

GREENBERG
RESEARCH
INC



515 SECOND STREET NE
WASHINGTON DC 20002
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FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL FORM

Date 11/4

Number of pages (excluding transmittal form) 2

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<u>ROBERT RUBIN</u>		<u>456-2878</u>	
<u>SANDY BURGESS</u>		<u>456-2873</u>	
<u>CAROL RASCO</u>		<u>456-2878</u>	
<u>PAUL BEGALA</u>		<u>546-1490</u>	

From:

NAME: STAN GREENBURG

Greenberg Research Fax# (202) 544-7020

NOTES

Agenda for Nov. 6 (Saturday) meeting.

Please call (202) 547-5200, if you do not receive entire document or have any trouble receiving this transmittal.

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WASHINGTON DC 20002
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MEMORANDUM

TO: Mack McLarty
David Gergen
George Stephanopoulos
Mark Gearan
Roy Neel
Maggie Williams
Robert Rubin
Sandy Berger
Carol Rasco
David Wilhelm
Mandy Grunwald
Paul Begala

FROM: Cristina Yablonsky, for Stan Greenberg

DATE: November 3, 1993

RE: Further details for Saturday, November 6 event.

Enclosed is the agenda for this Saturday's series of discussions on the Clinton presidency.

The location of the meeting is the ninth floor conference center of the Public Securities Association, 1445 New York Avenue, NW, in the Crestar Bank building. Since the facade of the building is being restored, please use the New York Avenue entrance near the middle of the block, between 14th and 15th streets. The meeting will begin at 8:30 am with a continental breakfast. Please review the agenda for the rest of the day's schedule.

If you have any questions, please call me at 202-547-5200.

THE CLINTON PRESIDENCY

Registration and Continental Breakfast (8:30-9:00)

Introductions (9:00-9:15)

David Wilhelm, Chairman, DNC
 Mack McLarty, Chief-of-Staff

The Character of the Clinton Presidency (9:15-10:15)

Chair: Stanley B. Greenberg, President's Pollster

Observations: academic participants, 5 minutes each

Alan Brinkley	David Mayhew
Michael Sandel	Richard Neustadt
William Julius Wilson	John Mollenkopf
Theda Skocpol	Robert Kuttner
Kristin Luker	Samuel Popkin
Charles Hamilton	Samuel Huntington
Roger Noll	

Coffee Break (10:15-10:30)

Open Discussion (10:30-11:45)

Lunch (11:45-12:30)

The Clinton Era

Session One: The President and a Changing Society

(12:30-1:45)

• Theda Skocpol	• Kristin Luker
• Charles Hamilton	• Alan Brinkley

Session Two: The President and a Changing Politics

(1:45-2:45)

• John Mollenkopf	• Samuel Popkin
• William Julius Wilson	David Mayhew
"Bill"	• Michael Sandel

Coffee Break (2:45-3:00)

Session Three: The President and a Changing World

(3:00-4:00)

Roger Noll	Robert Kuttner
Richard Neustadt	Samuel Huntington

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 8, 1993

Stan Greenberg
Greenberg Research, Inc.
515 Second Street, N.E.
Washington, DC 20002

Dear Stan:

Thank you for what very definitely was the most productive day I have spent since going to work here. The dialogue was extremely beneficial, and in visiting with a number of the panelists during lunch, breaks and following the meeting I have lined up some of them to come and visit with the Domestic Policy Council staff on topics we are exploring.

Thanks again!

Sincerely,



Carol H. Rasco
Assistant to the President for
Domestic Policy

CHR:ram

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 8, 1993

Cristina Yablonsky
Greenberg Research, Inc.
515 Second Street, N.E.
Washington, DC 20002

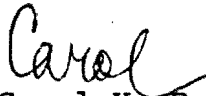
Dear Cris:

You did a superb job of setting up a terrific meeting! It is so nice to attend a meeting to which all details are so well attended.

As we discussed briefly, I would appreciate a list of the panelists with addresses and phone numbers. Several of them have agreed to come visit with my staff on a trip to DC, and I promised I would contact them to discuss details. Incidentally, Bill Wilson told me to be sure to use his "Center" address.

Many thanks and congratulations again on a fine meeting.

