

For Exec Dir:
- Evelyn Roth
Long I

Libbey

347
6819

close to Burstein
know if she's
good mgr or not

writing letter for Marie
Wilson who wants to
be appointed to UN
Commission

MS.

Say McCaffrey indicated he
thinks RM wld be supportive;
Both calls try to get RM to be
quiet or supportive

Eileen

- list end of week
- get Qs to print
- sandwiches
- Emily will get
\$ for dinner
- none of them tomorrow

Buffalo - 5³⁰ Buffalo

- Radisson
- last Weds/ Thursam
-

Herbert's list

- Ask DPM if he will care

list for Carol's recep

- all elected

incl must be 100

~~600~~ on list

300

Donuts, juice + coffee

Ed Kane

Sheraton

581-8000

8am - 930

- Shelly

- Carl

- Senath

- Connor

RM will stay quiet

cd she be positive

Brace Nyman

1-31-94

Gordon -

12

- letter from 12 to Chair
saying let the chair know

- many decide it's not worth
fighting

- will look around to see
what else is out there

- thinking of Rapfogel

- they're using US - to
say Potus wants a
park

- can't write app - ppl not want
a

1-28

- Rappaport
- others said so; on the table

Shaffer

- offered to keep him in the job

- wants a male

- not interested

Hope -

Free - said no

* - Kidder - said no

thought about it

said no

Sheely likes

he has no negatives

one gas business

2 days ago

we'll have a list

Bob Tisch

is preparing a list

no one will know
it exists

upstate businessmen

want it in next 3
wks

Rapfogel = fall back

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

24-Jan-1995 12:52pm

TO: Janice A. Enright
FROM: Jennifer M. O'Connor
Office of Cabinet Affairs
SUBJECT: Fowler trip to NY

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hi --

Can I get on Harold's schedule to talk about the Fowler trip to New York?

Here's what we need to do:

1. Fowler's schedule

We need to figure out what day he wants to/ can do this. The tentative plan was to have him do a breakfast in Buffalo, a lunch in Albany and a cocktail type thing in NYC.

2. Fowler's agenda

Someone needs to work with his speechwriter on what he should say. I can do that and run it by Harold, if that's appropriate. If that makes sense, who on Fowler's staff should I call.

3. Invitations

I think we should send out invitations. This means coming up with some text and getting the DNC, I assume, to mail them out. Again, I can deal with the DNC on this if Fowler si signed off on the date, etc.

4. Lists

Our various New York subgroups are developing the lists for us. They will send them back through me.

5. Traveling Companions

Harold should give me a sense of whether he wants to go, to have me go, to have Kevin go, to have Giske make the rounds with Fowler, etc. One of the above, or Sarah K perhaps, should be along for the trip.

6. Any other issues?

We'd like Fowler to be able to give a heads up on New York Day(s); so we should try to work that out before his trip.

this week
803 791-
7557

Feb 14
Feb 22

Fowler
Carol Khare
863-
8000

area
to
hit

from
DNC

from
Co. chairs

V.
Gordon

float by Laicero - use gulf of labor Rple/Hulbert

Kevin or me
me or KT

Stankey

NY list
by H.T.

KT

NY

Admin

- KT
- SK
- KA
- ME
- HJ
- MR
- HB?
- AC?

Bellamy

Non Admin

- Pigeon (Buff)
- Drones/Shanahansey (AB)
- John (Reck)
- ? Syracuse
- Oren (West)
- Nyman? / Sabbeth (Was)
- Hop (Soft)
- Levine (Rock)

- Eric Eve
- ? Schlein ? Ithier
- ? Garauis ? Reich
- ? Feldman
- ? Gigante
- ? Maroff

1230

Gunnar

- Political focus on Pataki & Budget

Pataki

- was doing ok

- got spent load for him

- unfairly spent

b/c included fam & peers

Graham - pissed on Donato
Alexander & got much

Announced wld meet w/ altser

even & has endorsed role

1 page
overview
+ list

- Senate & Gov agmt last night
Gov backing off Sure/Cumy
cuts
\$300 mil restorations

- massive protests
every day
outside Governor's door

Flake

- tough time raising \$

Fredley

- has campaign committee

Mark Green too

Buffalo & Bnorne Co exec races

CSEA reached agmt w/ Gore
this morning

he's threatening to rat pr

Hope -

Good dates

Thurs May 25

June 1

~~June 4~~

June 8

June 11

Hope wants to talk to Harald

Call ^{Stere} Newman

Heresi

find out if comptroller = down here

call him today

Sorry - schedule jammed
if H = down in NY Day, will try

Heresi
office

212 669 7318

- Northern Irish
issues leaders
talking in N. Ireland

- WH luncheon
Comptroller
son heads

AFK Dem Assoc
beat Queens
in Assn Spec Election.

(212) 669-3664
Diana Schudler
Hofman
669-2546

Closed
press

~~NY~~

168

- Del Toro

- 61st Senate - Erie

Dem will lose

- 2nd Senate (LI) Suffolk

Mary McLafferty

v Leo Davis Dem
Repubs - Fred Thal R to L

~~109th AD~~ 139 = Niagara & Orleans

→ Rochester

Dem - Terry Kuehn

R = Daniel Seeman
center & R to L

4 today

Yonkers Sept 13

Zaleski

↳ wife screwed up fundraising scandal

maybe Schenectady

Glen Cove - Sirozzi

~~But~~ Albany

Johnston - Rochester

Buffalo - Masiello

Yonkers - Zaleski

5 Demos

3 Dem Co

Broome - Grippen

Erie - Gorski

Albany -

Hope

Ex Dir

- No ~~big~~ til \$
ASAP

- Del Selection plan
do you want to do it
some process several elections
will rather have alone

do you want

Libby Moroff on E.D.

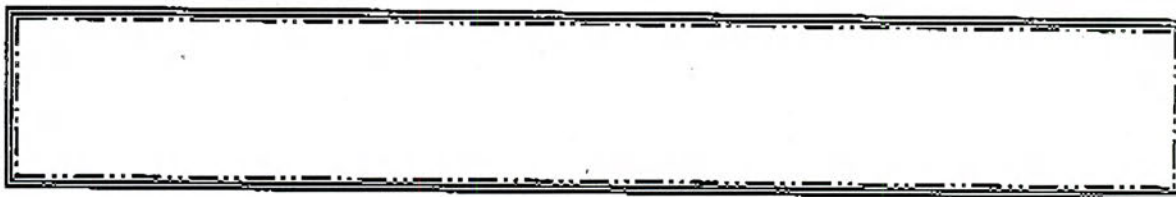
- Barbara pushing Garafis
- Plateau
 - no good
- Gerard Bruschelle
 - acceptable
 - nice guy
 - smart
 - gets along w/ folk
 - told Stanley is supporting him for it
- de Blasio

Call Judith Hope



The Jefferson

WASHINGTON, D.C.



FAX TRANSMITTAL

DATE: 3/23/95

PAGES: 2 (including cover)

TO: Jennifer O'Connor

FAX NO.: 202 456 6704

FROM: Judith Hope

COMMENTS:

For any transmission problems, please call us at (202) 347-2200. Our fax number is (202) 331-7982.

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CYNTHIA R. DARRISON**900 Avenue H, Suite 2H
Brooklyn, NY 11230-2832****phone 718-434-6078****fax 718-434-0352**

TO: JUDITH HOPE
FROM: CYNTHIA R. DARRISON
RE: HOTEL SPACE IN NYC IN JUNE
DATE: March 21, 1995

I called around to the major hotels to get a sense of the availability of appropriate space in June. My findings are as follows:

Thursday, June 1	Hilton
Monday, June 12	Sheraton
Tuesday, June 13	Hyatt, Sheraton
Wednesday, June 14	Hyatt, Sheraton
Thursday, June 15	maybe Sheraton
Monday, June 19	Hilton
Tuesday, June 20	Hilton
Monday, June 26	Hyatt, maybe Sheraton, Waldorf
Tuesday, June 27	Hyatt, maybe Sheraton

Keep in mind that the Hyatt ballroom is small.

I've asked each of the banquet managers to call me if any additional dates open up in June. I have also asked them to pencil in holds on all of the above dates.

FYI- Former President Bush is in town for a dinner on June 6. Emily's List is doing their big NYC event on June 5th.

I'm not going down to DC today and it now looks doubtful that I'll go down tomorrow. You can reach me all day today at 718-434-6078. Good luck!

from G. Stephanopoulos
to Donald Dunn ✓

Jerry O'Conner 

Ansonia Independent Democrats

200 West 72nd Street, Room 63, New York, NY 10023 (212) 877-2074

Phyllis Gunther & Philip Parkas - District Leaders

Elaine Shulman - President

Bill Nuchow & Janice Shorenstein - Past District Leaders

Edwin Gunther - State Committee

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton,

We are a Democratic club in New York City who has worked extensively on voter turnout. From our experience in '94, we advocate specific proposals to help us win in 1996.

In order to win the State of New York in '96, it is essential that

- 1) you firmly support policies that will heighten economic security and equality
- 2) the electorate comes out to vote

A Rightward Swing Will Backfire

Despite conventional wisdom, there is little evidence that the electorate knowingly voted for the Contract With America:

*The November 8 elections were not a Republican landslide, nor were they a mandate for a rightward shift.

*Only 39% of the electorate voted.

*The overall popular vote was 51%-49%.

*Only 40% of the 51% Republican vote even knew about the Contract with America. Therefore, only 7.8% of the electorate knowingly voted for it.

*Over 30 seats were won by less than two percentage points.

Democrats still believe in Democratic Values:

- * Despite conventional wisdom, in the last two years, appealing only to the "center" has resulted in losses for the Democratic Party and its policies.

- * The election results demonstrated that active and forceful advocacy of real Democratic values works. Progressives like Kennedy, Lautenberg, Fazio, McDermott, Sanders, and Schroeder won easily. Conservative Democrats like Dave McCurdy, Jim Cooper, and James Sasser, who backed away from Democratic values in favor of Republican ones, lost.
- * If urban black voters continue to be ignored, they will not vote.
- * In 1993, Jim Florio lost. Although his policy of school aid had helped the black community, he was so afraid of alienating the white middle class that he did not highlight this achievement. With the black vote, Florio could have won.

Maximum Voter Turnout is Essential

In order to ensure a Democratic victory in 1996, non-voters must be activated. To do this, not only political rhetoric, but also policy, must be reoriented to reflect the needs and concerns of those citizens who are now largely ignored.

WE APPLAUD YOUR PROPOSAL TO RAISE THE MINIMUM WAGE. This works to bring economic fairness back into the forefront. If passed it will help to raise living standards of the Democratic base voter and it will also help to alleviate social unrest.

The heart of the Democratic political base as well as many Non Voters want to see more action on economic justice. Discussion must focus on:

- * the twenty year decline in real wages
- * the widening disparity between the top and the bottom of the economic hierarchy.
- * lags in job benefits and increase in job insecurity resulting from the disintegration of the unions and the shift from manufacturing to service economy

In order to secure sufficient voter turnout in New York, which is a linchpin in your '96 campaign, it is essential to keep reminding the American public that it is the economy, and not exclusively immorality, that affects their lives.

Yours,



Debra Cooper
Vice President, Political Affairs

SPEAKER SHELDON SILVER
NEW YORK STATE ASSEMBLY
270 BROADWAY
SUITE 1800
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10007

(212) 385-6611

FAX # (212) 385-6619

Date 3/16
TO: Jennifer O'Connor - 202-456-6704
FROM: Judy Papfangel / Chief of Staff
Numbers of pages to follow: 2

If there is a Communication Error or if you do not
receive all the pages indicated, please call the
number listed above.

**DEFENSE BASE CLOSURE AND REALIGNMENT COMMISSION
- REUSE HEARING -
SH-216 HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
MARCH 16, 1995**

MORNING HEARING (9:01 A.M.)

PANEL ONE: Senator David Pryor (D-AR)

PANEL TWO: Mayor
The United States Conference of Mayors

Councilmember John Maxwell (Myrtle Beach, SC)
National League of Cities

Commissioner Doug Bovin (Delta County, Gladstone, MI)
National Association of Counties

City Manager Walter V. Graham (Vallejo, CA)
International City/County Management Association

PANEL THREE: Mr. Brad Arvins
National Association of Installation Developers

Mr. William Tremayne
Business Executives for National Security

FILE No. 533 03/15 '95 16:57 ID:FOOD RSCH & ACTION CTR 202 986 2525

03-15-1995 15:16

7036860550

DEFENSE BASE CLOSURE COMMISSION

P.03/03

AFTERNOON HEARING (1:30 P.M.)

PANEL ONE: Honorable Joshua Gothaum
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Economic Security)
Department of Defense

Ms. Sherri Goodman
Deputy Under Secretary of Defense (Environmental Security)
Department of Defense

Mr. Alan Olsen
Director of Air Force Base Conversion Agency
Department of the Air Force

Colonel Dennis Cochrane
Chief, Base Realignment & Closure Office
Department of the Army

Rear Admiral Patrick Drennon
Director of Facilities & Engineering Division
Department of the Navy

PANEL TWO: Honorable William Ginsberg
Assistant Secretary of Commerce (Economic Development)
Department of Commerce

Mr. James Van Erden
Administrator, Work-Based Learning
Department of Labor

Mr. Timothy Fields
Deputy Assistant Administrator (Solid Waste & Emergency Response)
Environmental Protection Agency

###

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

27-Feb-1995 11:28am

TO: Judith A. Stock

FROM: Jennifer M. O'Connor *JMO*
Office of Cabinet Affairs

SUBJECT: Willie Colon

Hi there --

Willie Colon, a primary opponent of Representative Engel's, was invited to the Kohl dinner. As you know, Engel is quite upset. Robyn thinks you put Colon on thinking he was an early supporter of the Clintons. I wanted to try to track down where that notion came from since no one who worked on the New York campaign believes he was an early supporter. Do you recall who gave you information that he was an early supporter?

Thanks!!

Jennifer

He was on the list from
Cathy Berlin of the entertainers
from the campaign.
Ann

3/1/95

Jenna

4:30

Maureen faxed me this concerning
the Gore event.

②

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

PHONE: 202-863-8000 FAX: 202-488-5025

DATE: _____

PLEASE DELIVER TO: Rich Johnson

FAX # _____

NUMBER OF PAGES FAXED _____ (INCLUDING COVER)

FROM: MAUREEN GATDE

COMMENTS: Could you please give

this list to Jennifer for

The Gore Clutch

Thanks.

need to input

MEMORANDUM

To: Maureen Garde
From: Andy Hernandez, Director of Latino Outreach
Re: Latinos who must be added to list for New York Day-WH
Date: 2/22/95

- ✓ 1) Manuel Mirabel
National Puerto Rican Coalition *no*
President & CEO
1700 K St., NW
Washington, DC 20006 *(202) 484-5770*
- 2) Mr. Antonio Burgos (on B list)
NYPROCOA, Inc. *yes*
909 Third Ave., 17th Floor
NY, NY 10022-4731
- ✓ 3) City Councilman Victor Robles
815 Broadway, 5th Floor
Brooklyn, NY 11206-5300 *(718) 963-3141*
- 4) Lorraine Cortez-Vasquez
ASPIRA *yes*
470 Seventh Ave.
NY, NY 10018-7606
- ✓ 5) David Pagan
LOS SORES *yes*
213 South Fourth St.
Brooklyn, NY 11211-5605 *718 387-3600*
- 6) Mr. Roberto Caballero
125 Pitt St. *yes*
NY, NY 10020-183
- 7) Mr. David Santiago
- ✓ 8) Hon. Olga Mendez State Senator
2130 3rd Ave. *917 212 860-0893*
NY, NY 10035-4703 *212*
- ✓ 9) Hon. David Rosado *non-published*
384 E. 149th St. #608 *718 212-292-2907*
Bronx, NY 10455-3908
- 10) Andrew Velez *yes*
350 5th Ave., Suite 5320
NY, NY 10118-0110
- 11) John Caro

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1/2/11/95

Denise

What do you think?

I think club relatively
important or not.

club is Garafus among others?
Hawd

E HOUSE

First Lady

21

VER SHEET): 2

O'Connor
H- it's a wonderful, active, progressive
little club. Mike Reich says only
150 people would come. It's
a fund raise for only 1 club.
Morton would hit the next because
last year the VP said yes to the
county-wide and then
cancelled. If anything,
she should do the
county-wide, not this
- Jen



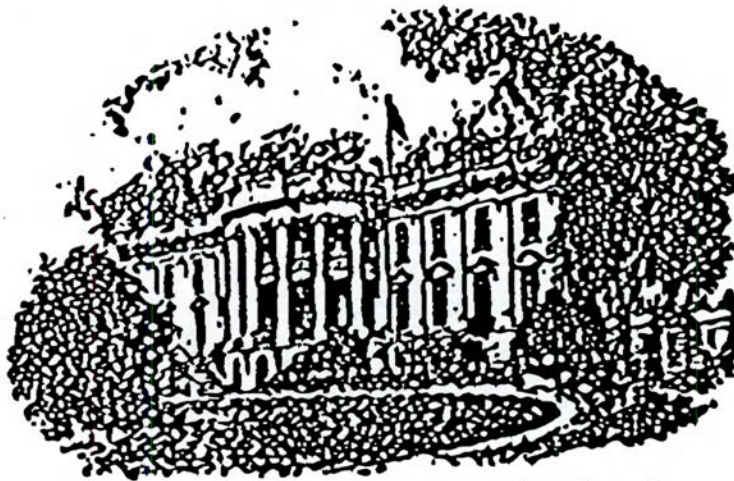
Here's the
invitation we spoke of. Please
call me after you have
Harold's reaction.

Thanks -

(6-7288) Madge

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the First Lady

DATE: 2-2-95
TO: Janice Enright
FROM: Madge Henning
RECEIVER FAX: 6-1121
RECEIVER PHONE: _____
NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET): 2



COMMENTS:

Janice - ~~Drop~~ Here's the
invitation we spoke of. Please
call me after you have
Harold's reaction.

Thanks -

(6-7288) Madge

Eastern Queens Democratic Club, Inc.

24th Assembly District Part B, Queens County, N.Y.

P.O. Box 620729

Flushing, N.Y. 11362-9991

CHET SZAREJKO

District Leader
(718) 428-4369

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HON. SOL ZUCKERMAN

*to: Madge
fr: Wendy*

December 7, 1994

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

The Eastern Queens Democratic Club, Inc. of the 24th Assembly District, Queens County, New York, would be immensely honored if you would be willing to accept our invitation to be our Honoree at the Club's 1995 Annual Gala to be held on Thursday, May 4, 1995 at 7:00 P.M.

Our Club is one of the largest and most active and progressive Democratic organizations in New York City. Over the years, we have been instrumental in helping to continue to maintain strong Democratic leadership in a largely conservative minded middle class community.

Among the Club's many community oriented programs, it was the Eastern Queens Democratic Club that initially sponsored the Queens Coalition for National Health Care, a privately funded, non-partisan, grass roots civic organization committed to the cultivation and dissemination of public awareness and solutions to the health care crisis facing our nation.

We believe that in honoring you we would have an honoree that exemplifies the best of what our country has to offer. Individuals who possess the strength of character and will necessary to fulfill the promise of America. We sincerely hope you can honor us by your attendance.

Please have your office contact either myself (718-544-7175) or our Club District Leader, Mr. Chet Szarejko, (718-428-5050) to reply or if there is any additional information you require.

Respectfully,

[Signature]
PHILIP STUART DOMBEK

(516) 295-4571

Reich a
home

7 Make it's
sure the
both the
of 5 clubs

Progressive
Club

- suburban

- one group
that learned
special
more
of clubs

very active, enthusiastic.
old school, work hard,
believe in cause
cheerleaders for Dems
conservative Dems,
middle class, Jewish,
teachers

large turnouts

very loyal to Manton

best club in county for
doing this
(100-150 ppl)

Reich-
County-wide

2 major
events

Mar 27
reception
for
Manton

+
Annual
Dinner
in May

5-700
ppl

March 1, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: JENNIFER O'CONNOR

SUBJECT: NEW YORK POLITICAL BRIEFING

ELECTION RESULTS

The anti-incumbency/Republican wave hit New York, however, it mainly hit the statewide and state legislature races rather than the congressional races.

In the statewide races, Republican George Pataki won by 48.9% to 45.2%, and Republican Dennis Vacco won the Attorney General race. The only statewide race won by a Democrat was the Comptroller's seat -- Carl McCall was the first African American elected state-wide in New York.

The loss of the Governorship in Albany left Assembly Speaker Sheldon "Shelly" Silver as one of the most powerful Democrats in the state, challenged for that status only by Senator Moynihan (who does not get very involved in-state politics), and Comptroller McCall. The Speaker, as explained below, will be key to the rebuilding of the Democratic party, as well as to our reelection. The Speaker maintains a sizeable control of the Assembly; his margin of 100 Democratic seats to 50 Republican seats shrunk to 94-56 as a result of these elections. The state Senate saw little turnover, as well, remaining comfortably under Republican control.

In the Congressional races, Senator Moynihan was reelected with 55% of the vote to 42% for Bernadette Castro, a businesswoman and Castro furniture heir. Democrats lost one incumbent congressional seat -- Representative George Hockbrueckner was ousted from his Suffolk County, Long Island seat in a surprise upset. All other Democratic Members of Congress were reelected, most with enormous margins, particularly in New York City. The closest New York City congressional race was Representative Gary Ackerman's; he won 55% to 44%. Upstate, only one Democrat had a tight race; Representative Maurice Hinchey won 49.1% to 48.5%. All other Democratic incumbents had margins of at least 12 percentage points.

Republicans won both open congressional seats, one in Nassau County, Long Island and one in Poughkeepsie, a suburb north of New York City. Both of these open seats were previously held by Republicans. Republican incumbents also won their races by very large margins.

