Primary voters) and 12/4-5/99 (N=453 likely NH Republican Primary voters; 306 registered Republicans and 139 registered independents).

December 5, 1999

NOTES FROM RECENT POLLING RESULTS

Estimating the Current Electoral College Situation

We now have a sufficient number of polls to estimate the Electoral College vote if the election were held today. Overall, the situation looks outstanding. Furthermore, a predictable tightening of the race still leaves Bush in a strong position.

One useful way to look at things is to present our best estimates based on current data and then calculate how things would change with simple alterations of the vote distribution across the states. The following table does this, assuming (for illustrative purposes) that a national tide would consist of an equal gain across every state.

	Current Standing	Dems Gain 5 Points	Dems Gain 10 Points
Bush	450 (42 states)	368 (37 states)	331 (35 states)
Gore	88 (8 states + DC)	170 (13 states + DC)	207 (15 states + DC)

Bush now maintains a 12-15 point lead in the national polls, and is leading or within margin of error in every state (except for one Tennessee poll that has Gore up 7). If we give Gore traditionally Democratic states where he is within margin of error, as well as states without polling data that are traditionally Democratic, he presently carries Arkansas, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and West Virginia for a total of 88 votes. This leaves Bush at 450 votes, 220 above the point of victory.

If Gore gains 5 points across the board, he adds California, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Washington. This leaves him at 170 votes and Bush at 368. Bush would remain 98 votes over the threshold.

If Gore gains 10 points across the board, he adds New Jersey and Illinois, giving him 207 votes. Bush would still have 331, 61 points above the threshold.

Interestingly, Bush is up 10 points or more in the traditional swing states of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, New Jersey, and Wisconsin. He is also up by at least this margin in states where Clinton ran surprisingly well the past two cycles: Georgia, Nevada, Montana, and Colorado.

FS

November 29, 1999

NOTES FROM RECENT POLLING RESULTS

Momentum, New Hampshire, and Lessons from the Democratic Contest

The proliferation of polls and saturation of news media coverage of the horse race in this cycle's early contests of Iowa and New Hampshire has accelerated the process of "momentum." Unlike previous years, candidates seem to have risen and fallen well in advance of a single vote being cast. From our perspective, this raises an important question: How does McCain's New Hampshire momentum affect the nominating contest more generally?

A comparison of the New Hampshire and national races makes a couple of things clear . . .

1. McCain did absolutely nothing for the first nine months of the year. He had 7% in New Hampshire in January and 12% in September. Nationally, he had 2% in January and 5% in September.
2. McCain's rise began in mid-October in New Hampshire – coincident with Elizabeth Dole's departure from the race and his own book tour – and then spiked up again in mid-November as the media selectively seized upon poll results showing a more competitive race. About 20-25% of the likely Republican primary electorate in that state has moved into McCain's column.
3. McCain's New Hampshire movement has gained him about 6 points in the national polls, putting him at 11%. At the same time, Bush has picked up 6-7 points, leaving the overall margin at 53 points, +1 from September and October.

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONTEST (Bush v. McCain)				
Month	New Hampshire Margin	Change from Previous	National Margin	Change from Previous
Mar.	+19	-4	+48	+9
Apr.	+27	+8	+42	-6
May	+23	-4	+37	-5
Jun.	+31	+8	+47	+10
Jul.	+34	+3	+54	+7
Aug.	+32	-2	+52	-2
Sep.	+33	+1	+52	0
Oct.	+14	-19	+52	0
Nov.	+7	-4	+53	+1

Source: All available public and private polls.

So while McCain has risen in New Hampshire, thus far there hasn't been much pay-off nationally. This is inconsistent with the primary election dynamics of the 1970s and early 80s, when the rest of the country quickly moved towards the results of New Hampshire (i.e., Carter in 1976, Hart in 1984). It is, however, consistent with the most recent contests in which New Hampshire was an out-lier (Bush and Clinton in 1992, Dole in 1996).

McCain's national numbers are so low that he will almost certainly increase his support. Still, my guess is that the rest of the nation will move only haltingly towards New Hampshire. Consider the Bradley-Gore contest . . .

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONTEST (Gore v. Bradley)				
Month	New Hampshire Margin	Change from Previous	National Margin	Change from Previous
Mar.	+46	-6	+33	+1
Apr.	+40	-6	+35	+2
May	+33	-7	+35	0
Jun.	+15	-18	+37	+2
Jul.	+16	+1	+34	-3
Aug.	+17	+1	+34	0
Sep.	+6	-11	+31	-3
Oct.	-4	-10	+22	-9
Nov.	+6	+10	+22	0

Source: All available public and private polls.

From March to October, Gore lost 50 points to Bradley in New Hampshire, with the key periods being late May to June (-18 points) and late September through October (-21 points overall). Nationally, though, Gore lost only 9 points between September and October and actually increased his lead from May to June (+2).

Let us use the mathematics of the Democratic case to construct a worst-case scenario (i.e., Bush becomes Gore: this, I think, satisfies all of our criteria for "worst case"). These calculations suggest:

1. McCain's New Hampshire momentum *could* reduce Bush's national margin by 22 points, leaving Bush ahead by 31 (Bush 55%, McCain 24%). This comes from applying Bradley's NH-National fall surge ratio to the GOP race.
2. This shift should come very soon or not at all. There does not appear to be much of a lag between changes in the New Hampshire and national races. If we don't see much from McCain by mid-December, he'll likely be mired in the low teens through the New Year.

FS ✓

MEMORANDUM

TO: Karl Rove
CC: Fred Steeper, Jan van Lohuizen
FROM: Daron Shaw
DATE: Friday, December 3, 1999
RE: New Hampshire GOP Vote Changes

First, the obvious caveat: It is almost impossible to accurately determine which groups are driving McCain's rise in New Hampshire. We don't have the two polls from different points in time, from the same organization, necessary to gauge change among political and demographic subgroups.

We can, however, make a few educated guesses from aggregate polling results. Consider the following . . .