Sincerely,



Carol H. Rasco
Assistant to the President for
Domestic Policy

CHR:ram

R (Bob) K

* Charlotte speech

Can't just say "I feel your pain" & then not do anything about it.

Use the Press: unique gift as teacher

Can't put cultural chg. before delivering econ. jobs
(gay rights early on)

Sam Popkin

Should I buy a Honda made in Ohio or a Ford made in Mexico?

Must have foreign principles to articulate, must show

S Huntington - Threats to security
① Economy
② Pot. of reemergence of big(-) power
③ Regional East (East Asia [Korea])

Central imp. of Economy

Fear / Greed / Hope > Nixon says these are 3 things that motivate people

Sheda

- ① Restructuring of economy
- ② B/W race relations in US
+ & -
- ③ US Family Structure

Overlay over this the lack of civic trust

WR - don't discuss in terms of WR BUT in terms of work & social supports for low wage & working payments
Don't worry about beltway attitudes toward health reform - continue to

CH (cont'd)

60 yr. deracialization history - don't forget it!

RNoH

In times of budget constraints it is tempting to do things
by rules/reg/mandates

- ① Cynicism about govt ~~is~~ due to diminution of services
(pub. ed., shorter hrs. of libraries, highways in
poor shape)
- ② So to replace above ① the govt is becoming more
intrusive in daily life.

DM

In Dem. Pres. / Dem. Congress we've come to over-exploit
Shouldn't use this ~~kind~~ of overexpectation to judge.
By 2nd yr. Dem. Pres. lose Domestic Agenda

RNeustadt

Prof. reputation ^{in US & abroad} we made a bad start, he's a guy w/out discipline
We must restrict our agenda can be called; distracted
" " demonstrate other side
We need discipline in expenditure of Pres. words / appearances
Consistency / restraint → must instill these in him.

JM

Pres: Eco. restructuring which constrains
growing inequality, ~~the~~ - urban poor
Pol. institutions in disregard by people

① App avail.: St. of Union
Moral leader.

Gayist ^{social} policies to support modern family

Government

Metaphor -

from mainframe to PC ←

" bank to machine ←

decentralization

How do we ↑ & yet give more choices

How do we reinforce people in their own lives, decisions
about their own directions?

Political reform - don't abandon

We must recognize diff. betw. US/USSR competition
of past & econ. comp. we are now in.

In the latter there is a way
for all to win as @ does
better.

SP

① As late as '84 most Amer. felt the next gen. would do better than the present

Now → 1 in 4 feel ~~there~~ kids will be worse off
Over 1/2

② Most college students now care more about "green" than poor

③ Growth in tolerance, not legitimacy in race/ethnic/etc. differences

@Security Themes

Cultural diversity

@Health Care

Don't talk about explicitly but in - illustrating @ & @

SM

Aggs 15-65 Black males in NY not at work; more among Puerto Ricans > WORK

Quality of life - neighborhood empowerment
Desegregate urban/suburban split

MS

Sense of community

KL

86% of black children born out of wedlock
We need to be more aggressive toward child assurance than CSE + actual child assurance
Paternity establishment

Chas. Hamilton - go all out on health & education

AB

Pervasive cynicism, despair about politics/govt.

Just as imp. as defending leg. agenda ~~is~~ is defending the political system

⊕ Speak honestly

We're in crisis of political legitimacy

MS

Great strength of BC = Masterful grasp of dom. policy

Will this strength keep him from articulating clearly

What this presidency is about -

Must articulate clarity of purpose

WSW

Urban poverty

Program of jobs

New social rights

New Public Rhetoric

① Prog. must target not only poor but working & middle class

② Emp^{on} integrative programs

KL

3 yrs - Sex, religion, politics

Are we in process of rebuilding a ship at sea

Need concrete, symbolic gestures

Fed. govt. → family friendly policies (2 days a yr. to go to child's school)

Take stand on TV violence

Adoption - press for model laws

People hunger for moral discourse

Out of wedlock births

Many problems transcend individuals

CH

Race - treat as in campaign - play it down - make it clear we don't go w/ two agendas - talk about social policy not race

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FAX TRANSMITTAL FORM

DATE: 11/3

NUMBER OF PAGES (excluding cover page): 4

TO: NAME: Carol Rescu

Phone Number: _____

FAX Number: 456-2878 249 (project #)

FROM: NAME: Stan Greenberg

Greenberg Research Fax # (202) 544-7020

NOTES

For Nov. 6 cont.

