

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

The American Federation of State,
County and Municipal Employees. (AFSCME)
202/429-1100-ofc
202/429-1102-fax

FAX

COVER SHEET

DATE: 12-12-95

TO: HAROLD ICKES

LOCATION: THE WHITE HOUSE

FROM: FRANK COWAN

EXT.

DEPARTMENT:

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 4

COMMENTS: WITH RUMORS CIRCULATING THAT THE WHITE HOUSE MAY BE
MOVING TO REACH AN AGREEMENT WITH CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVES
ON BUDGET RECONCILIATION, IT IS ABSOLUTELY VITAL THAT THE
CONSENSUS EXPRESSED IN THE SWEENEY/McENTEE LETTER OF
NOVEMBER 22ND (LETTER ATTACHED) BE DEALT WITH BY THE
ADMINISTRATION. AFSCME AND SEIU REPRESENT HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS
OF WORKERS WHO MAY LOSE THEIR JOBS IF STATES ARE GRANTED
EXPANDED FLEXIBILITY UNDER MEDICAID WITHOUT SIGNIFICANT LABOR
PROTECTIONS. NEED TO DISCUSS WITH YOU AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

cc: Jennifer O'Connor

Tomire

Labors -
AFSCME

November 22, 1995

Mr. Harold Ickes
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Harold,

Our staff have had numerous discussions following our recent meeting with you regarding Medicaid waivers and enclosed is our response to the proposed language on worker protections. We are however quite aware that the Medicaid waiver process will be eliminated under the proposed budget reconciliation bill. The budget cuts and other dramatic changes in Medicaid and Medicare will exacerbate the restructuring occurring in the industry, resulting in the loss of insurance coverage for millions of low-income Americans and huge cuts to health care providers. Securing protections for the tens of thousands of health workers affected becomes even that much more critical.

A recent Pear-Marwick study estimates 1.7 million jobs would be lost with the proposed Medicare and Medicaid cuts, and this week's Pew Health Professions Commission forecast that by the year 2000, "as many as half of the nation's hospitals" will close resulting in a surplus of 200,000 to 300,000 nurses. The employment impact from the restructuring in the health care sector could far surpass the worker displacement felt other sectors of our economy over the past several decades. Therefore we urge the Administration, as you move forward in budget negotiations on the Medicaid and Medicare programs in the weeks ahead, to promote statutory remedies to address this issue. Also attached is a list of potential amendments to the conference agreement.

Obviously we would like to come to an agreement about these terms for the waiver program soon. The restructuring of health delivery systems is occurring in a number of cities — Los Angeles and New York City among the largest — and such requirements should be included in the approval process for these jurisdictions. Although we understand there are many interests the President must balance, the threat facing millions of health care workers deserves more than elective participation in a governmental planning process. What we have outlined not only balances the interests between federal and state governments but also builds upon the principle of significant and substantive protections for health workers.

Page 2

Mr. Harold Ickes

November 27, 1995

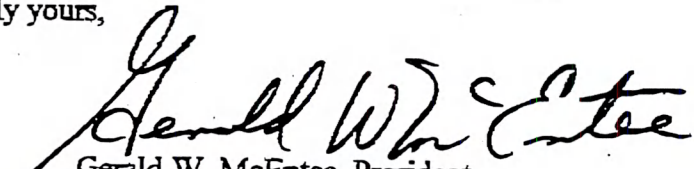
We also want to reiterate our broad concerns with the future of the Medicaid program. It is crucial that the entitlement status of the program is maintained in some form. The continued decline in employment-based coverage makes the preservation of insurance coverage for low-income families essential. Second, the size of the cuts must be scaled back, through a stronger state maintenance of effort provision; the guarantee of a discrete funding source for public hospitals and other safety net providers; and a formula that prevents critical states from being unfairly penalized.

Finally, during our recent meeting you stated that the Department of Labor is developing broad worker displacement legislation. Although you were unclear about the specifics, we remain interested in working with the Department on the development of legislation and a strategy to gain its passage.

We look forward to hearing from you soon.

Very truly yours,


John J. Sweeney, International President
Service Employees International Union


Gerald W. McEntee, President
American Federation of State, County
and Municipal Employees

ATTACHMENT I

States must include representatives of the principal groups that would be potentially affected by a waiver in the discussion, planning, application, and implementation from its inception and in a significant and substantive way. In considering whether a State has significantly and substantively involved such groups, the Department will, prior to the exercise of its discretion, (a) consider whether the State has used a commission or other similar process, whereby representatives of impacted groups participate in the development of the proposal and of detailed statements as to its impacts, including its impact on the employment of the health care workforce and of means to alleviate any adverse effects; (b) assess whether the waiver application addresses significant issues raised by affected parties, including the impacts on the health care workforce; and (c) determine whether the waiver implementation process provides for continued monitoring and oversight by the commission or other representative entity.

In the waiver application, the State shall commit to making fair and equitable arrangements for displaced health care workers, which shall include 1) priority of reemployment of employees terminated or laid off as a result of the restructuring of health care financing; 2) the continuation of collective bargaining rights, where applicable; and 3) paid training or retraining programs.

ATTACHMENT II

The following is a list of provisions in the Conference agreement where amendments should be made:

Section 2101: Each state's plan must include strategic objectives and performance goals related to provision of health care services to low-income populations; rates of childhood immunization, access to care for children with special health care needs, and reductions in infant mortality and morbidity must be specified. **Add employment/reemployment of displaced health workers as a strategic objective.**

Section 2102: States must submit annual reports with expenditure, beneficiary and utilization summary, achievement of goals, fraud and abuse and quality control activities. **Add employment trend data that states submit in annual reports.**

Section 2105: Requires states to have public notice and comment of plan; each state must establish Advisory Committee and consult with it in developing, revising and monitoring plan. **Add language from Attachment I, including representation on Advisory Committee.**

Section 2106: Dropped from the Senate bill because of the Byrd rule was this provision that the Secretary establish a Medicaid Task Force to develop voluntary objective and goal models, to include representatives of NCQA, JCAHCO, GHAA, AMA, AHA, AHCA, ACG, an association representing the interests of the disabled, and association representing the interests of children. **Should this or another statutory process be reinstated, add representatives of health care worker labor unions.**

Section 2112: Set aside for rural and community health centers; no specific dollar amount as in House provision but addressed by conference committee under other set-aside and state funding obligations. **Add specific set aside or other discrete funding source for safety net hospitals serving Medicaid and uninsured patients.**

Section 2121: Proposed state funding formulas include special protections for Oregon and Tennessee in recognition of their waiver status. **This should be extended to other 1115 waiver states and must include retroactivity for Los Angeles County (which doesn't meet the Conferee language on implementation by 9/1/95).**

What is needed is an additional freestanding section which includes the fair and equitable treatment language which is set forth in our proposed revision (See Attachment I).

File
AFSCME

E X E C U T I V E O F F I C E O F T H E P R E S I D E N T

11-Feb-1996 02:49pm

TO: Jennifer M. O'Connor
TO: Diana M. Fortuna

FROM: Christopher C. Jennings
 Domestic Policy Council

SUBJECT: AFSCME amendments memo

Should the AFSCME welfare reform amendment suggestions be forward to Bruce R. and Rahm E.? As I was reviewing the memo, the amendments seemed more specific than I thought we were previously discussing and they may be a bit specific to the welfare legislation. What do you think guys?

Also, assuming they are a bit different from what we were discussing vis a vis Medicaid reform, are there going to be any other suggested language submissions from the unions? If not, I think we need to talk again because I am reverting back to my usual state of confusion regarding this matter. I want to make sure all of us internally are on the same page on this issue.

Thanks

Copy To
John
Full
AFSCME

MEMORANDUM

To: President McEntee
AFSCME Leadership

From: Marttila & Kiley

Date: March 20, 1996

Re: Membership Survey Findings

Introduction

Between March 14 and 17, 1996, we completed a national telephone survey among 602 AFSCME members. Interviews were conducted by trained professionals working from our telephone facility. The sample of respondents was drawn on a systematically random basis from the entire AFSCME membership file that is used to distribute the *Public Employee* magazine.

The primary objective of this study was to examine members' political attitudes and concerns as we move toward the 1996 presidential election campaign. In addition to measuring election preferences, we also probed members' perceptions of economic issues, and their reactions to Democratic economic themes.

Executive Summary

The results of our national membership survey indicate that AFSCME members strongly approve of President Clinton's performance in office. They express solid support for the President's reelection, and they are also inclined to support Democratic candidates for Congress this fall.

Members are principally concerned with economic issues, rather than by the national debate over societal values. They are worried about their own retirement security, and they are quite responsive to arguments that address the national debate in populist terms.

In particular, AFSCME members are quite skeptical about the motives and tactics of the country's major corporations -- and they are deeply troubled by the growing disparity in income between wealthy corporate interests and the working class.

AFSCME members solidly support President Clinton's bid for reelection.

A solid majority of AFSCME members approve of President Clinton's performance in office so far. The President's job-approval rating among AFSCME members has risen by a net of six points since our last national survey, in February 1995.

As was the case last year, the President enjoys a higher job-approval rating among AFSCME members than he does among the public-at-large.

In a head-to-head matchup, President Clinton holds a 25-point lead over Senator Bob Dole. This figure is about double the margin found in recent national surveys -- reflecting the fact that AFSCME's membership is noticeably less Republican in its sympathies, than is the public as a whole.

President Clinton retains this margin over Senator Dole in a three-way matchup that includes Independent Ross Perot.

At 18%, Perot's vote is not much smaller than Dole's -- and it is consistent with the 16% of AFSCME members who say they voted for Perot in the 1992 general election.

On most issues, members tend to side with President Clinton against the Congressional Republicans. A plurality of members plan to support Democratic candidates for Congress.

A solid plurality of AFSCME members believe President Clinton has a better overall approach to the issues than do the Republicans in Congress. The President's advantage in this regard has more than doubled since our last survey -- moving from five points to 13 points in the last year.

In terms of specific issues, members express a strong preference for Clinton's stand on such issues as Medicare, the minimum wage, and occupational safety. Members in fact say they prefer Clinton's approach to the GOP's on every issue we tested, save one: balancing the federal budget.

In a generic test of preferences in this November's Congressional election, AFSCME members favor Democratic candidates over Republicans by a 14-point margin. This margin is slightly higher than the actual preference expressed by AFSCME members in the 1994 Congressional election.

Members are much more concerned with the economy than with social issues. They are most troubled by perceived threats to retirement security, and by increasing inequity in personal incomes.

By a three-to-one margin, AFSCME members say they are more interested in hearing the candidates address economic issues, rather than the purported moral breakdown of American society.

Their concern with economic issues reflects their belief that the nation's economy is not in good shape, and that they have not been able to better the economic well-being of their own families.

In members' eyes, the most serious economic problems involve perceived threats to their own income security -- represented by possible cutbacks in Medicare and Social Security -- and the increasing gap that separates the incomes of the wealthy from those of the middle class.

Significantly, AFSCME members express greater concern about the increasing *gap* in personal incomes, than about the simple fact that middle-class wages have not been on the rise. In other words, AFSCME members respond more strongly to a discussion of the stagnant-income issue that is couched in populist terms that emphasize income inequity.

Members are deeply skeptical about corporate motives and tactics, and they are responsive to populist appeals to support Democratic candidates.

In assessing blame for the dearth of good-paying jobs, AFSCME members focus first of all on corporations who place profits before people. To a lesser extent, they also blame the federal deficit and the rise in foreign immigration.

But members are much less likely to blame the nation's current economic difficulties on trade agreements such as NAFTA, or on the declining influence of the labor movement.

Members' deeply-felt skepticism toward corporate America also finds expression in their strong belief that corporate downsizing is motivated not by economic necessity, but by a desire for greater profits.

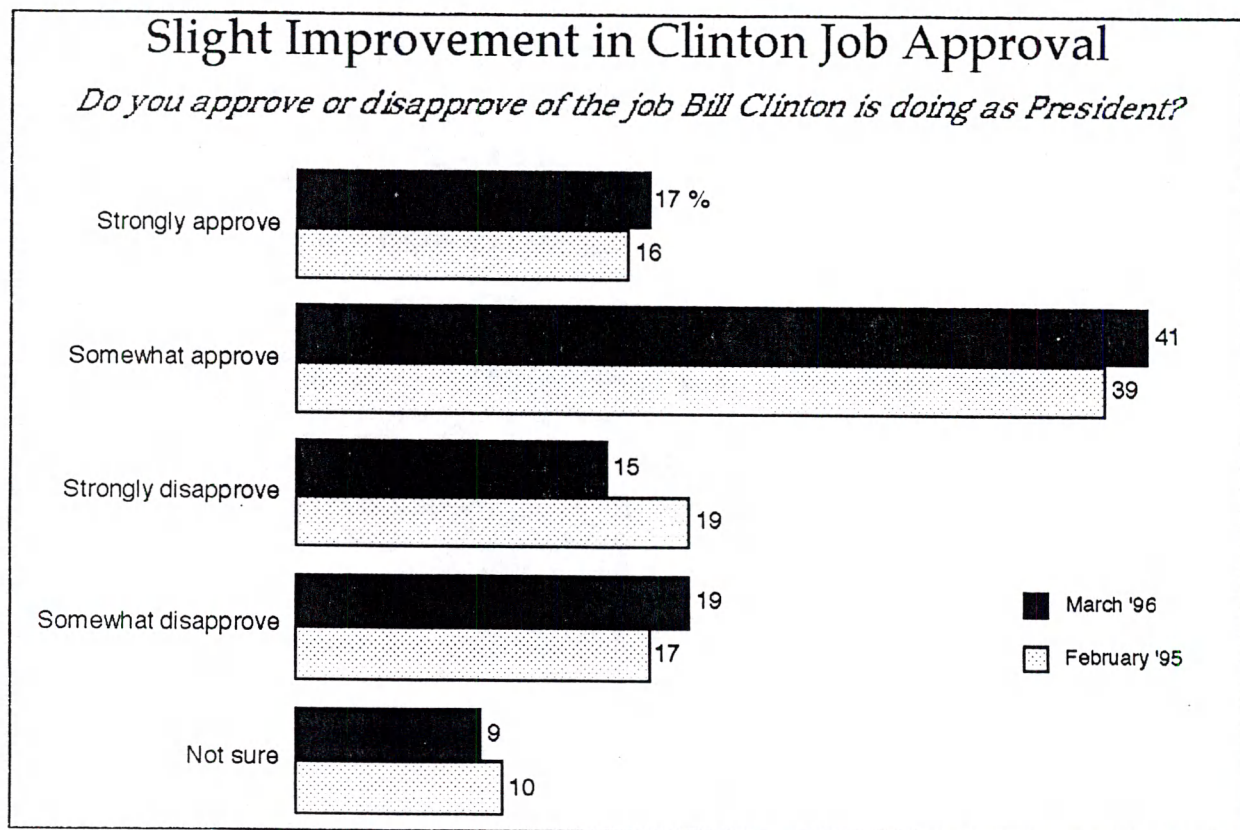
This deep sense of skepticism about corporate motives strongly suggests that AFSCME members would be responsive to populist themes and messages. In fact, a test of two different, pro-Democratic campaign messages indicates that a populist message that emphasizes growing corporate power and income inequity, is just as effective as the benign, middle-class message that has been emanating from the White House lately.

With this in mind, we believe that AFSCME leaders should seek to incorporate such populist themes into member communications during this election season.

Detailed Summary

November Election Preferences

Compared with our most recent previous membership survey, which was completed in February of 1995, AFSCME's members award Bill Clinton a slightly higher job performance rating. Fully 58% express approval of the President's performance, while 34% voice disapproval. These figures represent a six-point net increase since last year's study.

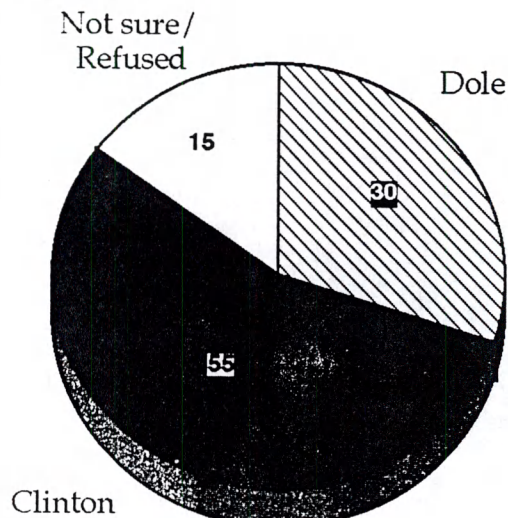


As we saw in our 1995 survey, Clinton's rating continues to run several points higher among AFSCME's members than among voters at-large. The most recent CNN/Gallup survey, conducted simultaneously with our study, reports Clinton's job rating at 52% to 39%, a net 11 points lower than among members.

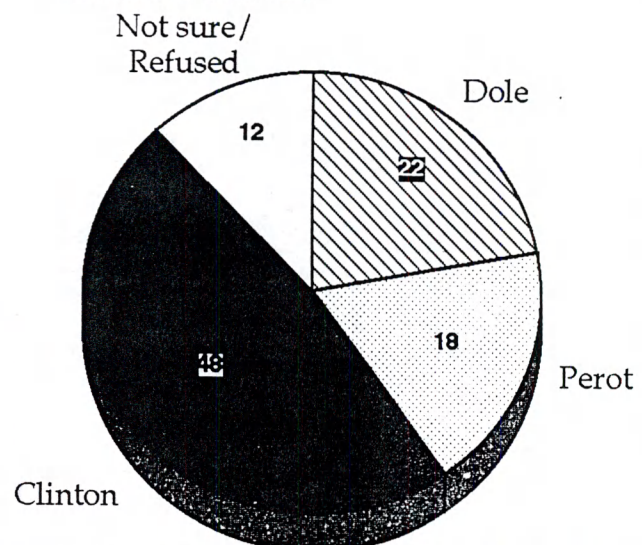
If the November election were being held today, AFSCME members would vote to reelect Bill Clinton by a wide margin. Clinton enjoys a 25-point lead over Bob Dole, which is twice the size of his current margin in national polling. CNN/Gallup is reporting Clinton's lead at 54% to 42% among all voters.

AFSCME Members Give Clinton Huge Lead in Both Two-Way and Three-Way Trial Heats

If the November election for President were being held tomorrow, and the candidates were Democrat Bill Clinton and Republican Bob Dole, would you be more inclined to vote for Dole or Clinton?



And if the election were being held tomorrow and the three candidates were Republican Bob Dole, Independent Ross Perot and Democrat Bill Clinton, which candidate would you be most inclined to vote for?



In a three-way race including Ross Perot, Clinton's lead is equally imposing, with Perot garnering almost as much of the non-Clinton vote as Dole.