ELECTION ANALYSIS

The Governor's loss had several sources. First, he was running for a fourth term, and had held office for 12 years. Even though voters did not reject their Members of Congress, the nationwide anti-incumbency fervor combined with Cuomo's long incumbency to lead to his loss. Mayor Giuliani's endorsement is widely viewed to have ultimately hurt Governor Cuomo. It hurt Cuomo upstate, where voter turnout was unusually high, and it encouraged the Republicans in New York city to vote. Finally, Cuomo was unable to turn out the high minority vote he needed to carry him to a victory.

STATE POLITICS

Albany

Governor Pataki was sworn in on New Year's Day. He has shaken up the state with his budget proposals and other agenda items. He swore he would pass a death penalty in New York (Governor Cuomo had vetoed death penalty bills for twelve years). This past Monday, the Republican State Senate passed a death penalty bill and the Democratic Assembly is scheduled to vote on one this week as well. The bills are different, and the Assembly and Senate are fighting over the differences, but, once the wrinkles are worked out, New York should have a death penalty law.

The Assembly and Senate are also fighting over tax-cuts. This week, the Assembly passed a tax-cut that provides relief to people earning less than \$100,000. The Senate plans to pass its own bill later this week, providing greater tax relief to all New Yorkers.

The Governor's budget proposal is also dividing the Democrats and Republicans in the Assembly and Senate. Governor Pataki's budget -- the first budget since 1943 to propose less spending than the previous year -- includes major cuts in government services such as mass transit, state college, road repair, health care (including Medicaid), and \$1.9 billion in cuts to welfare and social services for the poor including the elderly. The Democrats claim there is more money in the budget than Pataki forecasts, and also claim that his cuts fall disproportionately on the middle class and the poor.

Rome Labs (BRAC)

Speaker Silver and other New York elected officials have been lobbying the White House since January over the proposed BRAC closing of Rome Labs in upstate New York. The Speaker will likely raise this with you when he sees you. Rome Labs is an Air Force lab which, according to New Yorkers produced \$132 million in contracts and 3500 jobs for New Yorkers last year. It is an upstate area with a Democratic Assembly member. But Silver thinks the district will go Republican next year if the lab closes.

Party Politics

There is a void in New York Democratic state party politics. For 12 years, the state party apparatus was controlled by Governor Cuomo, who was often criticized, quietly, for using it more for his own reelections than for the elections of other Democrats. As a result, numerous Democrats do not feel included in the party, and the party is now greatly suffering for activists. It is also suffering from a debt that is estimated at approximately \$750,000.

The Chairman of the Party, Al Gordon, who was appointed by Governor Cuomo, is still holding the position. Assembly Speaker Silver, who has publicly claimed the mantle of top Democrat, has indicated that he believes he should be able to pick the new Chairman. Because three of the New York City County Chairs are Assembly members, Silver has the votes to put his own person in place. However, Comptroller Carl McCall, the first African-American elected statewide in New York, and the only statewide elected Democrat, believes that he, labor leaders and county Democratic Chairs ought to have a large say in the selection of the new chair. Thus, there is a public tussle going on.

The White House has been only slightly involved in the tussle. Both Silver and McCall met with the President within the last month, and White House staff have indicated a preference for one of the candidates who has been floated for Chair: Judith Hope, the former Vice Chair of the New York State Democratic Party. She is supported by McCall, labor, and county leaders, as well as the women elected officials in the state. Silver likes Hope, but he is trying to convince her to accept a joint chair arrangement with John Sullivan, the upstate former Mayor of Oswego. The discussions continue.

NEW YORK CITY POLITICS

Mayor Giuliani is still quite popular, despite his endorsement of Governor Cuomo. He is credited with a largely successful first year that included a reduction in crime, successful negotiations with city unions, and serious attempts to cut spending and downsize government. Despite this popularity, the City Council has launched a serious counter to him. In December, the Council rejected Giuliani's budget and passed their own, then sued him, contending that their budget was paramount to his. The suit was thrown out, but Giuliani has now pledged more close cooperating with the City Council. The biggest issue they face is a massive budget deficit, estimated to be \$450 million to \$700 million this Fiscal Year, which ends in June, and as much as \$2 billion for next year.

To tackle the budget deficit, Giuliani has proposed what Democrats believe are draconian cuts. Giuliani's budget plan, outlined in the last two weeks, includes the largest reduction in city spending since the Depression, largely by seeking a \$1.2 billion cut in the cost of welfare and Medicaid. These cuts would be on top of the \$1.9 billion in social service cuts that Pataki has already proposed. Giuliani's budget also outlines drastic cuts in school spending and hospitals, along with major cuts in arts programs and youth services.

The Democrats mentioned to run for Mayor against Giuliani in 1997 include City Public Advocate Mark Green, Bronx Borough President Fernando Ferrer, Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger, Congressman Serrano.

BRONX POLITICS

The Bronx, as you know, has changed significantly demographically over the past decade. At present, it is approximately 40% Latino, 35-40% African American and 20% white, mainly working class Jews, Italians and Irish. The effect of the demographic shift is that this past November, the former Bronx Democratic Party Chair was replaced by Roberto Ramirez, the first Latino County Chair in the state. The elected officials in the Bronx reflect the demographic shift as well, and are a large majority Latino.

Bronx politics is quite fractionalized. Borough President Fernando "Freddy" Ferrer and Congressman Jose Serrano are generally at odds with one another, and each have different bases of support. Both may run for Mayor.

Invite to Clutch

Steve Zakheim (718) 251-8888

~~Bob~~ Morshie Weeder (718) 327 2220

Roberto Ramirez (718) 933-2207

Carmen Arroyo (718) 292-2901

David Rosado (718) 402-7602

Efrain Gonzalez (718) 299-7905

Jose Rivera (718) 364-3700

Stanley Schlein pager 800 395-6222 pin 990-6351

William Rappfogel (212) 267-9500 ext 134

Dennis Shields (718) 875-2626

Tomas Watkins (718) 436-9500

Ellen -

Beth Alpert
said to get you
this list to invite to
the 230pm / Columbia
clutch. let me know if
there are any problems
-Jennifer O'Connor
6-2572

Demography is excess 40% Latino,
25% AA 20% white; just, taken
to work

Dem party = maj (elected to
pol) Latinos; At. Amos & whites

bring up rear; ~~5 Asst. Ins.~~

10 Asst. Ins.
4 Latinos, 3 blacks, 3 white

Roberto Ramirez elected Nov 94 →
succeeded George Fredman.

BP may have mapped
aspirations



February 28, 1995, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Page 4; Column 3; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 1343 words

HEADLINE: The Albany 2-Step: Passing Bills the Other House Hates

BYLINE: By JAMES DAO, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: ALBANY, Feb. 27

BODY:

The New York State Senate today passed a bill reinstating the death penalty, knowing that the Assembly would not accept it.

At the same moment, the Assembly passed legislation that would cut income taxes, knowing the Senate would reject it.

Call it one-upmanship. Call it posturing. Call it gridlock. Whatever people may call it, it is Albany in the early days of Gov. George E. Pataki's term.

The testy maneuvering among the Capitol's new cast of leaders, apparent to political insiders for several weeks, burst into full view today as each house rushed to win political advantage on the two major issues of the year: reducing taxes and restoring capital punishment.

What made the fight even odder is that the three key players -- Governor Pataki; the Senate majority leader, Joseph L. Bruno, and the Assembly Speaker, Sheldon Silver -- agree in principle that taxes should be cut and the death penalty restored.

But they cannot seem to stay in the same room long enough to negotiate the details, so today, in time-honored Albany tradition, each house scurried to be the first to vote on one of the issues. Then they accused each other of grandstanding.

In the Democrat-controlled Assembly, Republican legislators accused Mr. Silver of looking for political cover by passing his own tax-cut bill instead of one proposed by Mr. Pataki, a Republican.

"The Silver plan is not intended to be adopted," said Assemblyman John J. Faso, a Republican from Kinderhook. "The Silver plan is designed somehow to evoke themes of class warfare."

And over in the Republican-controlled Senate, Democrats complained that Mr. Pataki and the Republicans were hurrying a death penalty bill into law to score political points.

"What really concerns me is that I see on the part of the proponents of this bill, particularly the majority of this house, such a rush, a drive to get the death penalty enacted that it's no longer a means to an end," said Senator

Franz S. Leichter, a Manhattan Democrat. "This has become the end in itself, to pass a death penalty bill irrespective of the procedures and the process of this house, irrespective of the provisions that are in this bill."

There were substantive differences in the two houses' proposals on both issues, and if nothing else, their votes today staked out their negotiating positions.

The Assembly's two-year tax-cut plan would provide greater tax relief this year and next to people earning less than \$100,000 a year than would a plan devised by Mr. Pataki and supported by the Senate. By 1998, however, Mr. Pataki's plan would provide greater relief to all taxpayers than the Assembly proposal would.

The death penalty bill favored by Mr. Pataki and the Senate would include more crimes, provide less state financing for defendants' appeals and make it more difficult for judges to appoint new juries for sentencing purposes than would a bill supported by the Assembly.

Despite the heat of the debate, negotiations continued behind closed doors on a death penalty bill. Both sides said there were two main sticking points.

One involved deciding when a judge should be allowed to call a new jury to sentence a defendant convicted of first-degree murder. Citing the costs, the Republicans would limit second juries to "extraordinary" cases; the Democrats would give judges greater leeway.

The other issue is how much money should be set aside to pay prosecutors and lawyers for the poor for the enormous cost of trying death penalty cases. The Assembly bill calls for about \$15 million a year in state funds; the Senate bill sets no figure.

In recent days, Senator Bruno has accused Assemblyman Silver of stalling the death penalty negotiations because he secretly wants to block the legislation. Mr. Silver, who has voted for death penalty bills in the past, denies that, and says the Republicans have been inept in working out the details.

Today Mr. Silver also accused the Republicans of pandering to district attorneys by making the murder of prosecutors a capital crime. "If the district attorneys ask us to limit the scope to the most onerous, heinous crimes in the state, there are a lot of other people you can kill before district attorneys that would come into that category," Mr. Silver said.

Mr. Silver has pledged that the Assembly will pass its own death penalty bill on Wednesday. Not to be one-upped, Mr. Bruno has said that the Senate will pass Mr. Pataki's tax-cut plan on Tuesday.

The Senate passed its death penalty bill, 39 to 18, after three hours of debate that began with a procedural maneuver by Democrats to delay the vote, ostensibly to give them more time to study it.

"I find it altogether fitting that the precursor to a full debate on the death penalty should be as capricious as the bill itself," said Senator Pedro Espada Jr., a Bronx Democrat.

Senator Dale M. Volker, a Republican of Depew and sponsor of the bill, called capital punishment a deterrent to crime, saying, "If anyone thinks that we have a more civilized society since the death penalty was abolished, I'd like to know who they are."

In the Assembly, the Democrats' tax-cut passed, 91-54, in a party-line vote.

Though Mr. Pataki's platform last year included a tax cut, Mr. Silver has sought to win back middle-class voters for the Democrats by charging that the Pataki plan benefits mainly the wealthy.

Mr. Pataki denied that today, saying, "In the next two fiscal years, every penny of additional tax cuts we have proposed over existing laws goes to the lowest income New Yorkers."

If all the political maneuvering was not enough to confuse the legislator, the Capitol was also inundated with thousands of students and advocates for people with AIDS who waged noisy protests against Mr. Pataki's proposals to cut funds for education and social services.

With some waving signs that read "We're students and we vote," 3,000 to 5,000 students from State University campuses held a rally in the biting cold, calling on Mr. Pataki to restore a \$289 million cut that could cause SUNY tuition to rise by over \$1,000 a year. At one point, about 40 students ran through the Capitol carrying two coffins representing the death of higher education.

In Their Own Words

SENATOR DALE M. VOLKER

Republican of Depew and sponsor of the death penalty bill

" If anyone thinks that we have a more civilized society since the death penalty was abolished, I'd like to know who they are. "

SENATOR STEVEN M. SALAND

Republican of Poughkeepsie

" This is a carefully enumerated group of crimes. . . . We're talking premeditation. We're not talking about somebody who gets liquored up or is on drugs, drives a car, hops up on a curb and kills someone.

"There are those crimes that I cited earlier that are just so heinous that the death penalty is warranted. Nothing we should take comfort in. Nobody should take joy or rejoice in the fact that we are going to have the death penalty. "

SENATOR MARTIN CONNOR

Democrat of Brooklyn and Senate minority leader

" My problem is with who is perpetrating the killing: the state is doing it in a calculated way. In the case of those murderers, we recognize their culpability. We recognize the evil within their actions. . . . Killing is per se evil. And we ought not engage in it. Deterrent? No evidence of that. The possibility of convicting and executing innocent people? It has happened before and it has happened in this state. It has happened everywhere. "

SENATOR PEDRO ESPADA Jr.

Democrat of the Bronx

" There is no such thing as a fair death penalty bill. What death penalty bill? The one before us? It guarantees the taint of racism and prejudice against African-Americans, against Puerto Ricans and Latinos, against poor people. . . . The death penalty bill is a crude and uncivilized and barbaric political response to the unabridged thirst for vengeance and retribution that exist out there in society today. It is the institutionalization of an irrational primal scream with no therapeutic value. "

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: February 28, 1995

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SECTION: Section B; Page 5; Column 1; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 1224 words

HEADLINE: Political Memo;
Seizing on Pataki's Budget as Issue, Democrats Begin Assault on Cuts

BYLINE: By JAMES DAO, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: ALBANY, Feb. 26

BODY:

As they struggle to rebuild their party from the ashes of last year's electoral defeats, New York State's Democrats have seized on an issue they believe will rally their demoralized troops: Gov. George E. Pataki's state budget.

In speeches across the state, in political literature, in television and radio commercials, Democratic leaders and their allies have begun a full-scale assault on the deep cuts in Mr. Pataki's budget, calling them a boon for the wealthy but devastating for the middle class.

Their strategy seems transparently simple: to reclaim the working-class and middle-income voters from upstate and suburbia who fled the Democrats last fall to help Mr. Pataki, a Republican, defeat the incumbent Democratic Governor, Mario M. Cuomo.

But the plan carries an equally clear risk. In opposing a budget that meets Mr. Pataki's campaign pledge to make government smaller, the Democrats could open themselves to charges of supporting the tax-and-spend, big-government policies that voters so soundly rejected last year.

Such concerns are shrugged off by the Democrats' leading spokesman, Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, who has traversed the state in recent weeks arguing that the painful details of the Pataki budget will ultimately drive voters back into the Democratic fold.

In Buffalo last Wednesday, Mr. Silver told several hundred Democratic contributors that Mr. Pataki's proposal to cut state income tax rates by 25 percent or more will benefit only the wealthy. "This is not a tax cut, this is a tax switch," he said, contending that the Pataki plan would reduce state aid to local governments and cause them to raise property taxes that fall heavily on the middle class.

The next day, Mr. Silver warned a gathering in Buffalo of Jewish community leaders that Mr. Pataki, to pay for his tax cuts, would slash government services that the middle class depends on, from urban mass transit to state colleges to suburban road repair programs.

"The wealthy as a rule don't send their children to state university," he said, warning that state college tuition could rise by \$1,300 or more a year under Mr. Pataki's budget plan. Mr. Silver told the group that Mr. Pataki's cuts in health care spending show that "prolonging life is not a priority of this Governor."

Notably absent from Mr. Silver's presentations have been discussions of the poor, even though Mr. Pataki has proposed cutting \$1.9 billion for social-services programs.

Rather, Mr. Silver tells his mostly middle-class audiences that welfare cuts will increase the number of homeless people living on their streets. And he warns

that cutting Medicaid, the health care program for the elderly, poor and disabled, will hurt the quality of care for all people, regardless of income. "Whether a nurse shows up in 30 seconds or in 10 minutes is affected by Medicaid cuts," he says.

With voters showing little sympathy for welfare recipients, Mr. Silver's strategy of linking middle-class to lower-class interests might be the only way to protect programs for the poor this year, Democrats and political analysts say.

But analysts also said the strategy could backfire if the Democrats were cast as defending bloated and inefficient government programs. "They won't come off as credible if they come off as shills for the health care industry," said Fred Siegel, a history professor at Cooper Union in Manhattan.

To bolster Mr. Silver's campaign, a coalition led by labor unions close to the Democratic Party began running radio and television commercials this weekend that attack Mr. Pataki's proposed Medicaid cuts. The unions include Local 1199, the health and hospital workers union, and District Council 37, the municipal employees union.

One of the commercials, which will run predominantly in Republican Senate districts upstate, shows a middle-class couple in their kitchen fretting that Medicaid cuts will end home-care services for their elderly mother and force them to put her into an expensive nursing home. The camera pans to show the mother anxiously eavesdropping on the argument from the dining room.

Then, an announcer's voice says: "Tell your state legislators our families are too important. Stop Pataki's Medicaid cuts." A closing panel says in writing, "If they don't, we'll remember."

Vic Fingerhut, a Democratic pollster and media consultant who designed the commercials, said Mr. Pataki was politically vulnerable on Medicaid because, according to his polls, voters already think Republicans don't care about the elderly. "When we get him on the defensive, his numbers will go down and all Republican numbers will go down," he said.

If the figures do fall, it will mark an important initial victory for Mr. Silver, a Manhattan Democrat who is the first non-governor to lead the party in 20 years. Soft-spoken and deliberative in manner, Mr. Silver has not always seemed comfortable with his new role. Unlike Mr. Cuomo, he does not seem to relish heated debate, and he jokingly acknowledges that he does not speak in "10-second sound bites."

Colleagues who admire his leadership in the Assembly say he has been somewhat slow to reconstruct the party's machinery or to set the party on a clear new course. He has also yet to recommend a new state party chairman or begin preparations for the 1996 Presidential and state legislative races, a task that begins with repaying the party's \$750,000 debt.

"The more time that is allowed to lapse here, the greater the grumbling becomes and the greater the possibility for a disharmonious process to develop," said Judith Hope, a Suffolk County Democrat, referring to the process of picking a new state chairman.

Clearly, Mr. Silver has heard some of that grumbling. In recent weeks, he has met with scores of county party leaders, assuring them that the state party will be more grass-roots oriented, that they will play a greater role in running it. "There's a sense that the party has been too dominated at the top by the Governor," he said.

He also says he is considering having two people share the party chairmanship, one from upstate and one from downstate, to allay geographic tensions. Prominently mentioned to fill those posts are Ms. Hope and John Sullivan, a lawyer from the

town of Oswego on Lake Ontario.

And as if in response to critics who say he has been slow to develop a plan of attack against the Pataki budget, Mr. Silver plans in the coming week to get a Democratic tax-cut bill passed in the Assembly that he says is better for people earning under \$100,000 a year than Mr. Pataki's plan.

The Assembly will also soon release an economic forecast showing that the state has more money to spend than Mr. Pataki's budget allows for -- a key step toward staking out the Democratic position in budget negotiations. And before the fiscal year ends on March 31, Mr. Silver has pledged passage of a Democratic version of the budget that shifts spending cuts away from middle-class services.

Pointing to a recent statewide poll by The Buffalo News showing that less than half of the electorate rates Mr. Pataki's job performance as good or excellent, Mr. Silver suggested that the Democrats are not as weak as they might seem.

"His honeymoon period is starting out at a pretty low level," Mr. Silver asserted. "And there's no place to go but down."

GRAPHIC: Photo: Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver is opposing a Pataki tax-cut plan. (David Jennings for The New York Times)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: February 27, 1995

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February 26, 1995, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 31; Column 2; Metropolitan Desk; Second Front

LENGTH: 1488 words

HEADLINE: The Best Ex-Job In the City;
After 13 Months Out of Office, Dinkins Is Basking in Affection

BYLINE: By ALAN FINDER

BODY:

When he occupied the cozy office in City Hall's northwest corner, David N. Dinkins was fond of saying that no job was better than being Mayor of New York City. But in the 13 months since he left office, Mr. Dinkins appears to have found an even better job: former Mayor.

Everywhere he goes these days, Mr. Dinkins finds himself basking in the glow of New Yorkers' affections. He cannot walk down the street or enter a restaurant without someone shaking his hand and wishing him well.

"You've still got my vote," a Federal Express deliveryman said as Mr. Dinkins walked on Park Avenue South on a recent afternoon.

"You look wonderful," gushed a young woman, celebrating her wedding anniversary with a lunch at a modest midtown restaurant where Mr. Dinkins was having a quick cup of soup. "You look 10 years younger."

When he stops for a red light while behind the wheel of his burgundy Ford Crown Victoria, drivers in nearby cars hit their horns and wave enthusiastically, apparently astonished that a man who once traversed the city with a retinue of detectives and aides is now traveling solo.

Mr. Dinkins, 67, takes it all in with his customary reserve, enjoying the attention quietly and politely. He never notes that it is odd that he should be feted so warmly each day by the ordinary New Yorkers who so recently turned him out of office.

He simply accepts the response graciously, as he makes his rounds in the busy and public life he has fashioned for himself since departing City Hall. His schedule allows him to make a comfortable living and still indulge in many of the things he loves most: discussions of politics and government, family, social gatherings and tennis -- though not necessarily in that order.

He teaches one day a week at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, where he is a professor in the practice of urban affairs. Last fall, he taught a large lecture class on critical issues in urban policy. He has just begun a small seminar this semester on urban politics.

Mr. Dinkins also is the host, twice a week, of an hourlong interview and call-in show, "Dialogue With Dinkins," on WLIB-AM (1190). He presents his views on a range of issues, especially the administration of his successor, Rudolph

W. Giuliani. Never a flamboyant speaker or prone to go for the political jugular, Mr. Dinkins nonetheless manages mildly to second-guess Mr. Giuliani quite often on the air.

Recently, for example, he criticized Mr. Giuliani's Police Commissioner, William J. Bratton, for saying that police officers could frisk someone who was drinking alcohol on a street corner. "The law as he states it I believe to be inaccurate," Mr. Dinkins said.

The former Mayor also works as a consultant for Ronald O. Perelman, the financier who is the chairman of the Revlon Corporation. Mr. Dinkins's office on Madison Avenue is next door to another politician-turned-consultant, Andrew J. Stein, the former City Council president.

