1995 Cabinet Events

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January

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Jan 1 - Jan 31 CBO Report on Economic and Budget Outlook
JANUARY: DATE TBD

Jan 1 - Jan 31 COMMERCE: Release Report Evaluating Impact of NAFTA
DATE TBD

Jan 1 - Jan 31 EPA: Beginning of Acid Rain Program
JANUARY: NOT DATE SPECIFIC

Jan 1 - Jan 31 EPA: Beginning of Reformulated Gas Program
JANUARY: NOT DATE SPECIFIC

Jan 1 - Jan 31 HUD: Announcement of Housing Bill of 1995
JANUARY: DATE TBD

Jan 1 - Jan 31 HUD: Demolition of Old Public Housing Event -- Philadelphia, PA
JANUARY or FEBRUARY: DATE TBD

Jan 1 - Jan 31 ONDCP: Announcement of new designation of High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area(s)
DATE TBD

Jan 1 - Jan 31 OPM: SES Orientation
DATE TBD

Jan 1 - Jan 14 HHS: First Meeting of Social Security Advisory Board
DATE TBD

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANTIME IN 1995

12

Jan 12 - Jan 13 COMMERCE: Eastern European -- Cleveland, OH

15

EDUCATION: Direct Student Loan Event

17

HUD: Anniversary of the Northridge Earthquake -- CA

22

Jan 22 - Jan 28 DOT: Transportation Research Board 74th Annual Mtg

31

UN: Security Council Summit -- New York, NY
Note: President Bush attended the first Security Council Summit in January 1992

February

1

Feb 1 - Feb 28 DOT: Denver International Airport Opening
DATE TBD

Feb 1 - Feb 28 HUD: Demolition of Old Public Housing Event -- Philadelphia, PA
JANUARY or FEBRUARY: DATE TBD

Feb 1 - Feb 28 ONDCP: Announcement of National Drug Control Strategy
DATE TBD

Feb 1 - Feb 28 USDA: National Rural Conference
DATE TBD

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANTIME IN 1995

EDUCATION: School Safety Event

3

EDUCATION: National Association of Secondary School Principals

6

OMB: FY 1996 Budget Transmitted to Congress

12

Feb 12 - Feb 18 DOT: Child Passanger Safety Awareness Week

EDUCATION: American Association of School Administrators -- New Orleans, LA

15

EDUCATION: "State of American Education" Speech -- President Could Deliver Address

26

Feb 26 - Mar 1 VA: American Legion Winter Conference

March

1

Mar 1 - Mar 31 CBO Analysis of the President's FY 1996 Budget
MARCH: DATE TBD

Mar 1 - Mar 31 COMMERCE: Release Special Report on Big Emerging Trade Markets
DATE TBD

Mar 1 - Mar 31 EPA: Great Lakes Water Quality Initiative Final Signing (8 States and Canada)
MARCH: NOT DATE SPECIFIC

Mar 1 - Mar 31 ONDCP: Anouncement of School Survey on Drug Use: "Monitoring the Future."
DATE TBD
Note: Coupled with visit to

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March

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youth and prevention programs that work with Sec. Riley and Sec. Shalala

Mar 1 - Mar 31 OPM: Schedule C Orientation
DATE TBD

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANTIME IN 1995

3

Mar 3 - Mar 7 VA: Veterans of Foreign Wars Winter Convention

11

Mar 11 - Mar 12 UN: UN Social Summit -- Copenhagen, Denmark
Note: 30 Heads of State including three permanent members of the Security Council (Russia, China, and France) are committed to attending. Summit is the first global conference on social development, including global poverty; creation of jobs and reduction of unemployment; and social integration.

19

Mar 19 - Mar 31 HHS: Swearing-In Of Commissioner of Independent Social Security Administration
DATE TBD

29

Mar 29 - Apr 2 DOT: American Road and Transportation Builders Association -- San Antonio, TX

April

1

Apr 1 - Apr 30 EPA: Release of Final Dioxin Announcement
APRIL OR MAY: NOT DATE SPECIFIC

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANTIME IN 1995

COMMERCE: Travel Industry Unity Dinner

3

EDUCATION: National School Boards Association -- San Franciso, CA

15

EDUCATION: Income Contingent School Loan Event

OMB: Target Date For Passage Of Congressional Budget Resolution

April

16

Apr 16 - Apr 30 ENERGY: Release of Human Radiation Experiment Investigation Report
NOTE TBD

Apr 16 - Apr 30 HHS: Surgeon General's Adolescent Health Conference
DATE TBD

22

Apr 22 - Apr 28 EPA: 25th Anniversary of Earth Day

May

1

May 1 - May 31 COMMERCE: Hemespheric Trade and Commerce Forum
DATE TBD

May 1 - May 31 EPA: Release of Final Dioxin Announcement
APRIL OR MAY: NOT DATE SPECIFIC

May 1 - May 31 HHS: White HOuse Conference on Aging
DATE TBD

May 1 - May 31 STATE: 48th Meeting of the Permanent Executive Committee of the Inter-American Cncl for Education, Science, and Cultur
EVENT TBD

May 1 - May 6 COMMERCE: National Tourism Week Events

May 1 - May 5 EDUCATION: National Family Reading Week

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANTIME IN 1995

15

May 15 - May 19 COMMERCE: World Trade Week

OMB: Target Date for passage of House "602(b)" Allowances to Appropriations Subcommittees

22

May 22 - May 29 DOT: Buckle Up America Week

INTERIOR: National Park Week
Note: POTUS attended event in 1994

OPM: 75th Anniversary Of Retirement For Federal Employees

24

DOT: US Coast Guard Academy Graduation -- New London, CT

30

VA: Memorial Day

July

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June

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June

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Jun 1 - Jun 30 HHS: Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act Reauthorization Bill Signing
SUMMER: DATE TBD

Jun 1 - Jun 30 HHS: Child Care Development Block Grant Reauthorization Bill Signing
SUMMER: DATE TBD

Jun 1 - Jun 30 ONDCP: Announcement of Household Survey
DATE TBD
Combined with visit to treatment programs that focus on women and children with Sec. Shalala

Jun 1 - Jun 30 STATE: US-European Union -- France
Note: US is obligated under 1990 Transatlantic Declaration to have a Summit every six months involving the President, the head of government, the head of government of the EU Presidency country, and the President of the European Commission.

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANTIME IN 1995

EDUCATION: School Loan Consolidation Event

EPA: PCSD Report Due To President

11

Jun 11 - Jun 14 DOT: National Sheriff's Association Annual Mtg -- San Jose, CA

13

EDUCATION: National PTA Conference in Orlando, FL

17

National Conference of Mayors -- Miami, FL

25

Jun 25 - Jun 26 UN: 50th Anniversary of the Signing of the UN Charter -- San Francisco, CA

July

1

Jul 1 - Jul 31 G-7 Summit -- Halifax, Nova Scotia
DATE TBD

Jul 1 - Jul 31 HHS: Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act Reauthorization Bill Signing
SUMMER: DATE TBD

Jul 1 - Jul 31 HHS: Child Care Development Block Grant Reauthorization Bill Signing
SUMMER: DATE TBD

Jul 1 - Jul 31 NAACP Convention
DATE TBD

Jul 1 - Jul 31 National Urban League Conference
DATE TBD

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANTIME IN 1995

15

OMB: Mid-Session Review of the FY 1996 Budget

22

Jul 22 - Jul 27 VA: Disabled American Veterans National Convention -- Las Vegas, NV

26

National Urban League -- Miami, FL

August

1

Aug 1 - Aug 31 Announcement of the Community Schools Grants (Part of Crime Bill)
LATE IN FY '95: DATE TBD

Aug 1 - Aug 31 EDUCATION: Presidential Scholars Event
AUGUST: DATE TBD

Aug 1 - Aug 31 HHS: Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act Reauthorization Bill Signing
SUMMER: DATE TBD

Aug 1 - Aug 31 HHS: Child Care Development Block Grant Reauthorization Bill Signing
SUMMER: DATE TBD

Aug 1 - Aug 31 INTERIOR: Western Attorneys General
DATE TBD

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANTIME IN 1995

12

Aug 12 - Aug 19 VA: AMVETS National Convention -- Cincinnati, OH

18

Aug 18 - Aug 25 VA: Veterans of Foreign Wars National Convention -- Phoenix, AZ

22

Aug 22 - Aug 26 VA: Paralyzed Veterans of America National Convention -- Ft. Worth, TX

September

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Sep 1 - Nov 30 COMMERCE: Announcement of US-Israel Science and Technology Grants

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September

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DATE TBD

Sep 1 - Sep 30 Announcement of the Community Schools Grants (Part of Crime Bill) LATE IN FY '95

Sep 1 - Sep 30 COMMERCE: Awards Ceremony for National Medals of Science and Technology Winners (Presidential Medal) DATE TBD

Sep 1 - Sep 30 OPM: SES Orientation DATE TBD

Sep 1 - Sep 12 EDUCATION: Back-to-Schooi Rally At White House DATE TBD

Sep 1 - Sep 7 VA: American Legion National Convention -- Portland, OR

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program ANTIME IN 1995

OMB: Agency Requests for FY 1997 Submitted

4

Sep 4 - Sep 15 UN: Fourth World Conference on the Status of Women -- Beijing, China

17

Sep 17 - Oct 14 OMB: Debt Limit Reached DATE TBD

October

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Oct 1 - Oct 31 EDUCATION: Blue Ribbon Schools Event DATE TBD

Oct 1 - Oct 31 EPA: Presidential Environmental Youth Award NOT DATE SPECIFIC: OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER

Oct 1 - Oct 31 ONDCP: National Conference on Community Anti-Drug Coalitions and visit to collaborative programs DATE TBD

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program ANTIME IN 1995

8

Oct 8 - Oct 12 DOT: American Public Transit Association Annual Mtg -- San Antonio, TX

14

Oct 14 - Oct 19 National Association of Chiefs of Police Annual Conference

October

15

Oct 15 - Oct 21 COMMERCE: 1995 Minority Enterprise Development Week Activities

16

Oct 16 - Oct 27 STATE: 3rd Prepatory Committee Meeting of the World Summit For Social Development -- New York, NY

22

Oct 22 - Oct 24 UN: General Assembly Summit Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the UN -- New York, NY

24

Oct 24 - Oct 26 ONDCP: International Conference on Counter-Drug Technology -- Nashua, N.H.

26

Oct 26 - Oct 31 DOT: American Association of State Highway Transportation Officials Annual Meeting

27

OMB: Year-End Statement for FY 1995 (final figures on receipts, outlays, and deficits released)

29

Oct 29 - Nov 1 DOT: American Trucking Association Annual Meeting

30

Oct 30 - Oct 31 COMMERCE: White House Conference on Travel and Tourism

November

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Nov 1 - Nov 30 EPA: Presidential Environmental Youth Award NOT DATE SPECIFIC: OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER

Nov 1 - Nov 30 HUD: Event Announcing Success of Operation Safe Home Around The Country DATE TBD

Nov 1 - Nov 30 OPM: Schedule C Orientation DATE TBD

Nov 1 - Nov 30 STATE: APEC Summit -- Osaka, Japan DATE TBD

Nov 1 - Nov 30 STATE: Visit of Queen Beatrix of Netherlands DATE TBD

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program ANTIME IN 1995

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November

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Nov 5 - Nov 11 EDUCATION: National Education Week

11

DOT: First of new rail fleet of rail cars delivered -- San Francisco, CA

VA: Veterans Day

13

Nov 13 - Nov 18 INTERIOR: National Conference of American Indians -- Denver, CO

15

EPA: 5th Year Anniversary of Clean Air Act Ammendments

30

National League of Cities -- Phoenix, AZ

December

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Dec 1 - Dec 31 COMMERCE: Malcolm Baldridge National Quality Awards Ceremony
DATE TBD

Dec 1 - Dec 31 EPA: EPA's 25th Anniversary
NOT DATE SPECIFIC

Dec 1 - Dec 31 HUD: Public Housing Heroes Event (Bill Cosby, Vernon Jordan, Kenny Rogers, Florence Griffith-Joyner, Cong. Louis Stoke
DATE TBD

Dec 1 - Dec 31 OMB: Presidential Reviews with Agencies

July

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November

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December

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All events are in Washington, D.C. unless otherwise noted.

STUMP SPEECH FOR SURROGATES AND INTRODUCTORY SPEAKERS

I want to talk about our choice in this election. A choice between two sides that couldn't be further apart: between those who want to turn this country around, and those who want to turn back.

Just a few years ago, we had a White House that talked a good game, but sat on the sidelines and watched as our problems grew worse. They gave us rising deficits; meaner streets; pink slips for the middle class and tax breaks for the wealthy.

Every time we demanded that someone turn this country around, they would turn away.

But we came in to move things forward. To face America's problems. And to make Washington work again for ordinary people.

Democrats began work on the toughest issues that twelve years of Republican administrations wouldn't or couldn't do: putting our economic house in order, attacking crime, and helping Americans make better lives for themselves.

We have a long way to go, but we're making progress. We've seen some tough fights. And we're bound to see some more, because the people who don't want to see problems fixed have fought us every step of the way.

For years, the other side had no economic strategy for America's future. We Democrats put forward an economic plan. They tried to stop it. Newt Gingrich, like many Republican naysayers in Congress, said it would ruin the economy. But the result is that we've created more than 4,300,000 new American jobs so far -- almost all of them in the private sector.

We have more work to do, but we've made a good start.

For years, the other side complained about the deficit, but made it soar. Democrats are cutting the deficit by 255 billion dollars. The others tried to stop it. But now the deficit is going down for the first three years in a row since Harry Truman was President.

We have more work to do, but we've made a good start.

For years, the other side complained about government, but they actually made the bureaucracy grow. Democrats are cutting the bureaucracy by more than a quarter-of-a-million slots. They tried to stop us, but now the federal workforce is shrinking to the smallest size since John F. Kennedy was in the White House.

We have more work to do, but we've made a good start.

For years, they gave tax breaks to the wealthy, then tried to stop us when Democrats cut taxes for 90 percent of America's small businesses and 15 million families who work full time.

We have more work to do, but that's a mighty good start. Because, after years of irresponsibility and evasion, we're doing everything we can to make Washington work again for ordinary people.

When the other side had the White House, they let the Brady Bill languish in Congress. We fought hard for it. We took on the NRA, a lobby with a long-time grip on Washington, and we won!

Democrats won passage of the crime bill, three-strikes-and-you're-out, more cops on the street, and a ban on assault weapons. We're fighting on the side of every law enforcement organization in America, the people on the front lines in the fight against crime.

But when someone asked Republican Senator Phil Gramm if he felt comfortable blocking the crime bill, he said, "Not since Br'er Rabbit and the briar patch has anybody been as comfortable as we are."

They wanted to kill the crime bill while we have 11-year-old children killing children in our streets. And Phil Gramm says he feels as comfortable as a bunny.

Someone ought to tell these people to stop living in the land of make-believe and get back to the real world.

The real world is where people worry about their future and what kind of lives their children will lead. That's why we're fighting to give more Americans a better chance at a good education. We want all families to be able to achieve the dream of sending their kids to college and having their children live a better life than their own. We changed college loans so graduates don't have to pay them off all at once at an interest rate few of us can afford.

All through the 1980s, the cost of college shot through the roof while conditions in some of our communities fell through the floor. We came up with a national service corps that puts young people to work on our problems so they can earn their way to college.

All these efforts say a lot about who Democrats are and how we see our country. We don't say government can solve every problem. We say people have a responsibility to do their part. And we know people need the tools to make a difference on their own and by working together.

Most Americans go to work in the morning hoping to do a decent job. And most of us look forward to a day when we can do something more important than what we did the day before.

But, last year, Bob Dole, the Republican leader in the Senate, said, "Every day I come to work, I feel...maybe we can stop something."

Imagine if an auto worker went to work hoping to throw a monkey wrench into the assembly line. Imagine if an umpire for Major League Baseball went to work, just dying to trip a runner as he heads around third for home. We've got people like that in Washington, who want to keep us from going foward at every turn.

Harry Truman used to say that any jackass can knock down a barn. Thank heavens we have a President in the White House who wants to build this country up.

The choice is clear. America has a choice between Democrats who want to face real problems -- and Republicans who want to run away from them. Those who work for the good of their country -- and those who just work for the good of their party.

As Franklin Roosevelt would say, don't let the other side clip the wings of the American eagle to feather their own nest.

When FDR tried to change this country and lift America out of the Depression, the old guard in Washington tried to stop him from doing it, too. Almost everyone in America wanted to fix the problems, except for a few on the other side.