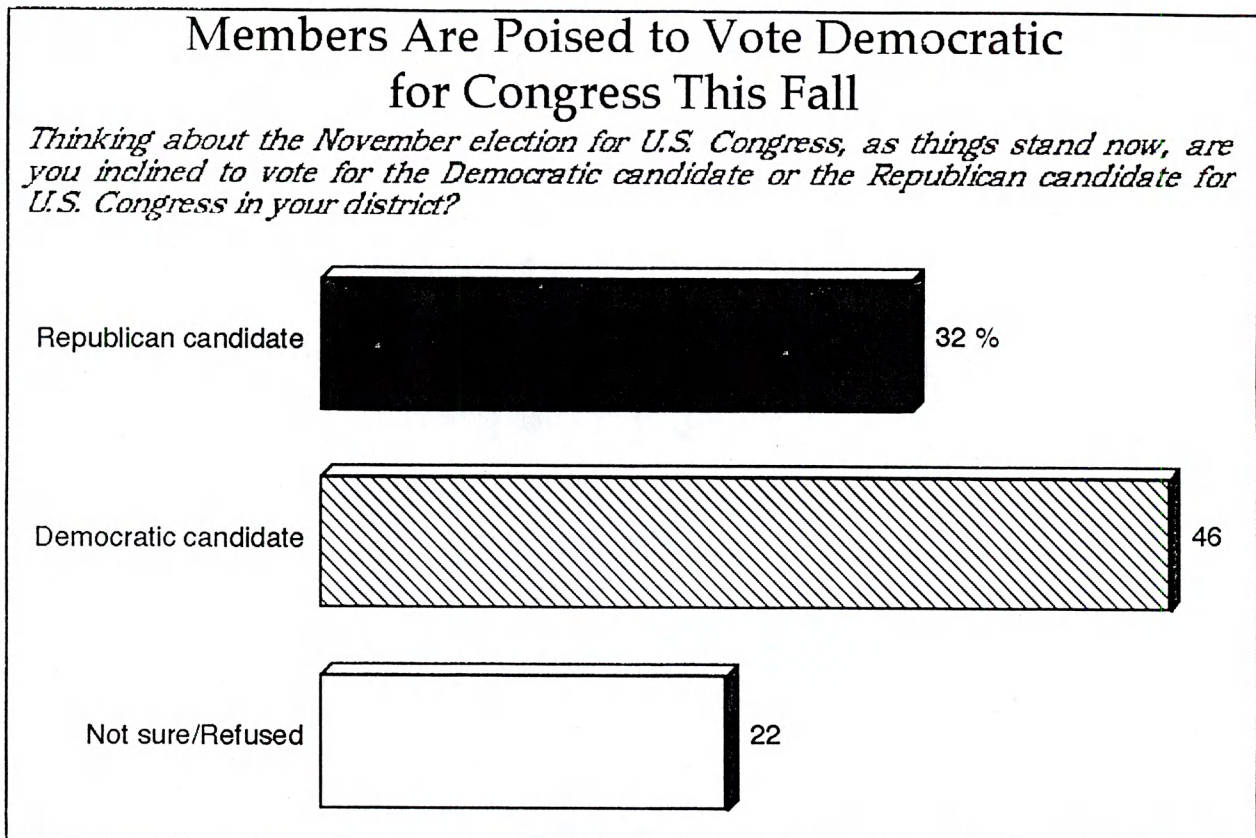
At 18%, the Perot vote is even higher among AFSCME's members than it is among voters at-large (16%, CNN/Gallup). This figure is also comparable to the 16% of all members who told us in an earlier study that they had voted for Perot in the 1992 election.

The figures in the chart below show the same gender gap within AFSCME's membership that can be seen among voters in general. Clinton's margin among men in a two-way trial heat is 13 points; by contrast, it balloons to 35 points among women. The same pattern can be seen in the three-way trial heat.

Trial Heats By Gender, Party					
	Two-Way		Three-Way		
	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Clinton</u>
All Members	30%	55	22 %	18	48
Men	37%	50	29 %	20	41
Women	24%	59	17 %	16	53
Democrats	8%	85	5 %	12	77
Independents	25%	52	15 %	24	42
Republicans	74%	16	64 %	15	15
<i>Remainder not sure/Refused</i>					

AFSCME members are more likely to describe themselves as Independents (36%), than as either Democrats (35%) or Republicans (23%). For this reason, it is especially encouraging to find that Bill Clinton is holding a better than two-to-one margin over Bob Dole among these Independent members. In a three-way race, Clinton wins a solid plurality of Independents, with Perot finishing second and Dole a distant third.

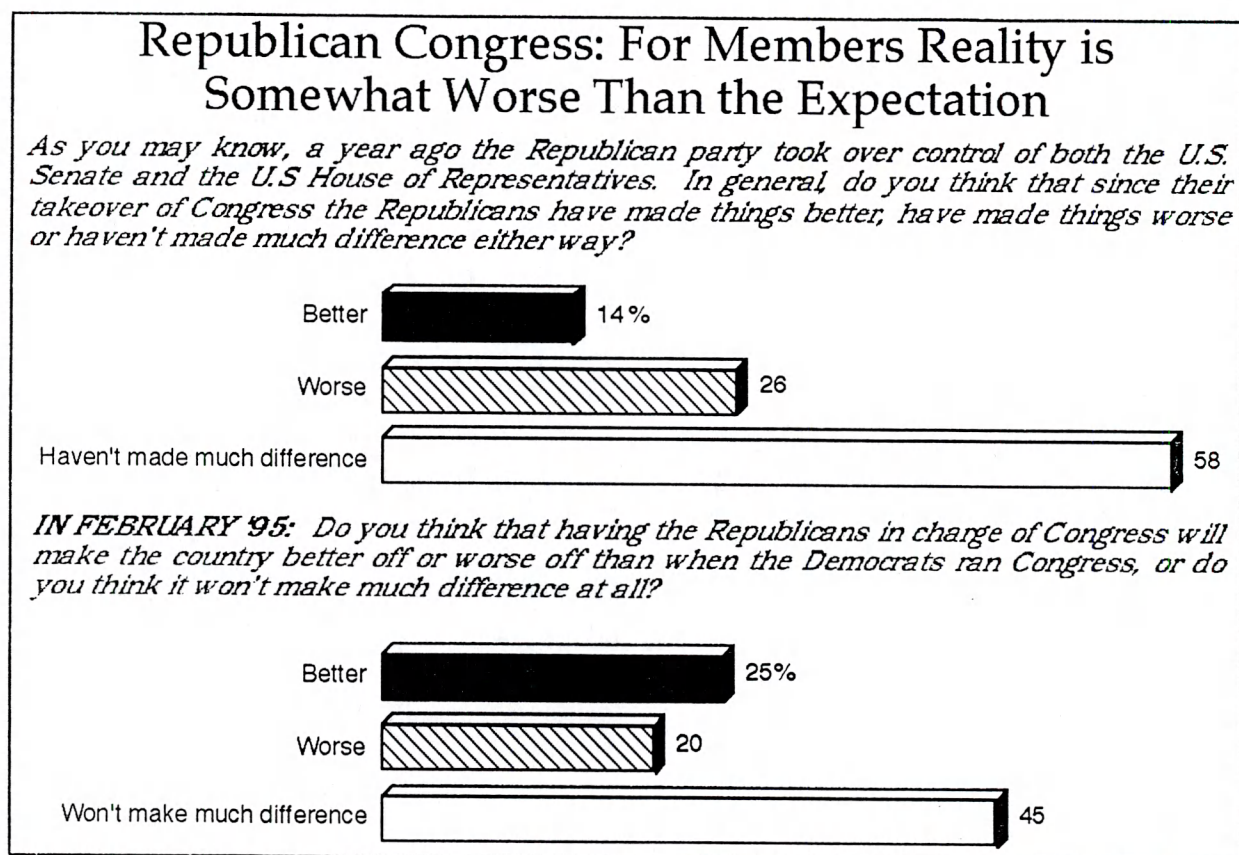
We also asked members to express their preferences in a generic trial heat for U.S. Congress. As of today, they intend to vote Democratic, by a margin of 46% to 32%. These figures are slightly better than the 49% to 37% margin by which members reported having voted Democratic in the November, 1994 election.



There are signs that AFSCME members will actually end up voting Democratic by an even wider margin. For example, among the large number of members who are undecided in the Congressional election, Bill Clinton enjoys a solid, 45%-to-19% lead over Bob Dole.

Clinton vs. Congressional Republicans

One year ago a plurality of the union's members told us they did not expect the Republican takeover of Congress to make much difference one way or the other. Today a solid majority say they do not believe the Republican takeover has in fact made much difference.



This response uncovers some imprecision in the question. What is not clear in their answers is whether AFSCME members feel the takeover has had little effect because Republicans have failed to enact most of their program, or because members do not see the Republican program as a threat to them.

It should be said that there has been a measurable shift on the part of AFSCME members who do express a firm opinion on this matter. A year ago, 25% expected the Republican takeover to produce good results; today only 14% say the Republicans have in fact made things better.

In keeping with the general pattern of improvement for Clinton throughout the survey, compared to a year ago members are more disposed to align themselves on policy matters with the President than with the Republicans in Congress. In considering who has "the better approach for solving the problems facing the country," members chose Clinton last year by only five percentage points; as the figures below indicate, the Clinton margin has grown to 13 points in this current study.

A Solid Plurality Favor Clinton's Approach, Especially On Key Middle Class Concerns

In general, who do you think has the better approach for solving the problems facing the country: President Clinton or the Republicans in Congress?

	Today	February '95
Clinton	45 %	38%
Republicans	32	33
Neither	12	16
Other, Not sure	11	13

I'm going to read a list of specific issues. For each one I mention, please tell me if you think President Clinton or the Republicans in Congress generally have the better approach to this issue.

	Clinton	Republicans	Neither	Both equal	Not sure
Protecting Social Security/Medicare	58%	24	7	2	9
Raising the minimum wage	56%	19	8	3	14
Promoting worker health and safety	54%	17	8	4	18
Protecting the environment	52%	19	8	4	17
Improving education	52%	20	12	5	11
Creating jobs and economic growth	44%	30	11	4	11
Providing middle class tax relief	42%	29	14	3	13
Balancing the federal budget	32%	37	17	3	10

Clinton's advantage over Republicans is strongest on the issues that he and other Democrats have been highlighting in recent months: Medicare; minimum wage; the environment; and education. In promoting the President and a Democratic agenda, AFSCME's leadership will draw the strongest response among the rank-and-file when emphasizing these themes.

Although they do so by a narrower margin, members also voice a preference for Clinton policies on both economic growth and middle class tax relief. Only when it comes to balancing the federal budget do members say the Republicans have the better approach -- albeit by a narrow, 37%-to-32% margin.

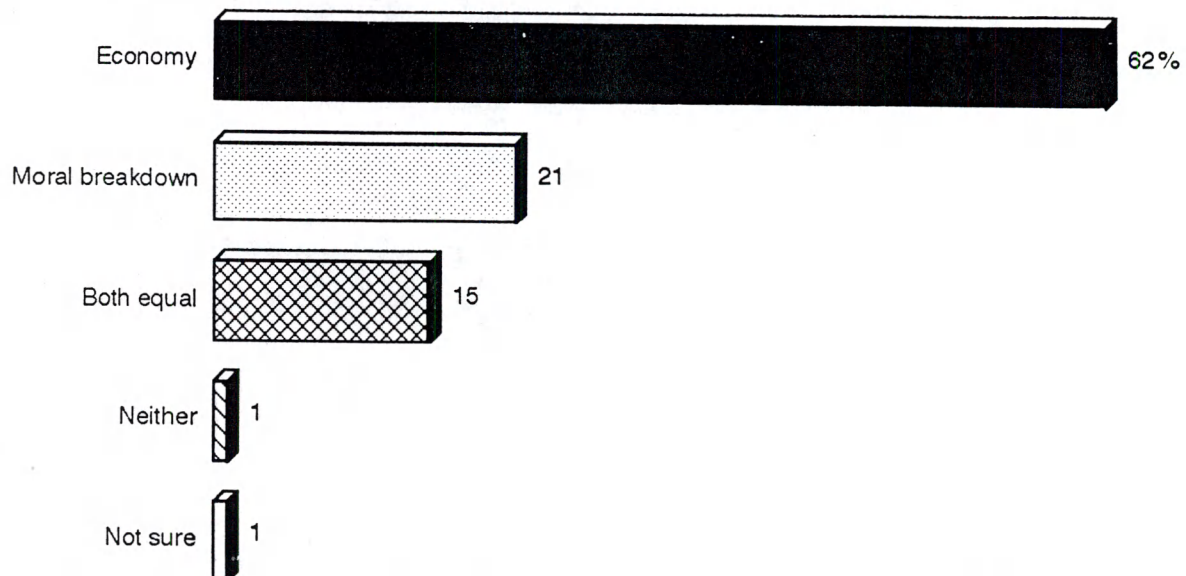
Economic Concerns

The 1992 Presidential election was about the economy and, as far as AFSCME members are concerned, the 1996 election will be about the same issue. By an overwhelming three-to-one ratio, respondents say they are more interested in hearing what the Presidential candidates are going to do to create jobs and improve the standard of living than how they plan to deal with the moral decline in the country and restore traditional values.

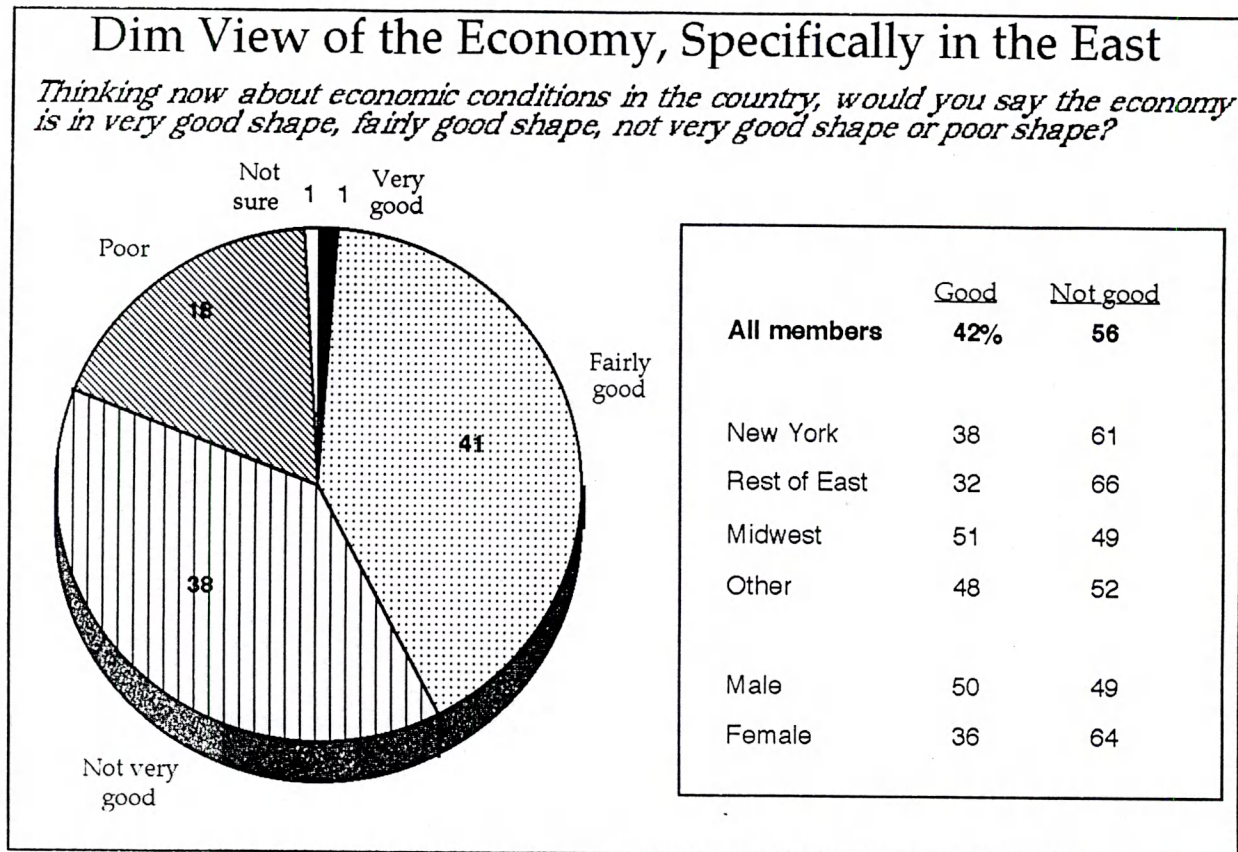
With the exception of Republicans, a majority of every subgroup within the AFSCME membership wants the election to center on economic issues rather than on a discussion of values. Even among Republicans, a 49%-to-29% plurality expresses greater interest in economic matters.

"It's Still the Economy, Stupid"

Looking ahead to the election campaign for President this fall, which of the following two issues are you more interested in hearing the candidates talk about? How they plan to deal with the economy, improve the standard of living for Americans and create more good-paying jobs; OR how they plan to deal with the moral breakdown that many people feel is occurring, and to restore traditional values.



As members look at the national economy, most see reason for pessimism. By a margin of 56% to 42%, they describe economic conditions as being not so good or poor.

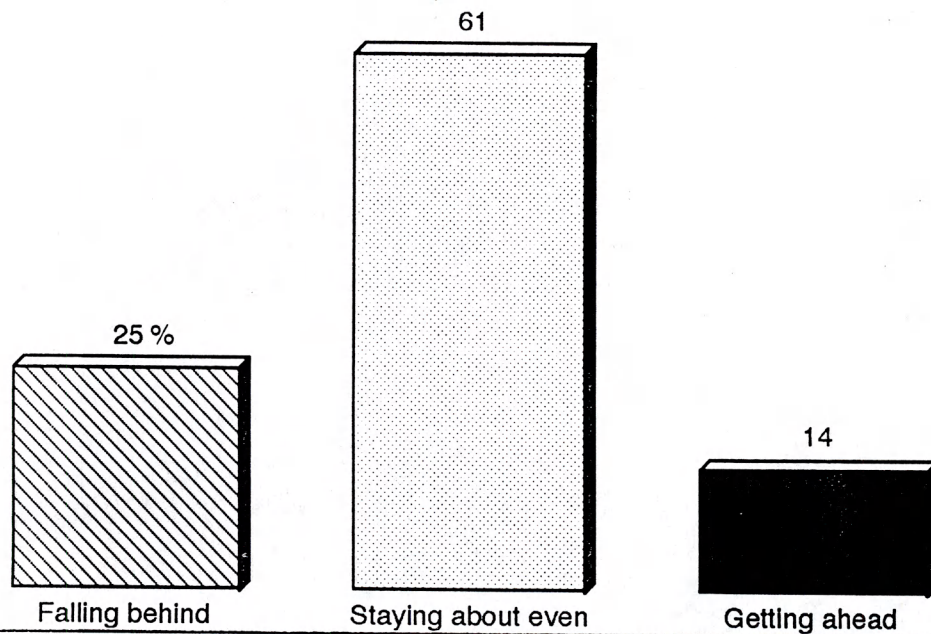


The economic outlook is especially bleak in New York and the rest of the East Coast, where more than three-in-five members describe the economy in negative terms. There is also a significant gender gap in economic perceptions, with women far more likely than men to express a pessimistic view of things.

In terms of their own personal financial situations, most members report that they are "staying about even." As the chart on the following page shows, however, substantially more respondents say they are falling behind (25%) than say they are getting ahead (14%).

Members Are Getting By, But Not Getting Ahead

Thinking specifically about you and your family – would you say your family has been falling behind, staying about even, or getting ahead financially?