Mr. Dinkins also sits on four corporate boards, including the American Stock Exchange and New World Communications, a company controlled by Mr. Perelman that owns television stations. He is a member of at least a dozen boards of nonprofit, charitable groups.

And while Mr. Dinkins is no longer a candidate for elected office, he is still out on the "rubber-chicken circuit," the litany of receptions, dinners, cocktail parties, benefits, fund-raisers and award ceremonies that are the staple of an elected official's existence. At least once or twice a day, he makes an appearance or gives a speech at a social gathering.

He recently presented an award to Kitty Carlisle Hart at a theater ceremony and enjoyed a dinner party afterward at the Russian Tea Room. He attended a ceremony at a recreation center in the Rockaways that was renamed in his honor, and he spoke at a party honoring a judge who is an old friend.

On many nights, he crams two or three parties into his schedule, which he fusses over with the attention that some people give to their stock portfolios.

"I genuinely like people," Mr. Dinkins said, explaining his active social calendar. "That which is a burden for some is a pleasure for me."

He even returned briefly to Gracie Mansion not long ago to attend a cocktail party for a retiring radio reporter. It was impossible to tell, by his practiced ease in chatting with other guests, whether he felt any discomfort at being back in the mansion that was his home from 1990 to 1994.

Mr. Dinkins and Mr. Giuliani joked about his presence. "You're welcome

anytime," Mr. Giuliani said, before adding, "as a guest."

Mr. Dinkins's subdued grace no doubt obscures deeper emotions aroused by his narrow defeat in November 1993 to Mr. Giuliani, a white Republican who outpolled Mr. Dinkins, the city's first black Mayor -- a Democratic incumbent in an overwhelmingly Democratic city.

Mr. Dinkins's transition back to private life seems to have gone smoothly. For much of the last decade -- first as Manhattan Borough President and then as Mayor -- he was chauffeured by drivers or detectives. Caricatures of his mayoralty often featured the aide who trailed behind him, carrying Mr. Dinkins's neatly pressed suit jacket on a hanger.

The retinue is gone now. His police security was withdrawn six months after he left office, as was Edward I. Koch's, under city tradition. Mr. Dinkins now drives himself. "It's like riding a bicycle," he said.

But he is also clearly disturbed that the city does not provide security to its former chief executives. He just will not say so directly.

"This is not the time for me to talk about it," he said. "I'll do that one of these days, when it's clear that it does not apply to me, when I'm talking about Rudy and his successors."

During a recent radio show, Mr. Dinkins was talking about Mr. Giuliani's attempts to shut down the city's fire-alarm boxes. His guest, Councilman Sheldon S. Leffler, a Queens Democrat who is the chairman of the Public Safety Committee, noted that the Council had approved a bill to block Mr. Giuliani's proposal by a vote of 47 to 2.

"With this Mayor," Mr. Leffler said of Mr. Giuliani, "you have to say he has the courage of his convictions. Forty-seven members of the Council disagree, but he wants to go ahead."

Mr. Dinkins then offered his own view. "Are you familiar with the story of the mother watching her son parading at West Point? She said, 'Look, everyone's out of step except my son.' "

Mr. Dinkins offered many other criticisms of Mr. Giuliani on his show, during his Columbia classes and in an interview. He said that Mr. Giuliani had apparently failed to include any black or Hispanic people among his core advisers; doing otherwise, he said, could have given him a broader perspective. And he said that Mr. Giuliani had been poorly served by Deputy Mayor John S. Dyson, who made several remarks that were widely considered to be racially charged.

Mr. Dinkins said, too, that Mr. Giuliani made a mistake by scheduling his inauguration last year on a Sunday morning, when many New Yorkers, including many black Protestants and Catholics, were in church.

He said the Mayor could save some vital social services from budget cuts by pressing the police and firefighters' unions for money-saving concessions. And he suggested that Mr. Giuliani should modulate his overall tone.

"I think that he would be better advised not to be combative on as many issues as he is, which doesn't mean that he is wrong on every issue," Mr. Dinkins said.

Mr. Dinkins carefully monitors the press, eager to protect his legacy. He has been quick to fault the press when he has thought it has been inattentive to his contributions. Mr. Dinkins noted on a recent radio show, for example, that newspaper articles on a dispute between Mr. Giuliani and the Council over creating an independent agency to monitor police corruption sometimes mentioned that it was the Mollen Commission that first recommended such a step.

"They seem rarely to go the next step to say that the Mollen Commission was appointed by Dinkins," he said.

Mr. Dinkins also appears to share the view of some of his political supporters, who believe the press, and the newspapers in particular, have treated Mr. Giuliani more kindly than they did him.

On his radio show not long ago, a caller said that some politicians and newspaper editorial boards had recommended a state takeover of the city's budget when Mr. Dinkins had been in charge, but that no such calls have been made while Mr. Giuliani struggled to balance the budget.

"It's plain and simple racism," the unidentified caller said.

Mr. Dinkins responded with characteristic indirectness. "I have said many times -- I don't dwell on it -- that racism exists in our society, but that most people are not racists," he said.

Then he added, "I think Rudy has had a free ride with the press, but I think it's coming to an end."

GRAPHIC: Photos: David N. Dinkins has enjoyed the affection of the New Yorkers he encounters in the public life he has led since leaving office. An audience at the New York County Lawyer's Association was rapt as the Mayor spoke in January. (Photographs by Chester Higgins Jr./The New York Times); Mr. Dinkins teaching a class in the practice of urban affairs at Columbia University, above (Ozier Muhammad/The New York Times), and during his "Dialogue With Dinkins" radio call-in show on WLIB-AM, left. (Ruby Washington/The New York Times)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: February 26, 1995

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February 25, 1995, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 28; Column 1; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 782 words

HEADLINE: Pataki and State Senate Press Assembly on Death Penalty

BYLINE: By KEVIN SACK, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: ALBANY, Feb. 24

BODY:

In the latest escalation of the legislative haggling over the death penalty, Gov. George E. Pataki and State Senate leaders announced today that they had agreed on the details of a bill and that the Senate would pass it on Monday, with or without the assent of the Assembly.

Assembly leaders, meanwhile, said they would pass their own version of the bill on Wednesday if no agreement with the Governor and Senate is reached before then, and they declared that negotiations were at a standstill. If the Senate and Assembly pass separate bills, it would be left to a conference committee of members from both houses to try to reconcile the differences.

The Governor said today that he hoped that step could be avoided. "I

think there is still a broad consensus on the philosophy behind the bill," he said. The Assembly Speaker, Sheldon Silver, a Democrat from Manhattan, said: "I don't think the differences are that far apart."

Nine days ago, Mr. Pataki joined with Mr. Silver and the Republican majority leader of the Senate, Joseph L. Bruno of Rensselaer County, to announce an agreement on the basic parameters of a death penalty bill. Negotiators predicted then that they would finalize the legislation in a day or two.

But as is often the case when there is no deadline in Albany, the negotiations have continued for day after day. Such an exercise is hardly unprecedented. Last year, for instance, former Gov. Mario M. Cuomo and the state's legislative leaders announced on April 1, the start of the fiscal year, that they had reached an agreement on the state budget, only to spend the next 69 days bickering over details.

Mr. Pataki and Mr. Silver said today that the two houses remained apart on several key issues.

The Governor's bill, for instance, says the same jury that finds a defendant guilty of murder would be used to determine whether the defendant should be sentenced to death or life in prison without the possibility of parole. Only in "extraordinary circumstances and upon a showing of good cause" could a judge impanel a second jury for sentencing.

The Assembly bill omits the language about extraordinary circumstances, giving a judge more leeway to impanel a second jury. Mr. Pataki said today that a two-jury process would greatly add to the expense of capital cases. "We believe that a jury is going to take a very hard look before determining that the death penalty is appropriate," he said.

Mr. Silver's bill, meanwhile, includes a \$15 million state appropriation to compensate both prosecutors and defenders of the indigent for the enormous costs of trying death penalty cases. The Pataki bill provides for the state to create a fund to assist prosecutors, to pay prosecutors for the cost of hiring expert witnesses and to pay for lawyers for indigent defendants, but it does not include appropriations for those expenses.

Some district attorneys and other local officials have expressed concern that the state will not be able to afford the cost of death penalty cases, leaving counties to pay the bill. "We're responding to the concerns of the district attorneys around this state in terms of making sure this political spin about the death penalty does not again soak the local property taxpayers," Mr. Silver said.

The Senate bill also has added the killing of judges and prosecutors to the list of crimes eligible for capital punishment, and it would add a new aggravating factor for juries to consider during death penalty deliberations: whether a defendant has committed two or more violent felonies in the 20 years before the killing.

Today's alliance between the Republican Governor and the Republican Senate clearly was designed to pressure the Assembly Democrats to join an agreement. The Republicans believe that Mr. Silver will not want to give them an opportunity to move first and then portray the Democrats as obstructionists.

The death penalty has been passed by both the Assembly and the Senate in each of the last 18 years, only to be vetoed by Democratic governors. Mr. Pataki pledged during his campaign that he would sign it into law.

Some legislators expressed frustration with the negotiation process today, saying that the Governor and legislative leaders should have waited until they actually had an agreement before announcing one.

"People start looking for pieces of paper that translate the deal into legislation, and when that isn't forthcoming, eventually it gets embarrassing," said Assemblyman Eric N. Vitaliano, the Staten Island Democrat who sponsors the death penalty bill. "And so eventually a piece of paper has to materialize that looks like the deal you announced a week before."

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February 16, 1995, Thursday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Page 13; Column 1; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 1142 words

HEADLINE: GIULIANI'S SPENDING PLAY: ALBANY;
Speaker Says Mayor's Plan Requires a 'Reality Check'

BYLINE: By STEVEN LEE MYERS

BODY:

A day after Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani proposed his financial blueprint for New York City, the Speaker of the Assembly, Sheldon Silver, strongly suggested yesterday that his Democratic colleagues would oppose the depth of the cuts in welfare and Medicaid that the Mayor called for from Albany.

"It's really time for a reality check," Mr. Silver said, echoing the Mayor's description of his proposals as "reality therapy" needed to close the city's \$2.7 billion budget gap.

And the Schools Chancellor, Ramon C. Cortines, told members of the Board of Education that he would provide them today with a list of possible cuts to meet the Mayor's proposed \$230 million reduction in the schools budget.

"I'm telling you, when you receive them tomorrow, they are going to blow you away," he said at the board's scheduled meeting yesterday,

Gov. George E. Pataki, meanwhile, offered no hint of whether he would accept the Mayor's proposals to cut state spending on welfare and health care for the poor beyond the \$1.9 billion that he proposed in the state budget earlier this month. Because the city, by law, must match state spending on welfare and Medicaid, cuts by the state allow the city to cut its own budget.

"We've asked the budget office to analyze the additional cuts that he has proposed to see what we think may or may not be appropriate," the Governor said. "We're still looking at it."

The comments of the three men came a day after Mr. Giuliani unveiled a preliminary budget plan calling for the largest reduction in city spending since the Depression, largely by seeking \$1.2 billion in savings in the cost of welfare and Medicaid, reductions that require the approval of the State Legislature.

Mr. Pataki has already proposed cutting state spending on those entitlement programs by \$1.9 billion, saving the city an estimated \$800 million. Mr. Giuliani's proposal sought to cut enough to save the city nearly \$400 million more.

Mr. Giuliani said yesterday that the Medicaid cuts would accelerate his plans to turn three of the city's 11 municipal hospitals over to private organizations.

He said that he had told aides to begin examining the possibility of privatizing as many as five hospitals.

Since he took office, Mr. Giuliani has wanted to turn some city hospitals over to private entities but has failed to make much progress. Maria K. Mitchell, the Mayor's top health care adviser, said a study being conducted by the J.P. Morgan consulting firm is evaluating the feasibility, on a case-by-case basis, of privatizing various hospitals.

The firm, whose report is expected within the next two to three weeks, is examining whether to turn the management of a hospital over to a private company or sell it. She said that the Mayor intends to move quickly, adding that "in the next month, you will see a decision made on which facilities to privatize."

Ms. Mitchell spoke as lawmakers in Albany and New York City digested the preliminary budget Mr. Giuliani unveiled on Tuesday. The plan is intended to close a \$2.7 billion gap in the city's budget for the fiscal year that begins in July.

Acknowledging that his proposal faced an uncertain future in Albany, Mr. Giuliani said yesterday that he had already drafted contingency plans that could result in further reductions in municipal government and its services. The prospect of still deeper cuts underscored the extent to which the Mayor's proposal relies on actions by the State Legislature largely beyond his control.

An early indication of which savings Mr. Giuliani will receive will come later this month, when Mr. Pataki submits amendments to his own budget. "What they're going to include or not at this point I can't tell you," the Governor said yesterday.

Each year, New York mayors count on actions by the state to some extent to keep their budgets balanced. Despite the fact he asked for little new direct aid from Albany, Mr. Giuliani is counting on more than \$750 million in savings through state actions or legislation, nearly 30 percent of money he needs to close the budget gap.

Beyond the added savings in Medicaid and welfare, the Mayor called for a \$51 million increase in state education aid because of growing enrollment. He also sought a \$65 million saving by easing state spending requirements on special education. The Mayor also wants the state to pay \$150 million to buy two jails that the city built upstate in the 1980's, but that are now mostly occupied by state prisoners.

"We have assessed that we might not get everything we need," Mr. Giuliani said at a news conference at City Hall. "We have contingency plans and theories as to what would happen if we don't." The Mayor and his aides declined to discuss the contingency plans.

Assembly Speaker Silver, whose members are crucial to the state budget negotiations, questioned the Mayor's plan to cut still more spending on Medicaid, saying the reductions would "devastate health care services to the middle class." While he did not say definitively that the Assembly would block the cuts in Medicaid, he said, "I think it's a question of how much further the Assembly is willing to go to impact everybody in the City of New York."

Ms. Mitchell said the Medicaid reductions will make the city's hospitals more attractive to potential buyers because they will "create a more competitive marketplace."

But Dr. Charles Brecher, a New York University professor and research director of the Citizens Budget Commission, said that the reduction in Medicaid "will make privatization more difficult because there will be less revenue available for institutions that are providing health care for the poor."

Dr. Bruce Siegel, the president of the Health and Hospitals Corporation, which operates the municipal hospitals, agreed that change will be necessary but said that it was too early to determine precisely what changes will occur in the city's public hospitals. "I think you will see a lot of downsizing, consolidating and closing empty beds," he said. As for the closing of hospitals, he said that "we don't know about that yet, but I'm not going to rule that out."

James Butler, president of the Hospital Workers Local 420, which represents 15,000 employees at city's public hospitals, said that the Mayor was merely carrying out "a hidden plan to wipe out the whole public hospital system in the city of New York." He added: "This will be very painful to the poor and the elderly."

Norman Siegel, the executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union, criticized a proposal by the Mayor to eliminate most of the functions of the city's Commission on Human Rights, which investigates discrimination complaints. Under the Mayor's plan, the commission would only handle those areas not covered by the State's Division on Human Rights. "It's very shortsighted," he said.

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The New York Times

February 12, 1995, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 13LI; Page 19; Column 1; Long Island Weekly Desk

LENGTH: 1407 words

HEADLINE: Pataki Is Attacked On Social Policies

BYLINE: By JOHN RATHER

BODY:

FOR years officials and executives from Long Island have called for an overhaul of state government to cut taxes, limit spending and stem rising welfare costs.

This month Gov. George E. Pataki has proposed a \$32.4 billion budget that he said would try to carry out those objectives.

But other Long Islanders are protesting that the prize of smaller government is not worth the price in suffering, or that it would even mean savings for average families.

In a period of sweeping change proposed by Republicans in Washington and in Albany, proponents of Mr. Pataki's budget said care had to be taken to minimize dislocations in what they conceded would be a painful transition.

But the supporters said Mr. Pataki was pointing the state in the right direction.

Critics said that undoing decades of social policy could not proceed without

creating chaos and incurring unanticipated expenses.

Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, Democrat of Manhattan, said the proposed tax cuts favored people in the upper-income brackets.

The plan would cut the top income-tax rate, to 5.9 percent from 7.87 percent, by 1998 and leave the 4 percent bottom tax rate unchanged.

Setting the tone for the debate in the Legislature, Mr. Silver called Mr. Pataki a negative Robin Hood who proposed to steal from the poor and give to the rich.

But the leader of the Island's largest business group defended Mr. Pataki. "We have been advocating a reduction in the cost of state government and in taxes for a long time, and Governor Pataki is trying to do that," said Matthew T. Crosson, president of the Long Island Association. "What the middle class and the poor need is jobs. And what the state needs is an environment in which jobs can be created, and that's what Governor Pataki understands."

Strong critics like groups that aid the sick, the poor and the old said Mr. Pataki's proposal to reduce Medicaid and welfare costs by \$1.9 billion would mean hardship for tens of thousands of Long Islanders.

One official of a social agency, Ruth Kleinfeld of the Suffolk Community Council in Central Islip, said 1 in 11 of the 1.3 million people in Suffolk received a form of public aid like part-time home aides for the elderly and food stamps.

Mr. Pataki proposed that Long Island public schools would receive aid at the present level. Long Island school officials have said that would amount to a cut because of higher salaries and operating costs.

Proposed funding for the state university would be cut in the budget, and education officials projected a \$1,000 rise in tuition that would mean additional burdens for many families.

John V. N. Klein, a lawyer in Mineola and a former Suffolk County Executive, said the tuition rise was "only one of hundreds" of cuts and changes bound to create opposition among people who would be directly affected.

"What really troubles me," Mr. Klein, a Republican, said, "is that I think voters will get cold feet and in little pockets in every jurisdiction resist the kind of Draconian measures that are absolutely essential." Mr. Klein advocated cuts in "entitlements that have gone crazy in terms of growth of expenditures."

He added: "The problem is that voters want and demand fiscal reform but are unwilling to accept it when it touches them. And the way government operates today everyone is touched by something."

Mr. Klein said changes would proceed only if officials withstood pressure to back away from steps to restructure government. "A lot of public officials have to go into this process of restoring fiscal stability to government with the recognition that they may be voted out of office for doing the right thing," he said. "The theory is that once you get capital to the taxpayer it revives the economy and creates jobs. And that is perfectly legitimate and valid. But we are so far out into these social programs now that making changes is politically very, very difficult."

Members of the New Party, a new party that plans to run local candidates in Nassau and Suffolk, take an opposing view. "State and Federal Governments are abdicating their responsibilities toward the well-being of the majority of Americans while serving the interests of the few -- the wealthy and corporate

power," a leader of the party, Margaret Melkonian, said. "These public policies are abandoning the social contract between the government and the people by ripping apart the already frayed safety net."

The proposed budget ends state financing for the Long Island Power Authority, the agency the state created in 1986 as a watchdog and potential purchaser of the Long Island Lighting Company. "We were zeroed out by the Governor's budget, but hopefully the Assembly will restore funding," a trustee of the authority, Irving Like, said. "It's serious business. There's no question about it. We're going to have to fight."

The authority received \$850,000 last year and requested \$750,000 this year. Mr. Like said money remained for consultants' studies of a public takeover of Lilco, which Gov. Mario M. Cuomo first proposed.

Mr. Like said there was a plan to study ways to stimulate competition among power providers to reduce electric rates. "I believe the Governor will still come around to seeing that a takeover is the most optimum way to go with Lilco," Mr. Like said.

Mr. Pataki has declined to support a takeover of Lilco. He has said he favors steps by the State Public Service Commission to reduce Long Island electric rates by spurring competition.

Environmental groups, sensing a pulling back on environmental commitments in Washington and Albany, said they they were upset over some of Mr. Pataki's proposed \$2.5 billion in reductions for state agencies.

Last week Mr. Pataki announced that he would cut in half a \$10 million commitment to buy land in the core area of a proposed Pine Barrens forest preserve.

The executive director of the Long Island Pine Barrens Society, Richard L. Amper Jr., criticized Mr. Pataki for what he termed reneging on a firm commitment. "He is going back to 1994 to take out money that is already committed," Mr. Amper said. "Unless the funds are restored, Pataki has singlehandedly killed an agreement it took the environmental and economic community five years to produce."

The Long Island Builders Institute also opposed the move. "We are going to join forces with everybody to turn this around," said its executive director, Edwin M. Schwenk.

The pine barrens commission, a five-member panel of state, county and town officials charged with protecting the 100,000-acre region to preserve drinking water, requested an additional \$10 million for land purchases.

Mr. Amper said the budget apparently did not have money for that. "That would really kill the program," he said.

Steven A. Romalewski of the New York Public Interest Research Group said the budget would cut financing for environmental cleanups, to \$66 million from more than \$100 million. Mr. Romalewski said the budget would also sharply reduce enforcement.

Mr. Pataki's steepest cuts were proposed for welfare programs like Home Relief, where benefits would be limited to 90 days a year. Stipends for families with children would be reduced, and revised Medicaid rules would limit care for low-income, elderly and ill people.

Mr. Pataki also proposed work requirements for able-bodied recipients and finger-imaging to detect fraud.

Suffolk has both programs. An assistant commissioner of social services, Dennis J. Nowak, said 3,404 people were in Home Relief in December, down from 4,017 a year ago. He said the work requirement and efforts to find recipients and applicants jobs accounted for the decrease.

Mr. Nowak said the county was also the state leader in preventing fraud in applications. Department statistics show net county savings last year were 10.7 million. Total cases dropped nearly 10 percent, to 16,204, the lowest level since 1991.

The Federal, state and county Governments share welfare costs.

Reinhardt Van Dyke, the executive director of the Family Service League of Suffolk County, a group that counsels Home Relief recipients on alcohol and drug problems, said ending benefits after 90 days would leave many recipients destitute.

"Some of these people are trying to get off alcohol so they can go out and get a job," Mr. Van Dyke said. "The problem with the state cutoff is that it may take somebody 100 days to get off alcohol."