Table with 5 columns: Category, Bush, McCain, Forbes, Dole. Rows include October 8-10 and November 2-4 data for ALL, Men, Women, and various age groups. Includes handwritten annotations like '-3', '+9', '-5', '+17', '0', '+1', '-5', '+3', '-2', '+10', '0', '31%', '38%'.

SOURCE: October data are from Zogby, Intl'l, N=608 likely Republican voters. November data are from Voter Consumer Research, N=403 likely Republican voters.

Bush has dropped about three points. It appears that we have lost some men (40% in Oct. to 35% in Nov.) but have retained almost all of our support among women (40%-40%). We may also have lost some support amongst relatively younger voters (48% with those under 50 in Oct. to 43% with those under 45 in Nov.).

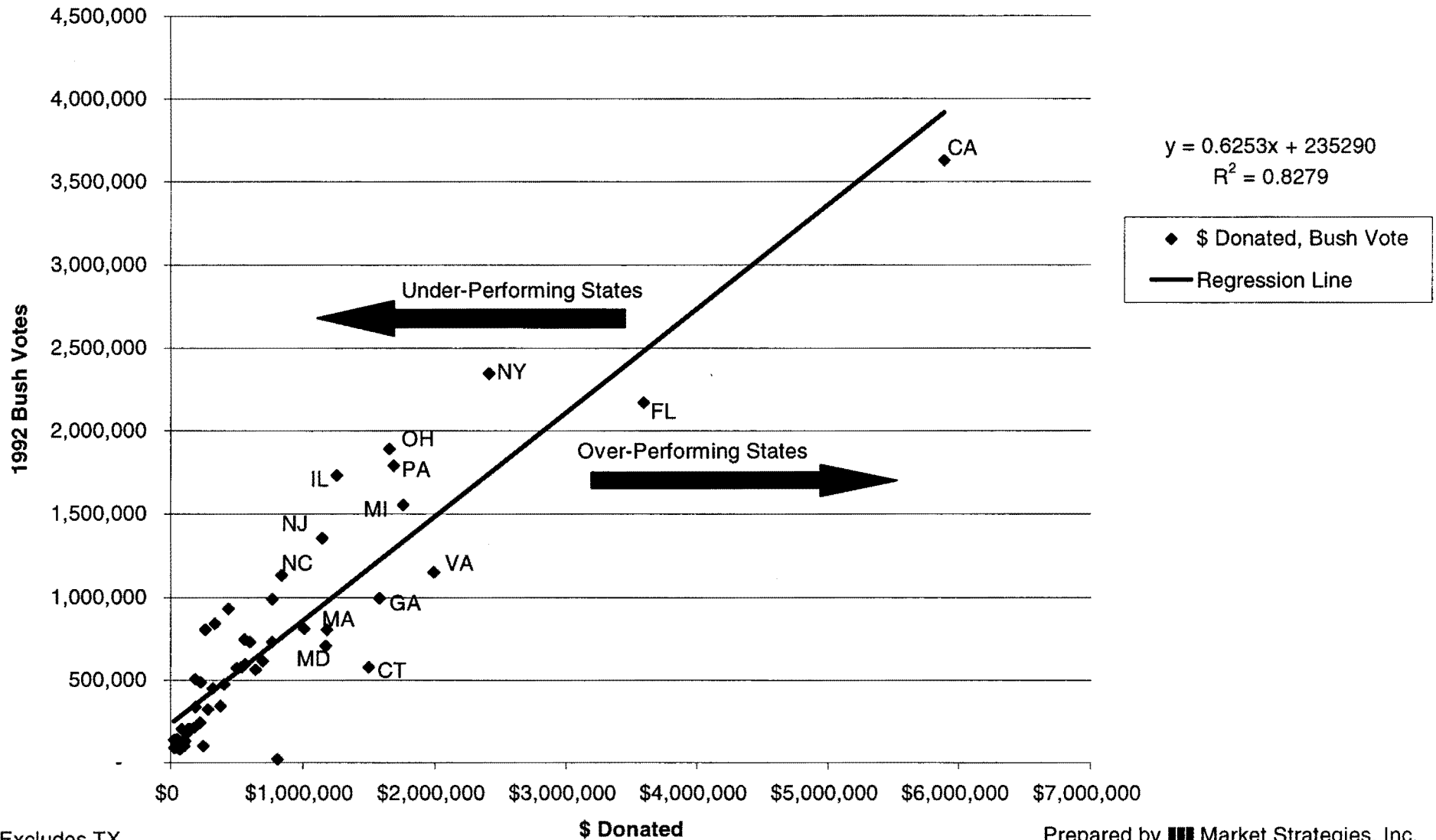
McCain has gained about nine points. Almost all of his increased support has come from men (23% in Oct. to 40% in Nov.). With respect to age, McCain went from 24% with those over 50 in October to 34% with those over 45 in November.

The evidence therefore suggests that McCain's rise has been fueled by increased support for his candidacy among older men. The flip-side of this is that young women are his Achilles' heel; he garnered only 10% among women under 45 years of age in the November survey.

While suggestive, I want to again emphasize there is much ambiguity here. Even if true, this analysis can not discern ideological and issue factors that may drive these demographic dynamics. It also ignores the possibility that McCain's rise is purely a function of the greater attentiveness of older male voters (i.e., older men read follow the local news that has been trumpeting McCain's candidacy). Still, the findings here seem plausible to me.