At a time when political rhetoric is dominated by an emphasis on the interests of the "middle class," it should be noted that most AFSCME members think of themselves as "working class." Only one-in-three members say they are part of the middle class.

Most Members Think of Themselves as Working Class				
<i>Do you think of yourself as middle class or working class?</i>				
	Middle class	Working class	Working middle class	Not sure
All Members	34 %	57	8	1
Under \$30K	23%	70	6	1
\$30K to \$50K	29%	61	9	1
Over \$50K	51%	39	9	1
High school/less	26%	66	6	2
Some college	29%	58	12	3
College grad	54%	37	8	1

Self-perceptions of middle class vs. working class are heavily influenced by socioeconomic status, as measured by both income and education. AFSCME members who have been graduated from college are more than twice as likely as those whose education stopped at high school to say they are middle class. Similarly, more than half of all members whose households earn over \$50,000 place themselves in the middle class; by contrast, 70% of those earning under \$30,000 describe themselves as working class.

Among the persons and groups we tested, AFSCME members believe that only their union represents their economic interests on a consistent basis. Fully 51% say that the union represents their interests all or most of the time, while only 10% say that the union hardly ever does so.

A Majority of Members Believe the Union Usually Represents Their Economic Interests

I'm going to read a brief list of persons and organizations. For each one I mention, please tell me whether you feel that person or group represents the economic interests of people like you nearly all of the time, most of the time, only some of the time or hardly any of the time.

	<u>All, Most of the time</u>	<u>Only some of the time</u>	<u>Hardly any of the time</u>
Your union	51%	39	10
Bill Clinton	36%	45	16
The AFL-CIO	36%	42	12
The Democratic party	32%	49	14
The Republican party	20%	44	31
Ross Perot	18%	34	37
Bob Dole	15%	41	32
Pat Buchanan	10%	29	44

Remainder not sure

The fact that most members see neither the President, the AFL-CIO nor the Democratic Party as consistently standing up for their economic concerns underscores the degree of alienation members feel, both as taxpayers and government employees.

Although President Clinton is not seen by members as a consistent advocate of their economic concerns, he fares much better than Bob Dole: nearly four-in-ten express a high degree of trust in Clinton, compared to only 15% for Dole. Clinton also does much better than Ross Perot; the proportion of members who express a high degree of trust in Perot -- 18% -- is identical to his support in our three-way trial heat.

At the very bottom of the list is Pat Buchanan. For all of the hoopla about Buchanan's appeal to union workers on trade and economic populism, only 10% of all AFSCME members would say that he consistently represents their economic interests.

We presented respondents with a list of 12 economic problems, asking them to indicate on a ten-point scale how serious they feel each problem is. The results displayed below show that two concerns stand out above all others: threats to Medicare and Social Security; and income inequality between the wealthy and average Americans. Our findings make it clear that members respond most strongly when the issue of income stagnation is pitched in sharply populist terms. While 45% say they are deeply troubled by the lack of raises needed to maintain living standards, fully 55% express deep concern over the same issue when it is juxtaposed with the rising incomes among the wealthy, or among corporate elites.

Members See Income Inequities and Threats to Retirement Security Most Serious Problem

I'm going to read a list of economic problems that some people have mentioned to us. For each problem, please use a scale from one to ten to tell me how serious you feel that problem is. If you feel the problem is very serious, you would select a number closer to ten; if you feel a problem is not so serious at this time, you would select a number closer to one.

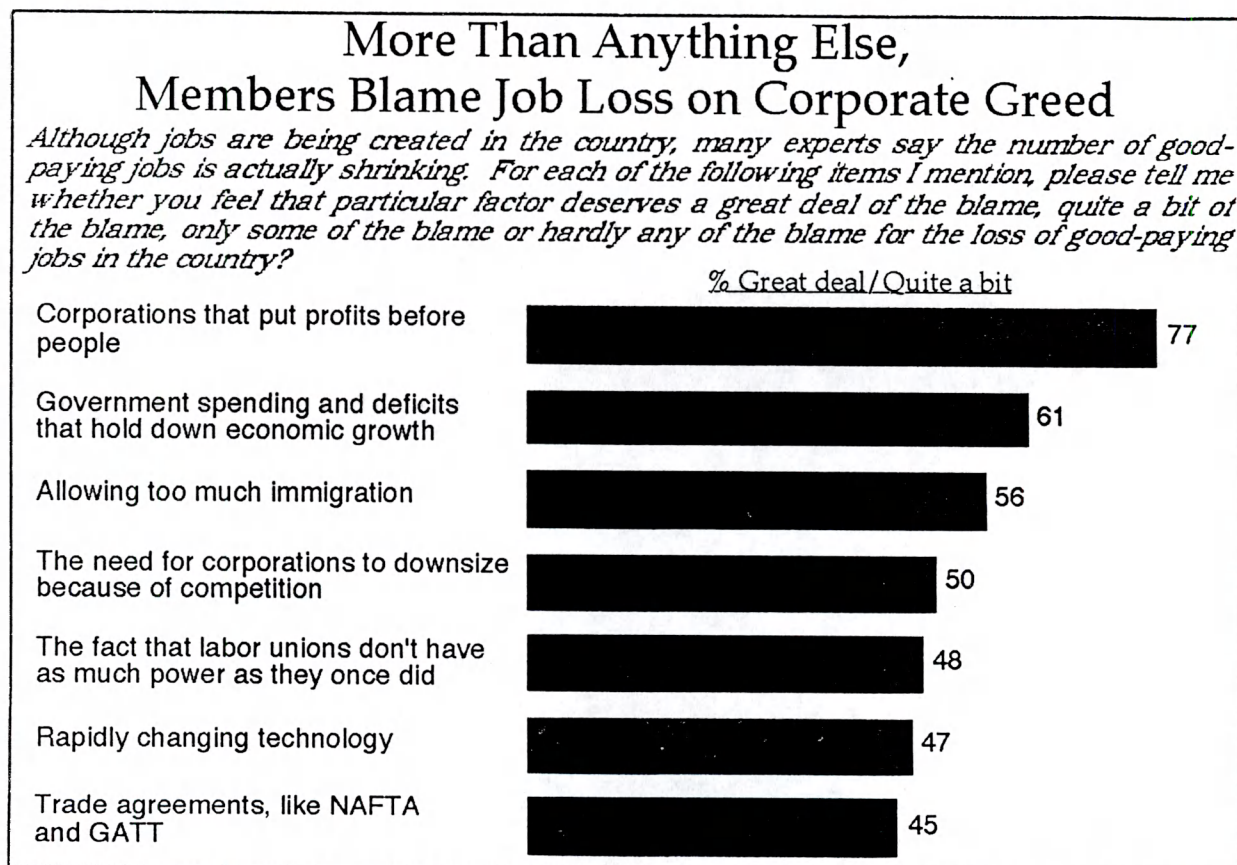
% rating 9 or 10

Possible cutbacks in Medicare and Social Security that could threaten retirement plans.	60%	Workers not getting the raises they need to maintain their standard of living.	45
Incomes of the wealthy have been going up, while the incomes of middle class Americans have been standing still.	55	The amount of money that working families have to pay in taxes.	44
The high salaries that many corporate executives make, even while the wages of average workers are being held down.	54	The lack of good-paying jobs, the kind you can raise a family on.	44
The trouble many families have making ends meet even with two people working.	49	Proposed cutbacks in college loan programs, making it harder for average families to send their kids to college.	43
The size of the federal budget deficit.	49	The trend toward corporate downsizing and layoffs, even among profitable companies.	42
The amount of taxpayer money that is being used to provide subsidies and tax breaks to big businesses.	46	Unemployment, the number of people out of work.	39

The issue of joblessness, whether described as unemployment or as corporate downsizing, generates significantly less concern among members than income inequities, or stagnant wages in general.

Attitudes Toward Corporate Behavior

In addition to their obvious resentment over executive salaries, members express skepticism toward big business in several other responses. When offered seven possible reasons for the loss of "good-paying jobs" in the country, more members cite corporate profiteering than any other item.

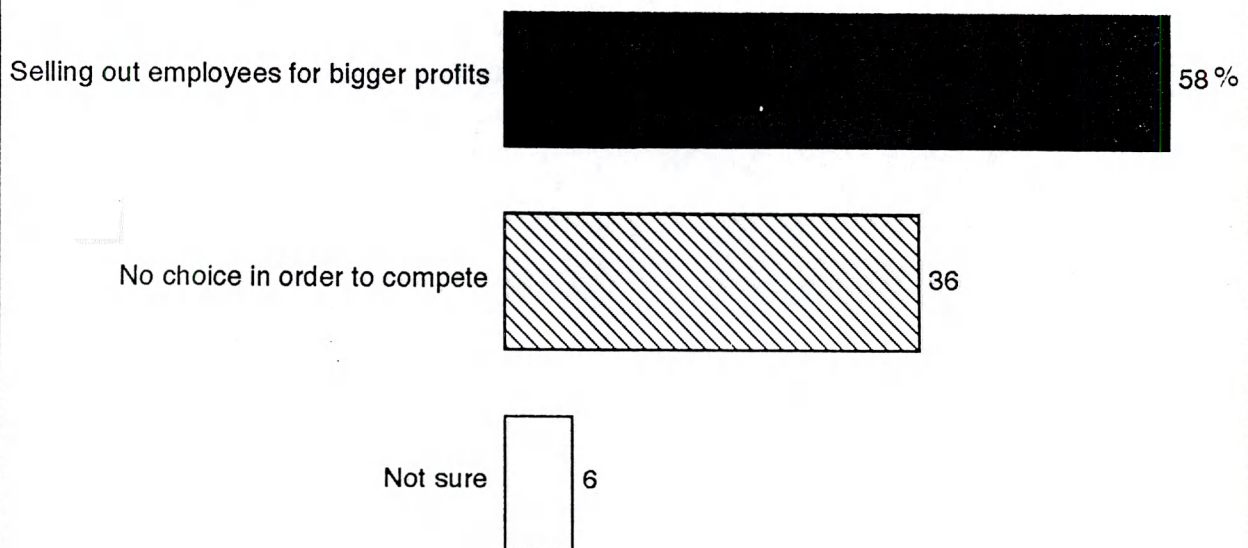


Significant majorities also point to government spending and excessive immigration as chief causes for under-employment. They are somewhat less likely to blame free trade agreements, changing technology or declining union power as underlying reasons for this problem.

In considering the motives behind the recent trend toward corporate downsizing, members take a rather accusatory view. By a substantial margin, a majority of the union's rank-and-file say that most downsizing is not necessitated by economic competition, but by excessive profiteering. Even a majority (54%) of self-styled conservative members share this viewpoint.

Most Believe Corporations Downsize at the Expense of Their Employees

Which of these opinions is closer to your own: Most corporations that downsize are just selling out their employees in order to make even bigger profits for themselves; OR most corporations that downsize do so because they have no choice if they want to compete and survive in the new global economy?



In view of the foregoing attitudes, it should come as no surprise that a lopsided majority of AFSCME members insist on accountability for corporations that benefit from state government-sponsored tax breaks and other policies. Fully 70% say that companies receiving such benefits should be required to make such specific job-creation commitments in return. They express this view even in the face of practical argument that some companies would no doubt relocate in a state with less stringent policies, taking their jobs with them.

Members Want Reciprocity In Corporate Welfare Policies

As you may know, your state government provides various tax breaks and other incentives to many corporations, in order to encourage those companies to remain in the state. Do you think your state government should require such companies to make specific commitments to create or preserve jobs in return for these tax breaks, or do you think this kind of approach would be a bad idea, since many companies would just decide to locate somewhere else, taking their jobs with them?

	State should require	Would be a bad idea	Not sure
All Members	70 %	23	7
Democrat	67 %	26	7
Independent	74 %	18	8
Republican	68 %	27	5
Liberal	71 %	22	6
Conservative	69 %	25	6

Testing Democratic Messages

Using a split-sample technique, we tested two alternative thematic messages the Democrats might use this year against the standard Republican message of "get the government out of the way."

Encouragingly, AFSCME members find both messages very compelling. In both cases, a two-to-one majority express a preference for the Democrats' message over that of the Republicans.

Members Find Appeal in Populist Message

Republican Message

"We need to cut the federal deficit, balance the budget, cut taxes and get government out of the way. This will put more money in people's pockets, increase investments and create the economic growth that will lead to better paying jobs for Americans."

Democratic Message A

"We should be doing more to help average, hard working families. We should provide retraining vouchers for those who have been laid off. We should make college tuition tax deductible. We should let people take their health benefits with them when they switch jobs, and we should do other things to help average families make it in the new economy."

Democratic Message B

"We should create economic growth that's going to work for everyone, not just the wealthy few. Profits are up and corporate executives are making a bundle, but average Americans are still struggling. We should require corporations that benefit from tax breaks and subsidies to create jobs instead of eliminating them, and to pay their employees fairly. We should make sure ordinary Americans get their fair share of the economic pie."

Much closer to Democrats	44 %	63
S/W closer to Democrats	19 %	
S/W closer to Republicans	13 %	33
Much closer to Republicans	20 %	
Not sure	4 %	

Much closer to Democrats	41 %	64
S/W closer to Democrats	23 %	
S/W closer to Republicans	15 %	29
Much closer to Republicans	14 %	
Not sure	7 %	

One Democratic message emphasized proposals now being highlighted by the White House to help average working families. These include retraining vouchers, tuition tax deductibility and portable health benefits. The other message featured a populist theme, and emphasized the need for fair treatment for ordinary Americans.

Although some recent research by Democratic pollsters has found the latter message less appealing to voters across the country, it receives a strongly favorable reception from AFSCME members. These results argue that, as the union communicates its election recommendations this fall, it should highlight these populist themes, among others, in explaining its support for Democratic candidates.

Looking over the totality of our survey results, we can conclude that Republican support is limited to no more than one-third of the membership population. Note the similarity in these results:

1.	Disapproval with Clinton	34%
2.	Support for Dole (2-way)	30%
3.	Support Republican for Congress	32%
4.	Prefer Republican approach on issues	32%
4.	Prefer Republican message (Sample A/B)	31%

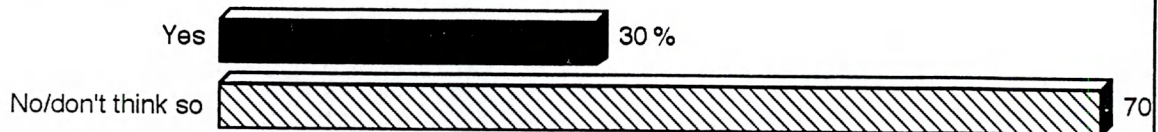
It is clear that Republican messages and candidates have limited appeal among members. Upwards of 70% will give Democratic candidates for federal office at least a hearing this fall. Many are already firmly committed to voting Democratic.

AFL-CIO Leadership Change

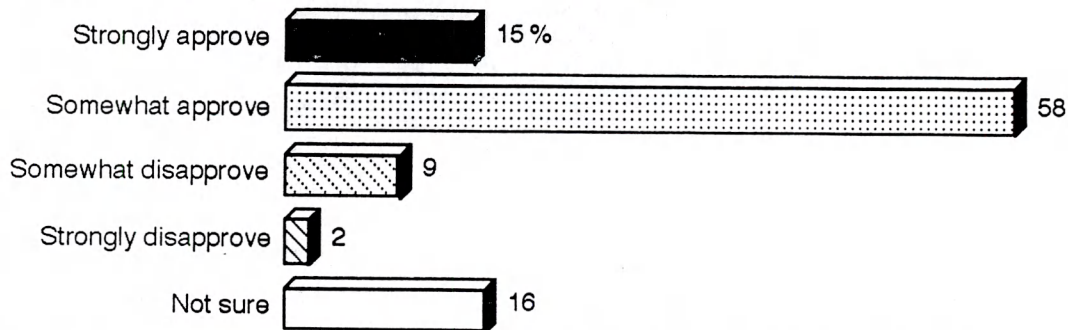
We tested both awareness of and support for the recent leadership change that has taken place within the AFL-CIO. Only three-in-ten AFSCME members had previously heard or read about the election of the Sweeney reform slate last fall. Encouragingly, members who are aware of the change view it as a step in the right direction. By a lopsided majority of 73% to 11% they express approval for the Federation's new leadership.

Most Members Unaware of Changes in AFL-CIO Leadership

Last fall a new group of leaders were elected as the top officers of the AFL-CIO, the national organization of labor unions. Had you previously heard or read about this change in leadership?



(OF THOSE THAT RESPONDED "YES":) Do you strongly approve of the change in leadership at the AFL-CIO, somewhat approve of it, somewhat disapprove of it, or strongly disapprove of the change in leadership?



FAX

The American Federation of State,
County and Municipal Employees. (AFSCME)
202/429-1100-ofc
202/429-1102-fax

COVER SHEET

DATE: 3/20

TO: Jennifer O'Connor

LOCATION: _____

FROM: Frank Cowan EXT. _____

DEPARTMENT: _____

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 1

COMMENTS: _____

- Pro looks good
- What about photo of 5/7
- What is status?

message

**TO: HAROLD ICKES/JENNIFER O'CONNOR
THE WHITE HOUSE**

FROM: FRANK COWAN

RE: NURSE RECOGNITION DAY/WEEK

ANA, SEIU, AFT and AFSCME are working together to promote Nurse Recognition Week May 6-10. A march is scheduled for May 10.

Although each organization will conduct separate events, collectively we plan an approach to the White House, an announcement of the Quality Coalition and a joint position on staffing and the linkage to health care quality.

The likely participants in this series of events will at a minimum include Rhonda Goode, Chair of SEIU's Nurse Council, Candi Owley, Chair of AFT's Nurse Policy Council, Virginia Trotter Betts, President, ANA and Kathy Sackman, AFSCME IVP.

Although any day May 6-9 would be appropriate for a White House activity (reception, etc.), May 6 would be an optimal start to the week's activities. Your help in facilitating a White House event/Nurse Recognition Week proclamation would be appreciated.

Barbara
they also
want a
photo of
what do you think?
Photo of?
Photo address when
he gives them
the photo?
Sen

Emaild
3/28

PROCLAMATION

- WHEREAS, 2.2 million registered nurses and 1 million licensed practical and vocational nurses, together represent this country's largest health care resource, and
- WHEREAS, Nurses care for Americans every day by providing safe, quality care, functioning as patient advocates, and
- WHEREAS, The American Nurses Association; the United Nurses of America/American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; the Federation of Nurses and Health Professionals/American Federation of Teachers; and the Service Employees International Union call for access to safe and quality care for all U.S. citizens and residents, and
- WHEREAS, The need for services of professional nurses is greater than ever because of an aging America, provider ability to sustain life through increased technology, changes in the settings where health care is delivered, and changing health care needs of today's consumers, and
- WHEREAS, Due to cost-cutting measures, many hospitals and other health care facilities are replacing nurses with unskilled, unlicensed workers who are performing tasks for which they do not have the education, clinical preparation or training, and as a result, the safety and quality of patient care is suffering, and
- WHEREAS, More than a decade of research demonstrates that when there are more nurses per patient, there will be lower mortality rates, shorter lengths of stay, fewer complications, and lower costs, and
- WHEREAS, The American Nurses Association; the United Nurses of America/American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; the Federation of Nurses and Health Professionals/American Federation of Teachers; and the Service Employees International Union have declared May 6, 1996 as National Nurses Recognition Day in celebration of those indispensable nurses who tirelessly work 365 days a year to provide safe and quality patient care and improve our health care system, and
- WHEREAS, My own mother, Virginia Kelley, was a registered nurse, and dedicated three decades of her life to providing quality nursing care to her patients, therefore, be it
- RESOLVED, That I, Bill Clinton, President of the United States of America, ask that all American citizens and residents of this country join me in honoring the nurses who care for all of us, and be it further
- RESOLVED, That the residents of the United States of America celebrate nursing's indispensable contributions and efforts to improve our health care system and show our appreciation of the nation's nurses not just today, but at every opportunity throughout the year.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

THE DIRECTOR

April 23, 1996

The Honorable Paul S. Sarbanes
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-2002

Dear Senator Sarbanes:

The purpose of this letter is to followup on our recent conversations and exchange of letters on the President's 1997 budget proposal to increase the level of agency contributions to the retirement fund for Civil Service Retirement System employees.