Back then, the obstructionists were named "Martin and Barton and Fish." Today, their names are Gingrich and Gramm and Dole.

When Democrats started cleaning up years of debris from their economic mess, who tried to stand in the way?

Gingrich and Gramm and Dole.

When Democrats fought for the crime bill to fight the crime in our communities, who tried to stand in the way?

Gingrich and Gramm and Dole.

When Democrats reformed college loans to make them more affordable and accessible to the middle class, who tried to stand in the way?

That's right: Gingrich and Gramm and Dole. (Sounds like three undertakers at a funeral home.)

One member of their team even said, "We've killed health

reform. Now, we've got to make sure our fingerprints are not on it."

These people would rather embarrass the President of the United States than do the hard work of helping our country.

I'm proud to say that we Democrats are facing the real problems. We're taking on the tough challenges. We're going to keep fighting to bring change to Washington, and we're not going to turn back now.

Last month, however, 300 Republican politicians gathered on the steps of Congress to sign what they call a "Contract with America."

With an election around the corner, they had to come up with something. But they looked ahead to all the challenges we Americans face, and they didn't have any answers.

So, what did they do? They went back into their dusty, old attic, full of tired ideas from the 1980s: Tax breaks for the wealthy. Paid for by billions of dollars in debt. Cuts in Medicare for the elderly. Cuts in veterans' benefits. And they call it a "Contract with America."

It's more like a Contract <u>on</u> America. A contract on fiscal responsibility. A contract on older Americans. A contract on the middle class. A contract on change, on progress, on moving America forward. A contract on turning this country around.

In the days of Teddy Roosevelt, the letters "G.O.P." stood for "Grand Old Party." Today, they stand for "grumpy old program."

But America rejected that program once before, and we'll reject that old program again.

It's time to stand up for turning this country around. For moving America forward.

For putting our economic house in order. For giving our people the tools to fight crime in their communities. For helping our people find the chance to get ahead. For assuming the awesome responsibility of preparing America to compete and win in the new global economy.

It's time to stand up for leaders who aren't stuck in the failed, old ways of the past. For leaders who believe in the promise of America, in moving America forward and turning this country around.

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm proud to stand up for...

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
** FOR PLANNING PURPOSES ONLY **
CONTACT: Adam Sohn of the DNC at (202)488-5033

CABINET PROMOTES DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES AND ADMINISTRATION ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN TRAVEL: OCTOBER 13 -- 19

The American people have a clear choice in the 1994 elections as they decide between the agendas of Democrats and Republicans: whether to continue moving forward with the solid record of accomplishment charted by President Clinton or whether to turn back to the failed policies of the past.

Members of the President's cabinet will highlight this choice in numerous events with Democratic Candidates from now until the election. A schedule of appearances by Cabinet members with 50 Democratic candidates for the week of October 13 to October 21, 1994 follows.

Please note this schedule is tentative and subject to change. Reporters wishing to cover these events should contact the appropriate agency staff, as noted.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1994

Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen with Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-OK), Rep. Bob Carr (D-MI)and Rep. Jim Cooper (T-TN) at Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Breakfast, Washington, D.C., contact: Howard Schloss, 202/622-2910

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros with California Gubernatorial Candidate Kathleen Brown, in Sacramento, CA, contact: Jean Nolan, 202/708-0980

Education Secretary Richard Riley with Rep. Thomas Sawyer (D-OH) in Akron, OH, contact: Kathryn Kahler, 202/401-3026

Transportation Secretary Federico Pena with Arkansas Congressional Candidate Jay Bradford, in Texarkana, AR, contact: Wendy Burt, 202/366-6337

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1994

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt with Senator Joseph Liebermann (D-CT) and Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D-CT), CT site TBD, contact: Kevin Sweeney, 202/208-6416

Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen with Texas Senatorial Candidate Richard Fisher, Dallas, TX, contact: Howard Schloss, 202/622-2910

Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen with Texas Senatorial Candidate Richard Fisher in Houston, TX, contact: Howard Schloss, 202/622-2910

Veterans Affairs Secretary Jesse Brown with Rep. Rosa DeLauro (D-CT) at veterans event in West Haven, CT, contact: Kathy Jurado, 202/273-5710

Commerce Secretary Ron Brown with New York Governor Mario Cuomo (D-NY), New York, NY, contact: Jim Desler, 202/482-4883

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros with Rep. Bob Filner (D-CA) in San Diego, CA, contact: Jean Nolan, 202/708-0980

Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala with Rep. Sam Farr (D-CA) in Los Angeles, CA, contact: Avis Lavelle, 202/690-7850

Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala with California Gubernatorial Candidate Kathleen Brown in Los Angeles, CA, contact: Avis Lavelle, 202/690-7850

Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala with Rep. Dan Hamburg (D-CA) and Rep. Sam Farr (D-CA) in San Francisco, CA, contact: Avis Lavelle, 202/690-7850

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1994

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt with Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and Rep. John Oliver (D-MA)at environmental event TBA, Turners Falls, MA, contact: Kevin Sweeney, 202/208-6416.

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt with Rep. Maurice Hinchey (D-NY) in Kingston, NY, contact: Kevin Sweeney, 202/208-6416

Housing And Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros with Rep. Bob Filner (D-CA) in San Diego, CA, contact: Jean Nolan, 202/708-0980

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt with Rep. Dick Gephardt (D-MO) at an event TBD, St. Louis, MO, contact: Kevin Sweeney, 202/208-6416

MONDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1994

Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Carol Browner with Senator Charles Robb (D-VA) at Announcement of EPA and City of Richmond Cooperative Agreement, Richmond, VA, contact: Loretta Ucelli, 202/260-9828

Education Secretary Richard Riley with Rep. Earl Pomeroy (D-ND) in Fargo, ND, contact: Kathryn Kahler, 202/401-3026

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1994

Commerce Secretary Ron Brown with Rep. Robert Wise (D-WV) at two events in Martinsburg, WV, contact: Jim Desler, 202/482-4883

Transportation Secretary Federico Pena with Governor King (D-NM) at an event TBD, Albuquerque, NM, contact: Wendy Burt, 202/366-6337

Transportation Secretary Federico Pena with Senator Jeff Bingaman (D-NM) at a transportation-related event TBD, Albuquerque, NM, contact: Wendy Burt, 202/366-6337

Transportation Secretary Federico Pena with Rep. Bill Richardson (D-NM) in Albuquerque, NM, contact: Wendy Burt, 202/366-6337

Labor Secretary Robert Reich with Rep. Sandy Levin (D-MI) at an event TBD, Detroit, MI, contact: Jennifer Watson, 202/219-7316

Labor Secretary Robert Reich with Rep. Bob Carr (D-MI) at an event TBD, Ann Arbor, MI, contact: Jennifer Watson, 202/219-7316

Labor Secretary Robert Reich with Rep. Dale Kildee (D-MI) at a job corps event, Flint, MI, contact: Jennifer Watson, 202/219-7316

Health And Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala with Rep. Nita Lowey (D-NY) at Westchester Children's Association Event, White Plains, NY, contact: Avis Lavelle, 202/690-2850

Health And Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala with Rep. Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky (D-PA) at Westchester Children's Association Event, Philadelphia, PA, contact: Avis Lavelle, 202/690-2850

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1994

Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen with Rep. Maria Cantwell (D-WA) in Seattle, WA, contact: Howard Schloss, 202/622-2920

United States Trade Representative Mickey Kantor with Governor Lawton Chiles (D-FL) at an event TBD, Miami, FL, contact: Anne Luzzatto, 202/395-3230

Transportation Secretary Federico Pena with Rep. Ed Pastor (D-AZ) in Phoenix, AZ, contact: Wendy Burt, 202/366-6337

Transportation Secretary Federico Pena with Rep. Ron Coleman (D-TX) at an event TBD, El Paso, TX, contact: Wendy Burt, 202/366-6337

Education Secretary Richard Riley with Governor Mario Cuomo (D-NY)at a Futurethink Conference, New York, NY, contact: Kathryn Kahler, 202/401-3026

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1994

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt with Rep. George Brown (D-CA) at an event TBD, San Bernadino, CA, contact: Kevin Sweeney, 202/208-6416

Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen with Rep. Anna Eshoo (D-CA) at an event TBD, San Francisco, CA, contact: Howard Schloss, 202/622-2920

Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen with Rep. Elizabeth Furse (D-CA) at an event TBD, Portland, OR, contact: Howard Schloss, 202/622-2920

Veterans Affairs Secretary Jesse Brown with Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX), at an event TBD, Dallas, TX, contact: Kathy Jurado, 202/273-5710

Transportation Secretary Federico Pena with Texas Congressional Candidate Rolando Rios, at an event TBD, Laredo, TX, contact: Wendy Burt, 202/366-5037

Transportation Secretary Federico Pena with Texas Senate Candidate Richard Fisher, Dallas Texas, contact: Wendy Burt, 202/366-5037

Labor Secretary Robert Reich with Rep. Sam Farr (D-CA), at an event TBD, Los Angeles, CA, contact: Jennifer Watson, 202/219-7316

Labor Secretary Robert Reich with Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA), at an event TBD, Los Angeles, CA, contact: Jennifer Watson, 202/219-7316

Education Secretary Richard Riley with Rep. David Price (D-NC), at an event TBD,Sacramento, CA, contact: Kathryn Kahler, 202/401-3026

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1994

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt with Rep. Jane Harman (D-CA), at an event TBD, Sacramento, CA, contact: Kevin Sweeney, 202/208-6416

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt with California Gubernatorial Candididate Kathleen Brown, at an event TBD, Sacramento, CA, contact: Kevis Sweeney, 202/208-6416

Labor Secretary Robert Reich with Rep. Dan Hamburg (D-CA), at an event TBD, Fairfield, CA, contact: Jennifer Watson, 202/219-7316

Education Secretary Richard Riley with Rep. Martin Lancaster (D-NC), at an event TBD, Goldsboro, NC, contact: Kathryn Kahler, 202/401-3026

Education Secretary Richard Riley with North Carolina Congressional Candidate Maggie Lauterer, at an event TBD, Asheville, NC, contact: Kathryn Kahler, 202/401-3026

Health And Human Services Secretary Donna Shalal with Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), at an event TBD, Boston, MA, contact: Avis Lavelle, 202/690-7850

Health And Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala with Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D-CT), at an event TBD, Boston, MA, contact: Avis Lavelle, 202/690-7850

-30-30-30-

Cabinet Affairs Event Calendar for October 17 - November 17, 1994

10-17-94 Monday

Bentsen, Lloyd

Washington, DC	11:15 am	Interview with Dow Jones Investor Network : Interview	Press	

Brown, Jesse

Arlington, VA	12:00pm	Address Judicial Conference of the Court of Veteran's appeals : Speech	Other	

Brown, Ron

Washington, DC	TBD	DOC In-House Meetings :	Other	

Cisneros, Henry

Washington, DC	TBD	HUD In-House meetings :	Other	

O'Leary, Hazel

Washington, DC	TBD	DOE In-House Meetings :	Other	

Reich, Robert

Washington, DC	TBD	Working Women Event w/ VPOTUS :	Jobs/Economy	

Riley, Richard

Washington, DC	TBD	American Univ Event :	Other	

Shalala, Donna

Washington, DC	11:30am	Institute of Medicine : remarks	Crime Health Care	

10-18-94 Tuesday

Babbitt, Bruce

Patuxent, MD	10:00a	Dedication of Patuxent National Wildlife Visitor Center :	Other	Rep. Steny H. Hoyer Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes

Bentsen, Lloyd

Washington, DC	6:45 pm	Reception for Cong Peter Hoagland : Fundraiser	Political	Rep. Peter Hoagland

Brown, Ron

Martinsburg, WV	10:30 am	Events for Cong. Wise :	Political	Rep. Robert E. Wise

Cisneros, Henry

Orlando, FL	TBD	Savings and Community Banking Event :	Other	

Kantor, Mickey

Washington, DC	TBD	Jewish Leadership Event : with POTUS	Political	

O'Leary, Hazel

Washington, DC	TBD	DOE In-House Meetings :	Other	

Peña, Federico				
Santa Fe, NM	12:30 pm	Gov. King and Cong.Richardson Event : Luncheon and Pep Rally with Gov.King and Rep. Bill Richardson	Political	Rep. Bill Richardson
Albuquerque, NM	7:00 pm	Sen. Bingaman Event :	Political	Sen. Jeff Bingaman
Albuquerque, NM	3:45 pm	Transportation Event with Senator Bingaman :	Other	
Reich, Robert				
Ann Arbor, MI	6:00 PM	Event for Bob Carr :	Political	Rep. Bob Carr
Detroit, MI	TBD	Event with Levin :	Political	Rep. Sander M. Levin
Detroit, MI	TBD	School to Work Event :	Other	Rep. Sander M. Levin
			Political	
Detroit, MI	TBD	Job Corp Event : With Kildee	Political	Rep. Dale E. Kildee
			Other	
Shalala, Donna				
White Plains, NY	7:30pm	Westchester Children's Assn Advocacy Dinner : remarks	Political	Rep. Nita M. Lowey
West Chester, NY	5:30pm	Event w/Rep. Nita Lowey : rcpn	Political	Rep. Nita M. Lowey

10-19-94 Wednesday

Bentsen, Lloyd				
Seattle, WA	5:30 pm	Event for Congresswoman Cantwell : Fundraising reception/dinner	Political	Rep. Maria Cantwell
Browner, Carol				
Washington, DC	TBD	Small Town Task Force Meeting : Federal Advisory Committee	Other	
Brown, Ron				
Columbus,		UN World Trade Symposium :	Other	
Cisneros, Henry				
NewYork, NY	TBD	Event with Gov. Cuomo : Gov. Cuomo's Partnership for Growth: Leadership Confernce on the Future of the Economy	Jobs/Economy	
			Press	
			Political	
Kantor, Mickey				
Miami, FL	TBD	Event with Gov Chiles :	Political	
Memphis, TN	evening	Tennessee Democratic Party Event :	Political	
O'Leary, Hazel				
Washington, DC	TBD	DOE In-House Meetings :	Other	

10/19/94 Cont.

Peña, Federico

El Paso, TX	7:00pm	Rep Ron Coleman Event :	Political	Rep. Ronald D. Coleman
San Jose, CA	9:00 am	Cong. Mineta Ribbon Cutting : I-85 Opening Ribbon Cutting	Other	Rep. Norman Y. Mineta
Phoenix, AZ	12:00 pm	Cong. Pastor Event :	Political	Rep. Sam Coppersmith
				Rep. Ed Pastor

Reich, Robert

Washington, DC	TBD	Public Sector Task Force :	Other	

Shalala, Donna

Washington, DC	11:00am	National Breast Cancer Awareness Day Press Conf : women's health	Health Care	

10-20-94 Thursday

Babbitt, Bruce

San Bernadino, CA	TBD	Event w/ Cong. George Brown :	Political	Rep. George E. Brown
San Bernadino, CA	12:00p	Speech to San Bernadino Valley Municipal Water District :	Other	Rep. George E. Brown
Riverside, CA	TBD	Event with Mark Takano (tentative) : Mark Takano for Congress	Political	

Bentsen, Lloyd

San Francisco, CA	6:00 pm	Reception for Congresswoman Eshoo : Fundraiser	Political	Rep. Anna Eshoo
Portland, OR	11:30 am	Luncheon & Reception for Congresswoman Furse : Fundraiser	Political	Rep. Elizabeth Furse

Brown, Lee

Washington, DC	TBD	PRIDE Announcement (tentative) :	Other	

Brown, Ron

Washington, DC	TBD	Executive Leadership Council Dinner : Speech	Other	
Columbus,		UN World Trade Symposium :	Other	
Washington, DC	8:00 am	UN symposium on Trade Efficiency : Sec. Brown in Co-chair with UN Sec.-Gen. Boutrous-Gali	Other	

Cisneros, Henry

Washington, DC	12:00pm	Nat'l Puerto Rican Coalition : Speech	Other	
New York, NY	11:00am	Announcement on Homelessness with Gov. Cuomo and Mayor Giuliani :	Other	
			Political	

Kantor, Mickey

Nashville, TN	TBD	Tennessee Democratic Party Event :	Political	
Nashville, TN	TBD	Nashville Tennessean Editorial Board :	Press	