Oct 1999

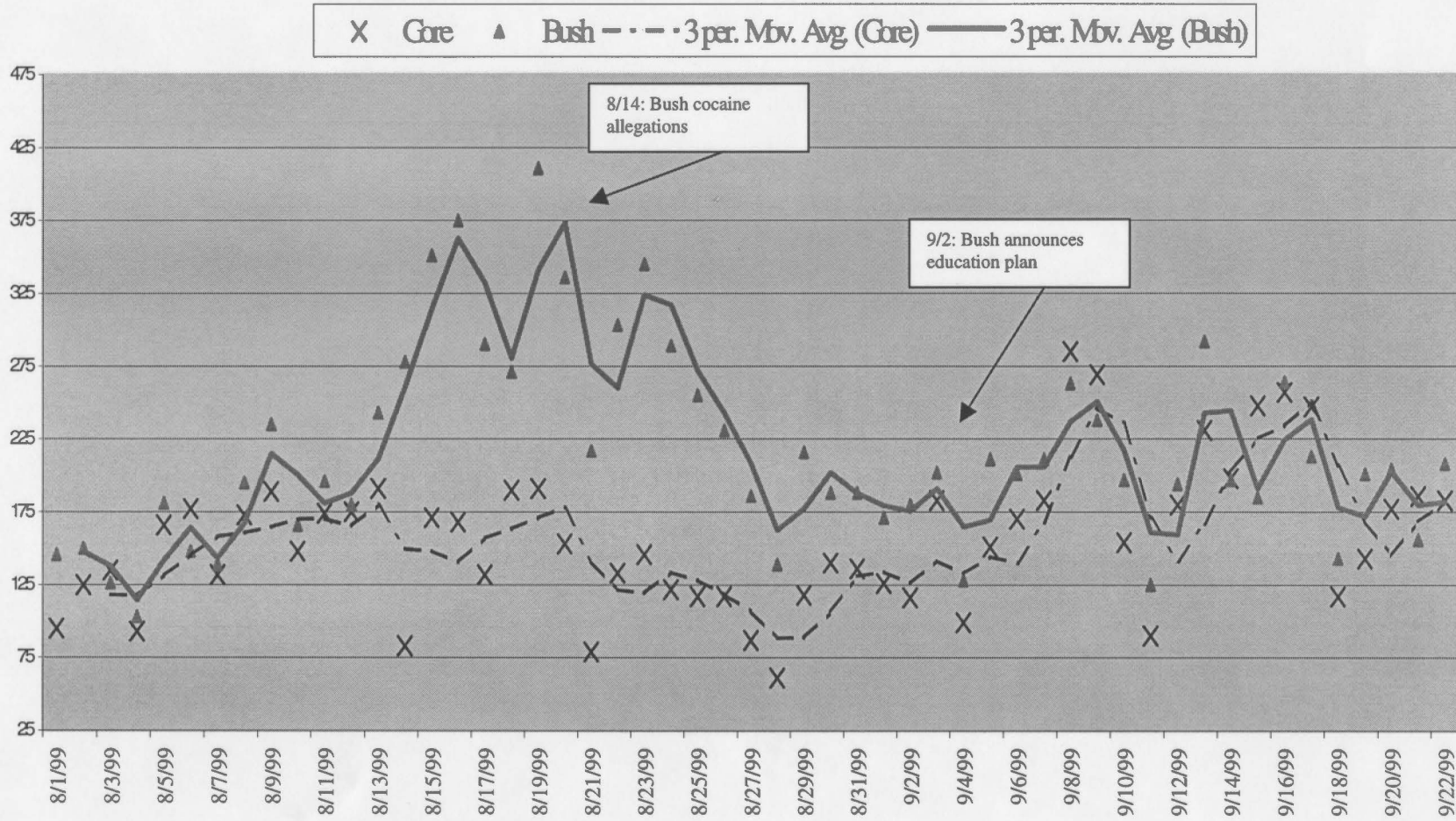
September, 1999 GWB \$ Contribution by State vs. 1992 Bush General Election Vote



*Excludes TX

Figure 1

Market Strategies BushTrender™ (August—September 1999)
Quantity of Coverage: Average daily Nexis hits on George W. Bush and Al Gore
August 1- September 22 test Data Series – Bush and Gore only, does not include other candidates
Search Criteria: English Language US News (includes transcripts, magazines, newspapers, and wire sources)



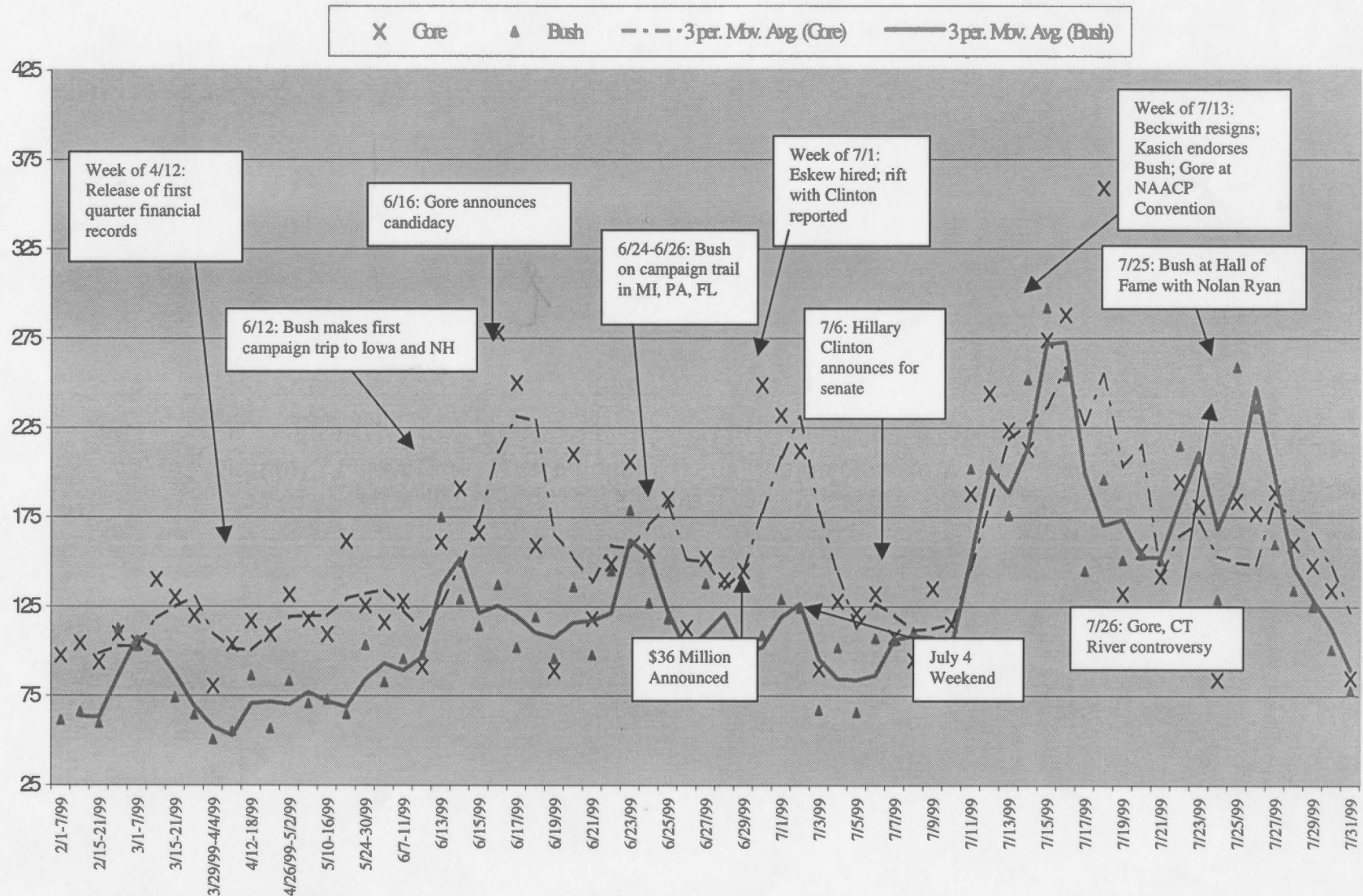
All counts done on daily basis with three day rolling average.