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February 9, 1995, Thursday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Page 1; Column 5; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 807 words

HEADLINE: Pataki Vetoes Pension Rise, Citing Budget

BYLINE: By KEVIN SACK, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: ALBANY, Feb. 8

BODY:

In the first significant veto of his young administration, Gov. George E. Pataki today rejected the Legislature's attempt to raise pensions for state and municipal workers, saying the increase was unaffordable for both the state and New York City.

The veto showed Mr. Pataki's willingness to stand by Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani on an important fiscal issue despite the Mayor's vehement opposition to him during last year's campaign. It allowed him to demonstrate his firmness against increased spending as he grapples with a \$5 billion budget gap for the next fiscal year.

And it also began what could become a fierce confrontation with the Legislature, particularly with the Republicans whose votes would be needed to override the veto. Such a fight would force the Republicans, almost all of whom voted for the bill on Jan. 25, to choose between their commitment to retired public employees -- a potent political force with influence in every district -- and their commitment to their Republican leader, Mr. Pataki.

The leaders of both the Democratic-controlled Assembly and the Republican-led Senate said they were disappointed by Mr. Pataki's decision, which he had telegraphed for several weeks. But it is unclear whether they will try to override the new Republican Governor. The Legislature could never override Mr. Pataki's

predecessor, Mario M. Cuomo, during his 12 years in office.

The Speaker of the Assembly, Sheldon Silver, Democrat of Manhattan, said he would discuss the issue with his members in a closed-door caucus on Monday. But he suggested that the only obstacle to voting to override would be mathematics.

There are 93 Democrats in the 150-member Assembly, so at least seven Republican votes would be needed for a two-thirds vote to override the veto. Because the Assembly passed the bill first, it must vote to override first. And many Assembly Democrats said they relished the thought of forcing the Republicans to choose sides.

"If there are only several Republican members of the Assembly who aren't enough to join in an override, the question would be whether the attempt would be worth it," Mr. Silver said today. But he said impishly, "I might attempt an override and find out if we have the numbers."

The Assembly minority leader, Clarence D. Rappleyea, Republican of Chenango County, refused to comment on whether his members would join an attempt to override.

The Senate Majority Leader, Joseph L. Bruno, Republican of Rensselaer County, suggested in a statement that he hoped to avoid a vote to override. He said he would work with Mr. Pataki "to find a solution within the context of the coming budget."

Leaders of the state's public employee unions wasted little time in pressing Legislators for a reversal.

"The retirees' organizations are going to mobilize and I think the Governor is going to be sorry he vetoed this," said James J. Sheedy, president of the Public Employees Federation. "I don't think it's something they're going to forget. With each month's pension check, they're going to be reminded of it."

Mr. Pataki supported the one-time pension increase during his campaign last year against Governor Cuomo. But he reversed course after winning the election and after being lobbied by Mr. Giuliani, saying that the pension measure would constitute an unfunded state mandate on the city and that neither the city nor the state could afford it.

"It is important that retired public employees receive the pension supplementation they deserve," Mr. Pataki said in a statement today. "But it is more important that any additional benefits be affordable to the state and to local governments."

Mr. Pataki's veto message did not mention another reason for his disapproval. In the budget that he proposed last week, the Governor announced that he had other plans for the \$360 million pension reserve fund that would have been used to pay for the state's share of the increase.

Under Mr. Pataki's budget, \$230 million would go from the reserve fund in the next fiscal year to repay the state retirement system for a \$4 billion raid on pension benefits by Mr. Cuomo and the Legislature in 1990. The State Court of Appeals called it illegal in 1993, and the State Comptroller, H. Carl McCall, set a 12-year schedule for the state and localities to repay the system.

Mr. McCall insists the money must be repaid from the state's general revenues and not from the pension reserve fund, begun in 1969 expressly to supplement pensions.

The bill vetoed today would raise pension levels for the first time since 1988 for retired state and local workers. For several years, the cost to the state and

most localities could be covered by the pension reserve fund. But New York City, with its own retirement system, would have a \$165 million annual bill beginning in the 1996-97 fiscal year.

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The New York Times

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SECTION: Section B; Page 1; Column 5; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 1069 words

HEADLINE: Pataki Plans A Sharp Cut In Rental Aid

BYLINE: By IAN FISHER

BODY:

As part of his plan to cut the budget and restructure the state's welfare system, Gov. George E. Pataki wants to cut assistance to the poor in myriad ways, including reducing rent allowances and cutting emergency money for utility bills.

On Monday, Mr. Pataki proposed the deepest cuts in the state's 60-year history of welfare programs. But it was not until late Wednesday, when he presented a package of bills to the Legislature that will enact his budget, that some of the specific cuts became clear.

They include sharp reductions in housing subsidies for 21,000 welfare recipients, as well as the elimination of monthly allowances for pregnant women on welfare and money for welfare recipients to buy basic items of furniture like mattresses or cribs. Emergency payments of bills for welfare recipients facing utility cutoffs would also be eliminated.

The cost of these programs is shared by the Federal, state and local governments. The state cuts could result in cuts in matching local funds. In fact, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani has also proposed eliminating city payments for several of the programs.

As advocates for the poor said the Governor's plan could leave thousands of families homeless, Mr. Pataki worked yesterday to sell his budget in Manhattan.

The Governor defended his \$343 million in welfare cuts, saying that the program had grown out of control and that his efforts to cut payments and require work would help break what he called a cycle of dependency "from year to year and generation to generation."

"You have heard and I'm sure will continue to hear," he told a business group during a luncheon at the New York Hilton, " 'Oh, isn't this attacking the poor, or isn't this an effort to balance the budget or cut taxes on the backs of the poor?' "

"The people now trapped in that welfare system," he said, "have the same desires for themselves and their children and their grandchildren: to see them get a decent education and build a better life and have the opportunity to become active and successful participants in the American dream. The system now traps them and penalizes them for doing that."

Mr. Pataki's emphasis on welfare yesterday underscored its importance in his

overall budget and the importance of drumming up public support. Today, he is scheduled to fly to Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse to speak to other groups.

As the Governor was speaking at the Hilton, Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, chief among his Democratic opponents, was meeting with Mr. Giuliani at City Hall.

Mr. Silver said that he told the Mayor he believed the budget proposals would hurt the city. "The City of New York appeared to be a target, whether it was education aid, or other areas," Mr. Silver said. Mr. Giuliani, on the other hand, has said that the budget appears to help New York City.

Several advocates for the poor said yesterday that the details of the Governor's cuts for welfare recipients showed that he had gone further than he had originally outlined. The plan would eliminate emergency assistance for recipients who are disabled or blind and end the payment of brokers' and finders' fees for government-subsidized apartments.

"It says that his welfare bill is far more conservative and budget-driven than we ever would have expected," said Russell Sykes, deputy director of the State Communities Aid Association and a welfare expert.

Mr. Pataki's plan on housing allowances would have the broadest effect in New York City, and is aimed at settling a question that has been tied up in court since 1987: Is the state allowance for housing welfare recipients adequate? For years, advocates have argued, and state data has confirmed, that the subsidies often do not come near the rents that landlords charge.

If Mr. Pataki's proposal is approved by the Legislature and survives a likely court challenge, 21,000 people would lose a court-ordered subsidy that bridges the difference between their basic housing allowances and their actual rents -- a move that could cause more people to become homeless, advocates say. The proposal would save the state \$25 million this fiscal year, and \$50 million in the next fiscal year. New York City would see a similar but smaller savings.

The legislation would set into law rates that the state considered adequate for shelter allowance. That measure is missing in current law, and has prompted complicated litigation on the issue.

But advocates complain that the rates in Mr. Pataki's proposal, which were initially set in 1988, are far too low. For example, the Governor's plan would set the average monthly housing allowance for a family of three on welfare in New York City at \$270. Outside of New York City, the average assistance would be \$260.

Shelly Nortz, director of state policy for the New York State Coalition for the Homeless, said the help for the poor would be "torn to pieces with these proposals." And in the long run, she argued, the government might have to pay more, because emergency shelter and services for the homeless are far more expensive than paying money to keep people in their own homes.

"I don't think the Governor understands that the consequence isn't just borne by the people who lose their income and lose their housing, but also by society as a whole," she said. "There is a reason that public welfare programs were created in the first place, and that is that the public conscience would not tolerate the existence of poor houses and soup lines."

Claudia Hutton, a spokeswoman for the state budget division, said that the proposal was aimed at setting what the state considered adequate rents and stopping the growing number of people applying for the allowance over the basic rate.

Under a 1992 State Supreme Court order, welfare recipients whose rent is higher than their payments can apply for the extra supplement. Miss Hutton said the number of people who received the extra money had doubled since last year and was

working people who use city subways and buses every workday," said Gene Russianoff of the Straphangers Campaign, a transit riders' group. But M.T.A. officials said it was too early to comment about a fare increase.

Mr. Pataki said he would close the \$5 billion shortfall, \$1 billion of which would stem from the tax cuts, in three steps. First, he would reduce spending on welfare and Medicaid, the health program for the disabled and the poor, by \$1.9 billion.

Second, he would cut spending by state agencies by \$2.5 billion, eliminating or consolidating programs and reducing the work force by 11,400, a 5 percent cut.

Finally, breaking a campaign pledge to not use "gimmicks" to balance the budget, he would use \$650 million in nonrecurring, or one-time, revenue measures like borrowing from other funds and selling state property.

Reactions to Mr. Pataki's plan were swift, strong and partisan. The majority leader of the State Senate, Joseph L. Bruno, Republican of Brunswick, praised the plan as a declaration of war between liberal spenders and conservative tax-cutters. "This is a budget of job creation and job retention," Mr. Bruno said.

Daniel B. Walsh, president of the Business Council of New York State, called the budget a giant leap toward economic growth.

But an array of advocates for groups that would be affected -- such as welfare recipients and teachers -- attacked Mr. Pataki's budget as potentially devastating to essential services. The advocates said, for example, that the cuts would lead to \$1,000-a-year tuition increases at the state and city universities.

Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, Democrat of Manhattan, who will lead the legislative fight to hold back the cuts, called Mr. Pataki a "negative Robin Hood" who was seeking to finance tax cuts for the wealthy on the backs of the middle class and the elderly.

Cindy B. Green, vice president of the Citizens Budget Commission, a watchdog group financed by businesses, lauded Mr. Pataki for "bringing under control what had previously been uncontrolled expenditures." But she warned that the tax-cut plan, which would cost \$700 million this year and grow to \$6.8 billion a year by 1998, is likely to lead to budget shortfalls.

"They are backloaded," Ms. Green said of the proposed cuts. "They balloon. We have a lot of concern about whether this all leads to truly balanced budgets down the line."

Besides reducing the top rate, the tax-cut plan would increase the deduction for married couples this year from \$9,500 to \$10,800. In addition, families earning less than \$25,296 a year could begin claiming an earned-income tax credit worth 10 percent of a similar Federal credit.

The spending cuts would be spread so widely across the landscape of state government that they would be likely to touch most New Yorkers in ways large and small. The cuts would affect virtually every agency and every region.

Welfare stipends for more than one million people would be reduced. Scores of road and bridge repairs would be canceled or delayed. Prisoners in maximum-security prisons would double up in cells, and sports stadiums on Long Island and in upstate towns would not be built.

Mr. Pataki also suggested several cuts that although relatively small were rich in symbolism. He would sell the \$675,000 mansion that the State Education Commissioner occupies. The present occupant, Thomas Sobol, is planning to retire because of conflicts with Mr. Pataki.

The Governor would also cut 300 administrators from the Education Department. He would sell the governor's airplane, which he said his predecessor, Mario M. Cuomo, used to excess.

Another feature would eliminate \$48 million in "member's items," which lawmakers traditionally use to promote certain organizations in their districts.

The \$32.4 billion budget for the fiscal year beginning on April 1 represents the amount of money to be raised from state taxes and fees. When Federal funds are added, mostly for welfare and Medicaid, the budget grows to \$62.6 billion. The combined budget proposed by Mr. Pataki, known as the all-funds budget, is \$415 million, or seven-tenths of 1 percent, larger than the current all-funds budget.

Although no governor since World War II has proposed spending less than in the previous year, the Legislature in late 1990 had to enact midyear cuts because of the recession that caused spending to fall below 1989 levels.

In closing a \$5 billion shortfall, Mr. Pataki would pay for \$1 billion in income-tax cuts and bring down costs \$4 billion from where they would be projected to rise because of the growth of government.

The Governor said the shortfall was mainly a result of the rapid growth of Medicaid, mental health and other social programs, as well as growing interest payments on debt. He also said the Legislature and Mr. Cuomo, just before the elections in November, enacted \$1.1 billion in construction and education programs that the state could not afford.

Making a point of trying to eliminate many of those programs, Mr. Pataki said he would, for example, cut \$97 million for sports stadiums, including a \$24 million swimming pool in Nassau County. And he called for ending a \$50 million scholarship program championed by Mr. Cuomo.

To reduce the work force by 11,400, Mr. Pataki said he hoped that up to 6,000 positions could be eliminated through attrition. Most of the remaining jobs could be cut through buyouts, he said.

But he held out the possibility that he would have to lay off up to 6,900 workers if the buyout program was not approved by the Legislature or by unions, which would finance the program through contract givebacks.

As another measure to close the gap, Mr. Pataki resurrected an old Cuomo proposal, a keno lottery game that he said could generate \$115 million a year. Mr. Silver called that figure unrealistically high.

Officials from the state and city universities said the plans to cut money for higher education, \$290 million for the State University of New York and \$158 million for the City University of New York, would lead to higher tuitions, larger classes and faculty layoffs.

"It presents budgetary problems of historic proportions for the State University," said the SUNY Chancellor, Dr. Thomas A. Bartlett.

The \$650 million in nonrecurring revenues that Mr. Pataki would use to close the gap include \$220 million from an M.T.A. surplus account, \$63 million from a settlement to clean up the Love Canal near Niagara Falls and \$110 million from a special fund to augment pension payments for retired state workers.

State Comptroller H. Carl McCall, a Democrat, said he would sue to block the use of the pension money, calling it a gimmick.

Among the social-service cuts, Mr. Pataki would reduce Medicaid spending \$1.2 billion by trimming payments to health-care providers, mandating managed care and

expected to double again next year.

"What has happened in the last few years is that we have encouraged a system to develop in which people on welfare could fall behind on their rent and know that the state would come in at the last minute, cover their arrears and pay future rent for them," Miss Hutton said.

Meantime, she said, "their more responsible neighbor next door could continue to pay rent on a monthly basis and not get this extra money."

GRAPHIC: Photo: Gov. George E. Pataki with his spokeswoman, Zenia Mucha, at a lunch yesterday. With him were Bernard H. Mendik, a businessman, left, and Charles A. Gargano, the Commissioner of Economic Development. (John Sotomayor/The New York Times)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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February 2, 1995, Thursday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 6; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 1477 words

HEADLINE: THE PATAKI BUDGET: THE OVERVIEW;
PATAKI PROPOSES BROAD REDUCTIONS IN STATE SPENDING

BYLINE: By JAMES DAO, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: ALBANY, Feb. 1

BODY:

Taking the first step toward fulfilling his vision for a smaller state government, Gov. George E. Pataki proposed a \$32.4 billion state budget today that would reduce taxes for almost all New Yorkers and cut spending across the board.

In presenting his budget, Mr. Pataki became the first New York governor since 1943 to call for less spending than in the previous year, proposing a \$1.1 billion, or 3 percent, reduction. He also proposed income-tax cuts that would total \$1 billion, the first step in a four-year plan to reduce the top tax rate by one-quarter and save taxpayers \$6.8 billion a year. The top tax rate this year would fall to 7.59 percent, from 7.87 percent last year.

The budget from Mr. Pataki, a Republican, seizes on a projected \$5 billion gap as an opportunity to refashion government to meet his goals, to make it smaller, to control costs and to put welfare recipients to work.

"Throughout the nation, the American people have demanded spending cuts, tax cuts, government that is more efficient and more effective," he said to an audience of more than 300 legislators, reporters and lobbyists. "The citizens of New York are demanding that their state government join the march."

The proposed cuts include reducing by \$128 million state appropriations for the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which has already suffered a \$113 million cut in aid from New York City. Transit advocates said the additional state cuts would make a 25-cent to 50-cent fare increase for subway and bus riders virtually inevitable this year.

"A fare hike is a tax hike for the more than four million moderate-income and

sharply reducing services to elderly people at home. He also called for cutting services for the mentally ill, mentally retarded and drug and alcohol addicts.

To save on the costs of prison guards, the Governor said he would require maximum-security prisoners to be placed two to a cell, an idea that advocates for inmates said would lead to increasing violence.

GRAPHIC: Photos: Gov. George E. Pataki and Budget Director Patricia A. Woodworth at the delivery of the budget speech yesterday in Albany. (David Jennings for The New York Times); Mr. Pataki listening to Assemblyman Edward C. Sullivan of Manhattan complain that Democrats had not received copies of the budget. The Governor waited a few minutes for copies to arrive before speaking. (Associated Press) (pg. B6)

Charts: "Closing the Gap"

How Gov. George E. Pataki plans to close a projected gap of \$5 billion.

MEDICAID

\$1.2 billion in cuts to state programs.

WELFARE

\$343 million in cuts to state programs.

HIGHER EDUCATION

\$448 million in cuts at SUNY and CUNY.

STATE GOVERNMENT

\$2.4 billion reduction in state government, including cuts at the Metropolitan Transportation Authority and trims in the state work force.

REVENUE ADJUSTMENT

\$650 million in one-shot revenues, including borrowing from other state funds and selling state property.

(pg. A1)

"THE DETAILS: Pataki's Tax-Cutting Plan" shows details of Gov. George Pataki's four year plan to reduce taxes. (Source: Pataki Administration; effects of tax cut calculated by Price Waterhouse) (pg. B6)

"CLOSE-UP: Pataki's Cuts Big and Small: A Sampler"

Gov. George E. Pataki's proposed budget reduces government at all levels. Mr. Pataki contends that overall, New Yorkers would benefit because income tax cuts and a smaller government would lead to a healthier economy. But individually, services to people and communities would be cut in myriad ways. IAN FISHER

Cut financing for baseball stadiums in Rochester, Syracuse, Batavia, Elmira, Jamestown, Oneonta and Utica.

Cut the Nassau County swimming complex.

Cut the Mitchell Park soccer stadium in Nassau County.

Cut the Schenectady Tennis Center.

Cut the Rochester War Memorial Arena.

Cut the Newburgh Football Stadium.

Sell the state-owned mansion of Education Commissioner in Loudonville, N.Y.

Sell G1, the double-engine airplane used by the Governor.

Cut aid to the State University of New York.

Cut aid to the City University of New York.

Close 6 of the state's 13 residential alcohol rehabilitation centers, a total of 276 beds. The centers, all in psychiatric hospitals, are:

- R.E. Blaisdell in Rockland County.
- the Bronx Alcoholism Treatment Center.
- Creedmoor in Queens.
- Dick Van Dyke Center in Seneca County.
- the Manhattan Alcoholism Treatment Center.

Close early two psychiatric centers: Willard Psychiatric Center in Ovid, which has 140 beds, and the Manhattan Children's Psychiatric Center in Manhattan, which has 50 beds.

Eliminate \$48 million in "member items," money pet projects in lawmakers' districts.

Put two people in a prison cell designed for one person, avoiding the need for more cells and costing 1,980 corrections officers their jobs.

Abolish the state Energy Office.
Abolish the Law Review Commission.

Abolish the Commission on Cable Television.

Abolish the local Alcoholic Beverage Control Boards.

Limit to 90 days home relief for single adults without children who are considered employable.

Eliminate a \$50 a month allowance for pregnant women on welfare.

Eliminate at-home care for people, mostly the elderly, who only need only services like shopping, housekeeping or cooking, if such a cut would not result in a person's going to a nursing home. Limit all other care at 25 hours a week.

(pg. B6)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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February 2, 1995, Thursday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Page 7; Column 1; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 1044 words

HEADLINE: THE PATAKI BUDGET: NEW YORK CITY;
Cuts in Pataki's Plan Draw Municipal Opposition

BYLINE: By ALISON MITCHELL, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: ALBANY, Feb. 1

BODY:

City University officials today called Gov. George E. Pataki's budget "harsh and potentially damaging."

Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, a Manhattan Democrat, predicted the cuts could force a 50-cent fare increase on New York City subways.

And the head of the city's Health and Hospitals Corporation said the Governor's Medicaid reductions would create "serious downsizing" of the city's public hospital system.

But Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, spared the vast cuts in aid that could have added sharply to his fiscal woes, called the Governor's first budget, which was released today, "sensitive to the needs of the city."

The contrasting reactions stemmed in part from a state budget proposal that saved programs like revenue sharing, which provide a lifeline to local governments, but also reduced financing to an array of semi-independent boards and agencies that provide city services, from transit to health care to education. The city's Board of Education, for example, faces a \$40.9 million cut despite surging school enrollments.

But at the heart of the difference in tone between the Mayor and other city officials was the fact that Mr. Giuliani -- despite his autumn flirtation with Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, a Democrat -- has found in Mr. Pataki an ideological partner who shares his desire to make deep reductions in the welfare and health care programs for the poor that have long made the city and the state among the most generous in the nation.

In virtually all of these benefit programs, the city and state work in tandem. They split the costs of Home Relief, the welfare program for able-bodied recipients, and they divide the share of Medicaid costs not assumed by the Federal Government.

Faced with his own looming \$2.5 billion budget gap in the next fiscal year, Mr. Giuliani had already begun planning to find \$1.2 billion of the savings he needs to balance his second budget by reducing public assistance and Medicaid, the health care program for the poor.

Almost any cut he proposed would have to be approved by the state. And by seeking to close nearly \$2 billion of his own \$5 billion budget gap through deep cuts in welfare and Medicaid, Mr. Pataki set Mr. Giuliani well on the road toward the budget relief he seeks. That is because reductions in state spending in those programs automatically lower the city's contribution, which by law is linked to the state's spending.

Marc V. Shaw, the city's Budget Director, estimated that the state budget proposal freed the city from \$800 million in spending on entitlements, and he called the reductions "an excellent step forward."