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Chris 547-5200

515 SECOND STREET NE
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DATE: November 3, 1993

TO: President Bill Clinton
Vice-President Al Gore
Hillary Rodham Clinton
Mack McLarty
George Stephanopoulos
David Gergen
Mark Gearan
Roy Neel
Maggie Williams
Robert Rubin
Anthony Lake
Carol Rasco
James Carville
Mandy Grunwald
Paul Begala
David Wilhelm

FROM: Stan Greenberg

*Crestar Bank Conf. Ctr.
1445 New York Ave.
9th Floor*

RE: RETREAT ON THE CLINTON PRESIDENCY

As some of you know, I have been charged with organizing a small all-day session with prominent academics and observers to help gain perspective on our work. Hopefully, your calendars are already marked, but we have reserved Saturday, November 6th for the formal session, which will run from 8:30 to 4. I have enclosed a brief agenda.

We have organized these sessions to help us gain some perspective on the work of the president. As you can imagine, there has not been a lot of time to step back to assess this political juncture, the character of this era and the emerging character of the Clinton presidency. We are looking for independent insights, informed by a sense of history and political economy.

It is our intention to keep this meeting small and informal, perhaps 25 participants, allowing an open exchange of ideas. The academic and outside participants include:

Alan Brinkley, History, Columbia University
studies 20th century American history; author of *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin and the Great Depression*.



- David Mayhew**, Political Science, Yale University
studies Congress and political parties; books include *Divided We Govern* and *Congress, the Electoral Connection*.
- Michael Sandel**, Government, Harvard University
studies the changing nature of liberalism; books include *Liberalism and its Critics* and *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*.
- Richard Neustadt**, Kennedy School, Harvard University
studies the presidency: author of *Presidential Power, Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents* and *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision Making*.
- William Julius Wilson**, Sociology and Public Policy, University of Chicago
studies race, inequality and inner cities; books include *The Truly Disadvantaged: the Inner City, the Underclass and Public Policy*, *Power, Racism and Privilege* and *The Declining Significance of Race*.
- John Mollenkopf**, Politics, City University of New York
studies finance, race and politics in modern American cities; books include *The Contested City* and *Dual City: Restructuring New York*.
- Theda Skocpol**, Sociology, Harvard University
studies the origins of the modern welfare state; author of *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*, *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States* and *States and Social Revolutions*.
- Robert Kuttner**, economist and editor of American Prospect
studies the politics of economic policy; author of *The End of Laissez-Faire: National Purpose and the Global Economy after the Cold War*, *The Economic Illusion: False Choices Between Prosperity and Social Justice*, and *Revolt of the Haves*.
- Kristin Luker**, Sociology and Women's Studies, Princeton
studies the relation between social issues, religion and gender; her books include *Taking Chances* and *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*.
- Samuel Popkin**, Political Science, University of CA, San Diego
studies voting and public opinion, and U.S. intervention; books includes *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns*, *Chief of Staff: Twenty-five Years of Managing the Presidency*.



Charles Hamilton, Political Science, Columbia University

studies race and politics; author of *Adam Clayton Powell: The Political Biography of an American Dilemma*, *The Black Preacher in America*, and *The Black Experience in American Politics*

Samuel Huntington, Government, Harvard University

studies civil-military relations, American government and defense policy, and political change in less developed countries; his books include *The Soldier and the State*, *The Dilemma of American Ideals and Institutions*, *The Crisis of Democracy*, and *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20th Century*.

Roger Noll, Economics, Stanford University.

studies regulatory policy and congressional politics; author of *The Political Economy of Deregulation*, *Reforming Regulation* and *Comparative Economic and Political Issues: Japan and the US*.

The invited party and administration participants are listed above. I do not presume that the First Family and Vice-President will attend, though they are certainly welcome. I think everyone else will find the day immensely helpful. We really have brought together an extraordinary range of academics with perspective on the presidency.

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