

MEMORANDUM FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

From: Campaign Senior Staff
Date: July 25, 2015
RE: Strategy memo for primary campaign

Over the last two weekends, the campaign's senior staff, along with our consultants, held two daylong strategy discussions to map out the direction for the campaign over the coming months. The below memo summarizes the team's ideas for how best to achieve a set of strategic imperatives necessary to capture the Democratic nomination and lay a strong foundation for the general election.

OBJECTIVE

Win the Democratic nomination in a fashion that propels our campaign into the general election by strengthening core attributes of YOU as a person and as a leader.

STRATEGIC IMPERATIVES

This memo lays out the team's plan for achieving the following strategic imperatives:

1. Win Iowa and NH
2. Build a March firewall in Super Tuesday states
 - a. Close the enthusiasm gap with young people, especially women
 - b. Preserve our lead with women, African-Americans, Latinos and APIs
3. Build a strong digital community
4. Build a Super Delegate firewall
5. Cast HRC as a tenacious fighter who will get things done for everyday Americans
 - a. Defend against attacks
 - b. Assess and mitigate vulnerabilities
 - c. Counterattack opposition Republican candidates on issues of tru

1. Win Iowa and New Hampshire

IOWA

Vote Goal/Targeting Strategy

- We are currently organizing around a turnout projection of 120k, which is approximately how many people turned out in the 2004 caucuses. At current enthusiasm levels we anticipate a turnout of much less than 120k, but to protect against a Sanders surge (or other unexpected turnout) we think this is an appropriate number for planning purposes.
- It's very important that we organize our goals around delegates instead of around individual turnout since delegates are what the media will report on election night and they are all that matter for the nominating process. Delegates are currently being assigned to precincts by the state party, so we do not currently have precise goals, but we anticipate having them within the next few weeks. We will have specific precinct-level turnout targets based on how to most efficiently win the most delegates.

CANDIDATE EVENTS

- Our Priority Event formats:
 - **Q&A:** Iowa City was well received and great persuasion format
 - **Day in the Life:** Message focused and supports rural coverage
 - **House Parties:** 80-100 people focused on org building and persuasion
 - **Org-build/Volunteer Events:** Rewarding and energizing regional volunteers
 - **Policy Rollouts/Message Events:** In particular, we will roll out a “rural agenda.”
- Persuasion events will focus on, in addition to population centers, persuasion clusters in mostly “suburban” and “exurban” areas such as:
 - West Des Moines
 - Ames
 - Indianola
 - Grinnell

- Mobilization events will be for generating early excitement and preparing for GOTC in places such as:
 - Polk County
 - Linn County
 - Black Hawk County
 - Scott County

SURROGATE STRATEGY

- We will prioritize surrogate activity that evokes rural values and speaks to targeted constituencies. Event types include:
 - Family Restaurants
 - Office Visits
 - Rural county party events
 - Rural county fairs
 - Constituency “Summits”

EARNED MEDIA

- In addition to earned media from candidate travel, we will seek earned media opportunities that do not involve candidate travel:
 - Use event attendees to pitch localized stories in key markets
 - Radio booking
 - Constituency summits and leadership in targeted markets

NEW HAMPSHIRE

- With current enthusiasm numbers we anticipate turnout to be anywhere between 100k and 220k. Currently we're planning around 150k. Unlike Iowa, right now a dramatic increase in turnout will have less impact on the outcome.
- We anticipate that roughly 30% of the electorate will be independents, a universe where Sanders performs better than among Democrats. We still see a gender gap with Independent women, but it is smaller than with Democratic women. Independent men are our most challenging universe.
- We are currently organizing around a goal of 52 % of the vote, but the actual outcome is much more likely to be under 50 %. This will change completely should O'Malley or another candidate gain traction, or Biden enters the race.

Candidate Events: Priority event formats include:

- Town Halls
- Retail stops/OTRs
- Democratic party functions
- Campaign organizing events
- Major policy speeches
- Campaign-sponsored roundtables
- Campaign-sponsored rallies
- Debates and forums hosted by outside organizations

Surrogate Events: Priority surrogate types:

- **Pro Clinton Messengers:** Speak on why HRC is best candidate
- **Contrast Messengers:** Draw strong contrast to opponents
- **Family Members:** Speak personally about HRC
- **Constituency Validators & Staff:** Validate support for key constituency groups