Mr. Giuliani said today that he would be making proposals to cut welfare and Medicaid spending still further, and Pataki aides said they would be willing to work with him. "I have to say that this budget understands the situation the city and state is in and has us on a parallel course," the Mayor said at City Hall.

City Comptroller Alan G. Hevesi said preliminary estimates showed the Pataki budget would increase New York City's budget deficit by only \$68 million in the fiscal year that ends in June. He said that if the city chooses to make all of the cuts in programs and administration that the Governor would allow it to make in the following fiscal year, it would receive \$440 million in budget relief.

"On the budget side, that's good news," Mr. Hevesi said. "On the human side, it's increased loss of services for people."

Mr. Hevesi's analysis assumed, however, that the city would not step in to make up for lost state aid in areas like transit or schools, which the Democratic City Council might want to shield from the full effect of the cuts.

The Mayor expressed some concern with the effect that the Governor's proposed 11 percent reduction in state Medicaid spending would have on the Health and Hospitals Corporation, which caters to the needy and receives 72 percent of its revenues through Medicaid reimbursements. "We have to take a look at the impact of that," he said.

But he has already called for the city to transfer some of its hospitals to private ownership despite opposition from civic groups and organized labor, and the cuts were likely to accelerate that process.

Dr. Bruce Siegel, president of the Health and Hospitals Corporation, said Mr. Pataki's Medicaid proposals would most likely lead to an \$850 million cut in financing for the city hospital system, 22 percent of its total budget. "This is a big impact," he said. "This means serious downsizing, very serious restructuring." Asked whether he would have to close any of the city's 11 acute-care hospitals, he said, "I can't say that now, but neither can I rule that out."

At the Board of Education, Schools Chancellor Ramon C. Cortines said Mr. Pataki's education aid proposal -- which freezes basic operating aid but cuts transportation spending and certain educational programs -- penalized New York City.

"A proposal that freezes aid to each district at last year's level punishes districts which are growing or which have local fiscal difficulties, such as

New York City, and rewards districts which have declining enrollments," he said. Mr. Cortines noted that school enrollment in the city was rising by 25,000 students a year.

The City University released a statement calling the proposed cut of \$158 million in its financing "harsh and potentially damaging" to the university.

Officials at the Metropolitan Transportation Authority said they were still assessing what effect the Governor's proposed reduction of \$128 million would have on their budget. But Gene Russianoff of the Straphangers Campaign said the reduction, when coupled with those under consideration by Mayor Giuliani, could result in a 25-cent subway fare increase. Mr. Silver went further and said the subway fare would rise by 50 cents.

As he predicted rising tuitions, higher transit fares and increases in local taxes as a result of Mr. Pataki's budget, Mr. Silver was questioned about Mr. Giuliani's own calm about the same proposal. "I don't know what the politics of the Mayor of the city of New York is today," he said. "I can tell you that the people of the state of New York will not be happy with the budget of the Governor of the state of New York."

GRAPHIC: Photo: Speaker Sheldon Silver predicted the cuts Governor Pataki has

proposed could force a 50-cent fare increase on New York City subways.

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February 1, 1995, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Page 4; Column 4; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 931 words

HEADLINE: Political Memo;
Little Room for Democrats To Maneuver on Welfare

BYLINE: By KEVIN SACK, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: ALBANY, Jan. 31

BODY:

Eighty-four days ago, many of the radical changes in welfare proposed by Gov. George E. Pataki would have been declared dead on arrival in the Democratic-controlled Assembly. But in light of Mr. Pataki's election on Nov. 8, and the resounding call for change voiced by voters in New York and elsewhere, the question for the Assembly Democrats has become where they will draw the line.

Many legislators and advocates for the poor believe the new political dynamic in Albany will leave the Assembly with little choice but to support many of Mr. Pataki's proposals, particularly those that would make life tougher for welfare recipients who are able-bodied and childless. The real legislative battle, they assume, will be pitched over efforts to stave off cuts in benefits for the elderly and mothers with children.

Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, a Manhattan Democrat, has disappointed some advocates for the poor by not immediately condemning Mr. Pataki's package of welfare proposals. Mr. Silver had nothing to say about the plan on Monday, when it was released. And in interviews today, he focused on Mr. Pataki's proposal to eliminate a cost-of-living increase next year for recipients of Supplemental Security Income, the welfare program for the aged, disabled and blind.

"Why in the world are we going to target the elderly in a program that provides subsistence living?" Mr. Silver asked. "There seems to be a theme and a bias against the elderly."

The cut in Supplemental Security Income is one of dozens of measures proposed by Mr. Pataki. But Mr. Silver had to be prodded today to comment on other initiatives, including the Governor's plan to cut benefits for recipients of both Home Relief and Aid to Families with Dependent Children and to kick employable Home Relief recipients off the rolls after 90 days.

He called the proposal to cut benefits for mothers with children "a little cynical" and pointed out that Mr. Pataki voted in 1989 for the last increase in those benefits. He said he and all other Democrats would support requiring employable Home Relief recipients to work off their welfare grants, as Mr. Pataki has proposed. And the primary question he raised about the 90-day limit proposal was a legal one.

"We still have a constitutional obligation to provide for people," Mr. Silver said. "That's been tested in the courts of this state, and I don't know if the courts allow us to get away with that."

Mr. Silver's responses reflect his concern that his seemingly comfortable majority of 93 Democrats in the 150-seat Assembly could erode in 1996 just as quickly as the Democratic majorities in Congress evaporated in 1994.

To protect his majority, Mr. Silver must pay special attention to the 21 Democrats from upstate and the 15 from Long Island and New York City's northern suburbs. Many, like Assemblyman Joseph T. Pillittere of Niagara County, represent districts that voted overwhelmingly for Mr. Pataki, and they have interpreted those results as a call for change.

"I really don't oppose anything he says he wants to do," Mr. Pillittere said of Mr. Pataki's welfare plan. "I support welfare reform and Medicaid reform because that's what my district wants."

But Mr. Silver must balance the political needs of members like Mr. Pillittere against those of the 57 Democrats from New York City, where 70 percent of all welfare recipients live.

"We hope we'll be able to stave off these rather cruel proposals," said Assemblyman Al Vann, a Brooklyn Democrat.

Unlike previous years, however, the New York City Democrats will receive little encouragement from City Hall. Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, a Republican, said today that he supported Mr. Pataki's plan and would like to see it toughened. For instance, he said, he would like to bar home-relief recipients from reapplying for benefits for two years after they surpass their 90-day limit.

And he said the city should not feel pressured to provide benefits that are cut by the state. "That will be a debate in the city, but the city shouldn't do that," he said.

The philosophical alliance between Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Pataki may make it even more difficult for Mr. Silver to dismiss the Governor's proposals out of hand.

"The political situation is going to force the Assembly to pick some clear lines of demarcation about where they're going to pitch their battles," said Russell Sykes, deputy director of the State Communities Aid Association, a social services lobbying group. "I know if I were them, I'd pitch them around the A.F.D.C. population," he continued, referring to the welfare program for mothers with children. "I think politically it's hard for the Assembly to resist the Home Relief cuts."

If Mr. Pataki's proposals survive the Legislature, they still may face legal roadblocks. Officials with a number of advocacy groups for the poor threatened today to file lawsuits that could tie up many initiatives for years. Similar efforts have been successful in recent years in establishing the state's responsibility to prevent children from being homeless and to provide the poor with extensive medical services.

"It's a cauldron of legal liability waiting to happen," said Steven Banks, coordinating lawyer for the Legal Aid Society's homeless family rights project.

Among the legal weapons available to Mr. Banks and other advocates for the poor is the state Constitution's requirement that the state provide "aid, care and support of the needy" and a number of court opinions that have held the state responsible for providing adequate shelter for families.

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HEADLINE: GIULIANI'S SPENDING PLAN: THE AGENCIES
Schools and Hospitals Are Among the Hardest Hit in the Budget Slashing; EDUCATION

BYLINE: By MARIA NEWMAN

BODY:

The Board of Education will suffer more than many other agency. Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani has proposed cutting \$290 million, almost 9 percent of the \$3.3 billion the city contributes to the school system's overall budget of \$7.7 billion.

School officials say it is too early to say what the proposed cuts will mean to students and teachers, but the school system barely averted teacher layoffs this school year when it was ordered to cut a total of \$540 million since last June. Union officials said yesterday that further cuts would almost certainly lead to bigger class sizes, as the city's student population is growing by about 20,000 a year.

The Mayor said in his budget that the reductions would not affect directservices to the general education of students. He will achieve additional savings, he said, by seeking \$190 million in concessions from the powerful teachers' union.

Also, he said, savings could be achieved by making changes in special education, such as increasing the size of the traditionally small classes when there is low attendance. He also called for putting teachers back in the classroom who are now performing administrative tasks.

Another proposal is that schools cut after-school, sports and enrichment programs, while seeking private funds to support such activities.

In Albany, New York City Schools Chancellor Ramon C. Cortines told legislators that the reductions would be painful to the schools, but that he intends to cooperate with efforts to help the city out of its fiscal woes.

"I don't think the issue is any more 'We can't do it.' We can do it, but the school system is going to look very differently than it does at the present time," Mr. Cortines said. "People will see its effects.

"There isn't a school it won't touch," he said.

So far, Mr. Cortines has reduced his administrative staff by about a third, to about 4,000 from about 6,000 administrators, teacher trainers and other supervisors who worked out of the central office when Mr. Cortines took over more than a year ago. MARIA NEWMAN

GRAPHIC: Chart: "POINT BY POINT: Highlights of Agency Budget Changes" shows the current and proposed budgets, and the projected savings of various agencies.

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LENGTH: 238 words

HEADLINE: GIULIANI'S SPENDING PLAN: THE AGENCIES

Schools and Hospitals Are Among the Hardest Hit in the Budget Slashing; THE ARTS

BYLINE: By WILLIAM GRIMES

BODY:

The proposed city budget calls for an 17 percent reduction in the budget of the Department of Cultural Affairs, from \$96.1 million this year to \$80.2 million next year.

The largest chunk -- \$11 million -- would come from the budget for the Cultural Institutions Group, which consists of 31 cultural organizations that occupy city buildings -- from the Metropolitan Museum of Art to the Brooklyn Academy of Music and the Queens Botanical Garden.

These cuts represent a dose of bitter medicine, coming as they do after several years of static or declining Federal support for the arts, recessionary belt-tightening and a proposed 21 percent arts cut in the state budget announced earlier this month.

Additional cuts of \$2.5 million would be made in grants to more than 400 arts organizations that receive city money through their boroughs, or through direct application to the cultural affairs department. Those organizations actually face \$7.5 million in additional cuts, but the additional cuts would be offset by a matching-grant program that allocates some public money to match private money raised specifically for projects that increase public access to the arts or make an economic impact on the city.

In the first year of a similar matching-grant program, arts organizations found it very difficult to raise the private money. So they were skeptical that the program would succeed. WILLIAM GRIMES

GRAPHIC: Chart: "POINT BY POINT: Highlights of Agency Budget Changes" shows the current and proposed budgets, and the projected savings of various agencies.

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HEADLINE: GIULIANI'S SPENDING PLAN: THE AGENCIES

Schools and Hospitals Are Among the Hardest Hit in the Budget Slashing; SANITATION

BYLINE: By SHAWN G. KENNEDY

BODY:

Proposed cuts at the Department of Sanitation, about 10 percent of its budget, would not affect residential garbage pickup, street cleaning or street wastebasket collections, said Michael T. Carpinello, the first deputy commissioner of the department.

"Core services would remain the same," Mr. Carpinello said.

Such supplementary services as the cleaning program in the central business district would be eliminated, however. The agency would save an estimated \$2.5 million by halting supplemental cleaning -- the extra wastebasket collection and street cleaning in high traffic areas -- now done in 15 commercial areas around the city. The most significant savings, which would reduce spending from \$581 million to \$523 million next year, would come as a result of a new contract with sanitation workers. The contract, negotiated by the Giuliani administration last year, calls for reducing the uniformed work force through attrition and reassignment, and offers garbage collectors higher pay in exchange for more work. The main savings would be in overtime costs, Mr. Carpinello said.

Additional savings at Sanitation would be achieved through the consolidation of departments and services. Additionally, the agency plans to generate revenue by increasing dumping fees and imposing stiffer fines for recycling violations. The increased market value of recycled newspapers will bring in \$5.4 million next year, Mr. Carpinello said.

"Because of the change in the paper market," Mr. Carpinello said, "we went from paying about \$25 a ton to get rid of newspapers to selling it for about \$35 a ton."

The proposal to eliminate the business district street cleaning program could increase the burden for the privately run Business Improvement Districts, which charge businesses a fee for extra services like street cleaning and security.
SHAWN G. KENNEDY

GRAPHIC: Chart: "POINT BY POINT: Highlights of Agency Budget Changes" shows the current and proposed budgets, and the projected savings of various agencies.

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HEADLINE: GIULIANI'S SPENDING PLAN: THE AGENCIES

Schools and Hospitals Are Among the Hardest Hit in the Budget Slashing; POLICE

BYLINE: By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

BODY:

The Police Department is one of the few agencies that will actually receive more money under Mr. Giuliani's budget. The department is slated to receive \$2.04 billion in 1995, and its budget will increase to \$2.18 billion in 1996 and \$2.21 billion in 1997 before leveling off at \$2.24 billion in 1998 and 1999.

The substantial increase, however, will be accompanied by an increase in enforcement responsibilities once carried out by the Taxi and Limousine Commission, as well as added expenses for merging the transit and housing police

forces into the Police Department.

There will be few cuts in police services. But while Mayor Giuliani plans a transfer of hundreds of uniformed officers out of headquarters and to the precincts for patrol work, he has budgeted \$10 million in assorted supply cuts, including a freeze in purchasing of vehicles.

The department is also slated to save \$1.67 million by delaying the current 2,500-member Police Academy class's entry into the force by two weeks. Another \$900,000 in savings will come from freezing promotions for the balance of 1995 for most uniformed officers. Annual savings of \$1.9 million will come, beginning in 1996, from the elimination of a program providing stipends to 180 college students to continue their studies before they become officers. CLIFFORD KRAUSS

GRAPHIC: Chart: "POINT BY POINT: Highlights of Agency Budget Changes" shows the current and proposed budgets, and the projected savings of various agencies.

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HEADLINE: GIULIANI'S SPENDING PLAN: THE AGENCIES

Schools and Hospitals Are Among the Hardest Hit in the Budget Slashing; HOSPITALS

BYLINE: By ESTHER B. FEIN

BODY:

The proposed cuts in Medicaid reimbursement rates would "speed up dramatically" the reorganization of the city's public hospitals and reduce the services they offer, said Dr. Bruce Siegel, president of the city's Health and Hospitals Corporation. It could also force the closing of one or more of the city's 11 municipal hospitals.

The corporation, an independent agency that operates the public hospitals, would see its \$3.8 billion budget slashed by about 25 percent, Dr. Siegel said, if the cuts proposed by the Mayor and those proposed earlier by Gov. George E. Pataki are adopted.

He called the budget proposals a "very aggressive plan done in the context of serious financial problems in the city," adding that "it's going to be very hard to do what's needed."

In his financial plan, the Mayor predicted that the coming year will be a critical one for the city's health care system in general, and for H.H.C. in particular. He said the cuts in Medicaid rates and the mandating of managed care for Medicaid recipients were needed steps to bring New York City in line with the rest of the country. He said the time had come to re-examine closely the health corporation's "role in health care delivery."

"This year will see a rapid acceleration of privatization and other downsizing initiatives at H.H.C. in order to protect the city's long-term financial interests and assure that health care services are delivered efficiently and effectively," the Mayor said in the introduction to his plan.

Under the best of circumstances, Dr. Siegel said, the reductions would force a "continued downsizing of hospitals, continued merging of services" and would "increase the pressure to reduce patient stays in hospitals and to get more people into managed care."

"That would be the best case," he said, refusing to entertain publicly the consequences of a worst-case scenario.

He said he was "not ruling out closing hospitals, but I'm not ruling it in either," arguing that it was premature to lay out his agency's plans for dealing with the cuts.

Speculation that Harlem Hospital was scheduled to be closed down as part of this year's budget plan was fueled early yesterday when the Mayor pointed out in a news conference that the hospital had an occupancy rate of only 65 percent, the lowest of any of the city's public hospitals.

C. Virginia Fields, a City Council member who represents Harlem, said that the hospital and the Harlem community had already unfairly endured devastating cuts to the hospital's budget. She said that the drop in use of the hospital could be directly traced to the drop in available services, and that shutting the hospital or turning it into an out-patient facility would severely affect a neighborhood already lacking in health care services.

"Many residents of Harlem continue to need and use Harlem Hospital as their major health care facility," she said.

She said forcing Harlem residents into managed care programs would be disastrous and unduly burdensome, since "managed care presupposes existing medical facilities in place to deal with preventative care, and Harlem does not have those services, so you would be forcing people out of their community for basic health care." ESTHER B. FEIN

GRAPHIC: Chart: "POINT BY POINT: Highlights of Agency Budget Changes" shows the current and proposed budgets, and the projected savings of various agencies.

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HEADLINE: GIULIANI'S SPENDING PLAN: THE AGENCIES

Schools and Hospitals Are Among the Hardest Hit in the Budget Slashing; YOUTH SERVICES

BYLINE: By JONATHAN P. HICKS

BODY:

Programs for young people in New York City will be sharply affected by the Mayor's budget plan. Nearly all youth programs will be eliminated, except for the Beacon Schools program, which keeps city schools open in the evenings for youth activities.

Indeed, the fate of the Department of Youth Services itself might seem to be in question, as the agency does not even appear in the Mayor's budget documents.

However, the Commissioner, Alfred B. Curtis Jr., said yesterday that the agency will remain independent, indicating that it had won a reprieve from plans to merge it into another government agency.

The agency's budget will be cut by about \$20 million, from the \$44.5 million allocated in the Mayor's plan for the current fiscal year.

Among those programs cut by the Mayor's new plan are Street Outreach, a program in which trained workers go into neighborhoods to spread the word about youth programs and recruit for anti-violence programs. Another is the Neighborhood Youth Alliance, a service program in which youngsters perform such tasks as cleaning parks and organizing immunization campaigns. Also to be discontinued is the Youth Line, which provides peer counseling for young people. JONATHAN P. HICKS

GRAPHIC: Chart: "POINT BY POINT: Highlights of Agency Budget Changes" shows the current and proposed budgets, and the projected savings of various agencies.

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HEADLINE: GIULIANI'S SPENDING PLAN: THE AGENCIES

Schools and Hospitals Are Among the Hardest Hit in the Budget Slashing; CHILD WELFARE

BYLINE: By CELIA W. DUGGER

BODY:

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani has proposed reducing welfare benefits even more sharply than Gov. George E. Pataki, but the most startling reductions enumerated yesterday were in child welfare services, an area that Mr. Giuliani has tried to protect in past rounds of budget cutting.

Mr. Giuliani would eliminate preventive services to 8,000 troubled families who are believed to be in danger of mistreating their children -- half the 16,000 families now being served. In such families, caseworkers supervise the homes and connect parents and their children to counseling, parenting classes, day care and other social services.

The city would also cut spending on the 46,000 children in foster care by 16percent, sharply reducing payments to foster parents and the private agencies that work to reunite families or move the children to adoption.

The depth of the cuts to children's services was prompted largely by Governor Pataki's proposal to consolidate state funding of child welfare services in a block grant to localities, and to slash overall state spending on child welfare by a quarter, costing the city about \$115 million.

The Mayor's plan laid out how the city would absorb this little-noticed, but large, loss of state funds.

In addition to the cuts to foster care and preventive services, the plan

includes an array of small but painful cuts. It would eliminate the \$500 grant to teen-agers who are leaving foster care because of their age but need the money to buy furniture and set up housekeeping on their own.

The city would stop providing foster parents employed outside the home with \$86 a week for baby-sitting -- a sum that helped the city recruit foster parents at a time when a growing proportion of women work.

And the city would eliminate contracts to three agencies that provide family planning counseling to foster children age 12 or older.

The reductions proposed yesterday left both advocates for children and executives of foster care agencies gasping. They predicted that more children would be abused under the Mayor's plan because the city had failed to help their parents in time.

"If the city eliminates a lot of preventive services, there is no question that kids will end up abused and neglected and some will end up as fatalities," said Philip Coltoff, executive director of the Children's Aid Society.

The advocates also foresee sharply higher caseloads for already overburdened foster care workers. And they predict that children would spend even longer periods in expensive foster care because no one has time to do what Family Court judges require before children can be returned to their parents: for example, connecting parents to drug treatment programs, or supervising visits between parents and children.

Cutting the average monthly payment to foster parents for each child from \$600 to \$500, and eliminating the baby-sitting subsidy, may also cause foster parents to drop out, disrupting the lives of the children in their care and creating a shortage of homes, said Edith Holtzer, spokeswoman for the Council of Family and Child Caring Agencies. CELIA W. DUGGER

GRAPHIC: Chart: "POINT BY POINT: Highlights of Agency Budget Changes" shows the current and proposed budgets, and the projected savings of various agencies.

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LENGTH: 273 words

HEADLINE: GIULIANI'S SPENDING PLAN;
Hammering Out a Budget

BODY:

The release by Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of his preliminary spending plan is the beginning of a long process by which the New York City government determines its budget for the 1996 fiscal year, which begins on July 1. The plan, which is required by the City Charter, gives projections of spending and revenue for the next four years, but its details focus primarily on the next fiscal year.

Beginning March 8, budget officials and agency heads will appear before City Council committees to discuss details of their initial proposal. In addition, Mr. Giuliani and his aides -- as well as City Council leaders -- are expected to lobby state legislators over the next two months concerning the Mayor's proposals for

changes in Medicaid and welfare financing and other matters that require state approval.

In late April, the Mayor will propose his final spending plan, called the executive budget. That plan will take into account any new state aid and the reaction to his preliminary plan, as well as changes in revenue and spending estimates during the first five months of the year. It then goes to the Council for a second round of committee hearings.