Figure 2

■■■ Market Strategies BushTrender™ (February—July 1999)

Quantity of Coverage: Average daily Nexis hits on George W. Bush and Al Gore

February 1- July 31 test Data Series – Bush and Gore only, does not include other candidates
Search Criteria: English Language US News (includes transcripts, magazines, newspapers, and wire sources)



Feb 1- June 11 counts done on weekly basis, then averaged to per day as indicated by markers. Line is three week rolling average.

From June 12, counts done on daily basis with three day rolling average.

Figure 3

Market Strategies BushTrender™ (February—September 1999)

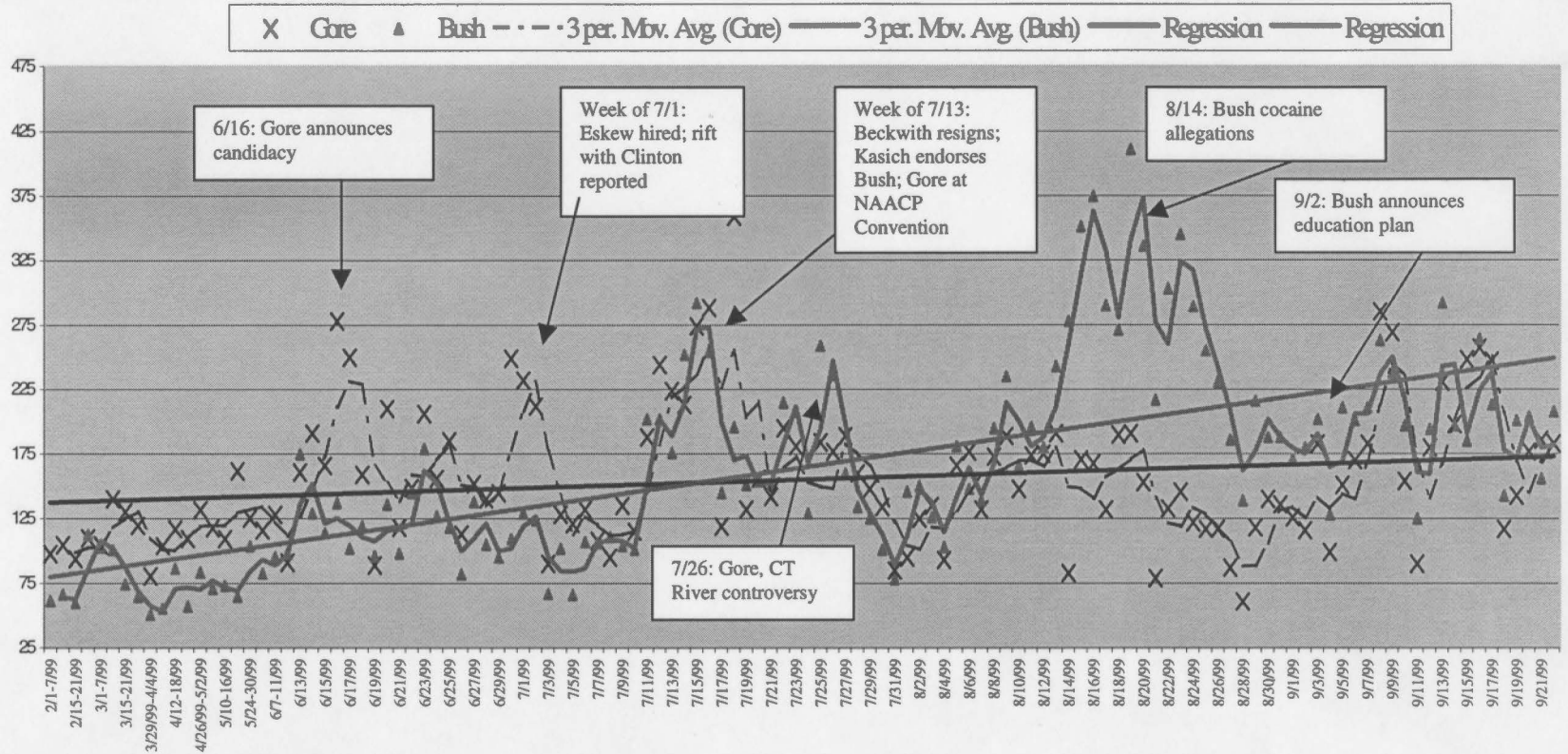
Quantity of Coverage: Average daily Nexis hits on George W. Bush and Al Gore

February 1- September 22 test Data Series - Bush and Gore only, does not include other candidates.