EARNED MEDIA STRATEGY

- Key targeted regions: Hillsborough, Merrimack, and Rockingham counties followed by Strafford, Cheshire and Grafton Counties. These are home to the largest media outlets, and 17,500 of our soft support targets out of a total of nearly 30,000.
- To earn media coverage in the *Concord Monitor*, *Union Leader*, *Boston Globe*, *Portsmouth Herald*, and *Nashua Telegraph*, we will be more aggressive in pitching them surrogates, organizing activity, and hyper-localizing national announcements for their communities.
- NH's dwindling media landscape doesn't offer as many opportunities as we would like. To increase our earned media presence we will pursue coverage in all outlets, no matter how small or remote. We'll look for opportunities to earn coverage through letters to the editor, local testimonials and other strategies designed to fit smaller outlets.
- The television bleed from the Portland, Burlington, and Boston into N.H. is significant. With a focus on Burlington and Boston TV (because they reach more targeted geographic areas), ahead of major message events we will identify a local elected official who can be pitched for a stand up interview echoing the message out of a major policy address or other message event.

II. BUILD A MARCH FIREWALL

- Looking beyond the early-voting states, the demographics in the Super Tuesday states reinforce the importance of our coalition’s outreach in establishing a March firewall:
 - Ten contests have a Democratic electorate where at least 30% of the vote are non-white voters.
 - Seven states have an electorate where at least 40% of the vote are non-white voters.
 - Five states have an electorate where at least 50% of the vote are non-white.
 - American Samoa, Alabama, Georgia and Texas have a Democratic electorate of at least 60% nonwhite voters.
- We are building an internal infrastructure to preserve our advantage with African-Americans, Latinos and Asian and Pacific Islander voters:
 - We have hired coalition outreach directors that are finalizing coalition outreach plans and will lead working groups within our campaign team to drive and execute those plans.
 - The working groups will integrate all departments — including Communications, Paid Media, Policy, and Digital — into a coordinated plan to reach out to our target constituencies.
 - Plans will include: Grassroots and grasstops list building, organizing events, targeted messaging events, digital programs, earned media strategy, radio etc.
- For each of these key constituencies, we need to pursue specific approaches to consolidate our support:

WOMEN: Our campaign’s level of discipline could right now be an impediment to young women’s enthusiasm. We need to be more deliberate about seeking to stoke enthusiasm among women—especially young women. This will include using digital-based opportunities to “surprise and delight” young, female audiences with content that provides a more personalized window into HRC. This

could include unscripted moments on the road. We're building plans to use women electeds more effectively, particularly women Senators and the leadership of the House Democratic Women's Caucus who have endorsed. We'll use the fall to build support on campuses, particularly around the issues of college affordability, climate and women's reproductive health. We should also lean heavier into the women lane by putting more emphasis on issues of pay equity, family leave, and child care with a strong contrast to Republican candidates.

AFRICAN AMERICAN: We cannot just think of this community in the aftermath of tragic events such as the Charleston shooting or instances of police brutality. Our outreach should be more regular and frequent. We should put HRC in front of this group more often—for instance, by building more Af-Am-related events during our fundraising trips, especially events featuring women. Faith especially is a good connector in this community. We are planning activities around the 50th anniversary of Voting Rights Act, such as participating in a “Day of Action.” We will prioritize more time in and on African-American media and utilize African-American radio more to promote our general policy announcements, and also make our policy experts available to amplify rollouts to Af-Am media outlets. We are also exploring ways to engage more with “black Twitter.”

HISPANIC: There is some disappointment in this community towards Obama and a curiosity about whether HRC will be any different. In our outreach here, it is important to prioritize visuals showing HRC among or with Latino families. Latino voters are heavy users of social media, so we will place a particular emphasis on reaching those voters through social media strategies. We will also seek to reach these voters by looking into paid digital ads on nation-of-origin websites where many Spanish-speaking households get their news.

- Schedule of organizing activities in March Contest states through the end of 2015:

- o **JULY**

- Ballot Access Petition Drives (IN, VA & VT)
- Grassroots Weekend of Action
- Coalition earned media plan drafted
- Finalize congressional engagement plan around August recess

- o **AUGUST**

- Path to Victory plans drafted for March 15th contests
- Establish grassroots “kitchen cabinets”
- Voting Rights Anniversary Amplification including voter registration drives (targeted areas)
- 19th Anniversary Amendment Amplification events
- Campus organizing programs launched

- o **SEPTEMBER**

- Ballot Access Petition Drives (MA, IL & AL)
- Labor Day events community canvassing
- Caucus Organizing meetings
- Grassroots Weekend of Action

