

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bernie 2016
DATE: June 5, 2016
SUBJECT: **End Game.**

Strategic Decisions

Here are the key decisions we need to make in aftermath of June 7 balloting.

1. Do We Force a Roll-Call Vote for the Nomination.

- Clinton will unquestionably be short of a convention majority based upon pledged delegates.
- Clinton has a large super delegate lead, but these delegates are by definition undeclared. To win, she will need 200-250 super delegates to cast their votes depending on the results of June 7.
- Currently, Sanders continues to lead Trump in national polls and outperform Clinton.
- It is possible that an external event could bring Clinton's viability in the general election into focus in the weeks before the convention. Combined with the polls, it is conceivable super delegates could turn to Sanders in mass and deliver the nomination.

2. Concede the Nomination Prior to the Convention.

- Clinton is short of a delegate majority among pledged delegates, but short of a major external event, the super delegates are likely to coalesce behind her candidacy and create an insurmountable delegate majority.
- The external pressure from Democratic elites will be enormous. Pressure will come from Clinton surrogates, Senate and House leadership and Democratic leaning organizations.
- Leaders who have remained neutral will likely start to endorse Clinton. The AFL-CIO and Senator Warren being the most prominent.
- Some Sanders supporters/endorsers will also begin to call for a concession and some may go as far as moving their support to Clinton. This could be both organizations and elected leaders.

Roll Call Vote for Nomination

A decision to contest the nomination, would require a specific campaign plan beyond the scope of this memo. It would require a robust delegate persuasion program and extensive floor operation at the convention. It will also require us to confront two difficult challenges:

- ***Reopen a divisive critique of Clinton*** – both on viability and substance.
- ***Engage in divisive committee and floor battle over rules and credentials.*** The effort to construct a Sanders majority could require disqualifying a number of delegates.

Concede the Nomination

A decision to concede the nomination should be done with planning and care.

Leverage

The Sanders campaign's greatest moment of leverage will be in the two week period after the June 7th balloting. This is the time period where many platform, rules and convention victories can be negotiated. As time goes on our leverage will diminish. As we get closer to the convention the pressure from the Democratic Party to preserve unity will weigh more and more heavily on us rather than Clinton.

Creating Space & Setting Expectations

But it will be critical to create space election night June 7th (no later than Wednesday morning June 8th) for the Senator to reflect on options and set expectations with our supporters, the Clinton campaign and the media. In all likelihood the networks and many in the media are going to declare Clinton the nominee Tuesday night after the polls in New Jersey close.

One recommendation would be that Sen. Sanders announce that he is going to take two weeks to confer with his supporters and delegates, while also send a letter to super delegates making a final case for the nomination. We can also continue to campaign through the DC primary on June 14th. It would also be wise at this point for Sen. Sanders to call Sec. Clinton personally to confer and discuss his timing.

During this period, the campaign team could begin negotiations with the Clinton campaign and to some degree with the Obama White House. Sen. Sanders priorities can be established and concerns addressed. The conversations will also allow us to gauge the wishes of the Clinton team.

Meeting and Endorsement

At some point the week of June 20th it makes sense to make an announcement of support for Clinton. This could be at a rally, via email or directly at a

negotiated event with Sec. Clinton. The week of the 20th will also follow the Progressive Summit in Chicago.

Symbolically, it would make sense to do a joint event in a state we won and before a constituency Clinton badly needs to win over – young voters. Three possibilities:

- **Ann Arbor, Michigan.**
- **Madison, Wisconsin.**
- **Bloomington, Indiana.**

If we did the event on or before June 27th it would be one month before the opening of the Democratic Convention.

Platform

We have won some concessions on appointments to the Platform Drafting Committee and Warren Gunnels, working with the Senator, has developed a good working list of our goals for the platform. Still outstanding is the status of Dan Malloy as the one of the co-chairs of the Platform Committee

Three key decisions need to be made: (1) prioritizing our most important issues, (2) deciding how much capital do we want to expend removing Malloy, and (3) whether we want to negotiate a floor vote on any minority planks.

Rules

We are farther behind in our discussions about delegate and DNC rule changes we would like to argue for at the convention. Jeff has put together a good memo outlining many of the possibilities, but we need to quickly give this more focus. We also need to address the status of Barney Frank as co-chair of the Rules Committee.

Key decisions: (1) prioritize most important rules changes, (2) consider the demand for a commission on rules changes, (3) decide how much capital we want to expend removing Frank, and (4) whether we want to negotiate a floor vote on any minority planks.

Convention

What do we want at the convention? Some recommendations:

- **Prime Time Speech Tuesday Night of the Convention.** This would effectively become the Sanders night of the convention. Tuesday is when platform and rules issues are usually taken up. Speaking after a Platform is adopted with significant contributions from Sen. Sanders would reinforce his impact on the party.
- **Naming Several Sanders Supporters Co-Chairs of Convention.** In addition we should make sure that numerous Sanders supporters have speaking slots to address convention.
- **Votes on Several Minority Planks.** This will give our delegates a sense of participation and input on the party and convention.

There are two key issues we must decide in advance of the convention:

- **Do we want to call for a new Chair of the Democratic National Committee to Promote Party Unity?** How far are we willing to push and how much capital are we willing to expend.
- **Do we want a Roll-Call Ballot for President?** In 2008, Clinton allowed a roll-call until New York, where she went to the floor herself and asked the convention to nominate Obama by acclamation. Vermont comes relatively late in the roll so Clinton likely have a majority by then (unless states pass).

Fall Campaign.

Prior to the convention we should negotiate Sen. Sanders role in the fall campaign. The Clinton campaign will likely have requests and ideas for how Sen. Sanders can be most helpful.

Some recommendations for the fall:

- **Request a plane and staff for a series of fall rallies in battleground states.** This plane would be paid for by the DNC. The more Sen. Sanders campaigns the more credit he can take for a Democratic victory and continue to keep his movement energized and in place. It would also make great sense to focus on younger voters.
- **Campaign for a Democratic Senate.** This would include both campaign events, rallies and fundraising. By focusing in on the Senate, Sen. Sanders can both help deliver a majority and take credit for it.
- **Campaign for Progressive Supporters.** We should not forget those who helped us. Helping elect progressive supporters will extend the Sanders legacy and build progressive strength for future policy battles.