Based on these consultations with you and others, we have adjusted our proposal so that it would require agencies to increase their contribution for such employees by 2.6 percentage points, to a new rate of 9.6 percent, beginning in FY 1999 and continuing through FY 2002. This proposal will allow agencies adequate time to plan for the increased cost and avoid the disruption attendant to immediate implementation.

With this change, it will have the same deficit reduction effect as the provision in the bill passed by Congress and vetoed by the President last December. While this does not produce the same amount of deficit reduction as the Administration originally proposed in its 1997 budget, because of baseline reestimates, it now appears that this will be sufficient to help us achieve the President's goal of balancing the budget in FY 2002.

Thank you for your advice as we have worked to draft a proposal that will both achieve the necessary savings and be feasible for agencies to implement.

Sincerely,

Alice M. Rivlin
Director

Identical Letter Sent to The Honorable Steny H. Hoyer

b'le
labw-
AFGE-
94 budget

cc:

John
Angell

Jennifer
O'Connor
(also sent
to unions)

[FILE NAME: IVP3.QVM]

.....

INTERNATIONAL VICE PRESIDENT FROM CSEA/NEW YORK
JOSEPH McDERMOTT

Joseph McDermott was elected president of the 250,000-member Civil Service Employees Association (CSEA/AFSCME Local 1000) with more than 50 percent of the total vote in a three-way race in June 1988. It is just the latest step in a career that has seen him rise through the ranks from a grade III clerk in state service back in 1957. Along the way he has held elective and appointive union office at every level, including Department of Transportation Local President (1969-74), CSEA Capital Region President (1974-83) and statewide Executive Vice President (1983-88).

Since 1980, McDermott has also served as an International Vice president and was reelected to another four year term as and IUVP in June 1988. McDermott was also recently elected Vice President of the New York State AFI-CIO.

McDermott rose through the union's ranks, serving three terms as president of the Transportation Department Local 687. He has also served on negotiating teams and various union committees.

McDermott is a Marine Corps veteran of the Korean War and a graduate of LaSalle Institute in Troy, New York. He attended Hudson Valley Community College, Schenectady County Community College and Indiana Technical College.

He has served on the Albany Area United Way Board of Directors, several Cornell School of Industrial Labor Relations Albany area Committee for the Advancement of Studies for Women, the Labor Fund Raising Committee for the Salvation Army and the Labor Advisory Committee, Capital District NYSSILR, Cornell, and is a member of the DPOE Lodge #2594.

McDermott is a graduate of LaSalle Institute in Troy, N.Y. and attended Indiana Technical College in Fort Wayne, Indiana.

He presently lives in Rotterdam with his wife, the former Laura Mazurek. They have five children.

McDermott's term of office as head of CSEA runs through June 1991.

CSEA represents approximately 110,000 New York State employees, 100,000 local government and school district employees, and 40,000 retired public employees.

#

end

22 January 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB NASH
PATSY THOMASSON

FROM: HAROLD ICKES
JENNIFER O'CONNOR

SUBJECT: JOSEPH MCDERMOTT

Gerald McEntee, President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees has suggested Joseph McDermott for a Presidential appointment.

As you can see from the attached biography, Joseph McDermott served as the International Vice President of the AFSCME and as the Vice President of the New York State AFL-CIO. He has also served on both academic and public interest boards in New York.

Is there an appropriate Commission, paid or unpaid, full or part-time, for Mr. McDermott to be place on? Please get back to Jennifer with any possibilities. Thank You.

**AFSCME®**1625 L Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone (202) 429-1000

To: Jennifer O'Connor From: Frank Cowan *FC* Date: 1/22/96
Re: Attached Local No. _____

Per our conversation, re: an appointment to a federal committee or commission for Joe McDermott.

*Gerry Macenty suggested
approp. commiss. not
or paid? full time
log - interns*

in the public service

[FILE NAME: IVP3.QVM]

.....

JENNIFER D'CONNOR

456-7929

INTERNATIONAL VICE PRESIDENT FROM CSEA/NEW YORK
JOSEPH McDERMOTT

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#

end

FRANK COWAN

Assistant to the President

Jennifer O'Connor

FYI

file
Labor -
AFSCME
Marsh 12
Roll 12



AFSCME.
in the public service



M E M O R A N D U M

To: President McEntee
AFSCME Leadership

From: Marttila & Kiley

Date: March 20, 1996

Re: Membership Survey Findings

Introduction

Between March 14 and 17, 1996, we completed a national telephone survey among 602 AFSCME members. Interviews were conducted by trained professionals working from our telephone facility. The sample of respondents was drawn on a systematically random basis from the entire AFSCME membership file that is used to distribute the *Public Employee* magazine.

The primary objective of this study was to examine members' political attitudes and concerns as we move toward the 1996 presidential election campaign. In addition to measuring election preferences, we also probed members' perceptions of economic issues, and their reactions to Democratic economic themes.

Executive Summary

The results of our national membership survey indicate that AFSCME members strongly approve of President Clinton's performance in office. They express solid support for the President's reelection, and they are also inclined to support Democratic candidates for Congress this fall.

Members are principally concerned with economic issues, rather than by the national debate over societal values. They are worried about their own retirement security, and they are quite responsive to arguments that address the national debate in populist terms.

In particular, AFSCME members are quite skeptical about the motives and tactics of the country's major corporations -- and they are deeply troubled by the growing disparity in income between wealthy corporate interests and the working class.

AFSCME members solidly support President Clinton's bid for reelection.

A solid majority of AFSCME members approve of President Clinton's performance in office so far. The President's job-approval rating among AFSCME members has risen by a net of six points since our last national survey, in February 1995.

As was the case last year, the President enjoys a higher job-approval rating among AFSCME members than he does among the public-at-large.

In a head-to-head matchup, President Clinton holds a 25-point lead over Senator Bob Dole. This figure is about double the margin found in recent national surveys -- reflecting the fact that AFSCME's membership is noticeably less Republican in its sympathies, than is the public as a whole.

President Clinton retains this margin over Senator Dole in a three-way matchup that includes Independent Ross Perot.

At 18%, Perot's vote is not much smaller than Dole's -- and it is consistent with the 16% of AFSCME members who say they voted for Perot in the 1992 general election.

On most issues, members tend to side with President Clinton against the Congressional Republicans. A plurality of members plan to support Democratic candidates for Congress.

A solid plurality of AFSCME members believe President Clinton has a better overall approach to the issues than do the Republicans in Congress. The President's advantage in this regard has more than doubled since our last survey -- moving from five points to 13 points in the last year.

In terms of specific issues, members express a strong preference for Clinton's stand on such issues as Medicare, the minimum wage, and occupational safety. Members in fact say they prefer Clinton's approach to the GOP's on every issue we tested, save one: balancing the federal budget.

In a generic test of preferences in this November's Congressional election, AFSCME members favor Democratic candidates over Republicans by a 14-point margin. This margin is slightly higher than the actual preference expressed by AFSCME members in the 1994 Congressional election.

Members are much more concerned with the economy than with social issues. They are most troubled by perceived threats to retirement security, and by increasing inequity in personal incomes.

By a three-to-one margin, AFSCME members say they are more interested in hearing the candidates address economic issues, rather than the purported moral breakdown of American society.

Their concern with economic issues reflects their belief that the nation's economy is not in good shape, and that they have not been able to better the economic well-being of their own families.

In members' eyes, the most serious economic problems involve perceived threats to their own income security -- represented by possible cutbacks in Medicare and Social Security -- and the increasing gap that separates the incomes of the wealthy from those of the middle class.

Significantly, AFSCME members express greater concern about the increasing *gap* in personal incomes, than about the simple fact that middle-class wages have not been on the rise. In other words, AFSCME members respond more strongly to a discussion of the stagnant-income issue that is couched in populist terms that emphasize income inequity.

Members are deeply skeptical about corporate motives and tactics, and they are responsive to populist appeals to support Democratic candidates.

In assessing blame for the dearth of good-paying jobs, AFSCME members focus first of all on corporations who place profits before people. To a lesser extent, they also blame the federal deficit and the rise in foreign immigration.

But members are much less likely to blame the nation's current economic difficulties on trade agreements such as NAFTA, or on the declining influence of the labor movement.

Members' deeply-felt skepticism toward corporate America also finds expression in their strong belief that corporate downsizing is motivated not by economic necessity, but by a desire for greater profits.

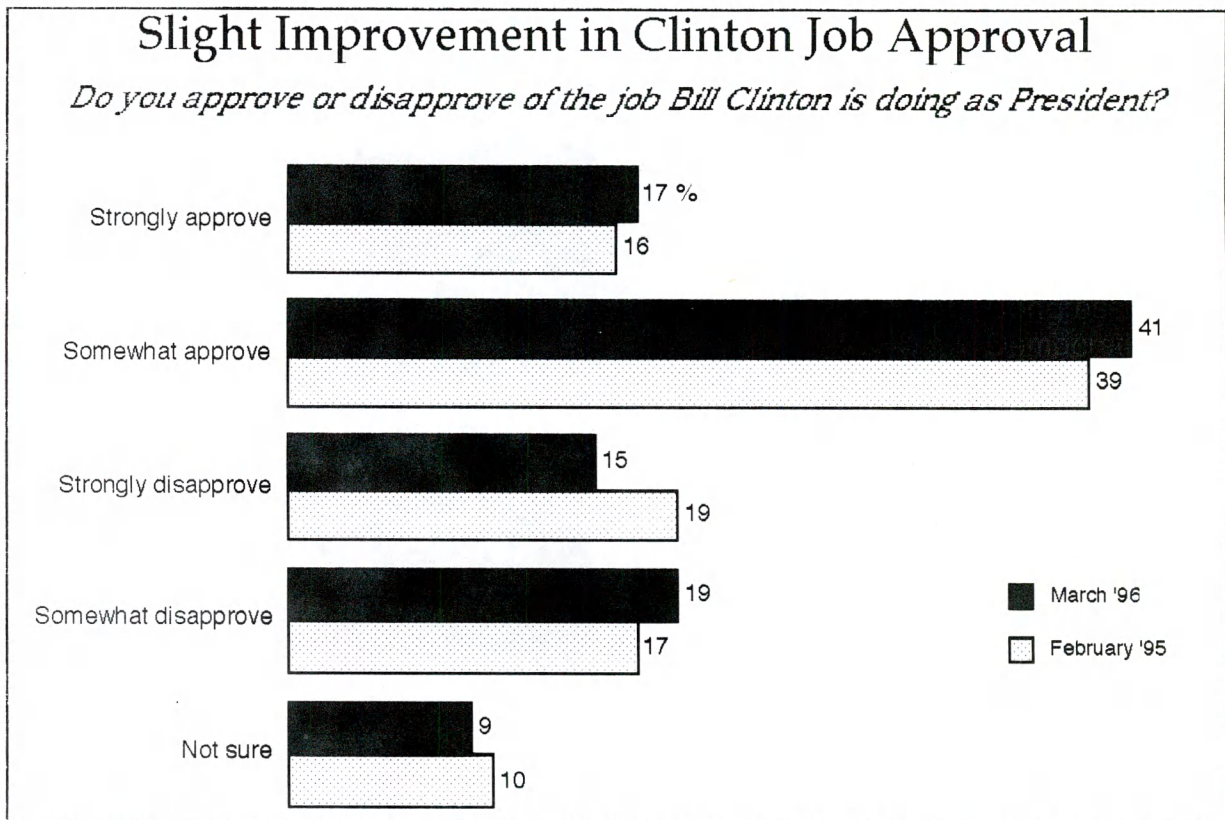
This deep sense of skepticism about corporate motives strongly suggests that AFSCME members would be responsive to populist themes and messages. In fact, a test of two different, pro-Democratic campaign messages indicates that a populist message that emphasizes growing corporate power and income inequity, is just as effective as the benign, middle-class message that has been emanating from the White House lately.

With this in mind, we believe that AFSCME leaders should seek to incorporate such populist themes into member communications during this election season.

Detailed Summary

November Election Preferences

Compared with our most recent previous membership survey, which was completed in February of 1995, AFSCME's members award Bill Clinton a slightly higher job performance rating. Fully 58% express approval of the President's performance, while 34% voice disapproval. These figures represent a six-point net increase since last year's study.

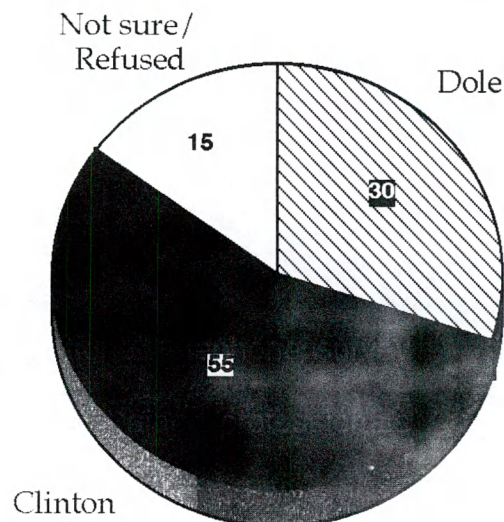


As we saw in our 1995 survey, Clinton's rating continues to run several points higher among AFSCME's members than among voters at-large. The most recent CNN/Gallup survey, conducted simultaneously with our study, reports Clinton's job rating at 52% to 39%, a net 11 points lower than among members.

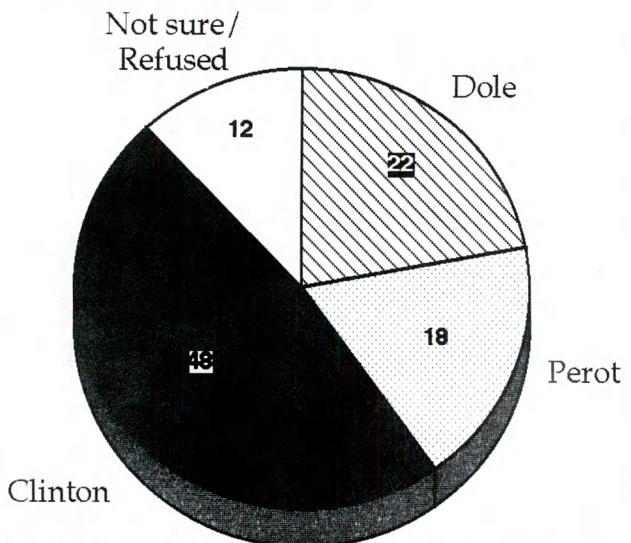
If the November election were being held today, AFSCME members would vote to reelect Bill Clinton by a wide margin. Clinton enjoys a 25-point lead over Bob Dole, which is twice the size of his current margin in national polling. CNN/Gallup is reporting Clinton's lead at 54% to 42% among all voters.

AFSCME Members Give Clinton Huge Lead in Both Two-Way and Three-Way Trial Heats

If the November election for President were being held tomorrow, and the candidates were Democrat Bill Clinton and Republican Bob Dole, would you be more inclined to vote for Dole or Clinton?



And if the election were being held tomorrow and the three candidates were Republican Bob Dole, Independent Ross Perot and Democrat Bill Clinton, which candidate would you be most inclined to vote for?



In a three-way race including Ross Perot, Clinton's lead is equally imposing, with Perot garnering almost as much of the non-Clinton vote as Dole.

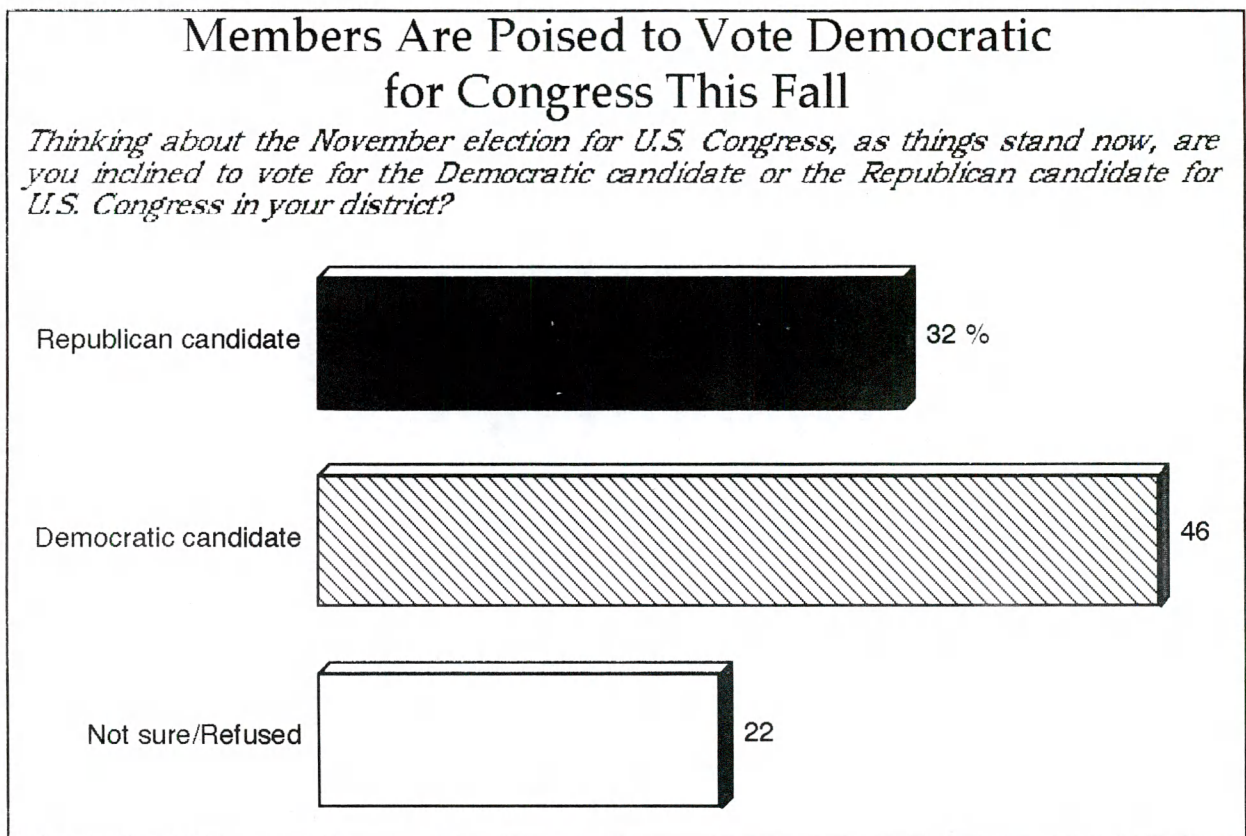
At 18%, the Perot vote is even higher among AFSCME's members than it is among voters at-large (16%, CNN/Gallup). This figure is also comparable to the 16% of all members who told us in an earlier study that they had voted for Perot in the 1992 election.