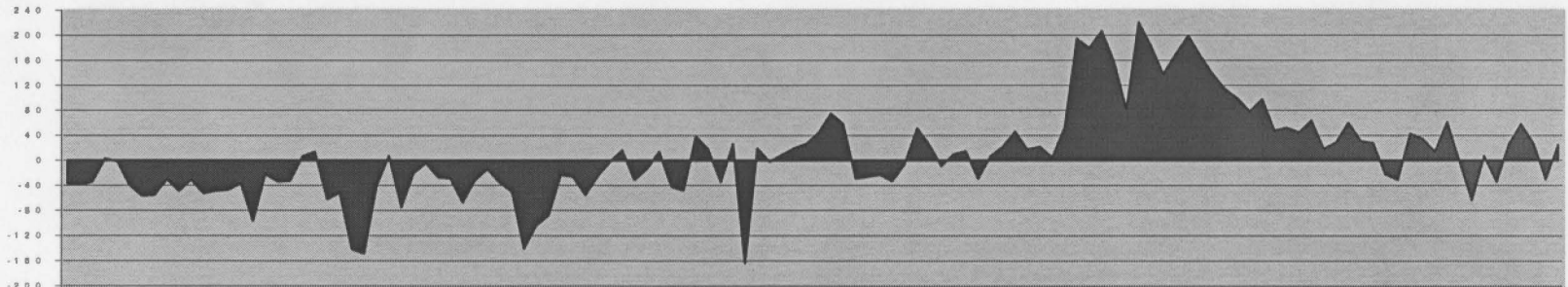
Search Criteria: English Language US News (includes transcripts, magazines, newspapers, and wire sources).

Feb 1- June 11 counts done on weekly basis, then averaged to per day as indicated by markers. Line is three-week rolling average.

From June 12 on, counts done on daily basis with three day rolling average.



Bush - Gore Gap



Date: 9/27/99 9:30 AM
Sender: Will Feltus
To: kr@georgewbush.com
cc: Ekertz@georgewbush.com
bcc: Fred Steeper
Priority: Normal
Subject: Updated News Coverage Counts -- Bushtrender

9-27BushTrenderCo
mbined.doc

Memorandum

From: Will Feltus
Date: September 27, 1999
RE: Bush News Coverage Trends
Feb-Sept. 1999

Each day Market Strategies does a national news "hit count" on Nexis for George W. Bush, Al Gore, Bill Bradley, John McCain, Elizabeth Dole, and Steve Forbes. This measures the volume of news received by each candidate. The attached graphs chart the trends.

Figure 1 – Drug Stories

Coverage of the drug story peaked around August 19 at approximately 425 hits. This compares to a previous high of 275 hits in mid-July around the time of the Kasich endorsement and Beckwith resignation (figure 2.) The average daily Bush hits is 86 for the entire February-September period.

Bad news has longer legs. The graph shows the story had legs about ten days long. Other upward spikes for Bush have tended to last only five days.

Good news is harder to make. Note that there was no upward news spike associated with the Governor's education speech.

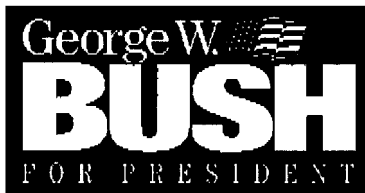
Figure 3 – Bush-Gore Gap

Largely because of the drug coverage, overall news volume on Bush has been increasing over the year while coverage of Gore has been flat. Gore tended to win the weekly wars before mid-summer. Since then --excluding the two weeks of the cocaine story -- the week to week gaps have narrowed, with Bush and Gore each winning about six weeks.

Decision on Future Bushtrender Reports

We need to determine if Austin would like to start getting these on a regular basis, and how much of it should be produced at MSI and how much in Austin. Volunteers could do the Nexis counts, but MSI would need to run the charts.

We can also produce reports for the other three leading Republicans and for Bradley. Finally, we can start adding poll trend data to see what relationships, if any, there are between quantity of coverage, vote intention, and favorable/unfavorable perceptions of the candidates.



September 15, 1999

MEMO

TO: Governor
Joe
Karen

FROM: Karl Rove

Matthew Dowd's memo says Dole dropped in the polls before Forbes went on the attack.

While Forbes' negative ads may have made it difficult for Dole to recover by driving up Dole's negatives, the Forbes ad blitz was not the cause of Dole's decline.

www.GeorgeWBush.com

Post Office Box 1902, Austin, Texas 78767-1902 OFFICE 512-637-2000 FAX 512-637-8800

Paid for by Bush for President, Inc.

TO: Karl Rove

FR: Matthew Dowd

RE: 1995/1996 Iowa Picture

I have attached a graph showing polling data from the Iowa caucus campaign in 1995 and 1996. Some interesting conclusions:

1. Dole started dropping in polls long before Forbes went on the air. In May 1995, Dole was at nearly 60% in Iowa polls, by the end of September, 1995, Dole had fallen to below 30%. Forbes did not go on the air in Iowa until around September 24 with positive ads.
2. Forbes climbed in Iowa polls as he ran positive spots. From the end of September until the beginning of January, Forbes ran positive spots (totaling around 5,000 GRPs) and went from basically 0% to 18%. Dole at this same time basically didn't move in polls from end of September until election day.
3. Forbes started his negative ads around January 2, 1996 and ran around 4000 GRPs. He was also running positive ads at a total of 5000 GRPs through election day at same time. Dole started his positive spots around January 2nd and then started negative ads on January 8th. He ran 3000 GRPs of negative and 3800 of positive through election day.
4. Forbes didn't move in polls after he started negative spots and in some polls he dropped. On election day he ended up with right at 10% of vote --- a drop from his high point of 18% in the polls in mid- January.
5. Dole ended up with around 26% of the vote on election day, almost exactly what he polled the end of September. His media didn't move numbers at all. Part of the problem may be that he didn't let many points get behind any one spot.
6. It looks as if the only beneficiaries of Dole's and Forbes' negative ads were Buchanan and Alexander. They both rose in polls as ad war went on.