O'Leary, Hazel				
Los Angeles, CA	TBD	TBD - Fundraiser Events for Jane Harman and Kathleen Brown :	Political	
Peña, Federico				
Laredo, TX	TBD	Rolando Rios Event :	Political	
Dallas, TX	7:00 pm	Richard Fisher Event : Reception and Rally	Political	
El Paso, TX	TBD	Cong. Coleman DOT Event : Event with Border Officals of Texas and Mexico Border	Other	Rep. Ronald D. Coleman
Dallas, TX	8:00 am	Breakfast with Cong.Frost and Cong. Geren :	Political	Rep. Martin D. Frost Rep. Pete Geren
Reich, Robert				
Los Angeles, CA	TBD	Event with Sen. Feinstein :	Political	Sen. Dianne Feinstein
Reno, Janet				
Ithaca, NY	pm	Cornell University : Speech to board of directors, alumni, and members of community. Topic is Administration's Accomplishments	Other	
Washington, DC	am	ALI - ABA Conference : Speech	Other	
Riley, Richard				
Washington, DC	10:15am	Announcement of Geography Standards-Nat'l Geographic :	Other	
Shalala, Donna				
Washington, DC	10:00am	Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows mtg : remarks	Health Care	

10-21-94 Friday

Babbitt, Bruce				
Venice, CA	TBD	Event w/Congresswoman Jane Harman : press conference & breakfast	Political	Rep. Jane Harman
Sacramento, CA	TBD	Event with Kathleen Brown (Gov. Candidate) : dinner & reception	Political	
Browner, Carol				
Los Angeles, CA	TBD	Event with Cong Waxman (tent) :	Political	Rep. Henry A. Waxman
Brown, Lee				
Washington, DC	9:30 am	Address Congressional Youth Leadership Council :	Other	
Long Branch, NJ	7:00pm	NAACP/Long Branch Chapt. Freedom Fund Banquet :	Other	
O'Leary, Hazel				
Sacramento, CA	TBD	Clean Cities Ceremony (w/ Cong Fazio-tent) :	Other Political	Rep. Vic Fazio

Pe±a, Federico

Austin, TX	11:00am	University of Texas Distinguished Alumni Award :	Awards	

Reich, Robert

Fairfield, CA	TBD	Event for Cong. Hamburg :	Political	Rep. Dan Hamburg

Riley, Richard

Goldsboro, NC	Morning	Events with Cong Lancaster (tent) :	Political	Rep. H. Martin Lancaster
Asheville, NC	7:00pm	Event with Maggie Lauterer :	Political	

10-22-94 Saturday

Babbitt, Bruce

California	TBD	Event with Dan Hamburg (tentative) :	Other	
Portland, OR	TBD	Event with Congresswoman Elizabeth Furse (tentative) : Furse for Congress salmon bake	Political	

Brown, Lee

Houston, TX	9:00 am	Vision of Hope Treatment Center Opening :	Crime	

O'Leary, Hazel

Palm Springs, CA	TBD	Event with Candidate Schwartz (tent) :	Political	
San Francisco, CA	TBD	Event with Sen. Feinstein (tent) :	Political	Sen. Dianne Feinstein
California	TBD	TBD - Fundraiser event for Ellen Schwartz :	Political	
San Francisco, CA	TBD	TBD - Fundraiser event for Senator Dianne Feinstein :	Political	

Pe±a, Federico

Austin, TX	8:00 am	University of Texas Distinguished Alumni Award : Breakfast	Other	

10-24-94 Monday

Browner, Carol

Washington, DC	TBD	San Francisco Bay Delta Interagency Briefing :	Other	
Washington, DC	TBD	Environmental Justice Agenda (DPC) :	Other	

Brown, Lee

Charleston, SC	11:45am	National Conference to prevent violence (tentative) :	Crime	Rep. James Clyburn

Brown, Ron

Washington, DC	8:15 am	Breakfast Speech National Minority Supplier Development Council : Speech	Other	
Washington, DC	8:15 am	National Minority Supllier Development Council : bkfast speech	Business Leaders	
Norfolk, VA	5:30 PM	Event for Sen. Robb : fundraiser	Political	Sen. Charles S. Robb

O'Leary, Hazel

LaQuinta, CA	9:00 AM	Ann. Meeting of the Interstate Natural Gas Ass.-Speech- : 50th Anniversary Meeting	Other	
Los Angeles, CA	TBD	Event w/ Candidate Clute (tent) :	Political	
California	TBD	TBD - Fundraiser for Steve Clute :	Political	

Pe±a, Federico

Seattle, WA	8:00am	Rep. Maria Cantwell Event :	Political	Rep. Maria Cantwell

Reich, Robert

Washington, DC	11:45 AM	Satellite Speech to National Safety Council :	Jobs/Economy	

Reno, Janet

Washington,		DOJ In-House Meetings :	Other	

Shalala, Donna

Washington, DC	6:00pm	Event w/Karen Burstein : rcpn	Political	

10-25-94 Tuesday

Bentsen, Lloyd

Washington, DC	6:00 pm	United Nations Assoc. Reception :	Other	

Browner, Carol

Richmond, VA	11:00am	Event with Sen. Robb : Announce completion of EPA, City of Richmond Cooperative Agreement to develop contaminated industrial sites into job creating, tax base enhancing properties that begin to address issues of urban blight.	Jobs/Economy	Sen. Charles S. Robb
			Political	
Richmond, VA	TBD	Brownfields Event w/ Sen Robb :	Political	Sen. Charles S. Robb

Brown, Lee

Washington, DC	all day	Interdiction Coordinating Conference :	Other	

Kantor, Mickey

El Paso, TX	TBD	Event with Ron Coleman :	Political	Rep. Ronald D. Coleman

O'Leary, Hazel

Denver, CO	8:30 am	Dedication of Wind Technology Facility :	Other	

Pe±a, Federico

Los Angeles, CA	3:00 pm	Kathleen Brown Event :	Political	
San Diego, CA	11:00 am	Cong. Lynn Schenk Event :	Political	Rep. Lynn Schenk

Reich, Robert				
Bethlehem, PA	TBD	Event with Cong. McHale :	Political	Rep. Paul McHale
Pittsburgh, PA	TBD	Event with Cong. Mezvinsky :	Political	Rep. Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky
Pennsylvania	TBD	Event w/McHale :	Political	
Pennsylvania	TBD	Events w/ Mezvinsky :	Political	
Reno, Janet				
Washington,		In-House DOJ Meetings :	Other	
Riley, Richard				
Washington, DC	12:00pm	Derrick McGinty Call in Show :	Press	
Shalala, Donna				
Washington, DC	10:00am	Marshfield Medical Research Foundation announcement : remarks via satellite	Health Care Press	Rep. David R. Obey

10-26-94 Wednesday

Browner, Carol				
Long Island, NY	TBD	Event with Rep. Hochbrueckner : National Esturaries Program on the Peconic Bay	Other	Rep. George J. Hochbrueckner
Brown, Lee				
Washington, DC	9:30	SOUTHCOM Conference :	Foreign Affairs/National Security	
Kantor, Mickey				
San Francisco, CA	TBD	Event with Kathleen Brown :	Political	
O'Leary, Hazel				
Fort Wayne, IN	12:00PM	Speak at the Fort Wayne Chamber of Commerce :	Other	
Pe±a, Federico				
Tampa, FL	6:00pm	Conference on Hemispheric Transportation :	Other	
Riley, Richard				
New Jersey	TBD	Event with Sen Frank Lautenberg :	Political	Sen. Frank R. Lautenberg

10-27-94 Thursday

Babbitt, Bruce				
Boston, MA	10:00a	Speech to National Trust for Historic Preservation :	Other	

Browner, Carol

Washington, DC	TBD	President's Council on Sustainable Development :	Other	
Washington, DC	TBD	National Environmental Justice Advisory Committee Meeting :	Other	

Brown, Jesse

Dublin, GA	TBD	Event with Cong. candidate Craig Mathis :	Political	

Brown, Lee

Washington, DC	11:30am	CADCA Red Ribbon event :	Other	
Washington, DC	4:00pm	SOUTHCOM Conference, Ft. McNair :	D-Day	
			Foreign Affairs/National Security	

Brown, Ron

Chicago, IL	TBD	Hispanic GOTV :	Political	
Philadelphia, PA	12:00 pm	Pennsylvania Chamber's International Trade Conference : speech	Other	

Peña, Federico

Tampa, FL	9:30 am	Conference on Hemispheric Transportation :	Political	

Reich, Robert

New York City, NY	TBD	Event with Congresswoman Lowey :	Political	Rep. Nita M. Lowey

Reno, Janet

Washington,		In-House DOJ Meetings :	Other	

Riley, Richard

Billings, MT	Afternoon	Events with Jack Mudd :	Political	

10-28-94 Friday

Brown, Lee

Washington, DC	12:00pm	CADCA Forum Luncheon :	Other	

Brown, Ron

Orlando, FL	11:30 am	Western Hemispheric Tourism Ministerial Meeting : Meeting	Other	

Cisneros, Henry

El Paso, TX	TBD	Event for Cong. Coleman :	Political	Rep. Ronald D. Coleman

O'Leary, Hazel

Washington, DC	1:00 pm	(HOLD) President's Council on Sustainable Development :	Other	

Peña, Federico

Chicago, IL	7:00pm	Hispanic Leadership Conference Speech : Keynote Address	Political	
Miami, FL	10:00 am	Lehman Injury Research Center Dedication Ceremony : Key Note Speaker	Other	
Miami, FL	10:00 am	Lehman Injury Research Center :	Other	

Reich, Robert

(tent), FL	TBD	Dem Party Event (tent) :	Political	

Riley, Richard

San Francisco, CA	12:00pm	Commonwealth Club SPEECH : Burke	Other	

Shalala, Donna

Des Moines, IA	TBD	Event w/Rep. Neal Smith (tent) : site visit	Political	Rep. Neal Smith

10-29-94 Saturday

Brown, Lee

Washington, DC	9:00pm	Post-Rehrsl Evnt/Ford's Gala IHO. (tent) :	Other	

Shalala, Donna

Washington, DC	6:15pm	National Italian American Foundation Gala : dinner	Other	Sen. Patrick J. Leahy

10-30-94 Sunday

Brown, Lee

Pasadena, CA	TBD	ONDCP Western Regional Conference :	Crime	

Brown, Ron

Detriot, MI	12:00 pm	Event with Cong. Dingell : campaign	Political	Rep. John D. Dingell

Reich, Robert

Des Moines, IA	TBD	Event for Cong. Neal Smith :	Political	Rep. Neal Smith

10-31-94 Monday

Babbitt, Bruce

Murfreesboro, TN	TBD	Historic Fortress Dedication Ceremony w/ Cong Gordon : dedication crermony	Other Political	Rep. Bart Gordon

Brown, Jesse

Palm Springs, CA	TBD	Event with Cong. candidate Steve Klute :	Political	

Brown, Lee

Pasadena, CA	TBD	ONDCP Western Regional Conference :	Other	

10/31/94 Cont.

Brown, Ron

Washington, DC	9:00am	Chemical Manufacturers Assn. : speech	Business Leaders	

11-01-94 Tuesday

Brown, Lee

Pasadena, CA	TBD	ONDCP Western Regional Confernce :	Crime	

O'Leary, Hazel

Washington, DC	8:30 AM	DOE/NARUC National Electricity Forum Keynote Speech :	Other	

Pe±a, Federico

Chicago, IL	10:00 am	ICAO 50th Anniversary Speech :	Other	

11-02-94 Wednesday

Browner, Carol

El Paso, TX	TBD	Event with Ron Coleman (tent) : Enviro. Border Office Opening	Foreign Affairs/National Security Political	Rep. Ronald D. Coleman

O'Leary, Hazel

Washington, DC	11:00 AM	Remarks at the DOE Observance of American Indian Heritage Month :	Other	

Reno, Janet

Washington, DC	TBD	Immigration Conference :	Other	

11-03-94 Thursday

O'Leary, Hazel

New York City, NY	8:00 AM	Ashland Oil Executives' Breakfast-Speech-Sen Lautenberg :	Other	
New Jersey	TBD	TBD - Fundraiser for Senator Lautenberg :	Political	

11-04-94 Friday

Reno, Janet

Washington, DC	TBD	Cities and Schools event :	Crime	

Riley, Richard

North Carolina	TBD	74th Anniversary NC College and Universities :	Other	

11-06-94 Sunday

Brown, Lee

Baltimore, MD	11:00 am	Address Calvary AME Church Men's Day :	Other

11-07-94 Monday

Brown, Jesse

Salt Lake City, UT	TBD	VA Town Forum, White House Conf. on Aging : Health care	Health Care

11-08-94 Tuesday

Brown, Jesse

Washington, DC	TBD	Reception (Press) Atrium, Kennedy Center - VA National Medical Musical Group : Reception	Other

O'Leary, Hazel

Washington, DC	8:00 am	Keynote Opening of NASA's Technology Transfer Conference :	Other

11-09-94 Wednesday

O'Leary, Hazel

Washington, DC	10:00 am	Speak at GAO's African American Network :	Other

Shalala, Donna

Washington, DC	1:30pm	WH Interns Speech :	Health Care

11-10-94 Thursday

Espy, Mike

Kansas City, MO	TBD	Natl Assoc Farm Broadcasters Conv.(tent) :	Other

11-12-94 Saturday

Babbitt, Bruce

Ft. Meyers, FL	12:00p	Speech to National Audubon Society :	Other

Brown, Lee

Houston, TX	12:15 pm	National Conference on Youth Violence :	Crime

11-14-94 Monday

Brown, Lee

Washington, DC	TBD	NEC reception (tentative) :	Other

Cisneros, Henry

San Francisco, CA	12:00pm	Keynote American Council of Life Insurance Conference :	Other

Espy, Mike

Denver, CO	TBD	National Congress of American Indians (tent) :	Other
Colorado Springs,	9:00am	Natl Ag Bankers Conf :	Other

Pe±a, Federico

St. Louis, MO	TBD	Regional Commerce Association Speech :	Other

11-15-94 Tuesday

Babbitt, Bruce

Denver, CO	1:30p	Speech to National Conference of American Indians :	Other

O'Leary, Hazel

Washington, DC	5:00 pm	CFC Event :	Other
Washington, DC	12:45 pm	Keynote World Bank's Energy Sector Workshop :	Other

11-16-94 Wednesday

Brown, Ron

Indonesia		Indonesia : international travel	Other

Espy, Mike

Williamsburg, VA	4:30pm	US Agri Export Dev. Council :	Other

O'Leary, Hazel

Washington, DC	6:30 pm	Event Honoring Senator George Mitchell : 25th Anniversary of the Environmental Law Institute	Political

Shalala, Donna

Washington, DC	10:00am	Youth Leadership Council : remarks	Health Care

11-17-94 Thursday

Brown, Lee

St Louis, MO	TBD	Crusade Against Crime Medal of Valor Ceremony :	Crime

Pe±a, Federico

Washington, DC	TBD	NTS Outreach Event :	Other

CONGRESSIONAL ACTIVITY REPORT

CHARLES S. ROBB

Last Update: 10/18/94

Chamber: Senate
Party: Democratic **State:** VA **D.C. Phone Number:** (202) 224-4024

Events:

05-15-94	Shalala, Donna	Fairfax, VA	Jefferson Jackson Dinner
08-17-94	Babbitt, Bruce	Woodbridge, VA	Event with Sen. Robb
09-01-94	Brown, Ron	Washington, DC	Event for Sen. Chuck Robb
09-01-94	Brown, Ron	Washington, DC	Event for Sen. Chuck Robb
09-08-94	Riley, Richard	, VA	First day in school w/Sen Robb in Virginia school (tent)
09-22-94	Shalala, Donna	McLean, VA	Event with Sen. Charles Robb
09-26-94	Bentsen, Lloyd	, VA	Event for Senator Robb
10-04-93	Bentsen, Lloyd	Washington, DC	DSCC reception and dinner in honor of Sen. Charles Robb
10-24-94	Brown, Ron	Norfolk, VA	Event for Sen. Robb
10-25-94	Browner, Carol	Richmond, VA	Brownfields Event w/ Sen Robb
10-25-94	Browner, Carol	Richmond, VA	Event with Sen. Robb

Discussions:

08/07/94 Richard Riley Mitchell Bill Meeting with President on 8/1 increased his optimism. Mitchell's bill is something to keep the debate going toward getting a final bill. Will oppose any effort to take out the trigger mechanism of the mandate provision.

08/15/94 Donna Shalala Hill Day O.K. on whole bill including mandates.

08/15/94 Richard Riley Hill Day Will vote for mandates. Believes health bill is in real trouble -- Less convinced we can get there. Supportive but not optimistic.

08/16/94 Vice President Gore Mitchell Bill Will support employer mandate.