The figures in the chart below show the same gender gap within AFSCME's membership that can be seen among voters in general. Clinton's margin among men in a two-way trial heat is 13 points; by contrast, it balloons to 35 points among women. The same pattern can be seen in the three-way trial heat.

Trial Heats By Gender, Party					
	Two-Way		Three-Way		
	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Clinton</u>
All Members	30%	55	22 %	18	48
Men	37%	50	29 %	20	41
Women	24%	59	17 %	16	53
Democrats	8%	85	5 %	12	77
Independents	25%	52	15 %	24	42
Republicans	74%	16	64 %	15	15
<i>Remainder not sure/Refused</i>					

AFSCME members are more likely to describe themselves as Independents (36%), than as either Democrats (35%) or Republicans (23%). For this reason, it is especially encouraging to find that Bill Clinton is holding a better than two-to-one margin over Bob Dole among these Independent members. In a three-way race, Clinton wins a solid plurality of Independents, with Perot finishing second and Dole a distant third.

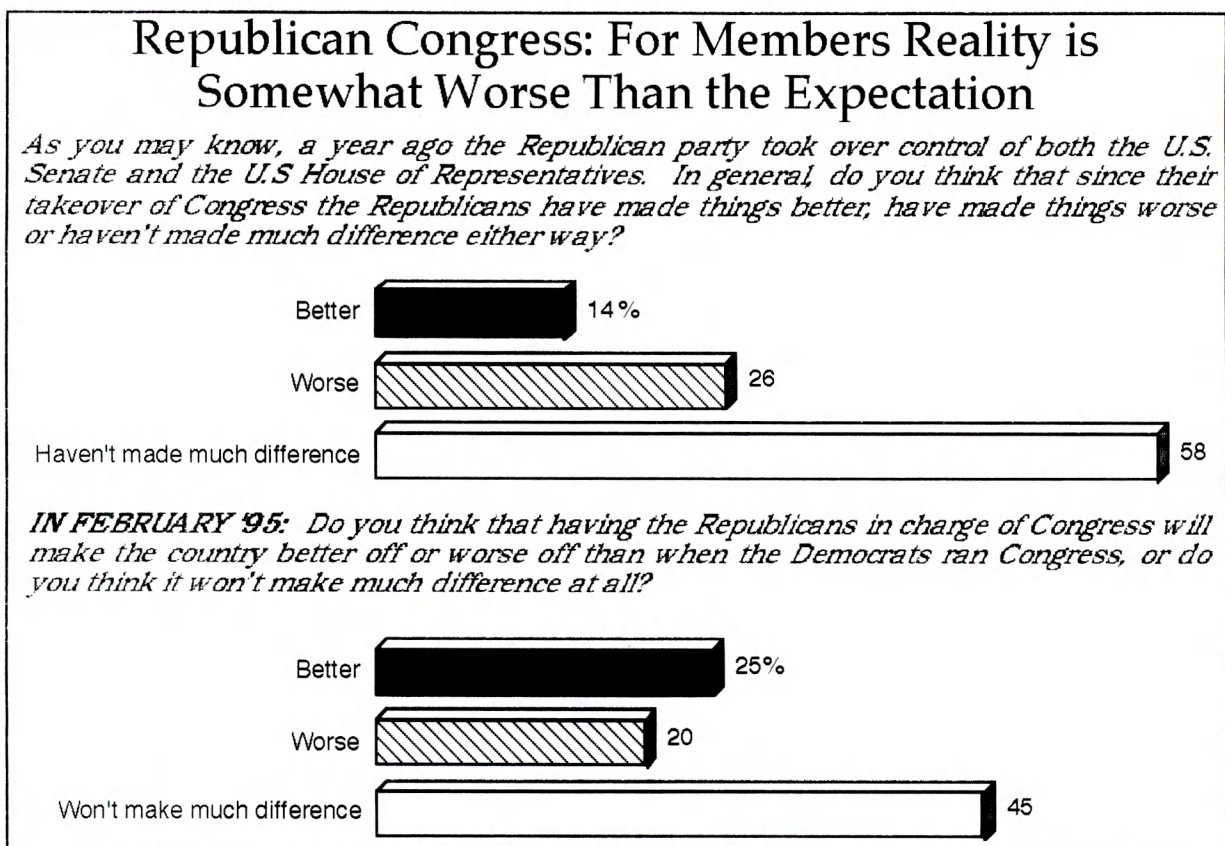
We also asked members to express their preferences in a generic trial heat for U.S. Congress. As of today, they intend to vote Democratic, by a margin of 46% to 32%. These figures are slightly better than the 49% to 37% margin by which members reported having voted Democratic in the November, 1994 election.



There are signs that AFSCME members will actually end up voting Democratic by an even wider margin. For example, among the large number of members who are undecided in the Congressional election, Bill Clinton enjoys a solid, 45%-to-19% lead over Bob Dole.

Clinton vs. Congressional Republicans

One year ago a plurality of the union's members told us they did not expect the Republican takeover of Congress to make much difference one way or the other. Today a solid majority say they do not believe the Republican takeover has in fact made much difference.



This response uncovers some imprecision in the question. What is not clear in their answers is whether AFSCME members feel the takeover has had little effect because Republicans have failed to enact most of their program, or because members do not see the Republican program as a threat to them.

It should be said that there has been a measurable shift on the part of AFSCME members who do express a firm opinion on this matter. A year ago, 25% expected the Republican takeover to produce good results; today only 14% say the Republicans have in fact made things better.

In keeping with the general pattern of improvement for Clinton throughout the survey, compared to a year ago members are more disposed to align themselves on policy matters with the President than with the Republicans in Congress. In considering who has "the better approach for solving the problems facing the country," members chose Clinton last year by only five percentage points; as the figures below indicate, the Clinton margin has grown to 13 points in this current study.

A Solid Plurality Favor Clinton's Approach, Especially On Key Middle Class Concerns

In general, who do you think has the better approach for solving the problems facing the country: President Clinton or the Republicans in Congress?

	Today	February '95
Clinton	45 %	38%
Republicans	32	33
Neither	12	16
Other, Not sure	11	13

I'm going to read a list of specific issues. For each one I mention, please tell me if you think President Clinton or the Republicans in Congress generally have the better approach to this issue.

	Clinton	Republicans	Neither	Both equal	Not sure
Protecting Social Security/Medicare	58%	24	7	2	9
Raising the minimum wage	56%	19	8	3	14
Promoting worker health and safety	54%	17	8	4	18
Protecting the environment	52%	19	8	4	17
Improving education	52%	20	12	5	11
Creating jobs and economic growth	44%	30	11	4	11
Providing middle class tax relief	42%	29	14	3	13
Balancing the federal budget	32%	37	17	3	10

Clinton's advantage over Republicans is strongest on the issues that he and other Democrats have been highlighting in recent months: Medicare; minimum wage; the environment; and education. In promoting the President and a Democratic agenda, AFSCME's leadership will draw the strongest response among the rank-and-file when emphasizing these themes.

Although they do so by a narrower margin, members also voice a preference for Clinton policies on both economic growth and middle class tax relief. Only when it comes to balancing the federal budget do members say the Republicans have the better approach -- albeit by a narrow, 37%-to-32% margin.

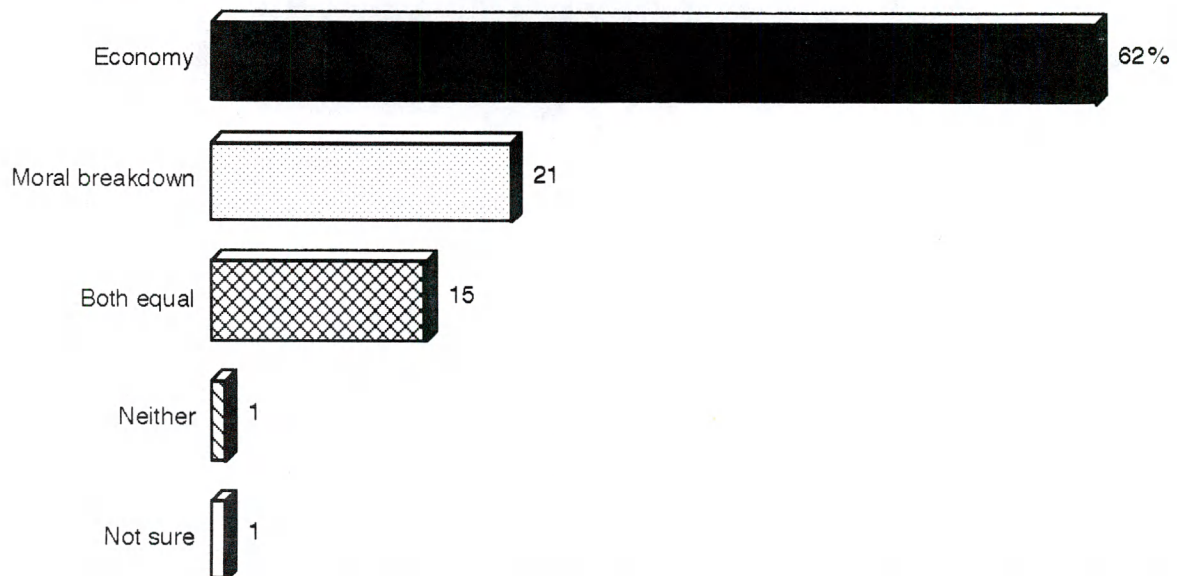
Economic Concerns

The 1992 Presidential election was about the economy and, as far as AFSCME members are concerned, the 1996 election will be about the same issue. By an overwhelming three-to-one ratio, respondents say they are more interested in hearing what the Presidential candidates are going to do to create jobs and improve the standard of living than how they plan to deal with the moral decline in the country and restore traditional values.

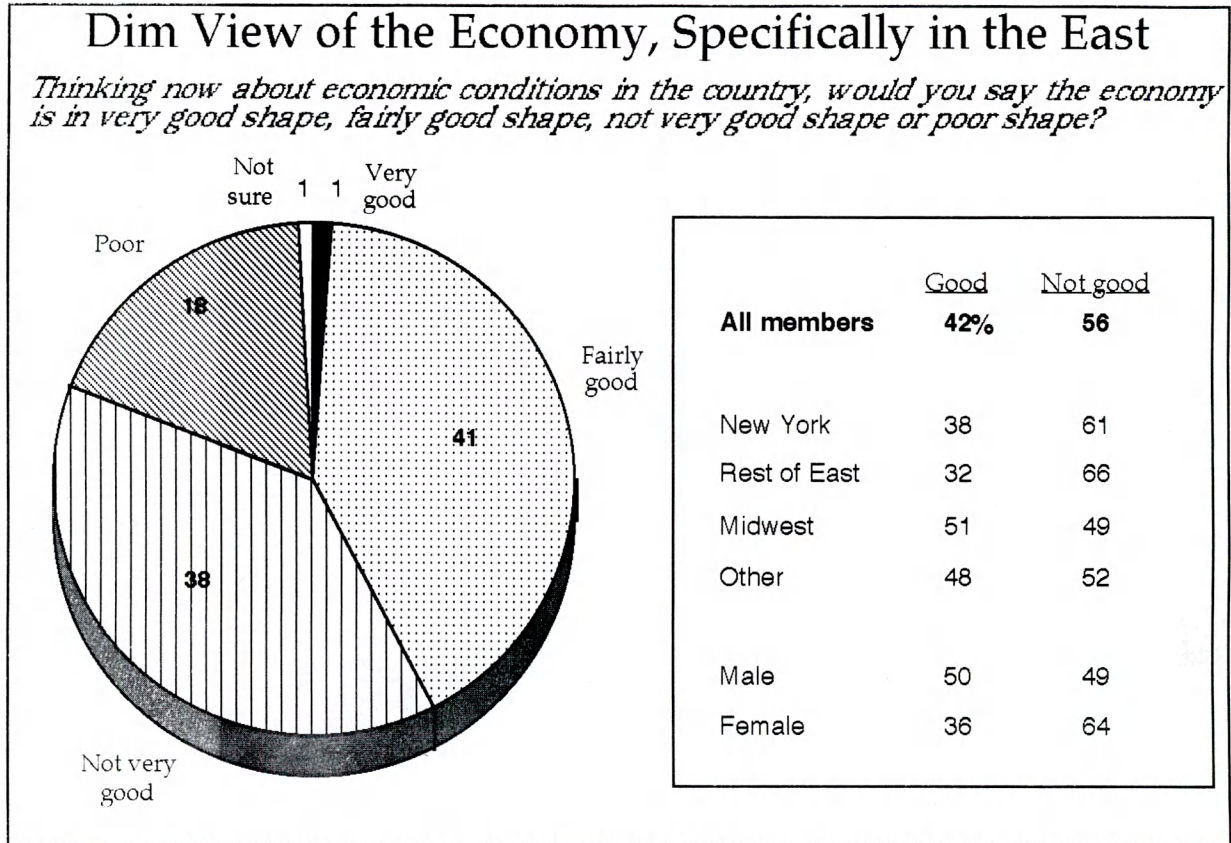
With the exception of Republicans, a majority of every subgroup within the AFSCME membership wants the election to center on economic issues rather than on a discussion of values. Even among Republicans, a 49%-to-29% plurality expresses greater interest in economic matters.

"It's Still the Economy, Stupid"

Looking ahead to the election campaign for President this fall, which of the following two issues are you more interested in hearing the candidates talk about? How they plan to deal with the economy, improve the standard of living for Americans and create more good-paying jobs; OR how they plan to deal with the moral breakdown that many people feel is occurring, and to restore traditional values.



As members look at the national economy, most see reason for pessimism. By a margin of 56% to 42%, they describe economic conditions as being not so good or poor.

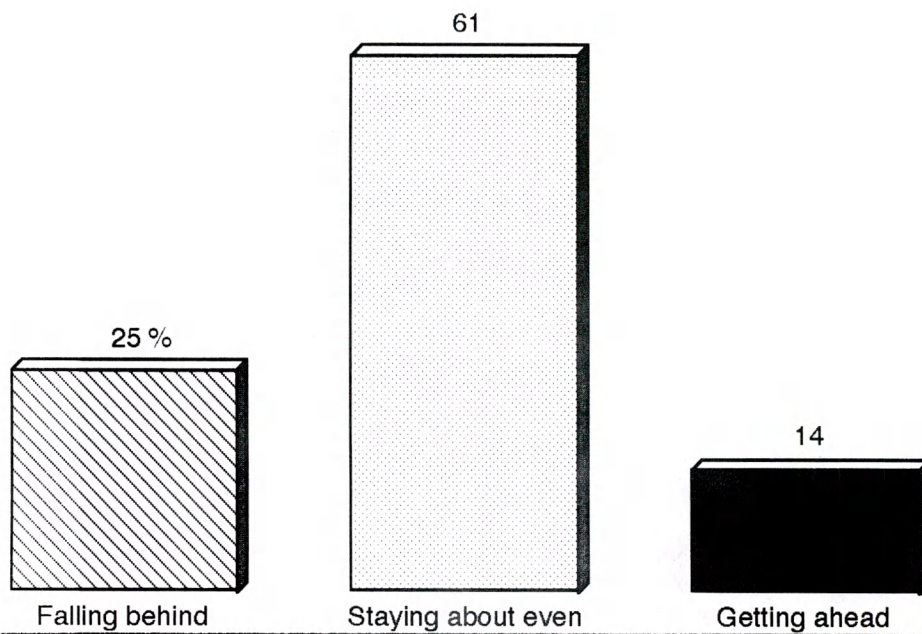


The economic outlook is especially bleak in New York and the rest of the East Coast, where more than three-in-five members describe the economy in negative terms. There is also a significant gender gap in economic perceptions, with women far more likely than men to express a pessimistic view of things.

In terms of their own personal financial situations, most members report that they are "staying about even." As the chart on the following page shows, however, substantially more respondents say they are falling behind (25%) than say they are getting ahead (14%).

Members Are Getting By, But Not Getting Ahead

Thinking specifically about you and your family -- would you say your family has been falling behind, staying about even, or getting ahead financially?



At a time when political rhetoric is dominated by an emphasis on the interests of the "middle class," it should be noted that most AFSCME members think of themselves as "working class." Only one-in-three members say they are part of the middle class.

Most Members Think of Themselves as Working Class

Do you think of yourself as middle class or working class?

	Middle class	Working class	Working middle class	Not sure
All Members	34 %	57	8	1
Under \$30K	23%	70	6	1
\$30K to \$50K	29%	61	9	1
Over \$50K	51%	39	9	1
High school/less	26%	66	6	2
Some college	29%	58	12	3
College grad	54%	37	8	1

Self-perceptions of middle class vs. working class are heavily influenced by socioeconomic status, as measured by both income and education. AFSCME members who have been graduated from college are more than twice as likely as those whose education stopped at high school to say they are middle class. Similarly, more than half of all members whose households earn over \$50,000 place themselves in the middle class; by contrast, 70% of those earning under \$30,000 describe themselves as working class.

Among the persons and groups we tested, AFSCME members believe that only their union represents their economic interests on a consistent basis. Fully 51% say that the union represents their interests all or most of the time, while only 10% say that the union hardly ever does so.

A Majority of Members Believe the Union Usually Represents Their Economic Interests

I'm going to read a brief list of persons and organizations. For each one I mention, please tell me whether you feel that person or group represents the economic interests of people like you nearly all of the time, most of the time, only some of the time or hardly any of the time.

	All, Most of the time	Only some of the time	Hardly any of the time
Your union	51%	39	10
Bill Clinton	36%	45	16
The AFL-CIO	36%	42	12
The Democratic party	32%	49	14
The Republican party	20%	44	31
Ross Perot	18%	34	37
Bob Dole	15%	41	32
Pat Buchanan	10%	29	44

Remainder not sure

The fact that most members see neither the President, the AFL-CIO nor the Democratic Party as consistently standing up for their economic concerns underscores the degree of alienation members feel, both as taxpayers and government employees.

Although President Clinton is not seen by members as a consistent advocate of their economic concerns, he fares much better than Bob Dole: nearly four-in-ten express a high degree of trust in Clinton, compared to only 15% for Dole. Clinton also does much better than Ross Perot; the proportion of members who express a high degree of trust in Perot -- 18% -- is identical to his support in our three-way trial heat.

At the very bottom of the list is Pat Buchanan. For all of the hoopla about Buchanan's appeal to union workers on trade and economic populism, only 10% of all AFSCME members would say that he consistently represents their economic interests.