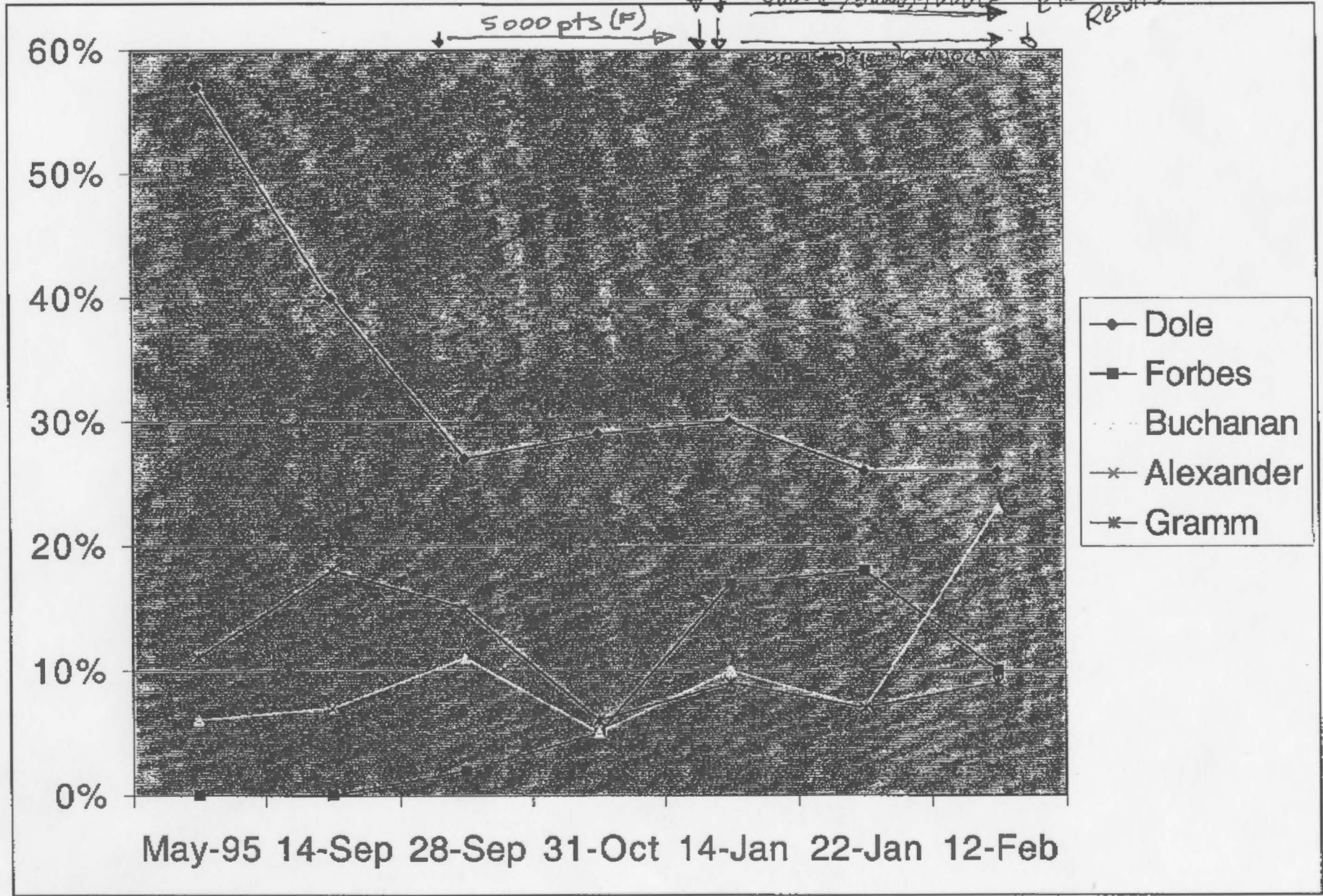
Forbes Ads Start (Positive) (9/24)

Forbes Neg Ads positive

Dole 1/2

Dole Negative 1/8

Electio Results



Iowa 95/96

Lotus cc:Mail for Fred Steeper

Date: 7/7/99 10:14 AM

Sender: "Matthew Dowd" <matthew@maverick-media.net>

To: Fred Steeper

cc: Karl Rove <KR@georgewbush.com>; Jan van Lohuizen <jrvanlo@ibm.net>;
Mark McKinnon <mark@maverick-media.net>; Stuart Stevens
<stuartps@aol.com>

Priority: Normal

Subject: Recent research

That research you sent down conducted for RNC was interesting.

A couple of

interesting side notes. I took a look just at swing voters and
the research

shows some differences from overall numbers (excluding GOP and
Dem base
votes)

1. On Right direction/wrong track question, even though overall
it is
46/47, swing voters are 53/40 thus they are more optimistic.

2. On congressional candidate voting, though R is behind D
overall by 6,
among swings R is behind D by 13.

3. Gore's favorability and how far he is behind Bush is roughly
same among
swings as overall.

4. On Gore saying he would continue Clinton policies, overall it
was 38 more
likely, 50 less likely, among swings it is 37 more and 48 less.
About the
same, and thus this isn't being pushed primarily by partisan
voters. Very
troublesome for Gore especially in how he has positioned
himself. This
number nearly matches what the head to head numbers.

5. On characteristics describing Gore, Swings say Gore has
Right
experience (69 to 25); Swings say he favors liberal policies 54
to 30 (this
also works very well with GOP voters), and on being strong
leader it is 38
to 53 among swings. On environmental extremist issue, among
swings only 28%
say it describes and 55% say it doesn't. Also, on questionable
integrity,
only 24% say it describes among swings, and 71% say it doesn't.
Thus it
looks like best place from this polling to wedge Gore among
swings is on
leadership and certain liberal issues, not environmental
extremism or
integrity, or experience.

That's all, and keep the research coming.

Lotus cc:Mail for Fred Steeper

Date: 7/6/99 11:50 AM
Sender: "Jan van Lohuizen" <jrvanlo@ibm.net>
To: "Mark McKinnon" <mark@maverick-media.net>
cc: "Karl Rove" <kr@georgewbush.com>; Fred Steeper
Priority: Normal
Subject: comments on ad strategy

These are my comments / suggestions.