Grants:

	DOL	Dislocated Worker Funds	$7,008,152
	HUD	Section 202 Housing	$1,821,200
	HUD	Section 202 Housing	$2,189,500
	HUD	Section 202 Housing	$2,341,600
04-13-94	DOT	Interstate Construction Discretionary Fund	$92,764,070
07-27-94	Energy	IDIQ	$14,480,000
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	$17,779
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	$205,397
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	$225,084
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	$229,161
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	$323,346
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	$36,356
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	$36,674
08-17-94	HHS	AHEC	$1,494,087
09-07-94	HHS	AIDS Research	$3,784,958
09-11-94	HUD	Vacancy Reduction	$660,000
09-30-94	DOC	EDA	$143,285
09-30-94	DOC	EDA	$1,275,000
09-30-94	HHS	SAMHSA	$1,000,000
09-30-94	HUD	Drug Eliminaiton	$1,034,750
09-30-94	HUD	Drug Eliminaiton	$1,109,015

09-30-94	HUD	MROP	$1,347,600
09-30-94	HUD	Shelter Plus Care	$360,120
09-30-94	HUD	Shelter Plus Care	$457,860

CONGRESSIONAL ACTIVITY REPORT



HARRIS L. WOFFORD

Last Update: 10/18/94

Chamber: Senate
Party: Democratic **State:** PA **D.C. Phone Number:** (202) 224-6324

Events:

03-29-94	Bentsen, Lloyd	Pittsburgh, PA	Event with Senator Harris Wofford
07-06-94	Reich, Robert	Pittsburgh, PA	Health Care Event
09-12-94	Reich, Robert	, PA	Event with Sen. Wofford
09-17-94	Cisneros, Henry	, PA	Event for Cong. Wofford
09-23-93	Bentsen, Lloyd	Philadelphia, PA	Tour of the Stockford Rubber Company's Facilities with Senator Wofford
10-04-94	Peña, Federico	Philadelphia, PA	Event With Senator Wofford
10-12-94	Kantor, Mickey	Pittsburgh, PA	Event with Sen. Harris Wofford
10-30-93	Reno, Janet	,	Community Intensive Supervision Project w/ Senator Wofford

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Discussions:
None Reported

Grants:

05-19-94	Commerce	MBDA	$230,400
07-01-94	Labor	EDWAA	$125,000
07-15-94	USDA	Community Facility	$5,587,800
08-03-94	Education	Goals 2000	$3,973,405
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	$195,051
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	$297,279
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	$366,200
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	$410,000
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	$500,000
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	$564,369
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	$607,739
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	$769,495
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	$940,252
08-16-94	HHS	HRSA	$217,441
08-17-94	HHS	AHEC	$352,610
09-01-94	HHS	Ryan White Aids Care	$1,090,000
09-01-94	HHS	Ryan White Aids Care	$1,090,000
09-07-94	HHS	AIDS Research	$3,709,704
09-07-94	HHS	AIDS Research	$482,262
09-30-94	HHS	HRSA	$5,070,330
09-30-94	HHS	HRSA	$6,229,375
09-30-94	HHS	SAMHSA	$1,038,355
09-30-94	HUD	Drug Elimination	$1,974,280
09-30-94	HUD	MROP	$22,957,200
09-30-94	HUD	Shelter Plus Care	$2,993,100
09-30-94	HUD	Shelter Plus Care	$704,520

AFRICAN AMERICAN OUTREACH

KEY CITIES

TIER ONE

Los Angeles
N ashville
Memphis
Philadelphia
Detroit
Atlanta
Phoenix
Tucson
Cleveland
Cincinnati
New York City
Boston
Trenton
Camden
Jersey City
Newark
Houston
San Antonio
Dallas
Richmond
Norfolk
Albuquerque
Miami

Tier Two

Oakland
San Diego
Knoxville
Chattanooga
Flint
Dayton
Rochester
Buffalo
Oklahoma City
Wilmington
Columbus, OH
Albany
Macon, GA

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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October 12, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES
MARK GEARAN
BILLY WEBSTER

FROM: STEPHEN B. SILVERMAN SBS

SUBJECT: Cabinet 1995-1996 Scheduling

As you requested, Cabinet Departments and Agencies have provided us with information regarding events that are 1) likely to or 2) may require Presidential participation for 1995-1996. Also included are events and announcements which the Agencies believe may be useful to you in your planning. Attached is a compilation of those requests.

Defense, Justice and Labor were unable to identify events in a timely manner. We will provide you with a supplement shortly.

Please let us know how you would like us to follow this up.

cc: Christine A. Varney

1995 Cabinet Events

April 95

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May 95

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June 95

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July 95

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August 95

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September 95

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April

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Apr 1 - Apr 30 EPA: Release of Final Dioxin Announcement
APRIL OR MAY: NOT DATE SPECIFIC

Mar 29 - Apr 2 DOT: American Road and Transportation Builders Association -- San Antonio, TX

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANYTIME IN 1995

3

EDUCATION: National School Boards Association -- San Franciso, CA

15

EDUCATION: Income Contingent School Loan Event

OMB: Target Date For Passage Of Congressional Budget Resolution

16

Apr 16 - Apr 30 ENERGY: Release of Human Radiation Experiment Investigation Report
NOTE TBD

Apr 16 - Apr 30 HHS: Surgeon General's Adolescent Health Conference
DATE TBD

22

Apr 22 - Apr 28 EPA: 25th Anniversary of Earth Day

May

1

May 1 - May 31 EPA: Release of Final Dioxin Announcement
APRIL OR MAY: NOT DATE SPECIFIC

May 1 - May 31 HHS: White HOuse Conference on Aging
DATE TBD

May 1 - May 31 STATE: 48th Meeting of the Permanent Executive Committee of the Inter-American Cncl for Education, Science, and Cultur
EVENT TBD

May 1 - May 5 EDUCATION: National Family Reading Week

May

1

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANYTIME IN 1995

15

OMB: Target Date for passage of House "602(b)" Allowances to Appropriations Subcommittees

22

May 22 - May 29 DOT: Buckle Up America Week

INTERIOR: National Park Week
Note: POTUS attended event in 1994

OPM: 75th Anniversary Of Retirement For Federal Employees

24

DOT: US Coast Guard Academy Graduation -- New London, CT

30

VA: Memorial Day

June

1

Jun 1 - Jun 30 HHS: Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act Reauthorization Bill Signing
SUMMER: DATE TBD

Jun 1 - Jun 30 HHS: Child Care Development Block Grant Reauthorization Bill Signing
SUMMER: DATE TBD

Jun 1 - Jun 30 ONDCP: Announcement of Household Survey
DATE TBD
Combined with visit to treatment programs that focus on women and children with Sec. Shalala

Jun 1 - Jun 30 STATE: US-European Union -- France
Note: US is obligated under 1990 Transatlantic Declaration to have a Summit every six months involving the President, the head of government, the head of government of the EU Presidency

October 95

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January 96

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March 96

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All events are in Washington, D.C. unless otherwise noted.

1995 Cabinet Events

April 95

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May 95

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June 95

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August 95

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September 95

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June

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country, and the President of the European Commission.

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANYTIME IN 1995

EDUCATION: School Loan Consolidation Event

EPA: PCSD Report Due To President

11

Jun 11 - Jun 14 DOT: National Sheriff's Association Annual Mtg -- San Jose, CA

13

EDUCATION: National PTA Conference in Orlando, FL

17

National Conference of Mayors -- Miami, FL

25

Jun 25 - Jun 26 UN: 50th Anniversary of the Signing of the UN Charter -- San Francisco, CA

July

1

Jul 1 - Jul 31 G-7 Summit -- Halifax, Nova Scotia
DATE TBD

Jul 1 - Jul 31 HHS: Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act Reauthorization Bill Signing
SUMMER: DATE TBD

Jul 1 - Jul 31 HHS: Child Care Development Block Grant Reauthorization Bill Signing
SUMMER: DATE TBD

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANYTIME IN 1995

15

OMB: Mid-Session Review of the FY 1996 Budget

22

Jul 22 - Jul 27 VA: Disabled American Veterans National Convention -- Las Vegas, NV

26

National Urban League -- Miami, FL

August

1

Aug 1 - Aug 31 Announcement of the Community Schools Grants (Part of Crime Bill)
LATE IN FY '95: DATE TBD

Aug 1 - Aug 31 EDUCATION: Presidential Scholars Event
AUGUST: DATE TBD

Aug 1 - Aug 31 HHS: Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act Reauthorization Bill Signing
SUMMER: DATE TBD

Aug 1 - Aug 31 HHS: Child Care Development Block Grant Reauthorization Bill Signing
SUMMER: DATE TBD

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANYTIME IN 1995

12

Aug 12 - Aug 19 VA: AMVETS National Convention -- Cincinnati, OH

18

Aug 18 - Aug 25 VA: Veterans of Foreign Wars National Convention -- Phoenix, AZ

22

Aug 22 - Aug 26 VA: Paralyzed Veterans of America National Convention -- Ft. Worth, TX

September

1

Sep 1 - Sep 30 Announcement of the Community Schools Grants (Part of Crime Bill)
LATE IN FY '95

Sep 1 - Sep 30 OPM: SES Orientation
DATE TBD

Sep 1 - Sep 12 EDUCATION: Back-to-School Rally At White House
DATE TBD

Sep 1 - Sep 7 VA: American Legion National Convention -- Portland, OR

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANYTIME IN 1995

OMB: Agency Requests for FY 1997 Submitted

October 95

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November 95

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December 95

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January 96

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February 96

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1995 Cabinet Events

April 95

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May 95

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July 95

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August 95

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6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

September 95

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17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

September
4

Sep 4 - Sep 15 UN: Fourth World Conference on the Status of Women -- Beijing, China

17

Sep 17 - Oct 14 OMB: Debt Limit Reached
DATE TBD

October
1

Oct 1 - Oct 31 EDUCATION: Blue Ribbon Schools Event
DATE TBD

Oct 1 - Oct 31 EPA: Presidential Environmental Youth Award
NOT DATE SPECIFIC: OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER

Oct 1 - Oct 31 ONDCP: National Conference on Community Anti-Drug Coalitions and visit to collaborative programs
DATE TBD

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANYTIME IN 1995

8

Oct 8 - Oct 12 DOT: American Public Transit Association Annual Mtg -- San Antonio, TX

14

Oct 14 - Oct 19 National Association of Chiefs of Police Annual Conference

16

Oct 16 - Oct 27 STATE: 3rd Prepatory Committee Meeting of the World Summit For Social Development -- New York, NY

22

Oct 22 - Oct 24 UN: General Assembly Summit Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the UN -- New York, NY

24

Oct 24 - Oct 26 ONDCP: International Conference on Counter-Drug Technology -- Nashua, N.H.

October
26

Oct 26 - Oct 31 DOT: American Association of State Highway Transportation Officials Annual Meeting

27

OMB: Year-End Statement for FY 1995 (final figures on receipts, outlays, and deficits released)

29

Oct 29 - Nov 1 DOT: American Trucking Association Annual Meeting

November
1

Nov 1 - Nov 30 EPA: Presidential Environmental Youth Award
NOT DATE SPECIFIC: OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER

Nov 1 - Nov 30 HUD: Event Announcing Success of Operation Safe Home Around The Country
DATE TBD

Nov 1 - Nov 30 OPM: Schedule C Orientation
DATE TBD

Nov 1 - Nov 30 STATE: APEC Summit -- Osaka, Japan
DATE TBD

Nov 1 - Nov 30 STATE: Visit of Queen Beatrix of Netherlands
DATE TBD

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANYTIME IN 1995

5

Nov 5 - Nov 11 EDUCATION: National Education Week

11

DOT: First of new rail fleet of rail cars delivered -- San Francisco, CA

VA: Veterans Day

15

EPA: 5th Year Anniversary of Clean Air Act Ammendments

30

National League of Cities -- Phoenix, AZ

October 95

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
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November 95

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26	27	28	29	30		

December 95

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31						

January 96

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February 96

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25	26	27	28	29		

March 96

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24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

All events are in Washington, D.C. unless otherwise noted.

1995 Cabinet Events

April 95

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May 95

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21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

June 95

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July 95

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23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

August 95

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6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

September 95

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17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

December

1

Dec 1 - Dec 31 EPA: EPA's 25th Anniversary
NOT DATE SPECIFIC

Dec 1 - Dec 31 HUD: Public Housing Heroes Event (Bill Cosby, Vernon Jordan, Kenny Rogers, Florence Griffith-Joyner, Cong. Louis Stoke
DATE TBD

Dec 1 - Dec 31 OMB: Presidential Reviews with Agencies

31

HHS: 30th Anniversary of the Refugee Assistance Program
ANYTIME IN 1995

October 95

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

November 95

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
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26	27	28	29	30		

December 95

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24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

January 96

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
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14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

February 96

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29		

March 96

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3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

All events are in Washington, D.C. unless otherwise noted.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 13, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR ALEXIS HERMAN
BEN JOHNSON

FROM: Jennifer O'Connor

SUBJECT: Update of Cabinet travel to African-American target cities

Attached is an updated schedule of Cabinet trips between now and the election to cities on the African-American target list.

	Date	Principal	Event
		Shalala, Donna	Event with Cong. Lowey
	11/05/94		
		Reno, Janet	NYU Law School Address
Ohio			
Cincinnati			
	10/13/94		
		Reich, Robert	Meeting with Labor Group
	11/17/94		
		Cisneros, Henry	Keynote International Housing Conference
Columbus			
	10/18/94		
		Brown, Ron	UN World Trade Symposium
	10/27/94		
		O'Leary, Hazel	United Negor College Fund Keynote Speech
Pennsylvania			
Philadelphia			
	10/18/94		
		Shalala, Donna	Event with Rep. Mezvinsky (tent)
	10/24/94		
		Riley, Richard	Univ.Penn Comm Partnership Event w/ Sen
	10/25/94		
		Reich, Robert	Event for Cong. Mezvinsky
	10/27/94		
		Brown, Ron	Pennsylvania Chamber's International Tra
	12/07/94		
		O'Leary, Hazel	Speak at the World Affairs Council of Ph
	10/19/94		
		Cisneros, Henry	William Penn Commemoration
Texas			
Dallas			
	10/14/94		
		Bentsen, Lloyd	Luncheon for Richard Fisher
	10/20/94		
		Brown, Jesse	Event with Cong. Eddie Bernice Johnson
		Peña, Federico	Richard Fisher Event
	10/26/94		
		Shalala, Donna	American Academy of Pediatrics
Houston			
	10/14/94		
		Bentsen, Lloyd	Reception for Richard Fisher
	10/22/94		
		Brown, Lee	Vision of Hope Treatment Center Opening
Virginia			
Norfolk			
	10/24/94		
		Brown, Ron	Event for Sen. Robb
Richmond			
	10/17/94		
		Browner, Carol	Event with Sen. Robb

Date	Principal	Event
Arizona		
Phoenix		
10/19/94		
	Peña, Federico	Rep. Ed Pastor Event
(Not Categorized)		
10/27/94		
	Riley, Richard	Events with AZ Democratic Party
California		
Los Angeles		
10/14/94		
	Shalala, Donna	Event w/Kathleen Brown
10/20/94		
	O'Leary, Hazel	Event with 100 Black Men Group
	Reich, Robert	Event for Cong. Farr
	Reich, Robert	WW Count Event--(Feinstein/Boxer-tent)
10/25/94		
	Peña, Federico	Event With Kathleen Brown
10/26/94		
	Kantor, Mickey	Event with Kathleen Brown
11/04/94		
	Cisneros, Henry	Keynote Conservation Corps. Russel Kanto
11/11/94		
	Cisneros, Henry	Keynote National Urban Coalition
Oakland		
10/13/94		
	Cisneros, Henry	Urban Strategies Event
10/21/94		
	O'Leary, Hazel	Clean Cities Ceremony
San Diego		
10/13/94		
	Reno, Janet	Immigration Technology event
	Reno, Janet	Crime Implementation event
	Reno, Janet	Border Event
10/14/94		
	Cisneros, Henry	Event for Cong. Filner
	Reno, Janet	U.S. Attorney's Conference
	Reno, Janet	Border Visit
10/15/94		
	Cisneros, Henry	Event with Congressman Filnor
10/25/94		
	Peña, Federico	Event With Lyn Schenk
10/26/94		
	Kantor, Mickey	Event with Rep. Bob Filner
Florida		
Miami		
10/19/94		
	Kantor, Mickey	Event with Governor Chiles
10/28/94		
	Peña, Federico	Lehman Injury Research Center Dedication
Massachusetts		
Boston		
10/21/94		

	Date	Principal	Event
		Shalala, Donna	Event w/Sen Kennedy (tent)
	10/21/94		
		Cisneros, Henry	Community Development
		Shalala, Donna	Event w/Brian Atwood, Mayor Menino, Sen
	10/22/94		
		Cisneros, Henry	Event with Senator Kennedy
	10/27/94		
		Shalala, Donna	Possible event w/Sen Kennedy
Michigan			
Detroit			
	10/18/94		
		Reich, Robert	Event with Cong. Levin
	10/30/94		
		Brown, Ron	GOTV Event
Flint			
	05/19/94		
	10/18/94		
		Reich, Robert	Job Corps Event w/ Cong Kildee
New Mexico			
Albuquerque			
	10/15/94		
		Brown, Lee	IACP Convention
	10/16/94		
		Brown, Lee	IACP Convention
	10/17/94		
		Brown, Lee	Address IACP 101st Annual Conference
		Reno, Janet	IACP
	10/18/94		
		Peña, Federico	Event for Governor King
		Peña, Federico	Event With Senator Bingaman
		Peña, Federico	Event for Rep. Richardson
New York			
New York			
	10/19/94		
		Riley, Richard	Futurethink Conference with Gov. Cuomo
		Riley, Richard	Meeting w/ Mexican Ed counterparts
	10/26/94		
		Browner, Carol	Catskill Center 25th Anniversary Celebr
	10/27/94		
		Reich, Robert	Wall Street Journal event
	11/03/94		
		O'Leary, Hazel	Speak at the Council on Foreign Relation
	11/10/94		
		Shalala, Donna	Glamour Magazine Awards Ceremony
	11/14/94		
		Shalala, Donna	Bank Street College
		Shalala, Donna	National Breast Cancer Coalition Awards
	12/09/94		
		Shalala, Donna	Possible travel to New York
	10/14/94		
		Brown, Ron	Event for Gov. Cuomo
	10/18/94		

The White House

Office Of The Press Secretary

For Planning Purposes Only
Contact:

October 11, 1994
Ginny Terzano
202/456-2580

**** FOR PLANNING PURPOSES ONLY ****

CABINET PROMOTES DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES AND ADMINISTRATION ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN TRAVEL: OCTOBER 12 -- 19

The 1994 elections represent a choice between two sides that couldn't be further apart: between Democrats who want to turn this country around, and Republicans who want to turn back.