Finally, in early June, the Mayor and the Council Speaker, Peter F. Vallone, will begin negotiations on the final details of the budget. These talks sometimes last for a week or more, and they are followed by a final vote by the full Council.

But as the city showed with its 1995 budget, the process does not necessarily end there. If the revenue assumptions in the final budget do not hold up, the city will have to make additional cuts through the 1996 fiscal year.

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LOAD-DATE-MDC: February 15, 1995

McClure
Angel
Conj

Ny delay - talking re # departing POTUS
went down list - no options

Schumer said will wait til the end
- totally off reservation
- said will wait til Oct, Nov

Rangel - said need to be responsive
but Clinton # good w/
constituents

Monte - silent

Lowery - fished Carl saw POTUS
needs attention
will follow chuck

Jim Gilliland
Jim Lyons
Jack Ward Thomas
Dir Forest Service

To: Tom, Reta, Jennifer, Ben, Joe, Karen

From: Linda

Here's some info on the welfare reform meeting to be held this Saturday at Blair House. The meeting will last for approximately five hours. They expect not a lot of specifics to get done or decided. The goal is to bring together a bi-partisan working group to discuss the principles of welfare reform. - Participants include:

VP, POTUS, Shalala, Rivlin, Panetta

Local Officials:

Greg Lashutka R-Columbus

Joe Serna D-Sacramento

Yvonne Burke D-Los Angeles

Michael Pappas R-(town?) New Jersey

Wayne Bryant - D-NJ

Jim Lader R-NY

Congressional Dems:

Breaux

Moynihan

Kennedy

Mikulski

Clay

Gibbons

Ford

Governors:

Carlson

Thompson

Engler

Dean

Carper

Carnahan

Congressional Republicans:

Brown

Grassley

Packwood

Kassebaum

(House Members list hasn't been rec'd)

Sarah K (2)

talked to Assem +
Senators

all 7 totally opposed
to Manton

to a person

he's anti choice + they
≠ like him

including Queens assem

- Shelly has no candidate
"ppl" think he'd be open
to us

SL:

KT + SK talked to Fowler &
he said great

- Feb 14

- Feb 22

-

Have John Christopher
Bura do it
- advance person

DNC

Luth

Alan Sagner

- wife coma 2 wks

(201) 992-6700 (o)

(201) 763-5983 (h)

sitting
at her
desk

+ a
bloody
pistol
burst;

~~at just~~
it just
exploded 69

Big Fr
Post Head
on Corp
Pub
Broadcasts

note to
say you are in my prayers

Feb 22

- Ramadha
Announcement

Buffalo w/ Bkfst

- multi-co western ny event
- in Buffalo

~~get~~ invite

need draft list asap
will talk to Pigeon

→ Rochester/Buffalo

- Erie Co HQ
Monroe Co.

Dem Appt
Senators
State Co Reps
~~State Co~~
legisl.

Albany

Clinton vol list

↓
Ellen + Ed

multi-co area
great list
in computer
draft list Tues/Weds
↓ + Hulbert's
church people

~~old~~ Syracuse
surrounding area

City
County

labor
leader

- UAW
- Steel Union
- Supporter
- activists

Oring ↓ NYC

NYC

list - ~~ex~~ legislators
union people well

Eric
Eve
= Larry's
person

Sarah
to call

* Hill
Shelly
* Gary
Bill
Cunniff

List

- Mayor
- Hubert
- Schlein - Hispanics
- Adler

Carey should call Sheraton &
get good deal

↳ Sheraton

Goal = lists by Tues - Alb / Buffalo

list by Tues - NY -

by end of next week we have lists w/
addresses

↓
Call Karen

Hulbert 1-27-94

- Suburban strategy
- ~~the~~ - minority pocket
- Suffolk
 - organized blacks
 - endorsed Shaplin 5/6 Barnello etc
 - + include 'em stuff
- Gene Reed

Wentworth, Amikville

HA = ♀ county legislator / Jackson spkr
previous Holpin supporter

Nassau = same

Assm Earline H71

Ernie Jones her campaign mgr

5 towns area - pockets of Af-Am
long black pins

Great Neck - ♀ - was vice chair
Nassau; ran Jackson '88

Redistricting issue →
strong rainbow operation in
Nassau

Yonkers

Herman Kohn - min leader
Westchester Co leader

was Jackson leader
in 88

(Allison / Orrin - liberal Jews
relate to him)

Rockland - similar

growing Caribbean community

Una Clarke will be involved

Major Spring Valley = Caribbean

Patty some attr to Citizen's Action people
she works for citizen rank
on the city

Albany

Karen Scharf - co-ed citizen;
action

Rochester -

Crazy; Weisberg / McLachly

of am = crazy - Dave Cantt = assimpush

Eve -

few city council role there

* black churches

Mayor Rochester = af am
fmr head urban league

Buffalo - Arthur = there

Jan Pierce - good connections

vy good Cuomo role there
ombudsmen network
talk to Al

good race stuff - upstate
surrogate to Buff, Syr = good

- Black church piece
- elected official piece

Council Black elected dems
Allen Marshall

Une = critical

Caribbean event

(1) Fowler event

(2) 21st

King County Dinner - in May
2000 ppl
honoring Clarence Norman

Churches

- Alexis has had mtgs down here

- meetings w/ groups of 'em

John Locicero

① Wants to talk to H
comj on 8th w/ Charlie Hughes
local 372
of DC 37

H said he'd do the mtg

10^{am} mtg w/ D'Amato & Hughes
any time in pm

② Shelly talked to H
so it became a moot Q
- Marty Begun said that H & Shelly
talked in last few days

Manton said good soldier;
said if we want him
in he's in; if out he's
out - he won't fight
for it

Cameresi - staying out of it; &
went to look like he's
fighting Shelly

sus jerks being mentioned
1/2-1 1/2 on Manton / prob not
happy

③ Shelley adamant against Norton.

* want to know what H/Shelley

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

24-Jan-1995 08:10pm

TO: Jennifer M. O'Connor

FROM: Janice A. Enright
 Office of the Chief of Staff

SUBJECT: new york and new yorkers

Phew. These e-mail dialogues are tiring, especially from our friends at GSA. Seems things have worked out well. Thanks for hanging in there and covering our (H and me) butts. If you're not understanding me, then I'll explain in person.

On New York Day. Alexis thought it made more sense to stick with the one day concept but split the briefings so that one would be the following morning followed by another lunch. Since you don't know the whole program as they are contemplating and planning for Texas, this may seem senseless to you, but basically, they have an issues briefing followed by a luncheon which is a political overview (at the Mayflower Hotel) followed by an evening reception (which includes spouses). Since there are too many for one briefing (even without spouses) she thought we could break it up into inviting everyone to the same reception and some to a briefing on the day of the reception some to a briefing the day after. All kinds of good stuff goes with it (at least in Texas) we'll see what New Yorkers can come up with.

(G3) 2024566704

*** ACTIVITY REPORT ***

TRANSMISSION OK
 CONNECTION TEL 915184382822
 CONNECTION ID.
 START TIME 02/17/95 21:59
 USAGE TIME 01'51"
 PAGES 2

OFFICE OF CABINET AFFAIRS
 THE WHITE HOUSE
 WASHINGTON

FAX

TO:

Hulbert James
c/o Hampton Inn Room 307

DATE:

2-17-95

PHONE:

518 438 2822NO. OF PAGES 2
(Including cover)

FAX:

518 438 2822

PRIORITY:

(Y)

N

FROM:

Jennifer O'Connor

PHONE:

(202) 456-2572

FAX:

(202) 456-6704

Urgent - please
 deliver to Room
 307

MESSAGE:

Hulbert - thanks for taking care of this.
I have the original. Should it go to
Carl or to Gloria Davis? We'll mail it
up on Tuesday.

OFFICE OF THE STATE COMPTROLLER

To: Jennifer O'Connor
From: Eric Eve

Date: February 16, 1995
Subject: Suggested Points

Audience: 2000+ guests. African-American electeds (100)--
their guests/constituents (800), CBO leadership (500),
local government employees (600).

Background: This is the 24th annual meeting. The meeting is held during Black History Month during the President's day weekend. Assemblywoman Gloria Davis is Chairwoman of the Association of Black and Puerto Rican Caucus Legislators Inc. Her district is the 79thAD in South Bronx.

Theme: Unity, Action, Progress: Building a future.

Letter: You should focus on the disparities between the White House vision and Pataki/Giuliani vision--ie. maintaining the safety net, education increases, increasing employment opportunities.

EE/nc

62903

Halbert
Hampton

(518) 438-2822
Rm 307
jat

(518) 438-2822

OFFICE OF CABINET AFFAIRS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

FAX

TO: Hulbert James
c/o Hampton Inn Room 307
PHONE: 518 438 2822
FAX: 318 438 2822

DATE: 2-17-95

NO. OF PAGES 2
(Including cover)

PRIORITY: (Y) N

FROM: Jennifer O'Connor
PHONE: (202) 456-2572
FAX: (202) 456-6704

*Urgent - please
deliver to Room
307*

MESSAGE: Hulbert - thanks for taking care of this.
I have the original. Should it go to
Carl or to Gloria Davis? We'll mail it
up on Tuesday.

From: James Hulbert:NEW.SAL:DOL
 To: jennifer o'connor
 cc: James Hulbert:NEW.SAL:DOL
 Subj: potus message to caucus

 talking points

The remarks should stress potus accomplishments and how his budget differs from the gov. we should talk about head start, national service, goals 2000, school to work and middle class bill of rights with its centerpiece on employment and training. pataki is cutting cuny and suny funds. we should point out the federal role in reducing the size of govt. with the cooperation of labor. (there is a large labor contingent the dinner. we should make a plea to support the increase minimum wage.) there should be clear statement of support for affirmative action programs similar to the statement by cos on meet the press last sunday. a brief reference to haiti would add a nice touch given the size of the haitian pop. in ny and the role played by m. owens and c. rangel in that debate. the theme for the weekend is; unity action progress: building a future

For Jennifer O'Connor
 For Hulbert James

Re: talking points
 for Caucus

the:
 recognizing
 of many years
 - known role
 - activists
 - clergy
 - people in
 govt

John Burr

607 723 9224

former Mayor Bingham
former State Chair
in Kennedy

- I know lotta
ppl in the city
- playing w/ joint
thing
- maybe have Hope
as F.Ring

- John Sullivan
- used to be
Mayor of Oswego
- he's an atty
- sought after to
run for DA slot

not a heavyweight
in fring
playing w/ how to
do something w/
him + Hope

- haven't told
Nick
- Sullivan once
liked him
- Everyone who knows
him likes him

- never heard
- he may walk on water
- haven't found anyone
who does know him
- it's your decision

Sullivan gave
Dick Parfela his
1st job

it keeps control

Ansonia Independent Democrats

200 West 72nd Street, Room 63, New York, NY 10023 (212) 877-2074

Phyllis Gunther & Philip Parkas - *District Leaders*

Bill Nuchow & Janice Shorenstein - *Past District Leaders*

Elaine Shulman - *President*

Edwin Gunther - *State Committee*

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

*FYI - Jennifer
Dowd*

Dear President Clinton,

We are a Democratic club in New York City who has worked extensively on voter turnout. From our experience in '94, we advocate specific proposals to help us win in 1996.

In order to win the State of New York in '96, it is essential that

- 1) you firmly support policies that will heighten economic security and equality
- 2) the electorate comes out to vote

A Rightward Swing Will Backfire

Despite conventional wisdom, there is little evidence that the electorate knowingly voted for the Contract With America:

- *The November 8 elections were not a Republican landslide, nor were they a mandate for a rightward shift.
- *Only 39% of the electorate voted.
- *The overall popular vote was 51%-49%.
- *Only 40% of the 51% Republican vote even knew about the Contract with America. Therefore, only 7.8% of the electorate knowingly voted for it.
- *Over 30 seats were won by less than two percentage points.

Democrats still believe in Democratic Values:

- * Despite conventional wisdom, in the last two years, appealing only to the "center" has resulted in losses for the Democratic Party and its policies.

- * The election results demonstrated that active and forceful advocacy of real Democratic values works. Progressives like Kennedy, Lautenberg, Fazio, McDermott, Sanders, and Schroeder won easily. Conservative Democrats like Dave McCurdy, Jim Cooper, and James Sasser, who backed away from Democratic values in favor of Republican ones, lost.
- * If urban black voters continue to be ignored, they will not vote.
- * In 1993, Jim Florio lost. Although his policy of school aid had helped the black community, he was so afraid of alienating the white middle class that he did not highlight this achievement. With the black vote, Florio could have won.

Maximum Voter Turnout is Essential

In order to ensure a Democratic victory in 1996, non-voters must be activated. To do this, not only political rhetoric, but also policy, must be reoriented to reflect the needs and concerns of those citizens who are now largely ignored.

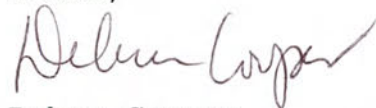
WE APPLAUD YOUR PROPOSAL TO RAISE THE MINIMUM WAGE. This works to bring economic fairness back into the forefront. If passed it will help to raise living standards of the Democratic base voter and it will also help to alleviate social unrest.

The heart of the Democratic political base as well as many Non Voters want to see more action on economic justice. Discussion must focus on:

- * the twenty year decline in real wages
- * the widening disparity between the top and the bottom of the economic hierarchy.
- * lags in job benefits and increase in job insecurity resulting from the disintegration of the unions and the shift from manufacturing to service economy

In order to secure sufficient voter turnout in New York, which is a linchpin in your '96 campaign, it is essential to keep reminding the American public that it is the economy, and not exclusively immorality, that affects their lives.

Yours,



Debra Cooper
Vice President, Political Affairs

Jenn- 1/30

Please
review for
H- let me
know if he
needs to focus.
Mayer coming
in Wed 30 min

Should you
be in
meeting?

I
J.

MEYER, SUOZZI, ENGLISH & KLEIN, P.C.

BERNARD S. MEYER
JOSEPH A. SUOZZI
JOHN F. ENGLISH (1960-1987)
BASIL A. PATERSON
JEFFREY G. STARK
JOHN V. N. KLEIN
ROBERT M. ARCHER
BRIAN MICHAEL SELTZER
ROBERT N. ZAUSMER
RICHARD G. FROMEWICK
LOIS CARTER SCHLISSEL
KENNETH L. GARTNER
MICHAEL A. CIAFFA
BARRY J. PEEK
WILLIAM J. CUNNINGHAM, III
BARBARA RUSIN SCHEUERMANN
JACK RUBINSTEIN
RICHARD D. WINSTEN
ANDREW J. TURRO
A. THOMAS LEVIN
JULES B. LEVINE

COUNSELORS AT LAW
ONE COMMERCE PLAZA
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ALBANY, NEW YORK 12260
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516-741-6565

JAMES T. ROCHFORD
EDWARD J. GUTLEBER
CHARLES DEWEY COLE, JR.
CHERYL A. PARHAM
LOWELL PETERSON
LAWRENCE E. SCHERER
JOHN H. BYINGTON III

COUNSEL
ARTHUR E. TARLOW
ANNE J. DEL CASINO
MICHAEL N. KLAR
THOMAS F. HARTNETT
PATRICIA GALTERI
DONNALYNN DARLING
KEVEN M. MC CARTHY
*MEMBER NJ BAR ONLY
REGISTERED LOBBYIST IN NY STATE

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jay Mazur
FROM: Richard D. Winsten
DATE: January 25, 1995
RE: 1/27/95 NYS Labor Leaders Meeting

Attached please find materials which I urge you to distribute to all attendees under your name. I have included suggestions made by Ethan Geto and by the attendees of our previous meeting.

We should try to end the meeting with agreement to:

1. Urge Sheldon and McCall to support our view of State Democratic Party structure, and function, and principle
2. Agreement to meet with Denny Farrell to pick the Democratic nominee to fill Angelo DelToro's East Harlem Assembly seat. I think it is less important who the candidate is than that the Union show a solid front to Farrell.

MEMORANDUM

Labor Demands for New York State Democratic Party Principles

Attached please find short descriptions of substantive principles for the State Democratic Party to adopt if labor is to be a true partner.

If being a New York State Democrat is to mean something, it must be defined in terms of general, but instructive, principles. Thus, what follows is not a laundry list of legislative proposals or a list of AFL-CIO policy resolutions. Rather, it is a sketch of principles which ought to animate legislation and public policy proposed by Democrats.

These principles reflect New York State which is forty percent organized with over two million union members. These principles may not be acceptable to the Democratic Party in Georgia or Utah; they should be acceptable in New York.

Democratic elected officials cannot be expected to adhere to every labor proposed principle all of the time. However, they should adhere as the rule rather than the exception. Labor should judge them accordingly. Labor should also be able to criticize them according to some mutually recognized guidelines. At the moment these guidelines have virtually disappeared.

Labor also could urge these principles on the Republican Party. Whether labor does this, or not, it should still insist on this yardstick for Democrats, if labor is to allow Democrats to lay claim to being the party of labor. Whether these principles should be yardsticks for Republicans, or whether Republicans should be held to a different or lower standard, should be debated by labor. Indeed, whether upstate, moderate, or conservative Democrats should be held to a higher or lower standard should also be debated and made more explicit.

Again my view is that all Democrats should adhere to these basic labor principles. I'll leave the judgment on other social issues and principles, such as gun control or school prayer, to others.

Labor Public Policy Proposals for the State Democratic Party:

1. General Principle - The State Democratic Party should aggressively support State government efforts to promote unionism.

- This general principle would support a permanent agency shop, prevailing wages that protect union construction contractors and workers, and active intervention by Democratic elected officials and administrators to insure that all laws are enforced which could help a union in collective bargaining. The Party should stand for unionism as an institution as well as for more general economic populism. This public support for the institution of labor should separate Democrats from Republicans.

2. General Principle - The State Democratic Party should aggressively support legislation to promote a decent living wage and benefits in order to build the State's standard of living and facilitate the movement of public assistance recipients from welfare to work.

- This general principle would support an increase in the State minimum wage, opposition to the use of privatization to undercut public sector wages, support for construction industry prevailing wages, public employee pension COLA and or supplementation, and jobber responsibility for the wages paid to garment workers by contractors.

3. General Principle - The State Democratic Party should oppose the implementation of a school voucher system and any "charter school" experiments not approved by appropriate teacher representatives.

- The Democratic Party should stand for the best public education system possible while not denying individuals the right to utilize private schools. The underpinning of an equal opportunity society based on merit is quality public education. There is no way that public education can be strong if private schools can "cream" away the best students. School vouchers and Democratic Leadership Council experiments with charter schools put the public sector in the position of encouraging and subsidizing the weakening of public education. Democrats should strongly oppose this as a matter of basic principle which differentiates them from Republicans.

4. General Principle - The Democratic Party should stand strongly for adequate public investment in infrastructure and the development of a trained work force able to meet the demands of the next century.

- The Democratic Party should stand for adequate capital and operations funding for mass transit, adequate maintenance of roads, bridges etc., and a public - private partnership to train the workforce. While this may seem obvious, how do you do this in the context of irresponsible tax cuts and balanced budget straitjackets proposed by Republicans?

5. **General Principle - The State Democratic Party should stand for "equal access to basic public services" regardless of economic class or other factors.**

- Adequately funded public education, affordable and accessible mass transit, health care, telephone service, electricity, and perhaps even computers in the future should be available to all, with government support where absolutely necessary. In order to activate this principle, the Party must stand for public revenue generation which can ensure equal access. This revenue generation should be accomplished in the fairest and least burdensome manner with weight given to "progressivity" so that taxes are related to ability to pay.

6. **General Principle - The State Democratic Party should stand for reducing the influence of money in electoral politics.**

- The Party should support strict campaign finance laws whether in the form of public financing, contribution disclosure, limits on soft money contributions etc. Democrats shall also oppose initiative and referendum. This does not mean unilateral disarmament in the face of massive Republican spending. The Party will always play by the existing rules. Labor has been sold a bill of goods by other Democrats who have made the case for competing with Republicans for business contributions. Democrats will always lose this competition and labor certainly comes out the loser when both parties heavily rely on business money.

Why this effort is crucial

Very simply "we can hang together or hand separately." Politically active unions with resources have been able to go it alone successfully in New York State for as long as I can remember. In 1991, the UFT sat out the NYC Council races, 1199 endorsed a full slate of Majority Coalition candidates and DC 37 endorsed almost all the incumbents. All of these efforts cancelled each other out. Most of the incumbents are still here. All of the unions are too. Recent events convince me that **those days are over.**

Despite the fact that NYS is forty percent organized with over two million union members, we can no longer afford to use our political resources at cross purposes. The failure of a public employee pension supplementation bill in an election year would have been an unthinkable affront to UFT, DC 37, and their retired members in the recent past. The new Republican Governor, elected without union support and his ally, the Majority Leader of the Senate, made the unthinkable real in December when they buried the bill. Health care workers can no longer count on a sympathetic Democratic Governor to maintain labor peace in their industry. Garment workers have been stung by Democrat elected officials' enactment of NAFTA and GATT. All of NYS labor was stung by the enactment of a workers' compensation managed care program by labor-friendly leaders such as Cuomo, Marino, and Weprin, even before the climatic shift to the Right of the last election. For all of the abuse of the NYS school custodian system, the fact that in 1993 the Democratic Assembly and Governor, and moderate Republican Senate leadership unilaterally changed the terms of the union's bargaining in midstream set a precedent which will come back to bite all of us.

The Governor's Budget is expected to propose dramatic structural cuts in Medicaid, including the near elimination of the home-based personal care program. His budget may even propose a cap on the base growth of school aid for the first time in memory. Governor Pataki boldly has hired a budget director who presided in Michigan over the elimination of property tax school financing and the entire Home Relief program.