1. I think that by the time we hit the airwaves most voters will have formed an opinion of GWB, based on the earned media.

IF that opinion is positive, than advertising serves two functions a) providing filler / detail on issues and b) providing defense / counter to likely attacks

IF that opinion is not positive, we can't estimate at this time what our problems will be and we can only set aside studio time in late november and place our buy. We can't script.

2. I think that at this point we have created a largely positive image of GWB through earned media and that that will continue to be the case. I believe that in very large part this has been due to great visuals and the fact that he is just plain good at it. I completely agree that we need to focus press attention between now and paid airtime away from process stories -- hard to do as that may be -- and focus on issue stories. For every fundraiser we need to have a visual at a school, factory, farm, etc. Since the compassionate in CC got us here (who knows actually, this is an assumption) we need compassionate visuals (tough love sites). But however, this portion of the strategy, whatever we decide is as important as or more important than December / January ad strategy, because at that time a lot of people have already locked in on what kind of a guy GWB is. In other words ads are as much tactical as strategic, earned media is strategic more than tactical. GWB is probably the only candidate for whom this is the case.

3. This leaves a big hole: issues and record. A lot of what we need to say will have to be assuring people that he's tough on taxes and has a record of cutting taxes, and other issue pitches like that. To me the key pitches are compassionate conservatism (because it is what makes us truly different from the other guys), and two others (because that's all we'll have inventory for. In my book these are taxes and education. We need to say where we are and what we've done on these two. The message is: conservatives are going to like his issues. Everybody else is going to think he's a governor with a good record, who will make for a good president.

This puts me pretty close to where your memo is. Here are where I see the differences, based on my reading of your memo:

Not there: A specific spot on taxes / tax record is missing. Forbes is already attacking here, it is a litmus issue to many primary voters. We need to grab a strong high ground.

#1 "new leadership" i place less emphasis on this than you do: i think earned media will probably have already done that. More generally, by the time we're on the air we're past any 'intro' ads.

The campaign now needs to develop a "push" communications capability. Thus far, the "pull" of GWB's candidacy has been sufficient. Necessary push systems include:

- A cross-state, cross-market targeting database of past election results, demographics, recent polling data, etc. to drive strategic decisions about resource allocation, scheduling, media planning, and communications initiatives.
- A within-market database of individual media outlets organized in a contact/sales management software program (e.g., Act). This would be a smart media list, with staff adding and updating as they are contacted by or contact media. The database and lists pulled from it would drive broadcast fax, e-mail, radio actuality and video communications with media outlets.
- Radio news services, including a dial-in Bush Newsline with state specific, timely news bites. This would also be available on the web. The dial-in system would be augmented by a dial-out program of feeding news actualities to individual stations and news networks. Radio services would also book spokespeople/surrogates on news/talk radio programs.
- Digital still-photo press-releases to local daily and weekly newspapers with ready to print photographs of locals meeting GWB. These would be e-mailed/mailed to papers, and posted on relevant GWB websites.
- Television services, including live and live-to-tape interviews for use on satellite links and on the wbsite.
- New tracking services including, in the simplest form, the BushTracker, and a more quantitative trend analysis of the amount and type of coverage received by GWB and other candidates.

- Communications and political intelligence feedback from Bush supporters collected via daily e-mail surveys reporting on developments in their local communities/media markets.

Lotus cc:Mail for fsteeper

Date: 6/1/99 2:04 PM

Sender: "Mark McKinnon" <mmckinnon@pstrategies.com>

To: Karl Rove <KR@rove.com>; Stuart Stevens <stuartPS@aol.com>; Russ Schriefer <RSchriefer@aol.com>; Lionel Sosa <Lionel@garciaalks.com>; Kathy Sosa <kathy@garciaalks.com>; "Luis A. Garcia" <Luis@garciaalks.com>; Mike Gerson <mgeron@georgewbush.com>; Karen Hughes <karen@georgewbush.com>

cc: Fred Steeper

Priority: Normal

Subject: <no subject>

The following is a fundamental observation from from Steeper

(Note: Al

Gore has figured this out and is tacking furiously in our moral/faith

direction. From USA Today, today, "The purpose of life is to glorify God.

I turn to my faith as the bedrock of my approach to any important question in my life." -- Al Gore:)

There is a lot of academic research demonstrating that our presidential elections are 20% prospective and 80% retrospective. (The percentages are mine to state the bottom line of this research.) Johnson's Vietnam War begot Nixon, Nixon's Watergate blunder begot Carter, Carter's screw-ups begot Reagan, Reagan's peace and prosperity begot Bush, the 1991 recession and Bush's perceived indifference begot Clinton, and the country's "moral decay" coupled with Clinton's moral laxity will beget George W. Bush. That is a simplification, of course, but it is essentially true of our past elections. There is a very good reason for it. Voters know with certainty what has recently happened, and they deeply discount what candidates say will happen if they are elected. The voters may be uninformed, but they are not fools.

Now, consider the following data from a recent national survey:

Thinking about the state of the COUNTRY'S ECONOMY, do you feel things are generally going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten off on the wrong track?

71% Right direction
23 Wrong track
6 No opinion

Thinking about the state of the COUNTRY'S MORALS AND VALUES, do you feel

things are generally going in the right direction, or do you
feel things
have gotten off on the wrong track?

20% Right direction
74 Wrong track
7 No opinion

I think these are the two most important survey results I could
possibly
present the campaign. The 2000 campaign will revolve around
which
perception the voters use to make their retrospective judgment
about who
should be President. If we don't address the morality issue in
a major way,
we will have missed the most certain way to elect the Governor,
President.