Twelve Cabinet Members will highlight this choice in events with more than 40 Democratic Candidates from October 12 to October 19, 1994.

This schedule is subject to change. Reporters wishing to cover these events should contact the appropriate Agency contact as noted.

DAYBOOK EDITOR: Please list each event contact separately.

Wednesday, October 12, 1994

WHO: Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt

Senator Paul Sarbanes (D-MD)
Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-MD)

WHAT: Potomac River Event / Visit to Acokek National Colonial Farm

WHERE: Acokek, MD

CONTACT: Kevin Sweeney
202/208-6416

-- more --

JG/ This is an awesome document. Great job. BBS

Cabinet Schedule, Page 2

WHO: Commerce Secretary Ron Brown

Senator John "Jay" Rockefeller (D-WV)

WHAT: Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Reception

WHERE: Washington , D.C.

CONTACT: Jim Desler
202/482-4883

WHO: United States Trade Representative Mickey Kantor

Rep. Thomas C. Sawyer

WHAT: Speech to the Akron City Club

WHEN: 9:15 a.m.

WHERE: City Club of Akron, Ohio
50 South Main Street
Suite 1200
Akron, OH

CONTACT: Anne Luzzatto
202/395-3230

WHO: United States Trade Representative Mickey Kantor

Senator Harris Wofford (D-PA)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Pittsburgh, PA

CONTACT: Anne Luzzatto
202/395-3230

-- more --

WHO: Labor Secretary Robert Reich

Rep. Alan Wheat
Rep. William Clay (D-MO)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: St. Louis, MO

CONTACT: Jennifer Watson
202/219-7316

Thursday, October 13, 1994

WHO: Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen

Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-OK)
Rep. Bob Carr (D-MI)
Rep. Jim Cooper (T-TN)

WHAT: Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Breakfast

WHERE: Washington, D.C.

CONTACT: Howard Schloss
202/622-2910

WHO: Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros

California Gubernatorial Candidate Kathleen Brown

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Sacramento, CA

CONTACT: Jean Nolan
202/708-0980

-- more --

WHO: Attorney General Janet Reno

Senator Barbara Boxer (D-CA)
Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA)
Rep Bob Filner (D-CA)
Rep. Lyn Schenk (D-CA)

WHAT: Crime Event

WHERE: San Diego, CA

CONTACT: Carl Stern
202/616-2777

WHO: Education Secretary Richard Riley

Rep. Thomas Sawyer (D-OH)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Akron, OH

CONTACT: Kathryn Kahler
202/401-3026

WHO: Transportation Secretary Federico Pena

Arkansas Congressional Candidate Jay Bradford

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Texarcana, AR

CONTACT: Wendy Burt
202/366-6337

Friday, October 14, 1994

WHO: Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt

Senator Joseph Liebermann (D-CT)
Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D-CT)

WHAT: CT River Event

WHERE: CT

CONTACT: Kevin Sweeney
202/208-6416

WHO: Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen

Texas Senatorial Candidate Richard Fisher

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Dallas, TX

CONTACT: Howard Schloss
202/622-2910

WHO: Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen

Texas Senatorial Candidate Richard Fisher

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Houston, TX

CONTACT: Howard Schloss
202/622-2910

WHO: Veterans Affairs Secretary Jesse Brown

Rep. Rosa DeLauro (D-CT)

WHAT: Veterans Event TBD

WHERE: West Haven, CT

CONTACT: Kathy Jurado
202/273-5710

WHO: Commerce Secretary Ron Brown

New York Governor Mario Cuomo

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: New York, NY

CONTACT: Jim Desler
202/482-4883

WHO: Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros

Rep. Bob Filner (D-CA)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: San Diego, CA

CONTACT: Jean Nolan
202/708-0980

WHO: Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala

Rep. Sam Farr (D-CA)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Los Angeles, CA

CONTACT: Avis Lavelle
202/690-7850

WHO: Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala

California Gubernatorial Candidate Kathleen Brown

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Los Angeles, CA

CONTACT: Avis Lavelle
202/690-7850

WHO: Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala

Rep. Dan Hamburg (D-CA)
Rep. Sam Farr (D-CA)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: San Francisco, CA

CONTACT: Avis Lavelle
202/690-7850

Saturday, October 15, 1994

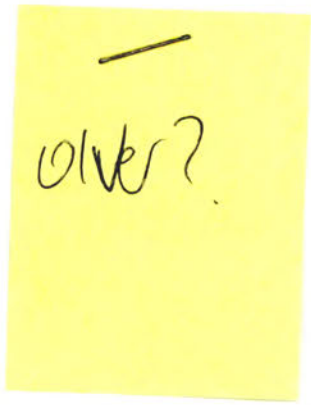
WHO: Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt

Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA)
Rep. John Oliver (D-MA)

WHAT: CT River Announcement and Tour

WHERE: Turners Falls, MA

CONTACT: Kevin Sweeney
202/208-6416



WHO: Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt

Rep. Maurice Hinchey (D-NY)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Kingston, NY

CONTACT: Kevin Sweeney
202/208-6416

WHO: Housing And Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros

Rep. Bob Filner (D-CA)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: San Diego, CA

CONTACT: Jean Nolan
202/708-0980

WHO: Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt

Rep. Gephardt (D-MO)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: St. Louis, MO

CONTACT: Kevin Sweeney
202/208-6416

Monday, October 17, 1994

WHO: Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Carol Browner

Senator Charles Robb (D-VA)

WHAT: Announcement of EPA and City of Richmond Cooperative Agreement

WHERE: Richmond, VA

CONTACT: Loretta Ucelli
202/260-9828

WHO: Education Secretary Richard Riley

Rep. Earl Pomeroy (D-ND)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Fargo, ND

CONTACT: Kathryn Kahler
202/401-3026

Tuesday, October 18, 1994

WHO: Commerce Secretary Ron Brown

Rep. Robert Wise

WHAT: 2 Events TBD

WHERE: Martinsburg, WV

CONTACT: Jim Desler
202/482-4883

WHO: Transportation Secretary Federico Pena

Governor King (D-NM)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Albuquerque, NM

CONTACT: Wendy Burt
202/366-6337

WHO: Transportation Secretary Federico Pena

Senator Jeff Bingaman (D-NM)

WHAT: Transportation Event

WHERE: Albuquerque, NM

CONTACT: Wendy Burt
202/366-6337

WHO: Transportation Secretary Federico Pena

Rep. Bill Richardson (D-NM)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Albuquerque, NM

CONTACT: Wendy Burt
202/366-6337

WHO: Labor Secretary Robert Reich

Rep. Sander Levin (D-MI)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Detroit, MI

CONTACT: Jennifer Watson
202/219-7316

WHO: Labor Secretary Robert Reich

Rep. Bob Carr (D-MI)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Ann Arbor, MI

CONTACT: Jennifer Watson
202/219-7316

WHO: Labor Secretary Robert Reich

Rep. Dale Kildee (D-MI)

WHAT: Job Corp Event

WHERE: Flint, MI

CONTACT: Jennifer Watson
202/219-7316

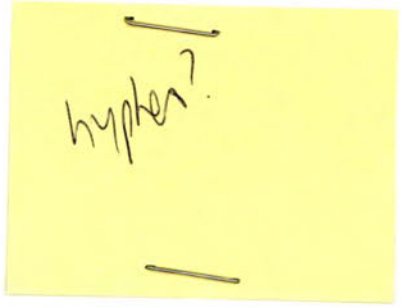
WHO: Health And Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala

Rep. Nita Lowey (D-NY)

WHAT: Westchester Children's Association Event

WHERE: White Plains, NY

CONTACT: Avis Lavelle
202/690-2850



WHO: Health And Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala

Rep. Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky (D-PA)

WHAT: Westchester Children's Association Event

WHERE: Philadelphia, PA

CONTACT: Avis Lavelle
202/690-2850

Wednesday, October 19, 1994

WHO: Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen

Rep. Maria Cantwell (D-WA)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Seattle, WA

CONTACT: Howard Schloss
202/622-2920

WHO: United States Trade Representative Mickey Kantor

Governor Lawton Chiles (D-FL)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Miami, FL

CONTACT: Anne Luzzatto
202/395-3230

WHO: Transportation Secretary Federico Pena

Rep. Ed Pastor (D-AZ)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: Phoenix, AZ

CONTACT: Wendy Burt
202/366-6337

WHO: Transportation Secretary Federico Pena

Rep. Ron Coleman (D-TX)

WHAT: Event TBD

WHERE: El Paso, TX

CONTACT: Wendy Burt
202/366-6337

WHO: Education Secretary Richard Riley

Governor Mario Cuomo (D-NY)

WHAT: Futurethink Conference

WHERE: New York, NY

CONTACT: Kathryn Kahler
202/401-3026

MEETING OF CABINET AND AGENCY PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF
The White House
Friday, October 7, 1992
4:30pm

AGENDA

Brief Overview on Communications Office and Press Office
Communications/Press Office Goals Through Election Day

Election Overview/DNC
The President's and Vice President's Schedule Through Election Day

Message
Role of Cabinet

Questions

Adjourn

DEPARTMENT PHONE LIST
(10-07-94)

Name	Work	Home	Pager
AGRICULTURE			
Amontree, Tom		703-370-9816	1800SKYPAGE PIN 570-8672
Dixon, Mary		202-588-0303	1800SKYPAGE PIN 570-8678
Loftus, Jim		202-546-9015	1800SKPAGE PIN 570-8680
Webb, Ali		301-589-5823	1800SKYPAGE PIN 570-8672
COMMERCE			
Cardona, Maria	202-482-3263	202-667-7076	
Hamilton, Carol	202-482-6001	202-783-4505	1800SKYGRAM 2611370
DEFENSE			
Bacon, Ken	703-697-9312	202-337-0330	(mobile) 703-517-3699 18007597243 PIN573-8005
Box, Dennis	697-6647	703-437-0659	(mobile) 301-580-7366
Blacklow, Willie	695-3381	301-652-3623	

FEMA

Moorie Goodman	202-646-4213		FAX:202-646-4086
Phyllip S. Cogan	202-646-3985		FAX:202-646-4086

HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

Lavelle, Avis	202-690-7850	202-544-6037	840-0954
Zonana, Victor	202-690-6343	202-342-9455	668-6788
Skolfield, Melissa	202-690-6853	202-625-0548	542-9606 FAX: 202-690-6247
Garett, Campbell		703-821-4291	

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Amon, Phyllis	202-708-0980	202-389-2771
Bynum, Gayela	202-708-0685	
Connelly, Bill	202-708-0685	202-773-4823
Flynn, Jack	202-708-0685	202-773-4758
Hartwell,Alvie	202-708-0725	
Jones, Horace	202-708-0725	202-773-4824
Ornelas, A	202-708-0685	202-773-4768

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT Continued

Potter, Vivian	202-708-0685	202-773-4785
Siegel, Michael	202-708-0685	202-773-4807
Zerega, Michael	202-708-0685	202-217-5956 (Wknd- 18007597243 Pin 279-2676) Fax: 619-8172

INTERIOR

Sweeney, Kevin	202-208-5256	301-229-5615	18007597243 PIN 8953563
Ziegler, Jay	202-208-7563	202-342-2423	18007597243 PIN 227-4280
Thompson, Mary	202-208-7295	202-882-4494	202-996-0142

JUSTICE

Stern, Carl	202-616-2777	1800SKYPAGE 895-4608
Anbender, Julie	202-616-2777	1800SKYPAGE 895-5386
Brandenberg, Bert	202-686-9678	301-629-1569

LABOR

Lewis, Anne	202-219-8211	301-718-6543	
Watson, Jennifer	202-219-8211	202-463-0189	
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THE WHITE HOUSE

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Not For Release; For Planning Purposes Only **October 5, 1994**

Highlights of the President's October Schedule

The following is an overview of the President's schedule for the month of October. **The schedule is tentative and subject to change.** The schedule is for planning purposes only and not for publication or broadcast.

Mon., Oct. 10	Senator Lautenberg/NJ Coordinated Campaign Secaucus, NJ
Tues., Oct. 11	Congressman Bob Carr/MI Coordinated Campaign Michigan
Wed., Oct. 12	Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Washington, DC
Thurs., Oct. 13	National Association of Police Officers Washington, DC
Thurs., Oct. 13	Congressman Bob Carr Reception Washington, DC
Sat., Oct. 15	Gubernatorial Candidate Bill Curry Event Connecticut
	Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Miami, FL
Sun., Oct. 16	RON: New Mexico
Mon., Oct. 17	International Chiefs of Police Conference Albuquerque, NM
Wed., Oct. 19	Governor Mario Cuomo Reception New York City, NY

-more-

Thurs., Oct. 20	Democratic National Committee Dinner Washington, DC
Fri., Oct. 21	Kennedy-King Dinner with Senator Charles Robb and Congressman James Moran Northern Virginia
Sat., Oct. 22	Gubernatorial Candidate Kathleen Brown Event San Francisco, CA
Sun., Oct. 23	Senate Candidate Ron Sims Event Seattle, WA RON: Ohio
Mon., Oct. 24	Attorney General Lee Fisher Rally and Luncheon Cleveland, OH
	Town Hall Meeting Congressman Tom Sawyer Dinner Akron, OH RON: Washington, DC
Tues., Oct. 25	Gubernatorial Candidate Myrth York Event Rhode Island
Wed., Oct. 26	Anti-Violence Forum Buffalo, NY RON: Washington, DC
Thurs., Oct. 27	Gubernatorial Candidate Bonnie Campbell Events Davenport and Des Moines, IA RON: Michigan
Fri., Oct. 28	GOTV Rally Congressman Bob Carr Luncheon Detroit, MI
	Midwest Voter Hispanic Leadership Dinner Chicago, IL RON: Washington, DC
Sat., Oct. 29	Italian-American Dinner Washington, DC

-30-30-30-

Date: October 7, 1994

To: All Interested Parties

From: Harold Ickes

Subject: 1994 Stump Speech

Attached is a stump speech for the fall elections. It has been prepared at the request of Cabinet secretaries and other surrogates speaking on behalf of the administration during the midterm campaign. The speech incorporates the core political message:

- This election presents a clear choice between moving forward or going back, between leaders who want to face problems and those who want to run away from them.
- We have attacked many of the problems we were sent here to fight. We've made a good start.
- Republicans have fought us at many turns, and they've made it clear they want to return to the policies that created many of the problems we have addressed.
- America must go forward and not go back.

It is structured so that speakers can lift out and use certain sections according to their own styles and preferences.

STUMP SPEECH FOR SURROGATES AND INTRODUCTORY SPEAKERS

I want to talk about our choice in this election. A choice between two sides that couldn't be further apart: between those who want to turn this country around, and those who want to turn back.