I believe the Governor and the Senate Majority will actively promote changes in the State Constitution on issues such as care for the needy and immigration. This in turn will open the door to change New York style right wingers to attack the State Constitution's ban on retroactively reducing public employee pensions, and the protection for the prevailing wage paid to construction workers. Every benefit for public employees which expires every two years, whether the agency shop or arbitration for transit workers, will be the subject of legislative negotiations from square one. **Clearly business as usual in Albany is over!**

Issues we must address now

- The rebuilding of the State Democratic Party - the political legacy of the Cuomo years is the complete destruction of any effective party structure or operation anywhere in the state. The party is also broke.
- Our relationship to the Republican Governor and the Senate Majority - Is the union and public sector friendly Rockefeller Republicanism of Warren Anderson, Ralph Marino, Jacob Javits, and Louis Lefkowitz dead, or does it still live in the Pataki and Bruno regimes?
- Preservation of the Democratic Majority in the Assembly - The Dems lost seven seats and now have 94, with 76 needed for a majority. Ten Dems run with the Conservative Party line and another ten could do so based on their voting records. They will be prime targets for Pataki and Bruno to pry away from Speaker Silver on legislation. Coincidentally, these ten to twenty Dems raise most of their political contributions from NYS labor. We must keep them loyal to labor on economic issues as they seek to position themselves for re-election, and loyal to the Speaker as he attempts to defend our interests. This will not be easy in the face of recent Republican-Conservative victories. Remember, Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio are serious targets for the right-to-work crowd. If Dems lose the Assembly, add New York to the list.
- Maximizing the clout of those of us who are politically active and have substantial resources, in the State political parties, the CLC and State AFL-CIO. Conservatively the unions in attendance contributed over two million dollars for state races in 1994. Labor cannot continue to tolerate a situation in which only 9% of the adult population votes in a General Election in Nydia Velazquez' district, or where only 7800 votes are cast in Brian Murtaughs' Manhattan Assembly district, where only 9000 votes are cast in the Assembly district of the Bronx County Democratic leader, or where only 25% of the 75% registered voters in Al Vanns Assembly district turn out. How can we expect to elect candidates statewide or citywide if we don't do better? And will all Party organizations in tatters, unions are the only institutions with the organization and resources to improve the situation. The unions at this meeting must shape the political program of the CLC and State AFL-CIO and not wait for small unions and union bureaucrats to act. Brian McLaughlin can pull us together in NYC if we give him direction and resources. We in New York can no longer afford the luxury of ostracizing unions who are currently outside the AFL-CIO and we should not tolerate

representatives of labor who do. Conversely non-affiliates should not be raiding AFL-CIO unions but rather should be organizing the unorganized.

Labor Proposals

NYS Democratic Party

Goals

- Build toward 1996 Congressional elections so that New York can produce some of the thirteen seats needed to take back the House.
- Build strength so that we can nominate and take New York for labor's presidential candidate in 1996.

Build a state party that can put the Dem nominee for Governor in 1998 in the strongest possible position.

Rationalize fundraising between the Democratic Assembly Campaign Committee and State party.

Principles-

The State Party should not be the tool of any particular candidate for statewide office. The Party should support whomever emerges as the strongest candidate whether it might be Silver, Schumer, McCall or anyone else.

- The Party should be responsible for the construction of a nuts and bolts political operation to serve selected Democrats running for office. It should use top professional talent and catch up to the Reps in use of high tech media and campaign technology.

- At a minimum, the Party should stand for basic principles such as support for government's role in solving the problems of working people and economic populism. I know what Republicans believe in -- less government, tough on crime, low taxes, make the rich richer. Democrats are kidding themselves if they think any such common principles attach to the image of "Democrat." They are a gaggle of tribes with little or nothing binding us together.

- Developing a political party of substance is not just for theoretical jollies. Speaker Silver needs a Party voice to stake out a Democratic position while he engages in the give and take of the legislative process. Rank and file legislators frequently need the protection of a Party position. Finally, the party can play the role of

the day-to-day truth squad critiquing Republican government. "Democratic State Party Chair ___ said today that Governor Pataki's proposed state personal income tax cut will cost working New Yorkers \$500 per year in increased property taxes and rent while providing a windfall for the wealthiest New Yorkers."

Tactics

Play a determinative role in selecting the State Chair, key professional political operatives, and State and county Committee members. Silver currently has the votes to choose the Chair on his own because so many Assembly members, e.g. Norman, Farrell, Ramirez, Bragman, control county to be able to work cooperatively with Silver to gain the central role it deserves. Perhaps this role should be to name the State Political Director, a full-time position to build the Party's technological and organizational capabilities. Perhaps there should be a labor representative in every County Committee. It is in his interest and ours. As we meet however, the train may be leaving the station. Rumors are already flying about the identity and geography of the new chair and executive director.

Fund a **partisan** think tank to hold public discussions of New York State and National issues, and to publish topical reports from our point of view. We have no NYS equivalent of Change New York or the Manhattan Institute. The NYS Fiscal Policy Institute, funded largely by public sector labor, does excellent work, but it is a non-partisan operation. As a result, Democratic elected officials have no consistent message, and when they get power they are unprepared to govern, e.g. the health care reform disaster and Hillary Rodham Clinton's advisory group. We permit Reps to control the topics of public discussion, i.e. crime and taxes, and allow issues of economic insecurity and economic populism to be ignored.

New York State Republicans and Assembly Democratic Majority - We should work in concert to challenge the Republicans to stay moderate and nurture those who do. Those who do not should know they face the opposition of a united labor movement willing to fight. We should seek to strengthen Silver's leadership, but send an equally strong message to so-called New Democrats who betray us on issues central to labor. We should pick out the weakest of our enemies and move against them in concert. The message this would send would likely restore respect for our power.

Facts: New York City margin of victory and preference for Cuomo exceeded expectations of the campaign. But New York City turnout (46%) was only 29% of the statewide vote. Suburban turnout hit 53% and upstate hit 69%! The statewide turnout dropped from 71% in 1982, the last contested gubernatorial, to 57% this year.

Observations: Unless political organization and enthusiasm can be rekindled in NYC, the power in statewide elections has clearly shifted upstate and to the suburbs. This is not based on one election; it is a trend. The key to restoring organization and enthusiasm is to reduce bickering among factions such as in the Bronx (Ramirez, Ferrer vs. Serrano, Seabrook) and to build bridges and coalitions within the Democratic Party. If it is true that the union member vote split 48% to 48% as one exit poll suggests, I would bet that the broad union member support for Pataki was upstate and suburban. This suggests a massive need for unions to communicate better with their members who live in these areas. Specifically, it suggests labor look at its non-NYC membership and that the union should cultivate relationships with sympathetic legislators in parts of the state where there are few if any members.

Facts: Carl McCall outpolled Cuomo and Burstein in every non-NYC county. McCall won Albany county by 30,000 while Burstein won by only 10,000. McCall got 40,000 more votes than Burstein in Erie county.

Observations: Forty years after Brown vs. Board of Education, a highly qualified Black is accepted for statewide office. Gays have years to go unfortunately. Herb London ran a lousy, extremist campaign. Cuomo did not help McCall upstate. McCall did marginally help Cuomo downstate. Either Hynes or Koppell would have been a stronger candidate than Burstein. Given the closeness of the election, we could have had a Democrat as Attorney General even with a loss of the Governor's office.

Facts: The Democratic Assembly will have a majority of 94 members out of 150 down from 101. About 68-70 are from NYC, therefore Speaker Silver needs 5-10 Democratic votes from outside the City to hold a veto proof majority. The Senate Republicans will gain one seat and will have a solid majority of 36-25. A moderate, pro-labor Republican, Vincent Leibell, defeated Democrat Al DelBello in Westchester. Marty Connor (Williamsburg, Brooklyn Heights, lower Manhattan) will be the new Democratic Minority Leader of the Senate.

Observations: We must watch carefully who George Pataki brings in the Executive Chamber, Labor Department and Workers' Compensation Board. We must stay on top of the power dynamics in the Republican Senate and stay in closer touch with Velella, Lack, Spano, etc. Sheldon Silver is the most important elected Democrat in NYS. Since he shares a basic philosophy with us we must strengthen him in every way. We are fortunate that we have a large concentration

of members in his district. Remember that Silver and Connor are longtime allies and share a district. This means that for the first time in my memory a Democratic Speaker and Minority Leader could work together to help organize and energize the Democratic party. The knee-jerk pro-union, Hubert Humphrey, Ted Kennedy, Alan Hevesi, Oliver Koppell type legislator is nearly extinct. They are being replaced by people whose hearts and minds are open to us if we aggressively pursue them. Neither the ILG nor the rest of Labor are doing this in any systematic, meaningful way. We run the risk of losing a new generation of Cathy Nolan, Melinda Katz, and Jeff Dinowitz if we ignore them. If we lose them, we will be politically irrelevant in NYS.

Suggestions: Encourage and develop young bright members of the Black and Puerto Rican Caucus such as Greg Meeks, Daryl Towns, Keith Wright, and Gary Pretlow. Improve relations with Roberto Ramirez. Pay attention to Larry Seabrook, the Chair of the Black and Puerto Rican Caucus. Their ability to speak to Silver with a unified voice is crucial to us given the upstate Democrat pressure Silver will get. The State elections in two years will probably see the Conservative Party making more alliances with the Republicans now that the Republicans have the Governor. As a result, any Democrat who now runs with the Conservative line will be in jeopardy. There are enough of these that the Democrat Majority in the Assembly could be threatened two years from now. There are now nine Assembly Democrats who run with the Conservative line. They include:

Seminario - Queens
Vitaliano - Richmond
Tocci - Westchester
Keane - Erie
Parment - Chautauqua
Tokasz - Erie
Robach - Monroe
Morelle - Monroe
Gromack - Rockland

To: Jay Mazur
From: Richard Winsten
Re: Key points from Mark Gersh, National Committee for an Effective Congress, material distributed at AFL-CIO meeting
Date: December 21, 1994

Following is a summary of the Gersh material. I was planning an in-depth analysis for your Jan 12 Silver meeting. I star references I think are important and cite some NYS examples.

House of Representatives

Dems lost 56 seats: Reps lost 4; Dems need 13 to win back House - NYS
Dems lost Hochbrueckner in Suffolk - RW Comment-with an aggressive strategy on new candidate recruitment and borrowing some of Newts tactics, Dems can win it back in 1996; with same old approach, Rep gains will increase

****Dems lost 22 of 31 open seats while Reps lost only 4 of 17 open**

****Marginal Dem congressional districts have increased astronomically from 13% to 42% - even where Dems won, they barely held on ie. Hinchey in NYS won by 1,000 votes**

U.S. Senate

Dems lost 7 seats: Reps lost none

Governors

Dems lost eleven to Reps; Reps lost none to Dems
31 Reps; 29 Dems - serious anti-Dem impact on next redistricting

State Legislatures

There are now 15 states with Rep Governor and Legislature vs 8 Dem. - hurts Dems in next redistricting

Union Households

Nationally voted 61% Dem down from 70% in 1990

*** In the East union households voted on ly 54% Dem as against 70% in the South - bad erosion in our strongest geographical area - no wonder Illinois, Michigan and Ohio are so close to Right-to-Work

***NYS union household vote for Governor only 51% according to National Committee for Effective Congress - No Wonder - Pataki was rated superior to Cuomo in pre-election polls on job creation as well as taxes and crime - I thought Dems were the economic populists

Party Favorability

Dem has declined from 71% in 1964, to 63% in 1986, to 62 % in 1992, to only 53% in 1994

Rep has stayed relatively stable in the mid 50% range

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 4, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Harold Ickes and Political Affairs

Re: Weekly Report

1996 PRESIDENTIAL NEWS

New Hampshire. An article in the 1/30/95 *Boston Globe* detailed recent White House meetings to discuss New Hampshire strategy. The article noted that although White House officials and state Democratic leaders see no evidence of an internal challenge, you are focusing on New Hampshire and have authorized a series of steps, including invitations to prominent New Hampshire Democrats to visit the White House, a series of trips to New Hampshire (including one within the next three months) and preliminary efforts to assemble a grassroots organization.

To the surprise of many observers, Sen. Richard Lugar (R-IN) is seriously considering a Presidential bid and has committed to attend a major fundraising dinner for the New Hampshire GOP on 2/19/95. Lamar Alexander, Bob Dole, Phil Gramm and Dan Quayle will attend as well.

New Hampshire/Arizona Primary Maneuvering. The Granite State appears to have won its battle with Arizona over the latter's attempts to move its primary date forward. Governor Fife Symington (R-AZ) announced on Friday that Senator Phil Gramm (R-TX) had convinced him to accept New Hampshire's demands and schedule Arizona's primary for 2/27/96 -- a full week behind New Hampshire's. Symington said, however, that Arizona is determined to have the nation's second primary and that if any other state encroaches New Hampshire's one-week window, Arizona will move its primary forward again. The move is a boost for Gramm's prospects in New Hampshire. As reported in past weeks, although Arizona began its efforts to move its primary prior to the 1992 election, Symington's and Senator John McCain's (R-AZ) support for Gramm's Presidential candidacy led many New Hampshire political observers to believe that the Texas Senator was behind Arizona's attempts to usurp New Hampshire's first-in-the nation status.

In Arizona, meanwhile, opposition is building to the February date. The *Arizona Republic* editorialized this week against the move, which would exclude state Democrats because DNC rules prohibit seating their delegates if they are selected before March 5, 1996. Also this week, Republican state legislators criticized the estimated \$4 million cost of a state run

primary. A Republican bill has been introduced to move the date to February 27, but would give the Governor power to move the date forward by proclamation.

Pete Wilson. Back from a two-week European vacation, Governor Pete Wilson made a high visibility visit to Washington, adding energy to his presidential aspiration speculation. He sounded highly conservative themes in his public appearances, even exceeding House Republicans on regulatory reform. On the Brinkley show, Sam Donaldson effectively challenged him for failing to implement motor voter, asking how he chose which laws he would enforce and which he would not.

Bill Bradley. As you probably know, Sen. Bill Bradley (D-NJ) attracted a lot of attention this week for his comments on "Imus in the Morning" regarding a possible Democratic primary challenge. Bradley said: "I think that people are going to look at the President in the next six to nine months ... and make an assessment as to whether they believe he can do the job." Asked whether he would consider running against Clinton, he said: "I think that anybody could step up to the plate if the circumstances were right. One doesn't know what is going to happen. I don't have any anticipation of that happening."

Jack Kemp. Jack Kemp announced this week that he will not run for President in 1996. He cited his distaste for fundraising as a major reason and added that his economic ideas are reflected "to a greater or lesser degree by most Republican candidates for President." Naturally, in the wake of the uproar in many segments of the GOP caused by Kemp's decision to oppose Prop 187, there was much speculation that his decision was caused by the rightward lurch of the Republican Party.

Bob Dole. Dole told interviewer David Frost that he is considering a one-term pledge for voters to assuage voters concerned about his age. He called his entry in the race "a virtual certainty."

Endorsements. Gov. George Voinovich (R-OH) announced this week that he will run Dole's Presidential campaign in Ohio. Gov. Terry Branstad (R-IA), meanwhile, who has maintained a policy of staying neutral in the caucus process since he was elected Lt. Governor in 1978, said last week that he is "seriously considering" endorsing in this year's caucuses. New Hampshire Governor Steve Merrill (R) says it will be months before he decides who to endorse and that he will not endorse until the issue of the primacy of New Hampshire's primary is resolved.

Pennsylvania Primary. There is growing support among Pennsylvania lawmakers to move the state's presidential primary date from April 23th to March 19th. Democratic members of the congressional delegation were asked by members of the legislature to support the date change; the majority of members have withheld an opinion regarding the primary date. The proposed date change is viewed by some Party activists as a move by supporters of former Governor Robert Casey (D) to boost his campaign efforts, should he decide to run.

OTHER POLITICAL ISSUES

Washington State Chair. Washington State Democrats ousted Charles Rolland as their party chair this week by a margin of 2-1, electing political consultant Paul Berendt. A bland technician, Berendt capitalized on widespread dissatisfaction with Rolland, drawing substantial support from labor, state legislators, as well as Congressmen Norm Dicks and Jim McDermott.

Tennessee State Chair. Former Chair Jane Eskind's retirement from her position left the State Chair's race an open contest. Former Vice Chair and longtime activist Will Cheek defeated attorney Houston Gordon by a solid margin. Cheek's longtime involvement in state Party politics earned him strong support among Party regulars and consolidated his base of support in the race.

Michigan Polling. A new EPIC/MRA poll reports that you have a 49% favorable/45% unfavorable personal favorability ratio in Michigan and a 46% positive/53%% negative job performance ratio. (Half of the respondents were interviewed before your State of the Union address and half were interviewed after the address.) Gov. John Engler (R) scored 70% on both the personal favorability and job approval questions. Senator Carl Levin (D) enjoys a 49% favorable/24% unfavorable personal favorability ratio but only a 41% positive/38% negative job performance ratio.

Massachusetts Polling. In conjunction with your Boston trip, the *Boston Herald* reported Tuesday that Massachusetts voters view you favorably by a two to one margin. The poll, conducted January 27th and 28th, indicated that a solid 60% of likely voters viewed you favorably while only 30% viewed you unfavorably. Speaker Gingrich received only a 21% favorability rating, compared with a 48% unfavorability rating. However, when asked if you "deserved another term," the response was evenly split (45% to 45%) with 10% of voters undecided.

Kentucky '95 Gubernatorial Race. The filing period for the '95 gubernatorial race concluded on Tuesday (1/31). Leading Democratic candidates in the race include Secretary of State Bob Babbage, Lt. Governor Paul Patton and state Senate President Eck Rose. The 1991 nominee and leading GOP candidate is Larry Forgy. Forgy will face minor primary opposition from Bob Gable and Tommy Klein. Former Governor Wallace Wilkinson (D) did not file in the gubernatorial race--largely because of new regulations which provide public financing to statewide campaigns. Wilkinson filed a challenge to the state's new election laws in an effort to repeal the public financing clause.

Minnesota Senate '96. Former Senator Rudy Boschwitz (R) traveled to Washington to make sure that key Republicans know he is serious about seeking a rematch against Sen. Paul Wellstone (D). Many Republicans are not enthusiastic about Boschwitz being the nominee, viewing Wellstone as more vulnerable against a new face. Many Democrats worry that moderate Rep. Jim Ramstad (R) would be especially threatening.

Iowa. The *Des Moines Register* reports that energized Republicans have targeted Sen. Tom Harkin (D) for defeat and that a long roster of Republicans wants to challenge him. Gov. Terry Branstad (R), meanwhile, posted a 65% approval rating in the most recent *Iowa Poll*, his best showing in three years.

Charlie Rose. Joan Teague, Rep. Charlie Rose's (D-NC) wife from whom the Congressman has been separated for two years, has filed for divorce and it looks as though the conflict will be messy. Teague's complaint accuses Rose of adultery, saying he "openly paraded his paramour around in public." The discomfort is likely to come from the fact that Rose's paramour is the daughter of Rep. Bill Hefner (D-NC). Rose claims that the couple's separation agreement stipulated that the two were to be permitted to conduct themselves as though they were unmarried.

Fundraisers. Two successful fundraisers were held this week. The DGA event in D.C. raised \$2.1 million -- as much as their record-breaking dinner of last year, when there were 10 more Democratic governors. In addition, the second annual New England Presidential Dinner, held 1/31 in Boston, raised \$1.4 million for the DNC. The initial goal for the New England fundraiser was \$500,000.

Nuclear Waste. A recently leaked Department of Energy pre-decision memo implied that Idaho might become a permanent disposal site for DOE nuclear waste. This memo has created political problems for newly-elected Republican Governor Batt, who recently dropped former Governor Andrus' steadfast opposition to waste storage in the state. In a related matter, the Mescalero Tribe in New Mexico voted against permitting a temporary nuclear waste storage facility on their reservation.

cc: Vice President Gore
First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Leon Panetta
George Stephanopoulos

bcc: Kitty Higgins

MISC

1977 Sosnick
Celinda Lake
↓
bring in for a mtg

Jeremy
Sat welfare sessi
tom'n
Roose Room
5pm
Tysm, Reich etc
AB, HUD
quick briefing on Sat
status goes for
Sat
attend tom'n 5
/

KT

Gigante supports
Manton

Bryph, - letter to Hill - Gen
Consensus: 1. SS of table
2. what's out as bid - 15% / 20% → 70

want to reduce taxes for people who invest in the education of their children and in their own training" (Howell, ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, 1/5). "As the new Newtonian era dawned in Washington, Mr. Clinton was out among the people who helped him get there in the first place. ... In doing so, he once again styled himself as the determined outsider intent on grappling with the nation's problems, even in the face of a Republican Congress abuzz with big, bold notions." Ex-Bush Press Sec. Marlin Fitzwater: "It sounds like the President's returning to the campaign mode that was successful for him in the past. It is what he does best, the town meeting, the moving around the country, the talking with groups informally. A lot of people would say he's never done as well since he was inaugurated as he did in the campaign." WH officials "dismiss suggestions" that they're getting ready for the '96 campaign, but also acknowledged that Clinton "intends to get out into the country, where he can still be an automatic star in local news media markets, instead of an 'also said' on the national stage." WH Dep. Press Sec. Ginny Terzano: "He did something today that was very important to him personally. ... In his remarks today, he made really clear that we have a lot to do, and whether you say that in Arkansas or in Washington, the message is clear" (Purdum, N.Y. TIMES, 1/5).

MCCURRY IN: W. POST's Devroy reports that upon returning to the WH, Clinton "signed off on a formal announcement set for today" that will make Pentagon spokesperson Mike McCurry the new WH Press Sec. The appointment was decided before Christmas, but the WH wanted to wait and announce it as part of a "group of staff changes, including some women, apparently to cushion the shock of replacing" the first woman WH Press Sec. with a man. "But other changes have yet to be settled, so McCurry will go forward alone today." For most of the day 1/4, it was a WH "without a president and without a press secretary and without a presence." One WH official: "There is not much of a chance we could get into (the GOP) story, and we'd just look churlish trying" (1/5). ABC's Jennings: "President Clinton ... continued to stay pretty much in the background. The White House philosophy, for today at least, was 'don't fight it, let the Republicans have their day'" (1/4). NBC's Brokaw: "This was one of those rare days when a president has little choice but to step aside" (1/4).