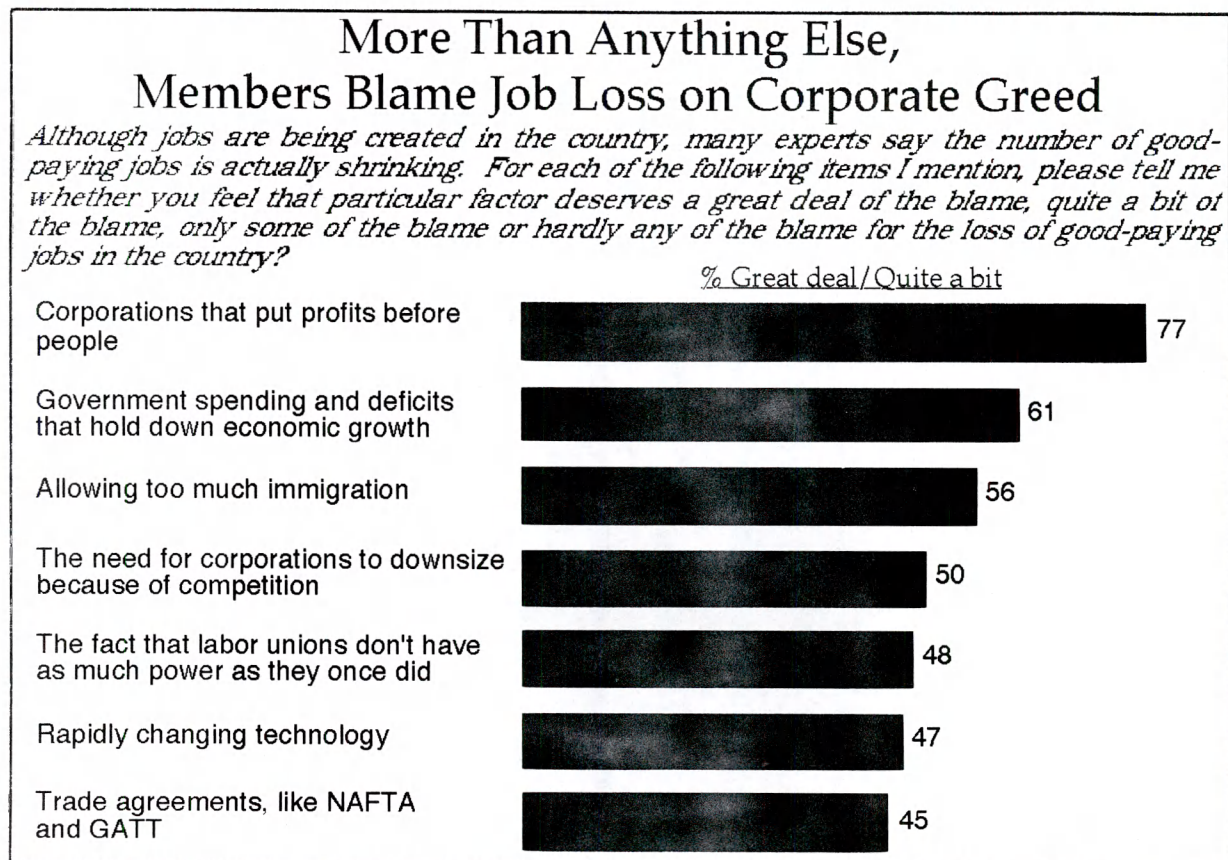
We presented respondents with a list of 12 economic problems, asking them to indicate on a ten-point scale how serious they feel each problem is. The results displayed below show that two concerns stand out above all others: threats to Medicare and Social Security; and income inequality between the wealthy and average Americans. Our findings make it clear that members respond most strongly when the issue of income stagnation is pitched in sharply populist terms. While 45% say they are deeply troubled by the lack of raises needed to maintain living standards, fully 55% express deep concern over the same issue when it is juxtaposed with the rising incomes among the wealthy, or among corporate elites.

Members See Income Inequities and Threats to Retirement Security Most Serious Problem			
<i>I'm going to read a list of economic problems that some people have mentioned to us. For each problem, please use a scale from one to ten to tell me how serious you feel that problem is. If you feel the problem is very serious, you would select a number closer to ten; if you feel a problem is not so serious at this time, you would select a number closer to one.</i>			
% rating 9 or 10			
Possible cutbacks in Medicare and Social Security that could threaten retirement plans.	60%	Workers not getting the raises they need to maintain their standard of living.	45
Incomes of the wealthy have been going up, while the incomes of middle class Americans have been standing still.	55	The amount of money that working families have to pay in taxes.	44
The high salaries that many corporate executives make, even while the wages of average workers are being held down.	54	The lack of good-paying jobs, the kind you can raise a family on.	44
The trouble many families have making ends meet even with two people working.	49	Proposed cutbacks in college loan programs, making it harder for average families to send their kids to college.	43
The size of the federal budget deficit.	49	The trend toward corporate downsizing and layoffs, even among profitable companies.	42
The amount of taxpayer money that is being used to provide subsidies and tax breaks to big businesses.	46	Unemployment, the number of people out of work.	39

The issue of joblessness, whether described as unemployment or as corporate downsizing, generates significantly less concern among members than income inequities, or stagnant wages in general.

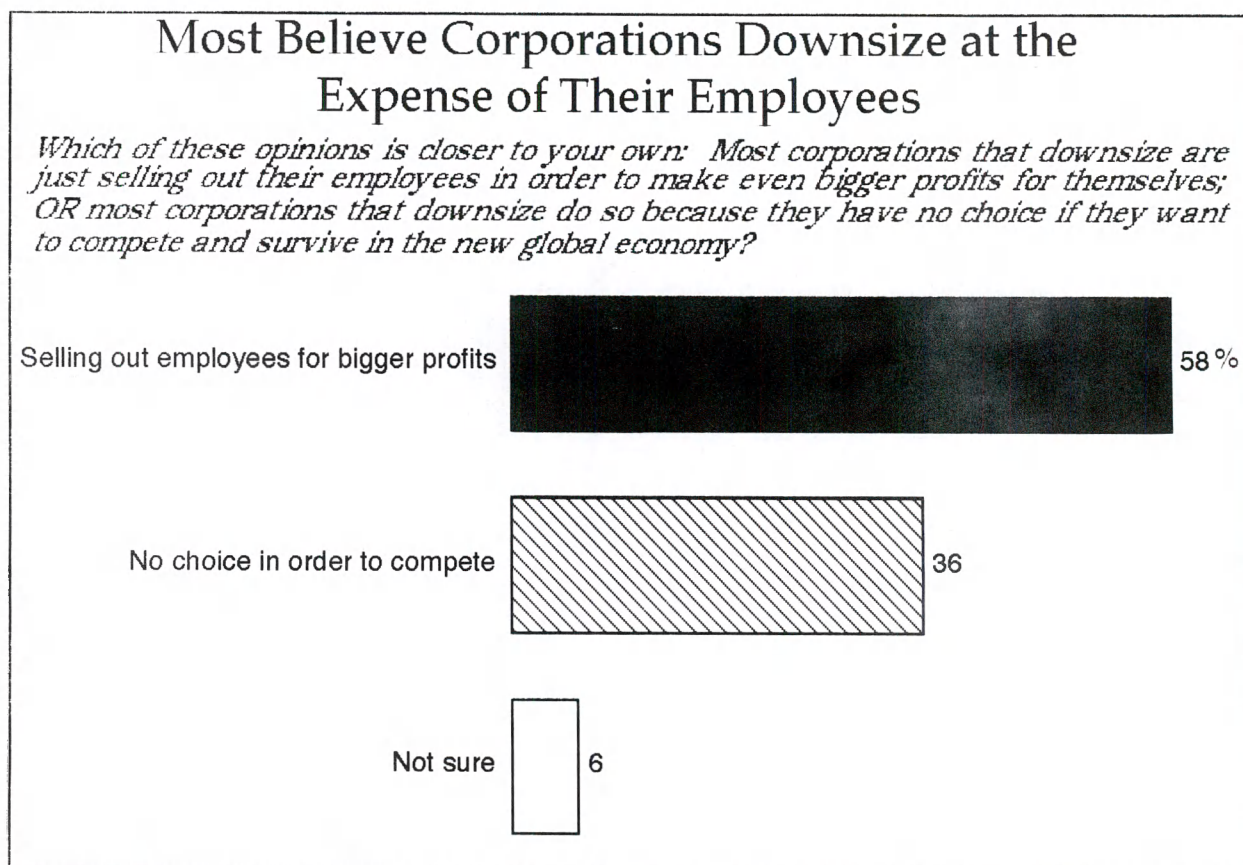
Attitudes Toward Corporate Behavior

In addition to their obvious resentment over executive salaries, members express skepticism toward big business in several other responses. When offered seven possible reasons for the loss of "good-paying jobs" in the country, more members cite corporate profiteering than any other item.



Significant majorities also point to government spending and excessive immigration as chief causes for under-employment. They are somewhat less likely to blame free trade agreements, changing technology or declining union power as underlying reasons for this problem.

In considering the motives behind the recent trend toward corporate downsizing, members take a rather accusatory view. By a substantial margin, a majority of the union's rank-and-file say that most downsizing is not necessitated by economic competition, but by excessive profiteering. Even a majority (54%) of self-styled conservative members share this viewpoint.



In view of the foregoing attitudes, it should come as no surprise that a lopsided majority of AFSCME members insist on accountability for corporations that benefit from state government-sponsored tax breaks and other policies. Fully 70% say that companies receiving such benefits should be required to make such specific job-creation commitments in return. They express this view even in the face of practical argument that some companies would no doubt relocate in a state with less stringent policies, taking their jobs with them.

Members Want Reciprocity In Corporate Welfare Policies

As you may know, your state government provides various tax breaks and other incentives to many corporations, in order to encourage those companies to remain in the state. Do you think your state government should require such companies to make specific commitments to create or preserve jobs in return for these tax breaks, or do you think this kind of approach would be a bad idea, since many companies would just decide to locate somewhere else, taking their jobs with them?

	State should require	Would be a bad idea	Not sure
All Members	70 %	23	7
Democrat	67 %	26	7
Independent	74 %	18	8
Republican	68 %	27	5
Liberal	71 %	22	6
Conservative	69 %	25	6

Testing Democratic Messages

Using a split-sample technique, we tested two alternative thematic messages the Democrats might use this year against the standard Republican message of "get the government out of the way."

Encouragingly, AFSCME members find both messages very compelling. In both cases, a two-to-one majority express a preference for the Democrats' message over that of the Republicans.

Members Find Appeal in Populist Message

Republican Message

"We need to cut the federal deficit, balance the budget, cut taxes and get government out of the way. This will put more money in people's pockets, increase investments and create the economic growth that will lead to better paying jobs for Americans."

Democratic Message A

"We should be doing more to help average, hard working families. We should provide retraining vouchers for those who have been laid off. We should make college tuition tax deductible. We should let people take their health benefits with them when they switch jobs, and we should do other things to help average families make it in the new economy."

Democratic Message B

"We should create economic growth that's going to work for everyone, not just the wealthy few. Profits are up and corporate executives are making a bundle, but average Americans are still struggling. We should require corporations that benefit from tax breaks and subsidies to create jobs instead of eliminating them, and to pay their employees fairly. We should make sure ordinary Americans get their fair share of the economic pie."

Much closer to Democrats	44 %	63
S/W closer to Democrats	19 %	
S/W closer to Republicans	13 %	33
Much closer to Republicans	20 %	
Not sure	4 %	

Much closer to Democrats	41 %	64
S/W closer to Democrats	23 %	
S/W closer to Republicans	15 %	29
Much closer to Republicans	14 %	
Not sure	7 %	

One Democratic message emphasized proposals now being highlighted by the White House to help average working families. These include retraining vouchers, tuition tax deductibility and portable health benefits. The other message featured a populist theme, and emphasized the need for fair treatment for ordinary Americans.

Although some recent research by Democratic pollsters has found the latter message less appealing to voters across the country, it receives a strongly favorable reception from AFSCME members. These results argue that, as the union communicates its election recommendations this fall, it should highlight these populist themes, among others, in explaining its support for Democratic candidates.

Looking over the totality of our survey results, we can conclude that Republican support is limited to no more than one-third of the membership population. Note the similarity in these results:

1.	Disapproval with Clinton	34%
2.	Support for Dole (2-way)	30%
3.	Support Republican for Congress	32%
4.	Prefer Republican approach on issues	32%
4.	Prefer Republican message (Sample A/B)	31%

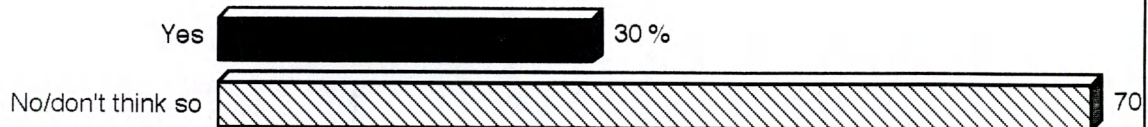
It is clear that Republican messages and candidates have limited appeal among members. Upwards of 70% will give Democratic candidates for federal office at least a hearing this fall. Many are already firmly committed to voting Democratic.

AFL-CIO Leadership Change

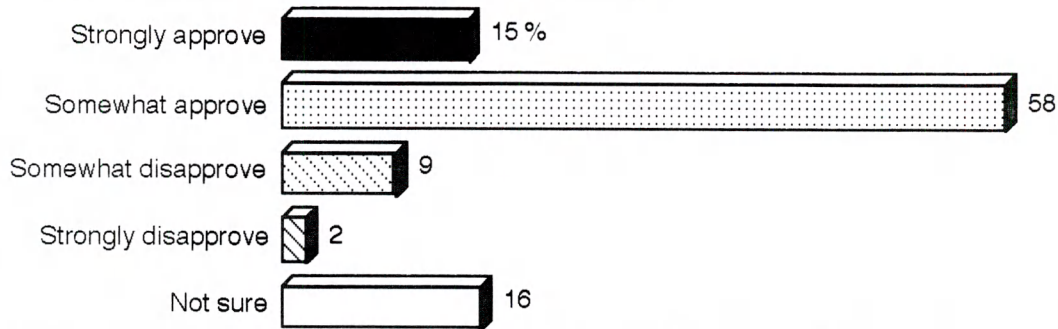
We tested both awareness of and support for the recent leadership change that has taken place within the AFL-CIO. Only three-in-ten AFSCME members had previously heard or read about the election of the Sweeney reform slate last fall. Encouragingly, members who are aware of the change view it as a step in the right direction. By a lopsided majority of 73% to 11% they express approval for the Federation's new leadership.

Most Members Unaware of Changes in AFL-CIO Leadership

Last fall a new group of leaders were elected as the top officers of the AFL-CIO, the national organization of labor unions. Had you previously heard or read about this change in leadership?



(OF THOSE THAT RESPONDED "YES".) Do you strongly approve of the change in leadership at the AFL-CIO, somewhat approve of it, somewhat disapprove of it, or strongly disapprove of the change in leadership?



Exec Sec

FEB 15 1996

ES 96-155020 Due 2/16/96

Mr. Gerald W. McEntee
International President
AFSCME
1625 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036-5687

Dear Mr. McEntee:

Thank you for your letter to Secretary Rubin regarding pension simplification provisions and the current negotiations. The Secretary referred your letter to my office.

As you know, President Clinton vetoed the budget reconciliation bill sent to him by the Congress. The Administration desires to work with the Congress to reach agreement on a balanced budget that best serves the American people. Please be assured that the Department of the Treasury will take your concerns into consideration as we continue to advise the Administration on pension policy issues in the context of budget negotiations.

As you may also know, the President's pension simplification proposal, which he announced in June 1995, included many provisions similar to the pension simplification provisions in the budget reconciliation legislation, including significant provisions that benefit participants in pension plans of state and local governments.

Thank you again for your letter.

Sincerely,

(Signed)

J. Mark Iwry
Benefits Tax Counsel

Office	Initiator DO/X	Reviewer DO/X(Edit)		
Name Room	K. Knopf Room 4021	L. Hadcox Room 1064		
Initials/Date	8/2/96			



AFSCME®

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO

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Philadelphia, Pa.Larry R. Smith
East Lansing, Mich.Linda Chavez-Thompson
San Antonio, Tex.Gyrlene W. Webb
Baton Rouge, La.

February 1, 1995

The Honorable Robert E. Rubin
Secretary
Department of the Treasury
Main Treasury Building
1500. Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20220

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am writing on behalf of the 1.3 million members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) to express our support for a number of important pension simplification provisions that have been included in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation and Tax bill.

Urgent action is needed to protect the \$40 billion of public employee retirement savings that are currently invested in Section 457 deferred compensation plans. These plans are the primary vehicle used by state and local government employees to set aside their own money for future retirement needs, a goal we should be encouraging. Unfortunately, these employee assets which are tax-deferred until the money is actually needed for retirement are threatened when local governments face fiscal problems, and if a jurisdiction becomes insolvent and files for bankruptcy protection, these employee assets actually can become subject to seizure by third party creditors of the employer. As a direct result of the financial uncertainty in Orange County, California, employees actually have seen their assets taken away. Other jurisdictions face this threat as well, and I note that the Central Alexander County Public Water District in Ohio recently filed for bankruptcy protection on December 7, 1995. It is outrageous that employee pension assets can be taken away. It is clear we need strong, new legislation that will protect employee assets and prevent seizures of employee savings by creditors of the employer. I hope the Administration will support the bipartisan language which was included in the bill already passed by the Congress.

In addition, AFSCME supports other pension simplification provisions, including those which would provide for the indexation of maximum contributions that can be made under Section 457 as well as other technical corrections to protect the tax status of Section 415 public employee pension plans.

in the public service

2/3 copy
to Jim O'C

1/82
just received for a copy
of response

622-0073

02/29/96

11:54

9 202 6220073

TREAS EXEC SEC

002

FEB-27 96 15:29 FROM:

12024562464

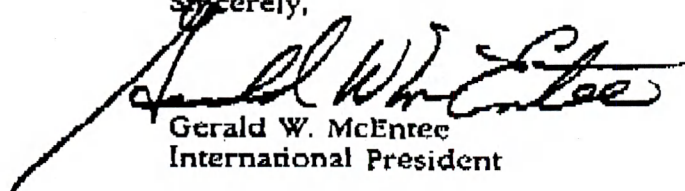
TO: 9 202 6220073

PAGE: 03

-2-

Thank you for your assistance and attention to these important employee pension matters.

Sincerely,


Gerald W. McEntee
International President

GMcE:ejc

cc: Harold Ickes, Deputy Chief of Staff ✓
Ellen Seidman, Special Asst. to the President for Economic Policy
Leslie Samuels, Asst. Secretary for Tax Policy
Mark Ivory, Benefits Tax Counsel

Bolton

John
ATSE/MS

McEntee, Lovelace, Crenshaw, Scalet, Rosenwald 2/19/96

① Medicaid

many odds

Abner Bayh

Bayh will press negotiators

+ want crying to happen on this

② Welfare

- how he did get away w/o a bill

- maybe got to have talk to pull in House

- we can't pull on vote if he does welfare

- our vote might not matter to POTUS

- but they'll elect the House

any deal needs to cover people -
child care, jobs, etc
build an engine

He will rain hell

if there's a deal, they had to be part

- displacement language

* don't make labor in the closet
wage lag / job security

* fed issue - need more growth - we need to have
something or someone focus on it

- Summer media

✶ figure out where Lohan / Bruce Lee are
on Arsenal's welfare staff

man wage ≠ big increase, → but is symbolic

March 13, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR MARCIA HALE
JOHN HART

FROM: JENNIFER O'CONNOR

SUBJECT: St. Patrick's Day Reception

Gerry McEntee, President of AFSCME has asked to have Mr. Thomas V. "Mike" Miller, and Mr. Casper Taylor added to the St. Patrick's Day Reception list. Mr. McEntee has a collective bargaining bill that he is trying to get unstuck in Maryland. Please let me know your thoughts on this as soon as possible. Thank you.