Just a few years ago, we had a White House that talked a good game, but sat on the sidelines and watched as our problems grew worse. They gave us rising deficits; meaner streets; pink slips for the middle class and tax breaks for the wealthy.

Every time we demanded that someone turn this country around, they would turn away.

But we came in to move things forward. To face America's problems. And to make Washington work again for ordinary people.

Democrats began work on the toughest issues that twelve years of Republican administrations wouldn't or couldn't do: putting our economic house in order, attacking crime, and helping Americans make better lives for themselves.

We have a long way to go, but we're making progress. We've seen some tough fights. And we're bound to see some more, because the people who don't want to see problems fixed have fought us every step of the way.

For years, the other side had no economic strategy for America's future. We Democrats put forward an economic plan. They tried to stop it. Newt Gingrich, like many Republican naysayers in Congress, said it would ruin the economy. But the result is that we've created more than 4,300,000 new American jobs so far -- almost all of them in the private sector.

We have more work to do, but we've made a good start.

For years, the other side complained about the deficit, but made it soar. Democrats are cutting the deficit by 255 billion dollars. The others tried to stop it. But now the deficit is going down for the first three years in a row since Harry Truman was President.

We have more work to do, but we've made a good start.

For years, the other side complained about government, but they actually made the bureaucracy grow. Democrats are cutting the bureaucracy by more than a quarter-of-a-million slots. They tried to stop us, but now the federal workforce is shrinking to the smallest size since John F. Kennedy was in the White House.

We have more work to do, but we've made a good start.

For years, they gave tax breaks to the wealthy, then tried to stop us when Democrats cut taxes for 90 percent of America's small businesses and 15 million families who work full time.

We have more work to do, but that's a mighty good start. Because, after years of irresponsibility and evasion, we're doing everything we can to make Washington work again for ordinary people.

When the other side had the White House, they let the Brady Bill languish in Congress. We fought hard for it. We took on the NRA, a lobby with a long-time grip on Washington, and we won!

Democrats won passage of the crime bill, three-strikes-and-you're-out, more cops on the street, and a ban on assault weapons. We're fighting on the side of every law enforcement organization in America, the people on the front lines in the fight against crime.

But when someone asked Republican Senator Phil Gramm if he felt comfortable blocking the crime bill, he said, "Not since Br'er Rabbit and the briar patch has anybody been as comfortable as we are."

They wanted to kill the crime bill while we have 11-year-old children killing children in our streets. And Phil Gramm says he feels as comfortable as a bunny.

Someone ought to tell these people to stop living in the land of make-believe and get back to the real world.

The real world is where people worry about their future and what kind of lives their children will lead. That's why we're fighting to give more Americans a better chance at a good education. We want all families to be able to achieve the dream of sending their kids to college and having their children live a better life than their own. We changed college loans so graduates don't have to pay them off all at once at an interest rate few of us can afford.

All through the 1980s, the cost of college shot through the roof while conditions in some of our communities fell through the floor. We came up with a national service corps that puts young people to work on our problems so they can earn their way to college.

All these efforts say a lot about who Democrats are and how we see our country. We don't say government can solve every problem. We say people have a responsibility to do their part. And we know people need the tools to make a difference on their own and by working together.

Most Americans go to work in the morning hoping to do a decent job. And most of us look forward to a day when we can do something more important than what we did the day before.

But, last year, Bob Dole, the Republican leader in the Senate, said, "Every day I come to work, I feel...maybe we can stop something."

Imagine if an auto worker went to work hoping to throw a monkey wrench into the assembly line. Imagine if an umpire for Major League Baseball went to work, just dying to trip a runner as he heads around third for home. We've got people like that in Washington, who want to keep us from going foward at every turn.

Harry Truman used to say that any jackass can knock down a barn. Thank heavens we have a President in the White House who wants to build this country up.

The choice is clear. America has a choice between Democrats who want to face real problems -- and Republicans who want to run away from them. Those who work for the good of their country -- and those who just work for the good of their party.

As Franklin Roosevelt would say, don't let the other side clip the wings of the American eagle to feather their own nest.

When FDR tried to change this country and lift America out of the Depression, the old guard in Washington tried to stop him from doing it, too. Almost everyone in America wanted to fix the problems, except for a few on the other side.

Back then, the obstructionists were named "Martin and Barton and Fish." Today, their names are Gingrich and Gramm and Dole.

When Democrats started cleaning up years of debris from their economic mess, who tried to stand in the way?

Gingrich and Gramm and Dole.

When Democrats fought for the crime bill to fight the crime in our communities, who tried to stand in the way?

Gingrich and Gramm and Dole.

When Democrats reformed college loans to make them more affordable and accessible to the middle class, who tried to stand in the way?

That's right: Gingrich and Gramm and Dole. (Sounds like three undertakers at a funeral home.)

One member of their team even said, "We've killed health

reform. Now, we've got to make sure our fingerprints are not on it."

These people would rather embarrass the President of the United States than do the hard work of helping our country.

I'm proud to say that we Democrats are facing the real problems. We're taking on the tough challenges. We're going to keep fighting to bring change to Washington, and we're not going to turn back now.

Last month, however, 300 Republican politicians gathered on the steps of Congress to sign what they call a "Contract with America."

With an election around the corner, they had to come up with something. But they looked ahead to all the challenges we Americans face, and they didn't have any answers.

So, what did they do? They went back into their dusty, old attic, full of tired ideas from the 1980s: Tax breaks for the wealthy. Paid for by billions of dollars in debt. Cuts in Medicare for the elderly. Cuts in veterans' benefits. And they call it a "Contract with America."

It's more like a Contract <u>on</u> America. A contract on fiscal responsibility. A contract on older Americans. A contract on the middle class. A contract on change, on progress, on moving America forward. A contract on turning this country around.

In the days of Teddy Roosevelt, the letters "G.O.P." stood for "Grand Old Party." Today, they stand for "grumpy old program."

But America rejected that program once before, and we'll reject that old program again.

It's time to stand up for turning this country around. For moving America forward.

For putting our economic house in order. For giving our people the tools to fight crime in their communities. For helping our people find the chance to get ahead. For assuming the awesome responsibility of preparing America to compete and win in the new global economy.

It's time to stand up for leaders who aren't stuck in the failed, old ways of the past. For leaders who believe in the promise of America, in moving America forward and turning this country around.

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm proud to stand up for...

Political Overview
October 7, 1994

Q: Recent polls show the President's favorable rating declining even more. How much of a negative do you think this is for Democratic candidates?

- There's a real choice this election: it's about whether we choose to return to the policies of the past, or keep moving the country forward to make America work again. Democrats have a solid record of accomplishments and candidates are running on that record. Republicans want to take the country back to the failed policies of the past; We've made a real start. We're going in the right direction.

Q: What do make of Ross Perot encouraging people to vote Republican this Fall?

- Ross Perot ran on a platform of cutting the deficit and reforming Congress. We have produced an economic plan that cuts the deficit $700 billion over five years and every Republican in Congress voted against it. They have blocked campaign finance reform, lobby reform, and now they have signed a contract on America that will give tax breaks to the rich and triple the deficit.

- This election is a choice between Democrats fighting to keep moving the country forward to make America work for ordinary people again versus the Republican contract of trillion dollar spending. Democrats have made a real start and a real difference at putting our fiscal house in order; we're working for change.

Q: Are Democratic candidates running from the President?

- No. Over the last several weeks he has done several events -- fundraising and rallies -- with Democrats candidates including Senator Robb, Senate candidate Ann Wynia, Senate candidate Alan Wheat, Governor Bruce King and many others. Looking ahead at his schedule for the next 30 days, he will travel extensively around the county on behalf of Democrats and with Democratic candidates including Bob Carr, Tom Sawyer, Mario Cuomo, Kathleen Brown, Bonnie Campbell, Mryth York.

Q: Speaker Foley is in a tight race. Any predictions?

- I'm confident he will be re-elected. He has the advantage over his opponent because he has stood firm fighting for ordinary Americans. His opponent is campaigning on the failed Republican policies that hurt middle class Americans.

Q: Now that Congress is about to recess will you and the President become more partisan?

- We have every intention of pointing out the choices this election offers Americans this November. We will point out the differences between those working to move our country forward and those resisting change.

OPENING REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AT PRESS CONFERENCE

October 7, 1994

Good afternoon. Ladies and gentlemen, 20 months ago I came here to make a start and to make America work for ordinary citizens again; to take on some tough issues too long ignored and to get our economic house in order. There have been some tough fights along the way, but I believe they were the right fights for our future.

We came here with an economic strategy that was comprehensive and direct -- reduce the deficit, expand trade, increase investment in people and technology, and reinvent the government to do more with less. We pursued this strategy with discipline. Now we have fresh evidence that the national economic program we put into place last year is beginning to work for America.

The Department of Labor reported today that the unemployment rate fell to 5.9 percent, a four-year low. And the economy has created about 4.6 million jobs since I took office. More jobs in high-wage industries were created this year alone than in the previous five years combined. It's not enough, of course. As the Census report makes clear, there are still too many Americans working for low wages, living in poverty. There are places in rural and urban America where the recovery has not yet reached.

But if you look at the changes since just a few short years ago, when we were exporting jobs and exploding the deficit, there's a great difference. We're getting our economic house in order. Jobs are being created at home. We're moving in the right direction.

This Congress, as it concludes a difficult session, showed that it could make a difference for ordinary people when it put people and progress ahead of narrow interests and partisan obstruction. It didn't always happen, so let's begin with a look at the record: What's been done, what hasn't been done, where do we go from here. Let's begin with what was accomplished.

The economic plan passed, putting our house in order. It was historic deficit reduction led by cutting over $255 billion in spending; cuts in 300 separate government programs; raising taxes --or tax rates -- on only the top 1.2 percent; cutting taxes for 15 million working families with 50 million Americans in them -- people who work full-time, but still hover just at the poverty line -- so that people will always be encouraged to choose work over welfare and won't have to raise their children in poverty if they do.

We've broken down trade barriers; eliminated barriers to exports; passed NAFTA. Exports to Mexico are up 19 percent; exports of cars and truck up 600 percent in the last year.

They talked for more than a decade around here about making government smaller, but it never seemed to happen. Well, now it is. Under our legislation we are shrinking federal positions and cutting the federal work force by 272,000, to its smallest size since the Kennedy administration. And now, again I say, private sector jobs are going up, the deficit is going down.

For the first time in a generation we have taken a serious assault on crime, passing the Brady Bill and the crime bill with its 100,000 prison cells, its 20-percent increase in police on the beat, its ban on assault weapons, its three strikes and you're out and other penalty laws.

The government is beginning to work for ordinary citizens in important ways. That's what the Family Leave law was about. That's what the law which will provide immunizations for all children under two by 1996 is about. That's what Head Start for 200,000 more kids is about. That's what the national standards of educational excellence with more local control; apprenticeships for kids who don't go to college; national service, so people can earn money for college and serve their communities; and making college loans more affordable for 20 million people who can now have lower interest rates, lower fees, longer repayment schedule. It's what the empowerment zones in the community developments banks to bring free enterprise to poor communities are about.

All of this was real progress. It's only a beginning, and more could have been done. But too many times, an idea for creating jobs, reforming government, educating students or expanding income, fighting crime or cleaning up the environment or reforming the political system was met by someone trying to stop it, slow it, kill it, or just talk it to death.

A lot of the same people just recently signed that so-called "Contract with America" -- a commitment to taking us back to the Reagan-Bush years when we exploded the deficit, cut Medicare, cut taxes for the wealthiest in America, divided our citizens and sent our jobs overseas. My contract with the American people is for the future -- grow the economy, fight crime, take on the tough problems, make government work for ordinary people.

Congress is leaving town without passing GATT, the world's largest trade agreement. It will cut global tariffs and, over the next decade, means a $744-billion tax cut. It will generate hundreds of thousands of new jobs for American workers. It will keep our recovery going and sustain growth all around the world. We must not retreat on GATT. That's why I've asked Congress to return and pass it after the election, and I believe they will do that.

But Congress had a chance to do a lot of other things which it should have done but didn't do. It should have passed significant environmental legislation, much of which has the support of both American people and industry and environmental groups. It should have passed health care reform instead of watching another million Americans lose their coverage, as the new data points out happened just last year, while costs increased faster than inflation and more citizens lose the right to chose their doctor. And it certainly should have passed political reform. I think the American people were appalled by the spectacle of lobbyists hiding who they work for, what they get paid, and by members of Congress accepting their gifts and then walking away from lobbying reform.

There's something wrong when a senator can filibuster this bill and walk off the floor of the Senate and be cheered by lobbyists. Well, the Congress is the people's Congress. The lobbyists may have been cheering in the filibuster last night, but the American people were not.

So Congress has done well on the economy, on crime, on tax fairness, on education and training, on trade, on loans for the middle class, on family leave, on reinventing government. Congress has not done well on political reform, on environmental legislation, on health care, and on an unprecedented record of using the filibuster and other delaying tactics to try to keep anything from being done.

We have to now resolve to give the American people a choice as Congress leaves town and we move into the next few weeks before this election. Do they really want this contract which is a trillion dollars of unfunded promises; a contract which certainly will lead to higher deficits, cuts in Medicare and throwing us back to the years of the '80s when we lost jobs and weakened our country? Or do we want to face up to the challenges which were not met in this Congress, and use the next Congress to keep the economic growth going, to pass health care reform, to pass welfare reform, to pass political reform, to deal with these environmental issues?

You know, countries all over the world want America to succeed and want to follow our lead. We saw it just in the last few days when the elected democratic Presidents of South Africa and Russia were here working with us on their common futures and their aspirations. We see it in the help we've been asked to give to the peace process in Northern Ireland. We see it in the help we've been asked to give to the peace process in the Middle East. We see it in the enthusiastic reception our young men and women in uniform have been given by the people of Haiti who want their democracy back.

I am proud of the work America has done around the world in the cause of democracy. I am proud of what our troops have done in the last three weeks in Haiti. As I said -- and I caution you again -- there job is still difficult and dangerous, and we still have a lot of work to do. But the violence is down, the Parliament is back, the refugees are returning, the electricity is burning again, and democracy is coming back. This is the direction we ought to be taking at home as well as abroad -- fighting for the future, not going back to the past.

-30-30-30-

Administration Accomplishments ... Democrats...Moving Forward

- ✔ An ***economic package*** that helped create over four million new jobs, provides tax cuts for 90% of small businesses and cuts the deficit in half.
- ✔ The ***crime bill*** will put 100,000 more cops on the street, build more prisons and ban 19 types of assault weapons.
- ✔ The ***Brady Law*** imposes a five-day waiting period on handgun purchases.
- ✔ ***Family & Medical Leave*** means that American families will never have to choose between the job they need and caring for a sick loved one.
- ✔ The ***Reinventing Government Initiative*** has already cut the federal workforce by 71,000 positions.
- ✔ An ***Expanded Earned Income Tax Credit*** cuts taxes for 15 million American working families making less than $27,000.
- ✔ The ***National Service Act*** provides tuition assistance for over 100,000 students in exchange for community service.
- ✔ The ***Student Loan Reform Act*** gives twenty million students access to low-interest rate loans and better repayment terms.
- ✔ The ***Goals 2000: Educate America Act*** sets world class education standards and helps to implement comprehensive education reforms.
- ✔ ***Head Start*** funding allows 100,000 more kids to participate.
- ✔ A ***Child Immunization Plan*** that promises to immunize at least 90% of our nation's two-year-olds by 1996.
- ✔ The ***National Voter Registration Act (Motor Voter)*** opens the doors of democracy to millions of Americans.
- ✔ The ***Small Business Guaranteed Credit Enhancement Act of 1993*** makes it easier for small businesses to get credit.
- ✔ Nine ***Economic Empowerment Zones*** and 95 ***Enterprise Communities*** give struggling urban regions a boost toward economic renewal.
- ✔ The ***Federal Plan to End Homelessness*** promotes long-term independence and self-sufficiency.

Democrats from across the country are working together to move our country forward, address America's problems and get things done for ordinary people. It hasn't been easy. There were some tough fights. But we have made a real start – putting our economic house in order, making a real attack on street crime, and making college loans available and affordable to the middle class.

What have the Republicans offered us? They want to take us ***back...***

Back to Medicare cuts
Back to tax cuts for the rich
Back to increased defense spending
Back to exploding deficits
Back to the '80s!

They tried to stop our crime bill, stood against health care reform and tried to block real reform of college loans to help the middle class.

The Republican leaders in Congress have forgotten that the government in Washington is supposed to represent all the people and help us solve the country's problems.

This election offers a fundamental choice.