Lotus cc:Mail for fsteeper

Date: 5/31/99 8:30 AM

Sender: "Mark McKinnon" <mmckinnon@pstrategies.com>

To: Jan van Lohuizen <jrvanlo@ibm.net>; karl rove <kr@rove.com>; Fred Steeper

Priority: Normal

Subject: Re: Fwd:Fitting Forbes for Oval Office Falls to Adman

I would have to guess that not being political is his excuse for articulating the entire ad strategy and weaknesses of his candidate on the front page of the New York Times. I just can't imagine that the interview authorized by the campaign. Or else the rest of the campaign team is not as smart as they're professed to be.

The interesting thing about their acknowledged gambit, is that by spending \$10m on the tube and mailing 3m pieces now, the onus is now on them big time to show significant movement by the end of the summer. And it they don't show much progress, which I really don't think they will, they will be in rough "spin" waters come September.

I'm pretty sure about the numbers not moving much. I'm absolutely sure that they won't raise much money through the mail. And then we will recall that Forbes' press secretary claimed the amount of money he raises through the mail will be a testament to the size of his ideas.

>From: "Jan van Lohuizen" <jrvanlo@ibm.net>
>To: "Karl Rove" <kr@rove.com>, "fred steeper" <fred_steeper@marketstrategies.com>, "Mark McKinnon" <mmckinnon@pstrategies.com>
>Subject: Fwd:Fitting Forbes for Oval Office Falls to Adman
>Date: Sun, May 30, 1999, 10:18 PM
>

>
>This Eisener guy did the ads for whatsit who ran for the senate in wisconsin
>against Feingold last fall. Positives were pretty good. Heavily relied on humour
>to attack, some, but not nearly all, of which was pretty effective. Creative
>and 'adsy' but not all that 'political'. Pretty good though. If you wish, I can
>probably get a reel of the ads he did for us to look at.
>
>Lemmeknow.

>
>Jan.

>_____ Forward Header _____

>Subject: Fitting Forbes for Oval Office Falls to Adman

>Author: John Grotta

>Date: 5/30/99 1:14 PM

>

Lotus cc:Mail for fsteeper

Date: 5/31/99 12:34 PM

Sender: <StuartPS@aol.com>

To: mmckinnon@pstrategies.com (Mark McKinnon); jrvanlo@ibm.net (Jan van Lohuizen); Fred Steeper; karl@georgewbush.com

Priority: Normal

Subject: Thoughts on Forbes Times piece

A few thoughts on the recent Berke piece on Forbes:

-By deciding to place Forbes in a faux White House setting, they have signaled the direction of their positive ads. Clearly it seems they intend to use their positives to reduce the "credibility" gap of Steve Forbes as President. No one can imagine this guy as President, so they will make it easier for us -- place him on a set.

In my opinion, this is a huge mistake and entirely the wrong way to go with Forbes. The man's appeal, such that he had any, was as an amiable geek, a little fresh air in a bunch of self-serious pompous politicians. That's how you should sell him -- the Geek Triumphant. Instead, they expose him as just a rich guy playing at being President. My bet is that this was a classic example of an ad guy playing to a client's ego. No doubt Forbes loved this approach. "See, that's the real me. I'm a President!"

-These ads only increase the likelihood that Forbes will go negative early. This kind of dull fare is unlikely to capture anyone's imagination. He will get something of a bump, stall quickly, and go for the knife. I see no reason why we shouldn't assume that it will be his goal to lay down something of a positive base then attack us before we run any positive ads, trying to throw us on the defensive from the beginning.

-These ads are illustrious of Forbes' deep desire and need to be taken seriously. As was his incredibly revealing remark comparing himself to Reagan and the assertion that through his PAC he has had more impact than "those who held formal office."

My instinct is that Forbes' greatest fear -- and rightly so -- is not being taken seriously. He's afraid people will laugh at him. We should explore exploiting this weakness in defending ourselves against his attacks. Let's not forget that this is a man who called his own quest for the Presidency "an

expensive mid-life crisis." A man who cited "day camp" as one of his major character building experiences.

The Dole campaign insisted on attacking Forbes' head-on, going after his ideas like the flat tax and his lack of experience. They rejected any use of humor or subtle ridicule. I always felt this was a mistake and that by taking Forbes so dead seriously, we only encouraged everyone else to do the same. Supposedly the Forbes camp was delighted when the Dole campaign went after Forbes "ideas" rather than the essence of Forbes himself, and the basic wackiness of Forbes as President. Let's test the effectiveness of some funny jabs.

-In all likelihood, there is an element in the Forbes camp that is unhappy with this piece, particularly the focus on Eisner, the ad guy. We ought to try and pump a little air in that balloon by letting it be known that we thought it was a terrible piece for Forbes. After all, here is a guy comparing getting people to eat fish sticks and voting for Forbes. The difference is that some people actually like fish sticks. If word gets back to the Forbes camp that the Bush camp was snickering at that piece, it may help those in the Forbes campaign who resent Eisner taking such a high profile. Any internal strife in the Forbes camp can only help us.

-It seems the media wants to give Forbes credit for his efforts to re-make himself as a cultural conservative. Personally, I think this is a huge mistake for Forbes and one we can use to our advantage. By attempting to become something he is not, Forbes becomes just another politician, trying to bend to the whims of the political marketplace. Anything we can do to make Forbes work harder to lure cultural conservatives will keep him off the only legitimate message he has -- a lower taxes, pro-growth message. Businessman Steve Forbes actually might have some standing to speak on economic issues and it is an appealing message to a certain element of the party. As long as Forbes is off that message and on the cultural conservative message, he will not get any traction. Any marbles we can roll under his feet will pay off

nicely.

-It appears that Forbes is trying to make us the rich guy in the race. Hence their comment that they will be competitive to what we spend. We should be careful to always throw this back in their face. It is because Forbes is in the race, that Bush has to raise and spend a huge amount of money. He is Ritchie Rich, not us.

-Finally, it would be great if we could use this piece to generate other op-ed pieces from friendly sources deploring Forbes' clear intention to go negative in a big way. Any pieces we could prompt along the lines of "Uh oh, here he goes again," would be helpful in creating the environment that makes it easier for us to turn this against him at the proper moment. Particularly useful would be pieces in Iowa, New Hampshire and Arizona, the states that bore the brunt of his huge negative campaign.