John -
can you
call Jen or me
about this asap?
thanks!
Shana

6.1e AFSCME

resolution -
wait for McEntee
to call there

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220*bill
Labor -
AFSCME*

FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

DATE:

2/16/96

NUMBER OF SHEETS TO FOLLOW:

4 ---

TO:

Frank Szollasi

ADDRESSEE'S FAX #:

456-7929

ADDRESSEE'S CONFIRMATION #:

FROM:

Ben NyeSENDER'S FAX #: 202-622-0073SENDER'S CONFIRMATION #: 202-622-1700

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/COMMENTS:

Exec Sec

FEB 15 1996

ES 96-155020 Due 2/16/96

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International President
AFSCME
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Washington, D.C. 20036-5687

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Thank you again for your letter.

Sincerely,

(Signed)

J. Mark Iwry
Benefits Tax Counsel

Office	Initiator DO/X	Reviewer DO/X(Edit)		
Name Room	K. Knopf Room 4021	L. Hadcox Room 1064		
Initials/Date	8/62/9/80			



96-155020

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF
HAROLD ICKES

PHONE: (202) 456-6350

FAX: (202) 456 7929

FROM:

Jennifer O'Connor

Shana Tesler

Frank Szollosi

Other: _____

TO: DoTr Correspondence

DATE: 2-6-96 # OF PAGES 3 (Including Cover)

FAX NUMBER: 622-0073

OFFICE NUMBER: _____

MESSAGE: Please send us the copy of Secy Rubin's
response to the attached. Our fax # is 456-2464
Our voice number 456-6350 Thank you.



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Philadelphia, Pa.

Larry B. Smith
East Lansing, Mich.

Unda Chavez-Thompson
San Antonio, Tex.

Carland W. Webb
Baton Rouge, La.

February 1, 1995

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Secretary
Department of the Treasury
Main Treasury Building
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Washington, D.C. 20220

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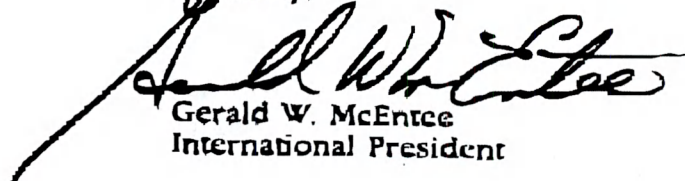
in the public service

*able
Ben Nye (Treas)
for a copy
of response
2/2/95*

-2-

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Sincerely,



Gerald W. McEntee
International President

GMcEejc

cc: Harold Ickes, Deputy Chief of Staff ✓
Ellen Seidman, Special Asst. to the President for Economic Policy
Leslie Samuels, Asst. Secretary for Tax Policy
Mark Iwry, Benefits Tax Counsel

h-l d-l-h-l
11/29

11/29/95
for
Pete

29 November 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR DON BAER
DOUG SOSNIK
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
PAT GRIFFIN

FROM: JENNIFER O'CONNOR

RE: NEW YORK TIMES AD AIMED AT
POTUS

file
Labor -
AFSCME

AFSCME sent me a copy of the attached ad which urges the President to veto any legislation that hurts children, the elderly, and families. AFSCME asked if it would help or hurt us if they signed on to the ad along with the Children's Defense Fund and others. Please get back to me as soon as you can.

AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT CLINTON FROM AMERICA'S FAMILIES

Mr. President, great leaders
before you have faced tough
decisions—and chosen wisely...

Now It's Your Turn.

Don't let Congress destroy sixty years
of protections for our children
and our parents—
and put millions out of work

MR. PRESIDENT, this is a defining point in your presidency and for America. You have the choice—and a great opportunity—to stand up in the tradition of other strong leaders who came before you, and fight for America's families—especially our children and our elderly. Don't let us down. You have the power—and the duty—to prevent Congress from devastating health care and long term services for people with disabilities, the elderly and the poor—and from pushing millions of children and families deeper into poverty. You can stop Congress from destroying our parents' Medicare and our children's Medicaid and income assistance just to provide another tax giveaway to the rich. Don't let Congress force hospitals, nursing homes, community health centers, mental health clinics and home care that are serving our families

to shut down. If you do, every member of every family in America will suffer.

Show us that you, too, have the courage to stand up like Presidents Kennedy, Truman and Roosevelt did before you—when they fought to create Medicare, Medicaid, and all the vital safety net protections that every American depends on today. Or like President Eisenhower did when he agreed to extend disability insurance to injured workers and their families, and created the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Don't sign any legislation that makes millions of children, senior citizens, people with disabilities and working families more vulnerable to poverty, illness, hunger, neglect or abuse—and causes massive job losses throughout our country—because it's just plain wrong!

Mr. President, we're counting on you—

American Association of School Administrators
American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees
The Arc (Formerly the Association for Retarded Citizens of the United States)

Children's Defense Fund
Child Welfare League of America
Congress of National Black Churches
Families USA
Fund Research & Action Center (FRAC)

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights??
NAACP
National Association of People with AIDS
National Association of Social Workers

National Council of Churches of Christ
National Council of La Raza
National Council of Negro Women

National Council of Senior Citizens
National Farmers Union
National Puerto Rican Coalition
National Urban League

1199 National Health & Human Service Employees Union
People for the American Way
Save Our Security

U.S. Conference of Mayors
Women's Legal Defense Fund

**Don't sign any legislation that hurts our
children, our elderly, our families.**

We Await Your Decision.

Every American family has a stake in this fight. Call the Emergency Campaign to Protect America's Children, Parents, Families at 1-800-233-1200. Find out how you can help.

To date, the following organizations have signed on to the Campaign:

American Association of School Administrators

The Arc (formerly the Association for Retarded Citizens of the United States)
Paul Marchand

Children's Defense Fund
Marian Wright Edelman

Child Welfare League of America
David Liederman

Congress of National Black Churches
Bishop Adams, Rev. Lemmon

Families USA
Ron Pollock

Food Research & Action Center (FRAC)
Rob Fersh

Leadership Council on Civil Rights
Richard Womack, Ralph Neas

NAACP
Wade Henderson

National Association of People With AIDS
William Freeman

National Association of Social Workers
Margaret Palmiter

National Council of Churches of Christ

National Council of Jewish Women
Susan Katz

National Council of La Raza
Raul Yzaguirre

National Council of Negro Women
Dorothy Height

National Council of Senior Citizens
Steve Petroulis

National Farmers Union
Larry Mitchell

National Puerto Rican Coalition

National Urban League
Hugh B. Price

1199, National Health & Human Service Employees
Dennis Rivera

People for the American Way
Tom Andrews

Save Our Security
Arthur Fleming (former Secretary of Health, Education & Welfare)

U.S. Conference of Mayors
Tom Cochran

Women's Legal Defense Fund
Judy Lichtman

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and put millions out of work**

MR. PRESIDENT, this is a defining point in your presidency and for America. You have the choice—and a great opportunity—to stand up in the tradition of other strong leaders who came before you, and fight for America's families—especially our children and our elderly. Don't let us down.

You have the power—and the duty—to prevent Congress from devastating health care and long term services for people with disabilities, the elderly and the poor—and from pushing millions of children and families deeper into poverty. You can stop Congress from destroying our parents' Medicare and our children's Medicaid and income assistance just to provide another tax giveaway to the rich.

Don't let Congress force hospitals, nursing homes, community health centers, mental health clinics and home care that are serving our families

to shut down. If you do, every member of every family in America will suffer.

Show us that you, too, have the courage to stand up like Presidents Kennedy, Truman and Roosevelt did before you—when they fought to create Medicare, Medicaid, and all the vital safety net protections that every American depends on today. Or like President Eisenhower did when he agreed to extend disability insurance to injured workers and their families, and created the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Don't sign any legislation that makes millions of children, senior citizens, people with disabilities and working families more vulnerable to poverty, illness, hunger, neglect or abuse—and causes massive job losses throughout our country—because it's just plain wrong!

Mr. President, we're counting on you—

American Association of
School Administrators

American Federation of
State, County, and
Municipal Employees

The Arc (formerly the
Association for Retarded
Citizens of the
United States)

Children's Defense Fund
Child Welfare League of
America

Congress of National
Black Churches
Families USA

Food Research & Action
Center (FRAO)

Leadership Conference
on Civil Rights??
NAACP

National Association of
People with AIDS
National Association of
Social Workers

National Council of
Churches of Christ

National Council
of La Raza

National Council of
Negro Women

National Council of
Senior Citizens

National Farmers Union

National Puerto Rican
Coalition

National Urban League

1199 National Health &
Human Service
Employees Union

People for the
American Way

Save Our Security

U.S. Conference
of Mayors
Women's Legal
Defense Fund

**Don't sign any legislation that hurts our
children, our elderly, our families.**

We Await Your Decision.

Emergency Campaign to Protect America's Children, Parents, Families • 310 15 420 34, 00, 00 0000

**Every American family has a stake in this fight. Call the Emergency Campaign to Protect
America's Children, Parents, Families at 1-800-233-1200. Find out how you can help.**

To date, the following organizations have signed on to the Campaign:

American Association of School Administrators

The Arc (formerly the Association for Retarded Citizens of the United States)
Paul Marchand

Children's Defense Fund
Marian Wright Edelman

Child Welfare League of America
David Liederman

Congress of National Black Churches
Bishop Adams, Rev. Lemmon

Families USA
Ron Pollock

Food Research & Action Center (FRAC)
Rob Fersh

Leadership Council on Civil Rights
Richard Womack, Ralph Neas

NAACP
Wade Henderson

National Association of People With AIDS
William Freeman

National Association of Social Workers
Margaret Palmiter

National Council of Churches of Christ

National Council of Jewish Women
Susan Katz

National Council of La Raza
Raul Yzaguirre

National Council of Negro Women
Dorothy Height

National Council of Senior Citizens
Steve Petroulis

National Farmers Union
Larry Mitchell

National Puerto Rican Coalition

National Urban League
Hugh B. Price

1199, National Health & Human Service Employees
Dennis Rivera

People for the American Way
Tom Andrews

Save Our Security
Arthur Fleming (former Secretary of Health, Education & Welfare)

U.S. Conference of Mayors
Tom Cochran

Women's Legal Defense Fund
Judy Lichtman

1ST DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

March 4, 1996

CITE: 32 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 403

LENGTH: 4181 words

HEADLINE: Remarks to the Community in Taylor, Michigan

BODY:

Thank you very much. Thank you, John Dingell, for that wonderful introduction and for your great service to this district. Thank you, Senator Levin. Thank you, Mayor Priebe, for making me feel so welcome. To Congressmen Levin and Conyers and Congresswoman Rivers. I'd also like to say a special word of thanks to all the others who have come here with me, including my good friend, the Wayne County executive, Ed McNamara. But mostly, as a former musician, I want to thank the Taylor Central High band, the Taylor Truman High band, and the Kennedy High School band for playing. Let's give them a big hand. [Applause]

You know, the mayor said when we were walking in, "You were supposed to be here last November, and we were going to dedicate the city hall. And then when you rescheduled it was so cold we just built a new building for you to dedicate, so everybody could get in." And I'm glad to see all of you in this fine new building.

Let me say, too, that I'm sure all of you know when I had intended to come here last November I had to postpone it because of the tragic assassination of my friend, Prime Minister Rabin of Israel. And as I'm sure many of you know, today there has been yet another terrible terrorist attack in Tel Aviv, the second in just a couple of days.

Our prayers and thoughts are with the victims there. Our hearts are with those who fight for peace. It is truly ironic that the same forces that brought down the Israeli Prime Minister from within his own country and those who have killed the Israelis in the last couple of days have one clear thing in common: They both want to end the peace process. They live for division and conflict.

And I ask all of you, my fellow Americans, to send a message to Israel: If you fight for peace we will stand with you. That is the right, the noble, and the good thing to do.

Let me say that I'm glad to be here with Senator and Mrs. Levin, and John and Debbie Dingell. And I want to say a special word of thanks to John Dingell here in his district. I have now worked with him for 3 years. I've never met anybody who worked harder for the interests of ordinary Americans and working families than John Dingell, anybody who stood up more and more consistently.

As you know, he has worked to clean up the Great Lakes. He played a key role in the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act. He has saved American taxpayers literally billions of dollars by investigating and exposing waste, fraud, and abuse. He hasn't just talked about it; he's done it. In large

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measure, John Dingell's work was the inspiration for the reinventing Government effort that I asked Vice President Gore to head which has given us the smallest Federal Government we've had in 30 years, enabled us to get rid of thousands of pages of wasteful regulation, reformed the entire way in which we purchase goods and services with your tax money but is giving you a leaner and still a stronger Federal Government able to stand up for the interests of ordinary Americans. And John Dingell inspired that effort, and we thank him for that.

And let say, back in 1994, in one of the few efforts of this administration that did not succeed, John Dingell stood there with me, and we got caught red-handed, and we plead guilty to believing that we should try to make sure that every American working family should be able to afford health care and shouldn't lose it when they change jobs or something happens.

Mayor Priebe has certainly left his mark on this city. This great new public works building is just one example of the revitalization taking place here. Since the mayor took office, he's built new roads; he's given you one of the finest courthouses in Michigan. You have a modern police station, which I might say also has some new community police officers in it, thanks to the crime bill of 1994, which is lowering the crime rate in America.

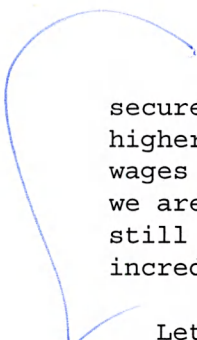
Now as you know, I was supposed to be here to dedicate the city hall, and as the mayor said, he just went on and built another new building so we could all meet inside in the wintertime. I have got a flag for the mayor that was flown over the Capitol. I hope he will accept it in the spirit in which it is given. And as far as I'm concerned, he can it over the city hall or any other building that he wants to fly it over here in Taylor.

I was surprised when Congressman Dingell told me that I was the first President ever to visit this fine community, because I believe what you do here and the way you do it is really an example of what America at its best is, and what America must do if we are going to move into the 21st century and meet the challenges that all these young people in this audience face for their future.

When I became your President, I had a very clear vision for what I wanted America to be like in the 21st century. It's one I still hold today and one I think of every day when I go to work. I want our country to go into the next century as a Nation in which all Americans, every single one of us, all of us who are willing to work for it can have a shot at the American dream. I want our country to remain the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity and security. And above all, I want us to come together as a people, instead of being driven apart. I want us to unite around the basic values that made this country great, responsibility and opportunity, work and family and faith, and perhaps most important of all, the idea that we must go forward together. When we work together, America never loses.

As I said in my State of the Union Address and as people in Michigan demonstrate every day, this new and very different world we are moving into is an age of great possibility. With all my heart I believe as I look out in this sea of younger faces that are here and I think about what their future will be like, I believe the young people of our country will have more chances to live out their dreams than any generation of Americans ever has. But you and I know that this period of change is so profound that it also presents us with great challenges. We know that even as we create jobs millions of people feel less

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secure in the job they have. We know that even as more and more people get higher wage jobs, many, many Americans are working harder for the same or lower wages than they were making 10 years ago. This is a curious time. We know that we are making progress and bringing the crime rate down but that violence is still too high. And we know -- we know that it has something to do with this incredible range of change through which we are going.

Let me say to you that we are moving into a period that, as you know, will be dominated by information and technology, out of a period that was dominated by manufacturing. We are moving into a period where work will have more mind and less muscle, even in our great factories. We are moving into a period where more and more workplaces will be dominated by the computer; they'll be less bureaucratic; they will tend to be smaller and more flexible. We are moving into a period where the markets for products and services and money are global. And we are moving into a period where more information can pass more quickly across the globe than ever before.

The last time your country changed this much was 100 years ago, when most people moved from living in the country to the city and town, when most people moved from working on the farm to working in the factory. And many of the same things happened 100 years ago. There were people who made lots of money. There were people who found opportunities that they could not have dreamed of. And there were people who were severely dislocated and disturbed, and whose pattern of life was unsettled.

What did we do then? We kept moving until we worked through these changes and all Americans had a shot at the American dream. And it won't take as long this time if we keep moving in the right direction. That is what I ask you to support today and tomorrow and in the years ahead.

We have great challenges, and we must meet them together. And if we are to meet them together, we know that our Government must play its role. For many years we had the wrong debate in America. Are we going to have big Government or no Government? The answer is neither. The era of big Government is over. We have the smallest Government in Washington we have had since 1965. By the end of this year it will be the smallest it has been since John Kennedy was President of the United States. But that does not mean we should go back to the time when the American people were told you're on your own, fend for yourself. That is not the way we can move into the future.

We must have a partnership where everyone is challenged to do his or her part in the workplace, in the schools, in our houses of worship, in our unions and, yes, in our Government. The great lesson of democracy, let me say again -- if you ask me, "Mr. President, what is the most important lesson you have learned in 3 years," I would say, "When this country is divided, we defeat ourselves. When we are united, we never lose. That is the lesson of America."

Look what has happened just here in Michigan in the last 3 years: The unemployment rate has dropped to 5 percent; new businesses have increased by 10 percent; over 311,000 new private sector jobs, 6 1/2 times in the last 3 years as in each of the previous 4 years before this administration took office and we began to change the economic direction of America. Our auto industry is back. The world's best workers are making the best cars, and once again for the first time in 15 years, our auto industry is leading the world in sales and progress

and profits.

In the last 3 years the auto industry has gained 75,000 jobs; in the 4 years before that, it lost 49,000 jobs. Just last week a study by the University of Michigan predicted that there would be 130,000 new hirings by Chrysler, Ford, and GM in Michigan alone in the next 7 years. That is good news.

One of the reasons for that is we are finally beginning to crack open the markets of Japan, and I want to say a special word of thanks to Senator Levin for his work in supporting those efforts that we have made. This, too, is an important decision for America. When you hear the trade debate, normally you would think there are only two choices: We should just open our markets and let anybody sell here who wants to sell, giving us the benefit of the lowest prices and letting the consumers of America have their say; or we should say, "No, that's not fair because so many markets are closed to us, that we will close our markets." But that is not the only choice. I think we should have free trade; I think we should have fair trade. That means we should open other markets to America's products, not close ours and deprive our people of the right to buy what they want.

In the last 3 years our administration has concluded 20 separate agreements with Japan alone, part of a total of 200 separate trade agreements in the last 3 years. What has been the result? An 80-percent increase in the sales of American products covered by those 20 agreements in just 3 years. I think that's a pretty good record, and that's what this country ought to be doing.

Listen to this. Just in the last year, in 1 year, our auto exports to Japan increased by 37 percent. That's good for Detroit, good for Taylor, good for Michigan, and good for America. We need more of it.