- o **OCTOBER**

- Regional caucus coordinators trainings
- Path to Victory plans drafted for Tier 2 caucus states
- Grassroots Weekend of Action
- National House Party Day

- o **NOVEMBER**

- Regional grassroots coordinator organizing summits
- Grassroots Weekend of Action
- Voter registration drives (targeted areas)

- o **DECEMBER**

- 50% caucus coordinators recruited
- Volunteer Appreciation month

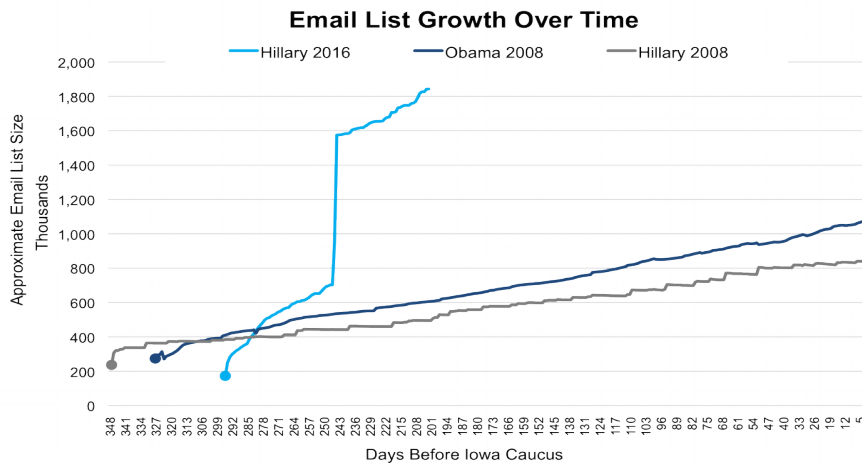
- Early Vote/GOTV plans drafted
- GOTC plans drafted

III. Build our Digital Community

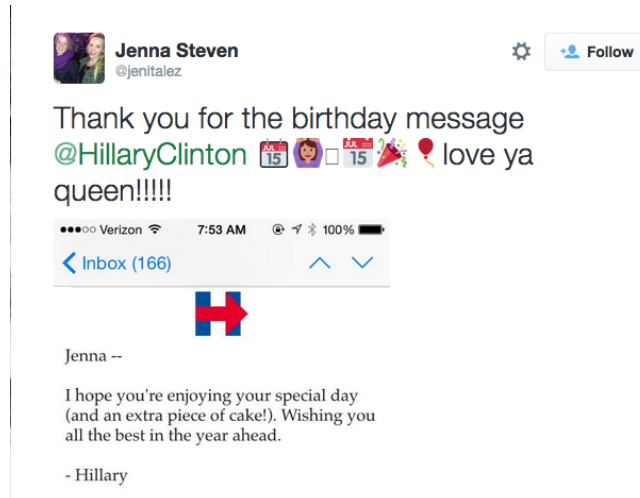
- To date, we have established presences on the following digital platforms:

PLATFORM	FOLLOWING
Facebook	1M Followers
Twitter	3.3M Followers
Instagram	184K Followers
LinkedIn	85K Followers
Pinterest	4400 Followers
Medium	71K Followers
Spotify	5K Followers
Periscope	1K Viewers
SMS	15K Subscribers
Email	1.9M Subscribers

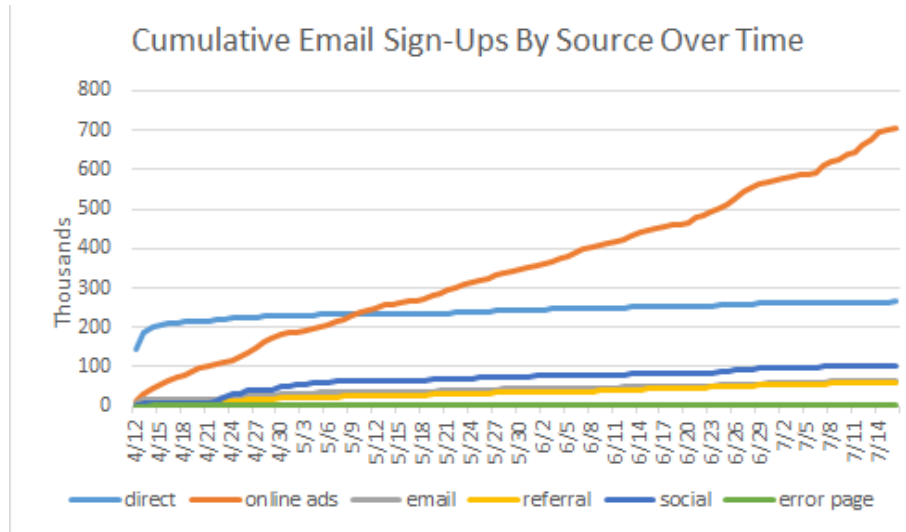
- We experienced the fastest audience growth through SMS that our vendor has ever seen – reaching over 10,000 on launch day.
- Our Pinterest page grew in followers faster than the White House’s when they launched.
- We will continue to grow our followings on these platforms, as well as launch our presence on additional ones, such as Snapchat and WhatsApp in the coming weeks.
- Even subtracting the effect of the acquisition of the Ready for Hillary list, our campaign’s email list growth is outpacing that of both Obama 2008 and Clinton 2008 at this point in the election cycle:



- o “Dinner with Hillary” raised \$257k and spurred 203k sign ups, including 91k new addresses.
- o Birthday cards drove 82k sign ups, 14k new addresses and raised \$39k.



- Paid online ads continue to be the highest-yield method for achieving sign-ups:



- In the coming weeks and months we will be launching two new campaigns:
 - The first will focus on fundraising and specifically converting non-donors to donors as well as increasing the gift amount of current supporters through a membership card drive.
 - The second is launching a new video series where HRC will have conversations with a variety of people ranging from everyday Americans to celebrities. This will allow us the opportunity to create moments where HRC can explain her policy priorities but also allow us to show HRC in a more conversational settings that will allow us to show a more personal side to her - which we have seen our email list and our social followings react very positively to.

IV. BUILD A SUPERDELEGATE FIREWALL

Below is a snapshot of the overall superdelegate universe, and the number of endorsements earned so far:

	Total	Endorsed
Unpledged Delegate Votes	712	330
Governors	19	12
Senate Members	44	35
House Members	194	148
Party Chair	57	19
Party Leader	21	5
DNC Members (exclusively)	377	111

Below is a synopsis of how we will pursue endorsements from the groups of uncommitted superdelegates:

- **Governors:** The campaign is working with Governor Raimondo and Governor McAuliffe to whip the remaining private endorsed or non-endorsed Democratic Governors next week at the National Governors Association Conference.
- **Senators:** Of the 8 U.S. Senators who haven't expressed their support for HRC, privately or publicly, we will rely on our strongest supporters to target non-endorsed Senators.
- **House Members:** For the House Members who haven't told us who are non-endorsers or Members who are private endorsers we are going to enlist our public supporters in the Women's Caucus to assign Members to whip them. Additionally, we will reach out to our strongest supporters and have them begin to contact non-endorsers.

- **Party Leaders:** There are 21 total distinguished party leaders, of which three have been tentatively selected as “whips” – Ed Rendell, Howard Dean, and Walter Mondale. The outreach process for each individual whip will primarily be guided by the relationships they each have with the eighteen other distinguished party leaders.
- **Party Chairs:** Using the Association of State Democratic Chairs (“ASDC”), the campaign will appoint Party Chairs in leadership at the Association. Many of these individuals reached out to other party chairs to get elected to their positions.
- **DNC Members:** An initial kitchen cabinet of 21 members has been assembled. These members have agreed to be part of the campaign’s member-to-member outreach program to contact uncommitted DNC members. We’re also using the summer meeting of the DNC in Minneapolis to get commitments in advance of HRC’s reception for committed delegates.

V. Defend against attacks/Plan Around Vulnerabilities

a. HRC DEFENSE

We are currently facing a barrage of attacks aimed squarely at undermining the most important HRC attributes for voters. Our opponents' goals are to frame her as untrustworthy, lacking an effective record and out of touch with everyday Americans. In order to respond to the volume of attacks, we will use the campaign's resources and voice as well as engage supporters to defend HRC's record and show Republican hypocrisy and vulnerability.

- Generate Enthusiasm with Supporters by Enlisting Their Help:
 - Posting and sharing more fact checks/pushback on The Briefing and via social media to give supporters a place to help push back on attacks.
 - Build more outrage around the volume of attacks and the messengers, including outrage against specific examples of unfair media coverage.
- Building an Army of Defenders:
 - Trainings with top surrogates to go through pushback, key points on HRC's record and how to pivot attacks to the Republicans.
 - Regular calls and emails to share updated points and facts.