Do we return to the policies of the past, or do we keep moving the country forward to make America work for ordinary people once again?

Democrats have made a real beginning and a real difference. We're going to keep fighting for change...and we are never going back.

VOTE DEMOCRATIC

☑

Paid for and authorized by the Democratic National Committee

Date: October 7, 1994

To: All Interested Parties

From: Harold Ickes

Subject: 1994 Stump Speech

Attached is a stump speech for the fall elections. It has been prepared at the request of Cabinet secretaries and other surrogates speaking on behalf of the administration during the midterm campaign. The speech incorporates the core political message:

- This election presents a clear choice between moving forward or going back, between leaders who want to face problems and those who want to run away from them.
- We have attacked many of the problems we were sent here to fight. We've made a good start.
- Republicans have fought us at many turns, and they've made it clear they want to return to the policies that created many of the problems we have addressed.
- America must go forward and not go back.

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STUMP SPEECH FOR SURROGATES AND INTRODUCTORY SPEAKERS

I want to talk about our choice in this election. A choice between two sides that couldn't be further apart: between those who want to turn this country around, and those who want to turn back.

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For years, the other side had no economic strategy for America's future. We Democrats put forward an economic plan. They tried to stop it. Newt Gingrich, like many Republican naysayers in Congress, said it would ruin the economy. But the result is that we've created more than 4,300,000 new American jobs so far -- almost all of them in the private sector.

We have more work to do, but we've made a good start.

For years, the other side complained about the deficit, but made it soar. Democrats are cutting the deficit by 255 billion dollars. The others tried to stop it. But now the deficit is going down for the first three years in a row since Harry Truman was President.

We have more work to do, but we've made a good start.

For years, the other side complained about government, but they actually made the bureaucracy grow. Democrats are cutting the bureaucracy by more than a quarter-of-a-million slots. They tried to stop us, but now the federal workforce is shrinking to the smallest size since John F. Kennedy was in the White House.

We have more work to do, but we've made a good start.

For years, they gave tax breaks to the wealthy, then tried to stop us when Democrats cut taxes for 90 percent of America's small businesses and 15 million families who work full time.

We have more work to do, but that's a mighty good start. Because, after years of irresponsibility and evasion, we're doing everything we can to make Washington work again for ordinary people.

When the other side had the White House, they let the Brady Bill languish in Congress. We fought hard for it. We took on the NRA, a lobby with a long-time grip on Washington, and we won!

Democrats won passage of the crime bill, three-strikes-and-you're-out, more cops on the street, and a ban on assault weapons. We're fighting on the side of every law enforcement organization in America, the people on the front lines in the fight against crime.

But when someone asked Republican Senator Phil Gramm if he felt comfortable blocking the crime bill, he said, "Not since Br'er Rabbit and the briar patch has anybody been as comfortable as we are."

They wanted to kill the crime bill while we have 11-year-old children killing children in our streets. And Phil Gramm says he feels as comfortable as a bunny.

Someone ought to tell these people to stop living in the land of make-believe and get back to the real world.

The real world is where people worry about their future and what kind of lives their children will lead. That's why we're fighting to give more Americans a better chance at a good education. We want all families to be able to achieve the dream of sending their kids to college and having their children live a better life than their own. We changed college loans so graduates don't have to pay them off all at once at an interest rate few of us can afford.

All through the 1980s, the cost of college shot through the roof while conditions in some of our communities fell through the floor. We came up with a national service corps that puts young people to work on our problems so they can earn their way to college.

All these efforts say a lot about who Democrats are and how we see our country. We don't say government can solve every problem. We say people have a responsibility to do their part. And we know people need the tools to make a difference on their own and by working together.

Most Americans go to work in the morning hoping to do a decent job. And most of us look forward to a day when we can do something more important than what we did the day before:

But, last year, Bob Dole, the Republican leader in the Senate, said, "Every day I come to work, I feel...maybe we can stop something."

Imagine if an auto worker went to work hoping to throw a monkey wrench into the assembly line. Imagine if an umpire for Major League Baseball went to work, just dying to trip a runner as he heads around third for home. We've got people like that in Washington, who want to keep us from going foward at every turn.

Harry Truman used to say that any jackass can knock down a barn. Thank heavens we have a President in the White House who wants to build this country up.

The choice is clear. America has a choice between Democrats who want to face real problems -- and Republicans who want to run away from them. Those who work for the good of their country -- and those who just work for the good of their party.

As Franklin Roosevelt would say, don't let the other side clip the wings of the American eagle to feather their own nest.

When FDR tried to change this country and lift America out of the Depression, the old guard in Washington tried to stop him from doing it, too. Almost everyone in America wanted to fix the problems, except for a few on the other side.

Back then, the obstructionists were named "Martin and Barton and Fish." Today, their names are Gingrich and Gramm and Dole.

When Democrats started cleaning up years of debris from their economic mess, who tried to stand in the way?

Gingrich and Gramm and Dole.

When Democrats fought for the crime bill to fight the crime in our communities, who tried to stand in the way?

Gingrich and Gramm and Dole.

When Democrats reformed college loans to make them more affordable and accessible to the middle class, who tried to stand in the way?

That's right: Gingrich and Gramm and Dole. (Sounds like three undertakers at a funeral home.)

One member of their team even said, "We've killed health

reform. Now, we've got to make sure our fingerprints are not on it."

These people would rather embarrass the President of the United States than do the hard work of helping our country.

I'm proud to say that we Democrats are facing the real problems. We're taking on the tough challenges. We're going to keep fighting to bring change to Washington, and we're not going to turn back now.

Last month, however, 300 Republican politicians gathered on the steps of Congress to sign what they call a "Contract with America."

With an election around the corner, they had to come up with something. But they looked ahead to all the challenges we Americans face, and they didn't have any answers.

So, what did they do? They went back into their dusty, old attic, full of tired ideas from the 1980s: Tax breaks for the wealthy. Paid for by billions of dollars in debt. Cuts in Medicare for the elderly. Cuts in veterans' benefits. And they call it a "Contract with America."

It's more like a Contract <u>on</u> America. A contract on fiscal responsibility. A contract on older Americans. A contract on the middle class. A contract on change, on progress, on moving America forward. A contract on turning this country around.

In the days of Teddy Roosevelt, the letters "G.O.P." stood for "Grand Old Party." Today, they stand for "grumpy old program."

But America rejected that program once before, and we'll reject that old program again.

It's time to stand up for turning this country around. For moving America forward.

For putting our economic house in order. For giving our people the tools to fight crime in their communities. For helping our people find the chance to get ahead. For assuming the awesome responsibility of preparing America to compete and win in the new global economy.

It's time to stand up for leaders who aren't stuck in the failed, old ways of the past. For leaders who believe in the promise of America, in moving America forward and turning this country around.

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm proud to stand up for...

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Not For Release; For Planning Purposes Only — October 5, 1994

Highlights of the President's October Schedule

The following is an overview of the President's schedule for the month of October. **The schedule is tentative and subject to change.** The schedule is for planning purposes only and not for publication or broadcast.

Mon., Oct. 10	Senator Lautenberg/NJ Coordinated Campaign Secaucus, NJ
Tues., Oct. 11	Congressman Bob Carr/MI Coordinated Campaign Michigan
Wed., Oct. 12	Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Washington, DC
Thurs., Oct. 13	National Association of Police Officers Washington, DC
Thurs., Oct. 13	Congressman Bob Carr Reception Washington, DC
Sat., Oct. 15	Gubernatorial Candidate Bill Curry Event Connecticut
	Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Miami, FL
Sun., Oct. 16	RON: New Mexico
Mon., Oct. 17	International Chiefs of Police Conference Albuquerque, NM
Wed., Oct. 19	Governor Mario Cuomo Reception New York City, NY

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Thurs., Oct. 20	Democratic National Committee Dinner Washington, DC
Fri., Oct. 21	Kennedy-King Dinner with Senator Charles Robb and Congressman James Moran Northern Virginia
Sat., Oct. 22	Gubernatorial Candidate Kathleen Brown Event San Francisco, CA
Sun., Oct. 23	Senate Candidate Ron Sims Event Seattle, WA RON: Ohio
Mon., Oct. 24	Attorney General Lee Fisher Rally and Luncheon Cleveland, OH
	Town Hall Meeting Congressman Tom Sawyer Dinner Akron, OH RON: Washington, DC
Tues., Oct. 25	Gubernatorial Candidate Myrth York Event Rhode Island
Wed., Oct. 26	Anti-Violence Forum Buffalo, NY RON: Washington, DC
Thurs., Oct. 27	Gubernatorial Candidate Bonnie Campbell Events Davenport and Des Moines, IA RON: Michigan
Fri., Oct. 28	GOTV Rally Congressman Bob Carr Luncheon Detroit, MI
	Midwest Voter Hispanic Leadership Dinner Chicago, IL RON: Washington, DC
Sat., Oct. 29	Italian-American Dinner Washington, DC

Political Overview
October 7, 1994

Q: Recent polls show the President's favorable rating declining even more. How much of a negative do you think this is for Democratic candidates?

- There's a real choice this election: it's about whether we choose to return to the policies of the past, or keep moving the country forward to make America work again. Democrats have a solid record of accomplishments and candidates are running on that record. Republicans want to take the country back to the failed policies of the past; We've made a real start. We're going in the right direction.

Q: What do make of Ross Perot encouraging people to vote Republican this Fall?

- Ross Perot ran on a platform of cutting the deficit and reforming Congress. We have produced an economic plan that cuts the deficit $700 billion over five years and every Republican in Congress voted against it. They have blocked campaign finance reform, lobby reform, and now they have signed a contract on America that will give tax breaks to the rich and triple the deficit.

- This election is a choice between Democrats fighting to keep moving the country forward to make America work for ordinary people again versus the Republican contract of trillion dollar spending. Democrats have made a real start and a real difference at putting our fiscal house in order; we're working for change.

Q: Are Democratic candidates running from the President?

- No. Over the last several weeks he has done several events -- fundraising and rallies -- with Democrats candidates including Senator Robb, Senate candidate Ann Wynia, Senate candidate Alan Wheat, Governor Bruce King and many others. Looking ahead at his schedule for the next 30 days, he will travel extensively around the county on behalf of Democrats and with Democratic candidates including Bob Carr, Tom Sawyer, Mario Cuomo, Kathleen Brown, Bonnie Campbell, Mryth York.

Q: Speaker Foley is in a tight race. Any predictions?

- I'm confident he will be re-elected. He has the advantage over his opponent because he has stood firm fighting for ordinary Americans. His opponent is campaigning on the failed Republican policies that hurt middle class Americans.

Q: Now that Congress is about to recess will you and the President become more partisan?

- We have every intention of pointing out the choices this election offers Americans this November. We will point out the differences between those working to move our country forward and those resisting change.

Administration Accomplishments

- ✔ An *economic package* that helped create over four million new jobs, provides tax cuts for 90% of small businesses and cuts the deficit in half.
- ✔ The *crime bill* will put 100,000 more cops on the street, build more prisons and ban 19 types of assault weapons.
- ✔ The *Brady Law* imposes a five-day waiting period on handgun purchases.
- ✔ *Family & Medical Leave* means that American families will never have to choose between the job they need and caring for a sick loved one.
- ✔ The *Reinventing Government Initiative* has already cut the federal workforce by 71,000 positions.
- ✔ An *Expanded Earned Income Tax Credit* cuts taxes for 15 million American working families making less than $27,000.
- ✔ The *National Service Act* provides tuition assistance for over 100,000 students in exchange for community service.
- ✔ The *Student Loan Reform Act* gives twenty million students access to low-interest rate loans and better repayment terms.
- ✔ The *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* sets world class education standards and helps to implement comprehensive education reforms.
- ✔ *Head Start* funding allows 100,000 more kids to participate.
- ✔ A *Child Immunization Plan* that promises to immunize at least 90% of our nation's two-year-olds by 1996.
- ✔ The *National Voter Registration Act (Motor Voter)* opens the doors of democracy to millions of Americans.
- ✔ The *Small Business Guaranteed Credit Enhancement Act of 1993* makes it easier for small businesses to get credit.
- ✔ Nine *Economic Empowerment Zones* and 95 *Enterprise Communities* give struggling urban regions a boost toward economic renewal.
- ✔ The *Federal Plan to End Homelessness* promotes long-term independence and self-sufficiency.

Democrats...Moving Forward

Democrats from across the country are working together to move our country forward, address America's problems and get things done for ordinary people. It hasn't been easy. There were some tough fights. But we have made a real start – putting our economic house in order, making a real attack on street crime, and making college loans available and affordable to the middle class.

What have the Republicans offered us? They want to take us *back*...

Back to Medicare cuts
Back to tax cuts for the rich
Back to increased defense spending
Back to exploding deficits
Back to the '80s!

They tried to stop our crime bill, stood against health care reform and tried to block real reform of college loans to help the middle class.

The Republican leaders in Congress have forgotten that the government in Washington is supposed to represent all the people and help us solve our country's problems.

This election offers a fundamental choice.

Do we return to the policies of the past, or do we keep moving the country forward to make America work for ordinary people once again?

Democrats have made a real beginning and a real difference. We're going to keep fighting for change...and we are never going back.

VOTE DEMOCRATIC

☑

Paid for and authorized by the Democratic National Committee

OPENING REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AT PRESS CONFERENCE

October 7, 1994

Good afternoon. Ladies and gentlemen, 20 months ago I came here to make a start and to make America work for ordinary citizens again; to take on some tough issues too long ignored and to get our economic house in order. There have been some tough fights along the way, but I believe they were the right fights for our future.

We came here with an economic strategy that was comprehensive and direct -- reduce the deficit, expand trade, increase investment in people and technology, and reinvent the government to do more with less. We pursued this strategy with discipline. Now we have fresh evidence that the national economic program we put into place last year is beginning to work for America.

The Department of Labor reported today that the unemployment rate fell to 5.9 percent, a four-year low. And the economy has created about 4.6 million jobs since I took office. More jobs in high-wage industries were created this year alone than in the previous five years combined. It's not enough, of course. As the Census report makes clear, there are still too many Americans working for low wages, living in poverty. There are places in rural and urban America where the recovery has not yet reached.

But if you look at the changes since just a few short years ago, when we were exporting jobs and exploding the deficit, there's a great difference. We're getting our economic house in order. Jobs are being created at home. We're moving in the right direction.

This Congress, as it concludes a difficult session, showed that it could make a difference for ordinary people when it put people and progress ahead of narrow interests and partisan obstruction. It didn't always happen, so let's begin with a look at the record: What's been done, what hasn't been done, where do we go from here. Let's begin with what was accomplished.

The economic plan passed, putting our house in order. It was historic deficit reduction led by cutting over $255 billion in spending; cuts in 300 separate government programs; raising taxes --or tax rates -- on only the top 1.2 percent; cutting taxes for 15 million working families with 50 million Americans in them -- people who work full-time, but still hover just at the poverty line -- so that people will always be encouraged to choose work over welfare and won't have to raise their children in poverty if they do.

We've broken down trade barriers; eliminated barriers to exports; passed NAFTA. Exports to Mexico are up 19 percent; exports of cars and truck up 600 percent in the last year.

They talked for more than a decade around here about making government smaller, but it never seemed to happen. Well, now it is. Under our legislation we are shrinking federal positions and cutting the federal work force by 272,000, to its smallest size since the Kennedy administration. And now, again I say, private sector jobs are going up, the deficit is going down.

For the first time in a generation we have taken a serious assault on crime, passing the Brady Bill and the crime bill with its 100,000 prison cells, its 20-percent increase in police on the beat, its ban on assault weapons, its three strikes and you're out and other penalty laws.

The government is beginning to work for ordinary citizens in important ways. That's what the Family Leave law was about. That's what the law which will provide immunizations for all children under two by 1996 is about. That's what Head Start for 200,000 more kids is about. That's what the national standards of educational excellence with more local control; apprenticeships for kids who don't go to college; national service, so people can earn money for college and serve their communities; and making college loans more affordable for 20 million people who can now have lower interest rates, lower fees, longer repayment schedule. It's what the empowerment zones in the community developments banks to bring free enterprise to poor communities are about.

All of this was real progress. It's only a beginning, and more could have been done. But too many times, an idea for creating jobs, reforming government, educating students or expanding income, fighting crime or cleaning up the environment or reforming the political system was met by someone trying to stop it, slow it, kill it, or just talk it to death.

A lot of the same people just recently signed that so-called "Contract with America" -- a commitment to taking us back to the Reagan-Bush years when we exploded the deficit, cut Medicare, cut taxes for the wealthiest in America, divided our citizens and sent our jobs overseas. My contract with the American people is for the future -- grow the economy, fight crime, take on the tough problems, make government work for ordinary people.