*9 REDISTRICTING: STUDY SHOWS MT & TX TO GAIN; CT & NY TO LOSE
An Election Data Services study based on '94 state population estimates prepared by the U.S. Census Bureau shows that "if congressional reapportionment were to occur today, two more congressional districts would shift between states compared to a similar study last year." The '94 estimates show that MT and TX each would gain a CD; CT and NY each would lose a CD. In total, 5 seats would be shifted: MT, TX, AZ, CA, GA each would gain a seat; CT, NY, MS, OK, and PA each would lose a seat. The gain of an additional CD by MT "would be a reversal of its loss of a seat just four years ago in the 1990 apportionment process." Should the '94 population estimates hold constant for 2000, MT would become the first state in U.S. history to reclaim a second seat after dropping to an at-large status (Election Data Services release, 12/29).

lesbian candidate Migden."

MIGDEN: "Detractors say Migden ... won't be able to bank enough for a mayoral campaign." And "the widely held belief around City Hall is that she'll forgo the mayor's race in favor of a likely win in the Assembly seat Willie Brown will be forced to give up in 1996."

SHELLEY: Is reported to be eyeing John Burton's Assembly seat in '96, but is being urged to run for mayor because of his strong November showing. But Shelley "will have a difficult time raising the \$1 million needed to run a city wide campaign."

RENNE: "Made a mayoral run in 1987, but backed out two months before the election" after verbally attacking Agnos and a "questionable campaign bank loan and line of credit."

HALLINAN: Is considered the "dark horse candidate." Hallinan says '91 Jordan campaign manager Jack Davis is urging him to run. "But City Hall insiders say Davis ... [is] trying to scare Jordan into rehiring him" for the '95 campaign. Meanwhile, "Hallinan's failure to raise more than \$125,00 in his 1992 bid for supervisor and his sixth-place finish" in the race left observers "doubting his ability to pull together a serious organization."

KOPP: "Kopp remains a possible wild card by refusing to rule out the race. His entry, more than any other, would drain many votes from Jordan."

PELOSI: "The 800-pound gorilla of the mayor's race is the candidate who close advisors say is definitely not running." Pelosi is "considered the most popular politician in" S.F. and "consultants uniformly say the mayor's office is Pelosi's for the asking - but she's not asking" (1/3).

===== 50 STATE REPORT =====

*13 LOUISIANA: SIX DEMS CROSS THE AISLE, SWITCH TO GOP

Baton Rouge Mayor Tom Ed McHugh officially switched from the Dems to the GOP 1/4. Joining McHugh in the switch were five other Dems from the East Baton Rouge Parish: Metro councilman Richard Wilson, Zachary Mayor John Womack, Judge Rosemary Pillow, Judge Byron Stringer and Judge Jewel Welch. McHugh: "There is just not enough room for conservatives in the Democrat Party any longer, but the Republican Party offers us a home." The RNC now tallies 54 elected Dems who have switched to the GOP since Clinton's election (RNC release, 1/4). LA Dem Exec. Dir. Jim Nickel: "I think this is a desperate political maneuver. ... They read Time and Newsweek and think it's the hip thing to do." State Rep. Chuck McMains (R), on GOP prospects in '95: "I think we have an excellent chance to elect a Republican governor this time around and other statewide elected officials. ... The Democratic Party is stigmatized with everything that everybody hates in Louisiana" (Eysink, AP/BATON ROUGE ADVOCATE, 1/5).

*14 NEW YORK: A POWELL-RANGEL RAPPROCHEMENT?; A CUOMO DYNASTY?

City Councilman Adam Clayton Powell IV (D) wants to end his "bitter feud" with Rep. Charles Rangel (D-15) "in exchange for a ticket" to Albany. Powell has "put out feelers" to the county Dem cmte for the Assembly seat left vacated by the 12/30 death of Angelo Del Toro (D). Powell, who lost to Rangel in the '94 Dem primary for Rangel's seat, said he would not run again if he gets the nomination. The move would "pre-empt a possible run by Del Toro's brother William, a convicted felon and heir apparent to

the family political machine." Powell, who will be forced out of the Council in '97 because of term limits, on his possible Assembly bid: "In many ways it's attractive to go to Albany. This would be a good way for me to enter state politics." Rangel, who unseated Powell's father Adam Clayton Powell Jr. in '71, on Powell's possible Assembly bid: "It's pretty insensitive for any person to seek office of a person who has not even had his funeral." The party nominee will be selected by the county Dem cmte and will run in a special election to be held on a date set by Gov. George Pataki (R). Sources said William Del Toro (D) has "a good shot" at the nomination if he wants it (Lewis, N.Y. NEWSDAY, 1/3).

SUPER MARIO SON: Asst HUD Sec. Andrew Cuomo, son of Mario, is "weighing the possibility" of entering elective politics. Cuomo is said to be "examining his options," including "a tilt" at becoming the next NYC mayor. Cuomo would likely face Mark Green (D), Ruth Messinger (D), "whomever the Republicans field, and Rudy Giuliani, who will be a potent incumbent no matter which line he finds to run on." Cuomo has "a lot going for him" -- he is an expert on urban problems, he has the family name, and he will have "a horde of Kennedys campaigning for him." Cuomo's wife is Kerry Kennedy, daughter of RFK (N.Y. POST, 1/4).

*15 FLY AROUND: WILL ENGLER SERVE OUT HIS TERM?

INDIANA: IN LEGISLATIVE INSIGHT reports state GOP Chair Al Hubbard has decided to "hang up his political cleats" at least until his former boss Dan Quayle returns "to the fray." Hubbard will step down from the chair to "devote more time to his business interests and his family." Names most frequently mentioned to replace Hubbard include Ball State U. lobbyist Mike McDaniel, ex-IN GOP Chair Virgil Scheidt, Vigo Co. GOP Chair Jim Bopp, and Grant Co. GOP Chair John Earnest. The INDIANAPOLIS STAR took the "unusual step of editorializing against a Bopp pick," citing his involvement with the nat'l Right-to-Life movement. IN Dem Chair Ann DeLaney has decided to leave her post mid term. An announcement is expected from Gov. Evan Bayh (D) that he will back atty Joe Andrew to succeed DeLaney. Hamilton Co. Commis. Steve Holt (R), the first announced candidate for gov. in '96 (Bayh is term-limited), became the first to drop out of the race. LG Frank O'Bannon (D) and ex-IN GOP Chair Rex Early (R) remain in the race (1/2 issue).

MICHIGAN: DETROIT FREE PRESS' McDiarmid ponders the future of Gov. John Engler (R): "What are the odds that he'll complete the full four-year term? Answer: About fifty-fifty, based on lots of informal chitchat (most of it off the record) with Lansing political types at Monday's inaugural festivities. And if, as most of those same people expect, a Republican replaces Bill Clinton in the White House in 1996, the odds may turn -- in favor of an early departure. A departure for? Well, clearly the leading possibility is a cabinet job in 1997. And the ones mentioned most frequently are secretary of Education, Commerce or Labor. Or he could be tapped in 1996 as a vice presidential candidate. (Insiders say running for Carl Levin's U.S. Senate seat in '96 is v-e-r-y unlikely). Engler spokesperson Rusty Hills: "The governor has a standing rule. He shoots any staff member who mentions running for higher office in 1996" (1/3).

OHIO: Cleveland PLAIN DEALER's Larkin writes, "The Democratic leadership vacuum at the statewide level is so gaping that it just might be unprecedented in Ohio history. ... And it is because of this leadership vacuum that the list of possible

1-26-95

Garafis

chatted w/ guy close to Silver
their view is they offered
chairmanship to Monahan in November
he showed no interest
looked for others
Monahan reconsidered idea
in Jan

By then the debate
developed over ideology
will have to fight on floor
it's over philosophy
typical chain to raise it

Asst Sec for Int'l Affairs
Monahan to Int'l Affairs

Garafis

→ D'Amato said
w'd sponsor him

CAROLYN B. MALONEY
14TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

COMMITTEE ON BANKING, FINANCE
AND URBAN AFFAIRS

COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS
ON WOMEN'S ISSUES
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

CONGRESSIONAL ARTS CAUCUS
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE



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FAX COVER SHEET:

FAX TO:

Jennifer O'Connor

4th. Donald Dunn

FAX NO.:

FROM:

Carolyn Maloney

FAX NO.: 202 225-4709 / PHONE NO.: 202 225-7944

DATE:

NOTES:

NO. OF PAGES:

3

(including cover)



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

CAROLYN B. MALONEY
14TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

January 26, 1995

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton, *Hillary*

The President's State of the Union address on Tuesday night reminded many of us of why we voted for him. For the first time in months, it felt good to be a Democrat. The only real disappointment in the address was the spectacle of Newt Gingrich sitting beside the Vice President and watching him orchestrate the response of the Republican members.

With this in mind, I want to reiterate -- and expand upon -- my invitation to you to visit my district. First, it would be enormously helpful both to Democratic morale and fundraising efforts if you would agree to be the keynote speaker at a reception benefitting the DCCC that I am helping to put together.

Chairman Martin Frost has asked me to assist him in our efforts to take back the House. I plan to devote a great deal of time focusing on reelecting members of my sophomore class and helping win back as many of the 16 seats that we lost as we can. Many of my colleagues lost their races by the slimmest of margins. Mr. Frost has indicated his willingness to set up a special PAC dedicated to this class. Ours' is a class that was elected in 1992 by running strongly with the President. In my view, recapturing these seats -- and in some cases reelecting the actual departed Members -- will be a critical component of our efforts to reelect the President and win back the House in 1996.

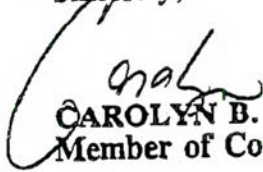
While you are in New York, I would also love for the residents of our community to be able to meet you and hear your views on pressing children's issues. I have been approached by leading child advocacy groups like the Children's Aid Society, the Salvation Army, and the Jewish Child Care Association who have asked me to sponsor a community forum on children's issues. I would cordially like to invite you to be the keynote speaker.

If possible, I would like to hold both events on a weekday evening during the April District Work period, preferably in the weeks of April 17 or April 24. Of course, I will accommodate whatever your schedule may be.

For my part, I intend to do everything in my power to promote the substantive agenda of the Administration and to try to return the House to the Democratic Party. I sincerely hope that, for these reasons, you will agree to come to New York to participate in these two important events.

Thank you for your kind consideration. I look forward to speaking with you again soon.

Sincerely,


CAROLYN B. MALONEY
Member of Congress

CBM/jr

cc: Hon. Martin Frost
White House Office of Legislative Affairs
White House Office of Political Affairs

Not too early to start for '96

HELP!

NEW YORK SUPPORTERS

(list of May 5, 1995)

Ackerman, Gary	HI, KT
Adler, Karen	F
Adler, Fredrick and Catherine	F
Aidinoff, Bernard	F
Altman, Roger and Jurate Kazickas	F
Appelbaum, Stuart	P
Asnes, Norma	F
Bacon, Louis Moore	F
Beirne, Paul	F
Bellamy, Carol	F, KT, HI
Benjamin, Michael	HI
Bennett, Larry	KT
Bergreen, Bernard and Barbara	F
Berkowitz, Howard and Judy	F
Berman, Herb	KT
Berman, Carol	HI
Best, Geoffrey and Suzanne	F
Betteridge, William	
Blinken, Vera and Donald	F
Blinken, Melinda and Alan	F
Block, Herb	KT
Bloomberg, Michael	F
Blumenthal, Michael and Barbara	F
Brill, Edward	F
Brody, Carolyn and Ken	F
Bronfman, Edgar Jr.	F
Bronfman, Edgar Sr.	F
Brosens, Frank	F
Brown, Blair	F
Bruno, Gene	
Burns, John	HI
Butenweiser, Lawrence	F
Carden, Timothy	F
Carey, Christopher and Bonnie	F
Carey, Michael	F
Carey, Paul	
Carey, Donald and Pamela	F
Catsimatidis, John and Margo	F
Claiborne, Liz and Arthur Ortenberg	F
Clarke, Una	HI

Cleary, Ed	HI
Cloonan, Ned	F
Cogan, Marshall	F
Collins, Tim	F
Colman, Sam	KT
Condon, Jane and Ken Bartels	F
Cook, Vivian	KT
Cunningham, James and Jill	F
Cuomo, Mario	P
Daffron, Steve and Linda	F
Davis, Judith and Kim	F
Del Giudice, Michael and Jaynee Keys	F
DeRosa, George	KT
Dillenberg, Jack	KT
Dinkins, David	P
Domb, Sam	F
Donaldson, William	F
Donohue, Daniel	HI
Dopp, Darren	KT
Draves, Ed	KT
Drewson, Jeanne	F
Dukes, Hazel	
Dunnaville, Christopher	F
Dyson, John and Kathe	F
Echaveste, Maria and Stanley Schlein	F
Eldridge, Ronnie	HI
Ellis, Joseph and Barbara	F
Elston, Paul and Francis	F
Engel, Eliot	P
Enright, Janice	HI
Farrele, Denny	HI
Feldman, Ronald and Frayda	F
Feldman, Sandra	HI
Ferraro, Geraldine	P
Ferrer, Fernando	P
Fields, Virginia	KT
Fisher, Richard	F
Flake, Floyd	P
Flom, Joseph and Claire	F
Ford, David	HI
Friedman, George	HI
Fry, Tim	F
Furman, Roy and Freida	F
Gantt, David	HI

Garaufis, Nick	HI
Genovesi, Anthony	KT
Giambra, Joel	HI
Gigante, Bob	HI
Gilman, Howard	F
Giske, Ali	F
Giske, Emily	HI
Golden, Howard	KT
Gordon, Al	P
Gorski, Dennis	HI
Grannis, Pete	KT
Graves, John	F
Green, Mark	HI
Greene, Allison	KT
Greenwald, Laurence	
Groth, Raymand	F
Gruss, Martin and Audrey	F
Guggenheimer, Elinor	HI
Halperin, Richard	F
Hamilton, Carol	KT
Handman, Laura	HI
Hannon, Joanne	KT
Hare, James	KT
Hawkins, Paula	F
Heinman, John	F
Hill, Earlene	KT
Hill, Stanley	HI
Hinds-Mason, Patricia	HI
Hirsch, Neil	F
Hobart, Thomas	HI
Hochberg, Fred	F
Hoffay, Tom	KT
Hogan, Shawn	KT
Hogge, Michael	
Hsu, Fu-Tong	F
Hughes, Charles	HI
Hyland, Christopher	F
Ickes, Harold	F
Ithier, Jose	KT
James, Hulbert	HI
Jenrette, Richard	F
John, Susan	HI
Johnson, Chester and Freda	F
Johnson, Katherine	

Johnson, Barbara	
Jones, Paul and Sonia	F
Kahn, Amed	HI
Kamen, Harry and Susan	F
Kaplan, Robert	F
Katz, Lewis and Margie	F
Kaye, Walter and Selma	F
Keith, Herman	
Kelly, James and Marie	F
Kidder, Rolland	HI
Kiechle, John	KT
Kistler, William	F
Klagsbrum, Samuel	F
Kobliner, Beth	
Kohlberg, Jerome and Nancy	F
Koplovitz, Kay and William	F
Kovner, Sarah and Victor	HI
Kramer, Orin and Hillary	F
Lam, Jenny	HI
Landegger, George and Eva	F
Leeds, Isabelle	F
Lehrer, Peter and Eileen	F
Leichter, Franz	HI
Levine, Susan	F
Levine, Bruce	HI
Levitt, Marilyn and Arthur	F
Levy, Leon and Shelby White	F
Lichtenstein, Roy and Dorothy	F
Liman, Ellen and Arthur	F
Linares, Guillermo	HI
LoCicero, John	HI
Lonergan, Dennis	F
Lopez, Vito	HI
Lowey, Nita	
Lynch, Bill	HI
Magidson, Herb	HI
Malave-Dilan, Martin	KT
Manton, Tom	HI
Marino, John	P
Mark, Reuben	F
Marks, Phillip	F
Marrero, Victor and Veronica White	F
Marshall, Helen	HI
Mason, Alice	F

Mattone, Joseph Sr.	F
Max, Peter	F
May, Peter and Leni	F
Mazur, Jay	HI
McCabe, Kevin	P
McCaffrey, Walter	HI
McCarthy, Patty	P
McCone, Susan	F
McDermott, Joe	HI
McGuinness, Paschal	HI
McHugh, Matt	KT
McLaughlin, Brian	HI
Menschel, Robert and Joyce	F
Messinger, Ruth	HI
Miller, Lenore	HI
Miller, Bob	
Mokotoff, Gertrude	KT
Moore, James and Jane	F
Moroff, Libby	HI
Mortman, Doris	F
Mortman, David	F
Mullen, Peter and Billie	F
Munro, Richard	F
Murphy, Sondra and William Brandt	F
Murphy, Tom	P
Murray, Kevin	KT
Nemet, Thomas and Mary	F
NeMoyer, Pat	KT
Norman, Clarence	HI
Northrop, Ann	KT
Nusbaum, Jack and Margie	F
Nussbaum, Bernard and Toby	F
Nyman, Bruce	KT
O'Clearaican, Carol	HI
O'Connor, Jennifer	HI
Opton, Carol	F
Ortenberg, Arthur and Liz Claiborne	F
Owens, Major	KT
Oxman, Stephen	F
Patricof, Alan and Susan	F
Perelman, Ronald	F
Perry, Jack	HI
Pheffer, Audrey	KT
Pincus, Lionel and Suzanne	F

Pittman, Bob	F
Pogrebin, Bert and Letty	HI
Powell, Adam	KT
Rainer, Carolyn and Bill	F
Ratner, Bruce and Julie	F
Rayner, William and Katherine Johnson	F
Rich, Mary	KT
Rich, Denise	F
Rinaldi, Joseph and Nancy	F
Ring, Renee	F
Rivera, Dennis	P
Rivera, Jose	KT
Robbins, Liz	F
Rodin, Lou	P
Rohatyn, Felix and Elizabeth	F
Rollnick, William and Nancy Ellison	F
Rotensreich, Jon and Susan	F
Roth, Daryl and Steven	F
Rothwax, Julia	KT
Rouse, Marty	HI
Rubin, Robert and Judith	F
Sabbeth, Steve	KT
Sale, Deborah	HI
Sawyer, Ken and Linda	F
Sawyer, Ben	HI
Scheuer, James	HI
Schiffer, Robert and Mary Ann Molohean	F
Schlein, Stanley and Maria Echaveste	F
Schlosstein, Ralph and Jane Hartley	F
Schumer, Charles	HI
Schwartz, Bernard	F
Schwartz, Irene and Bernard	
Seeman, Lee	HI
Seiden, Suzanne	HI
Seidman, Betsy	F
Serrano, Jose	HI
Settles, Helen	HI
Seyfang, Matt	HI
Shacknai, Jonah and Kimberly	F
Shafer, Howard	KT
Shaw, David and Beth Kobliner	F
Sheinkman, Jack	HI
Shulman, Claire	HI

Shuman, Stanley and Sydney Roberts Gould	F
Siegel, Jerome and Ruth	F
Siroky, Miriam	F
Sloane, Kathy and Harvey	F
Smith, Scott	F
Smith, Alfred IV	F
Solarz, Steven	HI
Solomon, Peter	F
Sonnenberg, Maurice	F
Soref, Jeffrey	F
Soros, George and Susan	F
Sorrentino, Jim	KT
Sorrentino, Marie and Vincent	HI
Spielvogel, Carl and Barbara	F
Spigner, Archie	HI
Spraggins, Marianne	F
St. John, Keith	KT
Stavisky, Leonard	KT
Stein, Norman and Sheryl Dicker	F
Steinhardt, Michael and Judy	F
Stern, Eric	HI
Stern, David and Diane	F
Strausberg, Marc and Susan	F
Studley, Julien and Jane	F
Sussman, Alexander and Edna	F
Sussman, Donald	F
Swid, Stephen and Nan	F
Tan, Eva	KT
Teicher, Oren	KT
Templesman, Maurice	F
Thomases, Susan and William Bettridge	F
Thompson, Leah	KT
Thurm, Kevin	
Tihany, Kristina and Richard	F
Tisch, Thomas and Alice	F
Tisch, Jonathan and Laura	F
Townes, Ed	HI
Tuck, Edward	F
Uribe, Charles	F
Urowsky, Richard	F
Vallone, Peter	P
Velasquez, Nydia	HI
Vernon, Lillian and Henry Rosenberg	F
Waldon, Alton	KT

Weil, Frank	F
Weill, Sandy	F
Weinstein, Jeremy	KT
Weiss, Melvyn and Barbara	F
Whitney, Ned	F
Wigmore, Barrie and Deedee	F
Williams, Enoch	KT
Young, Tom	HI
Zaleski, Terry	KT
Ziff, Dirk	F
Zuckerman, Richard and Linda Yowell	F

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3pm Gordon

pull together State Day people
to talk about it
talk to Alexis
include social office

~~AT~~ Alexis - we need only on 1 or 2
State days for NY
we think 2
get some group together

Call Louew - and talk
he talk to Genovese

Have HI meet w/ Gordon

Call Garafis -

Call Raptzel - What do you
think of Manton

(
heard
Shaffer's
home
flavored

ny Day → KT + Thomases
call Eiskine + Ann Stock re Mar 21
→ Recs - on where photos should go -

list

- ① Dept name
- ② states
w/ names

Jan 27, 95
Inter-pol mts

Thurs-
gov Justice agenda
fr Fri
Mtg
@ 10

flex is
next wk - 9 events - 7

Mrs C's Wellesley Coll class

At Am prayer ministers
Religious leaders

State Days

check w/ Okeefe on wks of
NY / NJ activists

do political fax list

Debbie to set up NY Day Mtg

Lauter
list
for Mon
DGA
mtg