BEYOND THE CAMPAIGN TACTICS
The Intersection of Policy and Politics
Led by Ed Gillespie

I have spent much of my career at the intersection of politics and policy--as a principal drafter of 1994's Contract with America and as a top Capitol Hill aide for the passage of its policies; as Counselor to President George W. Bush in the White House; as candidate for both United States Senate and Governor of Virginia; and as a founder of what was for a decade one of the most successful government relations firms in Washington, D.C.

My study group will delve into the processes through which ideas become public policy, from ideation to policy formulation to campaign issues to legislative enactment. We will explore the roles of think tanks and trade associations [501 (c) 3 and 501 (c) 4 organizations]; candidates' uses of issues in campaigns; how coalitions form in support of policies and activate voters; media coverage of policies (or a lack of it); and the impact of lobbying on policy formation.

More than "how a bill becomes a law," the curriculum will draw from my own experiences with both successes and failures of significant policy efforts, including: The defeat of President Bill Clinton's health care initiative; the success of No Child Left Behind and the failure of immigration reform in the Bush White House; and passage of the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") and origins of the individual mandate. I will also examine the successful effort to pass tax cuts in 2017, and consider prospects for future policies like a transportation infrastructure package, immigration and criminal justice reform.

There are lots of clichés about politics and policy. "Good policy makes good politics." "Candidates seek to win elections in order to enact legislation, and legislators enact policies in order to win elections." "You can't beat something with nothing." This study group will look beyond the internal machinations of policy making to the external forces and factors that shape policy from inception to bill signing.

These various case studies would be thread throughout the eight-week progression divided into three sections: 1. Ideas (origination and policy formulation). 2. Campaign Messaging (selling the ideas). 3. Enactment (implementing the ideas).

My hope is that this course will not only inform, but reinforce that politics is ideally a means to an end, and that end is governance. Strategies and tactics are fascinating (and great fodder for anecdotes and stories to share), but a central focus on them alone can contribute to cynicism.

SECTION ONE: IDEAS

Where and how do policies originate? What was the genesis of various health care initiatives, education reforms, immigration policies, tax code changes? How do 501 (c) 3 organizations ("think tanks") generate ideas? Where do the data come from that underpin policy ideas? How do those ideas get transferred to and translated into campaigns?

WEEK 1 (February 13): **Introductory Discussion**

This class will provide an overview of the arc of policy formation and enactment, and give IOP participants a chance to hear about some of my personal experiences as a party chair, Capitol Hill and White House aide, and candidate for United States Senate and Governor.

WEEK 2 (February 20): **The Role of Think Tanks in Generating Policy Ideas**

Many policy ideas are originated and driven by not-for-profit foundations and trade associations. This class will explore how ideas are generated and promoted by such 501 (c) 3 organizations.

Guest speaker: Doug Holtz-Eakin, President, American Action Forum. Holtz-Eakin was the Chief Economist of the President's Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) in 2001-02. From 2003-2005 he was the 6th Director of the non-partisan Congressional Budget Office (CBO), which provides budgetary and policy analysis to the U.S. Congress. During his tenure, CBO assisted Congress as they addressed numerous policies — notably the 2003 tax cuts (JGTRRA), the Medicare prescription drug bill (MMA), and Social Security reform. During 2007 and 2008 he was Director of Domestic and Economic Policy for the John McCain presidential campaign.

SECTION TWO: ISSUE MESSAGING IN CAMPAIGNS

How do campaigns translate policies into issues on the trail? What data informs them? How do they elevate issues through paid and earned media, and how to the media themselves cover and shape issues?

WEEK 3 (February 27): **Turning Policies into Campaign Issues**

An examination of how canidates tie policies into campaign themes and convert elections into policy referenda. One example is the 1994 midterm "Contract with America," which I helped craft and market.

Guest speaker TBD. [Former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, invited. Pollster Whit Ayres, invited.]

WEEK 4 (March 6): **Selling Policies on the Campaign Trail**

Rallies, paid advertising, debates and staged events help make the case for policies in an election. Immense planning and preparation go into these tactics. Rallies were a major element of President Trump's campaign. Debates have been turning points in presidential

elections, perhaps most notably in the 2000 campaign between Vice President Al Gore and Texas Governor George W. Bush.

Guest speaker TBD. [David Bossie, President of Citizens United, former deputy campaign manager of the Trump-Pence campaign, invited. Former Democratic National Committee Chair and Gore for President campaign manager Donna Brazile, invited.]

WEEK 5 (March 20): **How the Media Cover and Affect Policy Debates**

The media often decry lack of substance in campaigns, but how do they cover policy proposals in the context of an election? Immigration reform has been a focus of much coverage over the past year, and continues to be. The impact of new media has been significant in this debate.

Guest speakers: Wall Street Journal Editorial Page Editor Paul Gigot. Mike McCurry, press secretary to former President Bill Clinton.

SECTION THREE: ENACTING POLICIES

The politics aren't over when elections are. Politics are essential to getting things done in government as well. How do they affect the legislative process?

WEEK 6 (March 27): **Moving from Campaigning to Governing**

When elections are over, how do the winners translate campaign platforms into legislation? How do they decide which campaign issues are first in the queue when it comes to the legislative process, and how do they ensure that political momentum is maintained through that process? For example, some analysts suggest it was a mistake for the Trump Administration and the new Republican Congress to make repealing and replacing the Affordable Care Act their first priority.

Guest speaker: The Honorable Joshua Bolten, CEO of the Business Roundtable, former White House Chief of Staff to President George W. Bush, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and policy director for Bush-Cheney 2000.

WEEK 7 (April 3): **How Coalitions Form in Support of Policies**

Coalitions helping push policies through the legislative process. They include grassroots groups and trade associations. These played an important role in the recent passage and enactment of tax cuts.

Guest speakers: Jay Timmons, CEO of the National Association of Manufacturers. Timmons previous experience includes serving as chief of staff to Congressman, Gov. and Sen. George Allen (R-VA) from 1991 to 2002 and a term as executive director of the National Republican Senatorial Committee during the 2004 election cycle.

Lezlee Westine, CEO of the Personal Care Products Council, and former Assistant to the President for George W. Bush, leading the White House's Office of Public Liaison.

WEEK 8 (April 10): **Predictions! Assessing the Issues Likely to Rise in Coming Elections**

Policy issues likely to rise as priorities in the future. What would IOP participants like to see as priorities?

Guest speaker: Kay Coles James, President of The Heritage Foundation. James is a former Director of the Office of Personnel Management for President George W. Bush, and Virginia Secretary of Health and Human Resources for former Governor George Allen.