All across the Nation, we see something that our friends in Europe and Japan have not enjoyed, jobs coming back into this economy. In the seven largest economies in the world, the European economies, Japan, and the United States and Canada, in the last 3 years, a total of 7.7 million jobs have been created. In the United States, 7.7 million jobs have been created. We are growing jobs again in this economy, and that is the right direction for our country.

Homeownership at a 15-year high, an alltime record for 3 years in a row in the number of new businesses started; in the last 3 years, almost 800,000 new construction jobs alone, after losing 700,000 construction jobs in the 4 previous years; and for the first time in 10 years, slowly and too slowly, but at least for the first time in 10 years real hourly wages are starting to rise in the United States. It is about time, and not a moment too soon.

Now my fellow Americans, that is the good news, and it's all true. But as I said earlier, it's not the whole truth. The whole truth is we're going through a period of change that is still leaving some Americans behind. You know it, and I know it. Too many of our people are still working harder and harder for the same or lower wages. They wonder if they and their children will be able to prosper in this new era. Even with new jobs, with a booming, booming export market, with a huge increase in the stock market, with an increase in the productivity of American manufacturing, many of our people have not gotten a real wage increase in terms of what it will buy in almost 20 years. And we have to do something about that as well.

We also know that even though small businesses are hiring people at record rate, many of our largest companies are laying off workers, some of them because they have to compete in the global economy. Some of them are doing it even when their profits are going up so that a lot of people are insecure even in an economy that is growing. And we have to do our best to do something about that.

We have some serious challenges here if we want to make all Americans winners in this new economic era. We know that there are also challenges that go beyond the economic. Let me just remind you of the seven challenges I set forth in the State of the Union Address if we want to see the American dream alive and well for all Americans. We have got to do more to strengthen our families and improve childhood. We've got to do more to take back our streets from crime and gangs and drugs. We've got to do more to leave our environment safe and clean for the next generation. We've got to do more to maintain our world leadership so that the world grows in peace and security. We've got to continue to work to give our people a Government that costs less but works better and is stronger. We've got to give every single American citizen the education that all of us need to compete and win in the new century.

And we have got to give every American who is willing to work for it a chance to have a decent amount of security at work and at home by growing this economy. We have to keep doing it until the American dream is there for all Americans. Many are winning today. Our job will be done when everybody who is willing to work for it has a chance to compete and win in this global economy. That must be our mission as Americans.

And let me say something that "all of you know, but we sometimes forget. Economic growth is about more than money. It is not just ensuring that people have a certain number of material possessions, that they can go out to a nice restaurant once a month or take a vacation every year. It is about the idea of America, the idea that this is a place where there is room for everyone to have a shot at the American dream. It is about the idea of fundamental fairness in this country, that we are not a people who object to others being successful, we do not resent people amassing their own wealth fairly won in a free enterprise system. The only thing we resent is when every American who is doing the right thing and working hard and playing by the rules doesn't have a chance to be treated fairly. That is what we want in this country.

So I say to you we have done step one. We are creating jobs. But we must do more. We have to have an economic growth that reaches all Americans, and that must be our goal in the next 4 years. We have been stagnant now for nearly 20 years in our wages. Now we can do better. And I ask you to join with me in ensuring that we do just that.

Again I say to you, if we fail to grow together there will be more resentment, more frustration, and more division among the American people. When he signed the Declaration of Independence over 200 years ago, Benjamin Franklin said, "We must all hang together, or we shall hang separately." Today we must grow together, or we will surely grow apart and grow weaker as a Nation.

Now let me ask you to think about what we have done and what we should do and what you must do if we're going to grow together. We have cut the deficit in

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half. We have expanded our exports by being for free and fair trade. We have invested in education and training and technology. We have shrunk the Federal Government and cut regulation. We have tried to expand opportunities for our people. But we must do more if we're going to create jobs and raise incomes and give these people who are being downsized a chance to go right on with their lives and raise their children and live with hope and dignity, instead of frustration and a sense of failure. That is what we have to do, and we have to do more to get there.

And let me say that there is a lot that we can do that does not require us to wait for the next election. As I remind all of my friends in Washington, Democrat and Republican alike, just because there is an election in November doesn't mean we should have a work stoppage in March. It is time to go back to work and get things done.

So I want to challenge the Congress to join with me and pass a growth agenda for the American people in the next 60 days that will keep creating jobs and raise incomes. First, we should grow the economy by passing the right kind of balanced budget. It is wrong to leave our children a legacy of debt. And if we pass a balanced budget plan, it will lower interest rates, lower mortgage rates, lower credit card payments, lower car payments, increase business investment, increase jobs, and grow the economy.

But we can do it and do it in the right way. We do not have to have unwarranted cuts in Medicare or Medicaid or education or environmental protection. We do not have to endanger -- neither do we have to increase the tax burden on our hardest pressed working families. And we must not, just to make a little extra money, imperil the pensions of the American working people.

We should grow the economy by targeting a tax cut to the people who need it, the working families of America. I favor giving people help who are raising children out there and working for a living. Our tax relief for families with children has not kept up with inflation over the last 40 years. But the most important tax cut we could give -- look at all the young people in the audience and look at yourself if you're still in the work force. I say, the most important tax cut we could give is to give families a tax deduction for the cost of college tuition and any other education after high school.

We should grow the economy by passing an increase in the minimum wage. Let me say this to you: If you've got a good job, I want to you to think about this. If you've got a good job and you're raising kids, I want you to think about this. If we don't raise the minimum wage this year, it will fall to a 40-year low in terms of purchasing power. There are millions of Americans out there, real heroes in my book, who get up every day and work full time for \$ 4.25 an hour and try to raise children on it. That is not an adequate rate to raise children. We can do this without hurting the economy, and we should raise the minimum wage.

We should grow the economy by passing the right kind of welfare reform. Yes, be very tough in requiring people who can work to work; be tough in requiring people to move from welfare to work. But do not hurt the children. Invest in the children and protect them in their future while you move people from welfare to work.

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We should grow the economy by fully funding in this year all of our educational investments. We need the best schools, the best training, the best education we can. And one of the things we should fund is my proposal for a "GI bill" for America's workers. When a person loses a job they ought to get a voucher from the United States Government that says, here's \$ 2,600, take it where you want to take it, go there as quick as you can, get some new training and go back to work. That's what we ought to do for the American people.

And we should grow the American economy by giving people a greater sense of security. There is a bill now before the Congress that has passed out of the Senate committees unanimously, supported by almost 50 Republicans and Democrats, and we cannot get it to a vote in the Senate because of the interest groups keeping it down, even though the National Association of Manufacturers and the AFL-CIO are for it.

It's a simple little bill. Here's what it says. It says, you cannot be denied your health insurance because someone in your family has been sick, and you cannot lose your health insurance just because you change jobs. Let's pass that bill and pass it right away and give the American people some security.

We should do this and do it now. Congress must do its part. It's a long way from now until the election, but every week between now and the election the American people will get up and go to work, they still have to pay their bills, they still have to educate their children, they still have to try to keep their dreams alive. We dare not have a work stoppage. Let's pass this growth agenda now for the American people.

Let me say that while Congress and the President, we must do our part, we know that economic growth comes largely from the private sector, and that fairness and decency in the workplace must be generated largely in the private sector. Every company in America must meet these challenges. I urge -- I urge our employers in America to look at the things that make families strong, that help people to succeed at work and at home. I want to pass a bill that makes it easier for small business people to take out pension plans for themselves and their employees, but then they have to make wider use of those 401-K plans.

We need increased day care. We need more flexible working hours. And we need people to really think about whether it's the right thing to do when you see these downsizings. If they have to do it to keep the business afloat, every American can understand that. But no one should lose a job for short-term considerations that are not necessary for the long-term well-being of the profitable enterprise. We all need to do our part to keep America going and growing together.

And everyone of you must remember, no one can require you to get further education or training; no one can make you become more productive. This is going to require an effort on the behalf -- on the part of every American if we are going to have sustained growth. But we will try to do our part, with access to health care, with welfare reform, with rising wages, with better education and training, with a strategy that will open markets for American products. We can do all these things, again I say, if we do them together.

This is a time when it is fashionable to say the American people are cynical and skeptical. Well, I know there are plenty of things to be skeptical about. But let me tell you something, my fellow Americans, I get to do something none

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of you get to do. Whenever I leave this country, I become the United States in the eyes of other people. And I can tell you, wherever I have been, people think this is still a very great country.

I ask you to remember what President Kennedy said in the middle of the cold war when he went to Berlin. He said, "Freedom has many difficulties, and our democracy is far from perfect. But we never had to put up a wall to keep our people in." People want to come to the United States because this is a great country.

And when you hear your fellow citizens at work, at church, in the bowling alley on Thursday night, or anywhere else express cynicism about this country, you tell them that that is a poor excuse for inaction. Cynicism is just a cover for laying down and giving up and not going on. We have got to go on and go forward together.

All my life I have been driven by the conviction that it is fundamentally wrong for any human being to be deprived of their Godgiven capacity to grow and to live out their dreams. That animates everything we try to do in Washington. But this country runs fundamentally on your pulse, on your heartbeat, on your conviction, and on your work. And I ask you, join me in this one simple resolve: We will not permit the American people to be divided in 1996. We are going forward together.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. at the department of public works. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Cameron G. Priebe of Taylor. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: August 14, 1996

March 19, 1996

PLH
Hoy

COFFEE WITH POLITICAL SUPPORTERS

DATE: March 20, 1996
LOCATION: Map Room
TIME: 8:45 a.m.
FROM: Doug Sosnik

I. PURPOSE

To meet with political supporters from around the country.

II. BACKGROUND

This is the twelfth in your series of coffees for political supporters. Today's coffee is comprised of Westerners, Asians, and law enforcement and business leaders.

III. PARTICIPANTS

See attached list.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Enter Map Room, discuss informally and depart.

VI. REMARKS

None required.

Master list for POTUS morning coffee on March 20, 1996

Mr. Gordon Giffin

Atlanta, Georgia

As you know, Gordon will be a key political operative in our efforts in the state of Georgia.

Mr. Connell Stafford

The Coca-Cola Company

Atlanta, Georgia

He currently serves as Vice President of the Coca-Cola Company in Atlanta. His support will be extremely helpful to your efforts in Georgia. He is a close friend of Gordon Giffin.

Mr. Ron DeLord

President, Combined Law Enforcement Association of Texas

Georgetown, Texas

Ron is the President of CLEAT, a statewide organization that is part of NAPO and covers all of the major cities in Texas. He is a huge labor leader among cops and an AFL member throughout the nation. He traveled with the you in Texas during the '92 campaign.

Mr. John Brimage

Orange County Sheriff's Department

President, Southern California Alliance of Law Enforcement.

Santa Ana, California

John is the president of the Southern California Alliance of Law Enforcement, a coalition of local groups that collectively makes political endorsements and pushes for legislation. His organization endorsed your campaign the week before this year's State of the Union, and he is planning to hand you a letter of endorsement when he sees you at the coffee.

Mr. Don Blankenship

Sergeant, Santa Ana Police Department

Santa Ana, California

As president of the Santa Ana Police Officers Association, Don is a very popular law enforcement figure in California and was supportive of the COPS program. Last fall, he organized a meeting with the presidents and heads of 14 police associations in California during your trip to Santa Ana.

Cogged

Honorable Sam Coppersmith

Chairman, Arizona State Democratic Committee

Phoenix, Arizona

Sam is the Chairman of the Arizona State Democratic Party and an attorney specializing in business and real estate law with the firm of Coppersmith & Gordon P.L.C. in Phoenix. He was the unsuccessful Democratic nominee for the Senate seat in 1994 and served one term as the U.S. Representative for Arizona's 1st congressional district prior to running for the Senate. Sam will want to discuss your re-election efforts in Arizona.

Honorable Chuck Blanchard

Former State Senator

Phoenix, Arizona

Chuck Blanchard was the delegate chair for the Clinton/Gore campaign in 1992, and is also a former state senator. He will be most interested in discussing your re-election efforts in Arizona.

Ms. Gloria Caolie (Co-WHEEL-y)

Special Assistant to the President

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees

Washington, D.C.

A Filipino American, Gloria is the current President of the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (APALA) Metropolitan Washington Chapter and is a very accomplished and long-time Democratic grassroots organizer. In addition to her commitment to the Filipino and larger Asian Pacific American (APA) community, she has also been a key organizer in the women's community, in which she worked extensively throughout the 1992 Clinton/Gore campaign and inaugural ceremonies. Gloria has been involved in raising the profile of labor rights and union participation of Asian Pacific Americans.

Mr. Lam Duc Nguyen (Lamb Duck Gwen)

Founder/President, Win-Visions

San Jose, California

Although he is originally from Vietnam, Lam has been a long-time organizer and activist in American politics. He is a former chair of the Vietnamese-Americans for Clinton/Gore in Northern California and is currently an honorary member of the Clinton/Gore '96 campaign California. With an extensive background in social services, which includes teaching English as a Second Language at high schools and community colleges for 12 years, he founded Win-Visions. This consulting and services agency specializes in fundraising and grant development, Asian target marketing, refugee community capacity building, cross-cultural conflict resolution and increasing parental involvement in community affairs. Lam is very concerned and very vocal about affirmative action and immigration issues.

Ms. Angela Oh

Attorney , Beck, De Corso, Barrera & Oh

Los Angeles, California

Angela Oh, a Los Angeles native, is credited with being an outstanding leader in the Korean and larger APA community. Although her influence is greatest in California, she is well-known and respected throughout the country for her commitment to family and community unity. Since the time she joined Beck, De Corso, Ms. Oh has developed a state and federal criminal defense practice, which includes the representation of juvenile offenders. Following the 1992 Los Angeles riots, Ms. Oh served as Special Counsel to the Assembly Special Committee on the Los Angeles Crisis. Of her positions on many boards and committees she is particularly known for her Chairmanship of the Korean Family Service Center and the California Women's Law Center. She is especially vocal on the issues of welfare and immigration reform, in addition to civil rights as it applies to Asian Americans and women. Ms. Oh previously served on Senator Boxer's Federal Judicial Nominations Committee for the Central District of California.

Mr. James "Jim" Shimoura (Sh-MORE-a)

Attorney / Shareholder, Kemp, Klein, Umphrey & Endelman

Troy, Michigan

A Japanese American native of Detroit, Jim has been active in political and civic affairs for nearly thirty years. Professionally, he is currently engaged in a civil trial practice and also serves as the Special Assistant Attorney General for the State of Michigan. He is considered an expert on many civil rights issues, in particular the internment of Japanese Americans during WWII. Jim has been involved with numerous hate crime cases, including the Vincent Chin murder case which resulted in the first civil right prosecution by the Department of Justice to protect the rights of APAs. He has served as a community organizer in many political organizations, including the DNC and the Michigan Democratic Party.

Ms. Bonnie Wong

Asian American Democrats of New York

New York, New York

A native New Yorker and Chinese American, Bonnie is very involved in the Chinese community in New York as an entrepreneur, political consultant and grassroots activist. Although she is a strong Democrat and an excellent organizer of the APA community in the New York area, she is often concerned that Washington, D.C. does not see Asian Americans as a viable source in politics. Furthermore, she is concerned that when political insight is needed into the APA community, the guidance is often sought in the larger--and very different--communities of the West Coast. In addition to her political and entrepreneurial pursuits, Bonnie is also an experienced freelance writer.

Name	Date
Karl Racine	3/11/99

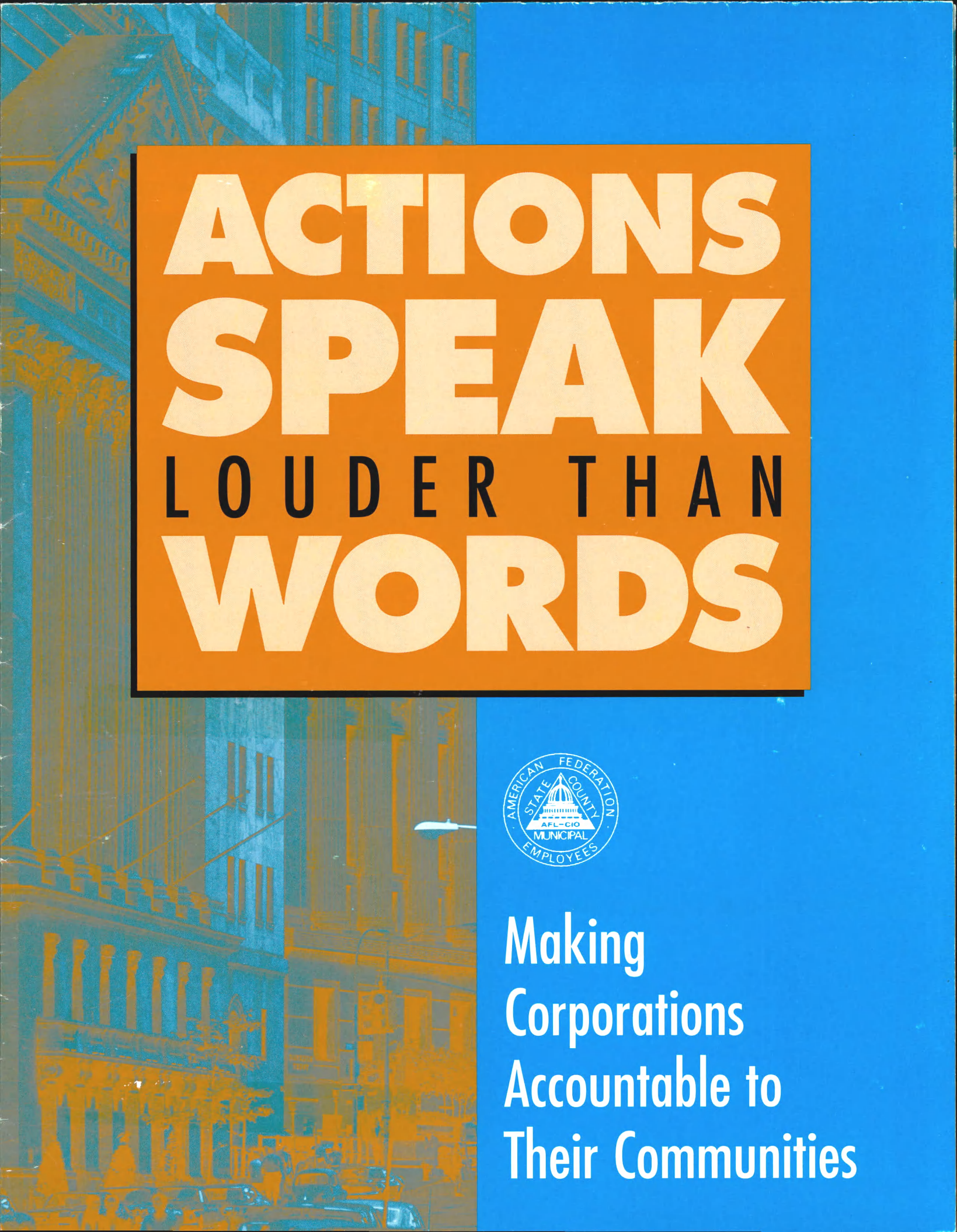
Counsel

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