With Respect to Specific Attacks:

- **ATTACK: Transparency/Playing by Their Own Rules:** These attacks include emails, Clinton Foundation donors, tax and other records.
 - As with email Q&A, post an exhaustive Q&A and/or fact checks on other transparency issues
 - Release 2014 taxes, along with previous years—touting unprecedented transparency on records amongst 2016 candidates.
 - Early release of health records

- Develop plans using outside voices, groups and the campaign to undermine and destroy the credibility of Gowdy's Benghazi investigation before HRC's appearance in October. Tactics can include briefing editors on the facts, calculator on time and money spent, reports from outside groups, opeds and blanketing of TV with surrogates.
- **ATTACK: Ineffective/No Record of Accomplishments:** These attacks include criticism of HRC's record at State, doubts cast on her ability to get anything done or pass legislation in the Senate.
 - We have already posted her record of accomplishments at State as well as GOP praise on The Briefing and shared with surrogates. Will continue to update and provide resources on key areas as HRC does policy speeches to demonstrate a long record of work on each issue.
 - Develop an A-list surrogate team of former diplomats, military leaders, and foreign policy experts to tell HRC's story.
 - Use Iran as a case study for both her accomplishments and the political process story on our turning their attack into a positive. This could include an oped on the case for Iran, stories around how she started this whole process, activating key diplomatic voices on TV and in other outlets to show her work.
 - Get out of the defensive crouch, and tell the real story of the accomplishments of the Clinton Foundation. Use the occasion of September CGI and HRC's visit to share stories, accomplishments, and push out voices who have experienced the work on the ground.
- **ATTACK: Wealth/Pay-to-Play:** Continue to thoroughly debunk the pay-to-play stories through fact-checking on the Briefing and through work of CTR and other allies. These attacks are based on alleged attempts to enrich the family's income via Clinton Foundation, State Department position, etc.
 - Continue to use HRC's bio and story to emphasize her life-long work as a tenacious fighter for children and families.

- o Encourage further fact-checks and selectively highlight bad reporting on some of these topics, where appropriate.

b. COUNTER-ATTACK OPPOSITION REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES ON ISSUES OF TRUST

In addition to defending HRC's record, we will also highlight contrasts with the GOP, both individually and as a group. One dynamic in the race right now that we need to fix is our lack of a clear "enemy." In 2008 the party framed its message around the failed policies of George W. Bush. In 2015, the Republicans are running against Barack Obama. Bernie Sanders, for his part, is vilifying the Wall Street banks and the billionaire class. We need to be more aggressive about going on offense against the Republican candidates for president in order to get Democratic primary voters excited and motivated.

- **Muddy the Waters on GOP Candidates:** Reframe the trust issue around the question of whether you can trust the Republicans to do the bidding of their billionaire super-Pac donors and the special interests. Work with CTR and DNC to publicize specific GOP candidate vulnerabilities on issues of transparency, ethics, and donor favoritism. Work with MMFA to highlight examples of when the press won't cover the same issues with Republicans
- **Attack the Messengers:** One of our major efforts throughout the next few months will be elevating the awareness of the super PACs attacking HRC. From highlighting potential illegal coordination to noting the extreme views of their donors, we will make them the villains and give people an opportunity to have someone to go after. We will also highlight Citizens United as a case about HRC.
- **Leverage Gaffes and Other News Hooks:** We will capitalize on mistakes, gaffes or GOP comments and actions that can help demonstrate why they're out of date and out of touch. As we did with McConnell's gender card comment or Walker's latest anti-choice action, we will look for opportunities to have HRC or the campaign respond and our supporters and surrogates engage to keep an issue in the news. Where possible, we will also try to show how the rest of the field agrees.

- **GOP Debate Response:** We will use the debates to engage supporters and push our message that the whole GOP field is in lockstep in being wrong on what everyday Americans need.
- **Accompany our Policy Rollouts with GOP Contrast:** With each policy rollout, we will also share the GOP record and plans, to encourage a contrast between what HRC and the Republican field believe.

We discussed and concluded that during this phase we would avoid engaging our Democratic opponents. We do not want to risk our high favorable numbers with Democrats by going on offense directly on our primary challengers. Although the possibility remains to at some point begin criticizing some of Sanders' ideas as unrealistic or unworkable, for now, we will let our outside allies do the important work of putting our fellow Democrats on the defensive.

We are attaching the Home Base Message Framework memo that served as a jumping off point for these discussions.

We also have some updated data from Oren that we will send you to supplement this memo in the next few days.