Congress is leaving town without passing GATT, the world's largest trade agreement. It will cut global tariffs and, over the next decade, means a $744-billion tax cut. It will generate hundreds of thousands of new jobs for American workers. It will keep our recovery going and sustain growth all around the world. We must not retreat on GATT. That's why I've asked Congress to return and pass it after the election, and I believe they will do that.

But Congress had a chance to do a lot of other things which it should have done but didn't do. It should have passed significant environmental legislation, much of which has the support of both American people and industry and environmental groups. It should have passed health care reform instead of watching another million Americans lose their coverage, as the new data points out happened just last year, while costs increased faster than inflation and more citizens lose the right to chose their doctor. And it certainly should have passed political reform. I think the American people were appalled by the spectacle of lobbyists hiding who they work for, what they get paid, and by members of Congress accepting their gifts and then walking away from lobbying reform.

There's something wrong when a senator can filibuster this bill and walk off the floor of the Senate and be cheered by lobbyists. Well, the Congress is the people's Congress. The lobbyists may have been cheering in the filibuster last night, but the American people were not.

So Congress has done well on the economy, on crime, on tax fairness, on education and training, on trade, on loans for the middle class, on family leave, on reinventing government. Congress has not done well on political reform, on environmental legislation, on health care, and on an unprecedented record of using the filibuster and other delaying tactics to try to keep anything from being done.

We have to now resolve to give the American people a choice as Congress leaves town and we move into the next few weeks before this election. Do they really want this contract which is a trillion dollars of unfunded promises; a contract which certainly will lead to higher deficits, cuts in Medicare and throwing us back to the years of the '80s when we lost jobs and weakened our country? Or do we want to face up to the challenges which were not met in this Congress, and use the next Congress to keep the economic growth going, to pass health care reform, to pass welfare reform, to pass political reform, to deal with these environmental issues?

You know, countries all over the world want America to succeed and want to follow our lead. We saw it just in the last few days when the elected democratic Presidents of South Africa and Russia were here working with us on their common futures and their aspirations. We see it in the help we've been asked to give to the peace process in Northern Ireland. We see it in the help we've been asked to give to the peace process in the Middle East. We see it in the enthusiastic reception our young men and women in uniform have been given by the people of Haiti who want their democracy back.

I am proud of the work America has done around the world in the cause of democracy. I am proud of what our troops have done in the last three weeks in Haiti. As I said -- and I caution you again -- there job is still difficult and dangerous, and we still have a lot of work to do. But the violence is down, the Parliament is back, the refugees are returning, the electricity is burning again, and democracy is coming back. This is the direction we ought to be taking at home as well as abroad -- fighting for the future, not going back to the past.

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Why Bill Clinton Is a Great American President

No, Really

By Jacob Weisberg

SEEMS FAIR TO SAY BILL CLINTON IS HAVING A LOUSY YEAR. THE PRESident's personal losing streak began around the holidays, with the somewhat dubious set of allegations known as Troopergate. The slump continued through January and February, thanks to the trickle of details about a failed real-estate investment called Whitewater. This was the backdrop in March, when the New York *Times* divulged the history of Hillary's lucrative commodity speculations. And the presidential past was beginning to look like a tragic curse—Aeschylus in Arkansas—by early May, when the cartoonish Paula Jones emerged from an Ozark hollow to tell the country about what really went on at all those policy conferences.

Political catastrophes picked up where the personal ones left off. *Time*'s "incredible shrinking president" got reinflated when Congress passed his budget and NAFTA last year, but the triumphalism didn't last long. As Haitian refugees aimed their leaky flotilla at the coast of Florida, the president's elaborately wrought healthcare plan sank without a trace. On June 27, he had to fire as chief of staff his well-meaning but ineffectual best friend, Mack McLarty. Congressional Whitewater hearings got much uglier than expected and cost the president Roger Altman, one of the more effective members of his administration.

Just as those hearings wound down, the attorney general called

for a special counsel to investigate illegal gifts to secretary of Agriculture Mike Espy from Tyson Foods, a poultry company with close ties to Clinton. That same week, a leaked memo revealed that the president's pollster, Stanley Greenberg, was suggesting Democratic candidates run on Clinton's policies while distancing themselves from the man himself. Robert Fiske was unexpectedly replaced as Whitewater special counsel by a more partisan Republican who announced he would start investigating again from scratch. By early August, setbacks like these were arriving at the rate of one every four days. And just when it seemed the president had hit bottom, the House unexpectedly nuked his crime bill.

This was "tantamount to a vote of no confidence in the president and his ability to govern," wrote Jeffrey Birnbaum, in a *Wall Street Journal* story that ran under the heading BURIED ALIVE. Pronouncements of this sort have been standard lately—in the news columns, not just the editorial pages. By all accounts, Clinton faces a massive repudiation in the November election. White House correspondents have also been underscoring poll numbers that show the president's approval rating in the dismal low forties despite the rude health of the economy. According to the traditional formula, presidents are popular when economic times are good. By this standard, Clinton should be soaring into the sixties. The missing twenty points is known as the Clinton gap.

It is hard to imagine, though, that the Clinton gap doesn't have something to do with the pounding administered by the press. In May, Joe Klein unleashed a *Newsweek* story called "The Politics of Promiscuity," which equated Clinton's casual affairs with women like Paula Jones to his vacillating Bosnia policy. Clinton, Klein argued, was always making commitments he couldn't keep; he was foiled by "an inability to settle, to stand, to commit"; he was "railing about in a narcissistic, existential quest for self-discovery." The publication the following month of Bob Woodward's *The Agenda* compounded perceptions of vaguely adolescent Clintonian incompetence. Woodward typically made no point of his own, but his details were widely disseminated by others who concluded that Clinton and his staff were inept, flailing. R. W. Apple of the New York *Times* recently described the president's attention as wandering "like a teen-ager's on Saturday night." *The Economist* testified to "the sense that Mr Clinton may be congenitally feeble on foreign policy and incorrigibly indecisive at home." Peter Boyer of *The New Yorker* called him "a compromise in a suit."

The journalistic *coup de grâce*, however, was delivered in a 13,000-word cover story by Michael Kelly in *The New York Times Magazine* a couple of weeks ago. Kelly saw a president wounded and came to do him the kindness of a bullet in the head. His article argued that Clinton was an originally idealistic person who had been corrupted by politics to the point where he, like Nixon, had no real sense of right and wrong. "There is a hollowness to the Clinton presidency, a sense that it lacks a center because the man at its center lacks one of his own," Kelly wrote. The piece judged Clinton not just an inadequate leader but a failed *human being*. "The president's essential character flaw isn't dishonesty so much as a-honesty," Kelly concluded. "It isn't that Clinton means to say things that are not true, or that he cannot make true, but that everything is true for him when he says it, because he says it." This crystallized the emerging conventional wisdom: The president's unpopularity was explained by his being a hopeless liar.

WELL, IT MAY SEEM THE sheerest act of heresy to say so, but far from being pathologically dishonest, Bill Clinton has been more faithful to his word than any other chief executive in recent memory. He may have skirted the truth about the draft, Gennifer Flowers, Paula Jones, and so on. But Clinton has kept his contract with voters. On policy issues, he has done almost exactly what he said he was going to do, despite setbacks and enormous obstacles. And by so doing, he has made himself an excellent president. The irony is that Americans are oblivious to most of his kept promises because the accomplishments lack political conflict. Clinton gets bashed in the press when he loses a close fight, as with the House ambush on the crime bill. He gets credit when he wins a close victory, as with last year's budget, NAFTA, and the subsequent passage of an amended crime bill. But he's ignored when he does what he said he was going to do without provoking a dramatic showdown.

During the 1992 campaign, Bill Clinton did something extraordinary—some thought extraordinarily stupid. He published a book-length political treatise called *Putting People First*. This was the platform he ran on; it offered detailed positions on a wide range of issues. As he approaches the midway mark in his first term, it serves as a benchmark to evaluate his performance.

The book stressed five themes above others. In order of importance, they were the economy, work and welfare, education and training, health care, and governmental reform. Clinton said he would get the economy moving and create 8 million new jobs, in part by reducing the deficit. He promised to transform the culture of welfare by obliging recipients to work after two years on the dole. He called for controlling the cost of health care and f guaranteeing a basic benefits package every American. He declared support t an education-and-training agenda called "lifetime learning." Lastly, pledged to make government small cheaper, and more efficient.

The first of these promises he has u equivocally delivered upon. When Clint took office, economists were musi about a new phenomenon: the jobless r covery. Republican senators Gram Dole, and D'Amato, among others, pr dicted that if the administration's budg were to pass, it would divert the econom comeback altogether. Newt Gingrich, t soon-to-be House minority leader, sa the president's plan would fail to redu the deficit, while provoking a "job-killi recession."

Four million new jobs later, Newt h yet to take credit for his mistake. Remer ber the Republicans' Carter-bashing "mi ery index"—unemployment plus infl tion? It averaged twelve during th Reagan years. When Bush left office, was eleven; under Clinton it's nine. Th consensus among economists is that th country is at its "natural" unemployme level—the functional equivalent of fu employment. The debate now is wheth the economy is growing so fast that th Federal Reserve is justified in raising i terest rates to forestall inflation. So fa however, there are no signs of it. Oth economic indicators are favorable, to Long-term interest rates are still relative low. The economy continues to grow nearly 4 percent, generating more tha 250,000 new jobs a month. At this pac Clinton will easily fulfill his campaig promise of 8 million jobs by the end of h first term. Meanwhile, the Congression Budget Office's deficit projection fo 1995 is $171 billion, down from $284 bi lion before the budget bill passed. Clinto has another key promise—to cut the def cit by half in four years—within his sight

Does the president deserve credit fo the present strength of the economy? H detractors point out that the recovery wa under way by the time he took offic True, but few economists believe it woul have been equally robust without th president's plan. By addressing the defici Clinton reduced long-term rates and free additional capital for private investmen This was the so-called bond-market stra egy that Woodward implicitly criticize the White House for adopting. "W would have somewhat higher interes rates, especially long-term, had there no been a deficit-reduction package," say Paul Krugman, an economist at Stanfor "We have more productive investmer going on than we would otherwise. An future growth prospects are better tha we would have otherwise."

There has been far less urgency abou welfare reform. After the election, Clinto made a clear political mistake by choosin

to push health-care reform first. His task force has, however, since unveiled a detailed legislative proposal for breaking the cycle of dependency. There are some quibbles about the plan, but it is surely what Clinton promised. After two years on welfare, you have to take a private-sector or public-service job. And as Donna Shalala, the secretary of Health and Human Services, put it in Senate testimony a few weeks ago, "If you don't work, you don't get paid." Shalala, who was unfairly stereotyped as a liberal softie, has also adopted a policy of granting waivers to states that are pursuing reform efforts of their own, even where those efforts are not in line with the Clinton plan. The result has been a boom in experimentation at the state level.

But the best idea is still Clinton's plan. As originally outlined, it restructures the system to "make work pay." If you move from welfare to a low-wage job, you won't lose Medicaid benefits, as is currently the case. Child care will also be provided. And thanks to the expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit that was part of last year's budget, people who forsake welfare for minimum-wage jobs will not live below the poverty line. The proposal also delivers components Clinton has long talked about: child-support enforcement and a campaign against teen pregnancy. Congress will probably not take up welfare reform until after the fall election. But if it passes in anything like its proposed form, it will amount to a revolution in the way the federal government approaches the problem of income support.

Welfare reform has had a fair amount of coverage, thanks to occasional outbursts by Senator Moynihan and assorted Republicans. But because it has not been the locus of any great political clash, Clinton's education and training ideas have had practically none. White House domestic-policy adviser William Galston calls this Clinton's "stealth agenda," since most of it has actually crept into law without notice.

There is in the "lifetime learning" plan something for almost every age group. For toddlers there is a significant reform and expansion of Head Start. Clinton didn't just raise funding for this popular program; he is improving it, by setting national standards and making it possible to decommission programs that don't conform. For school-age children, there are many significant changes in the Goals 2000 bill, which passed in March, and in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which is currently before Congress. These include a program of national education standards and funding for state experiments with charter schools, institutions allowed to operate outside regular bureaucratic constraints. Clinton is also fighting to redirect so-called Chapter One money—the most significant federal resources that go to education. The money was originally intended to support disadvantaged children, but over time, rich districts have grabbed much of the action.

For young adults, there are two programs that matter. The first is a national service program that began this summer by putting 7,000 young people into public-safety jobs. Beginning this fall, AmeriCorps will hire 20,000 idealistic youths to perform community work in education, public safety, social services, and the environment. More Americans will participate than served in the Peace Corps at its much-romanticized Camelot height. They will also earn $4,725 a year for college. The other initiative is a program of direct lending to college students. This saves participants money by cutting out the middlewoman known as Sallie Mae. By allowing loans to be paid back as a proportion of income, it will have the added advantage of forcing fewer good kids to become lawyers. Lastly, it is expected to save the federal government some $4.3-billion over five years.

The "[illegible] of the new political journalism is much like the opening monologues on the late-night talk shows

Two other initiatives developed by the Department of Labor bear mentioning. The first is an apprenticeship program for teenagers who aren't planning to go to college. This passed last year and is already being implemented. And the final part of "lifetime learning," which Congress has yet to pass, is Labor secretary Robert Reich's ambitious plan for a new unemployment-and-training system. The idea is to consolidate the government's confusing and largely ineffective panoply of training and job-search programs by creating one-step centers for people who lose their jobs. These centers might be public or private but would have to compete for customers. "The old system was designed for cyclical unemployment—to tide people over with income temporarily until they got their old job back again," says Reich. "But what has happened gradually over the last 50 years is that people don't get the old job back."

The president has been subjected to severe criticism on health care. Much is deserved: his plan was flawed in substance and was based on a profound misreading of the political climate. Because he made no effort to include Republicans in the drafting of his bill, it never had any serious chance of passing the Senate. But the Health Security Act was entirely consistent with the kind of reform Clinton said he would push if elected. He promised to push it, not to pass it, because passing it is not within his power.

Most of the president's critics, however, are trying to have it both ways. They don't like his plan but are ready to blast him for breaking his word if he signs something that falls short of universal coverage. William Safire last week advised Clinton to veto anything that falls short of the Mitchell Bill, though he thinks the Mitchell Bill would mean disaster. This is attempted sabotage.

It was foolish for Clinton to draw a line in the sand. But whatever passes will still be his accomplishment; he brought health-care reform to the fore. In fact, a less ambitious bill that begins a process of sound, incremental reform may come to be regarded as a great achievement. But even if the result is no bill, or a vetoed bill, Clinton will deserve much credit. The reason is that the health-care industry has responded to the threat of radical governmental reform by reforming itself. The health-care-inflation rate, which once ran in the double digits, is now around 5 percent, the lowest level in twenty years. And it's dropping still.

ON THE FINAL ELEMENT IN HIS big five—cutting the size and cost of government—Clinton has outdone himself. In *Putting People First*, he talked about reducing the government work force by 100,000. In less than two years, he's already done it, or nearly so, with the help of a buy-out program. Thanks to Al Gore's "re-inventing government," plan, the tally will be down by 273,000 in five years, to the lowest level since Kennedy was president. This is truly amazing. The Executive payroll grew through the years when Ronald Reagan promised to get government off our backs, and through the Bush years despite the military build-down. Partly as a result

of Clinton's downsizing, the cost of government is now shrinking as a share of gross domestic product.

There have, of course, been disappointments. Through the campaign, Clinton talked about changing the culture of Washington. Though he has supported lobbying and campaign-finance reform, and tightened the rules for Executive-branch employees, he has set a poor example. By naming influence peddlers like Ron Brown to his Cabinet, and by tolerating the revolving-door profiteering of ex-aides, Clinton has undermined this moral crusade.

But there are other bright spots, too. Consider international trade. Early in the campaign, Clinton was, like many of his fellow Democrats, at best an agnostic on NAFTA. After examining the issue more closely, however, he became convinced that the benefits overrode the objections of two key Democratic constituencies: organized labor and environmentalists. But his achievement here was not just passing NAFTA against the odds. It was developing a bi-partisan coalition in Congress to support free trade. Though a majority of Democrats voted against NAFTA, and though many will surely vote against GATT, which is even more important, Clinton has essentially relegated protectionism to the political margin.

Clinton's Supreme Court appointments have been superb. Many feared he would try to counter the rightward drift of the Rehnquist court by making liberal ideology and youth (thus longevity) his litmus tests. Instead, he has named distinguished middle-aged moderates: Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Stephen Breyer. He has raised the great neglected issue of gun control for the first time. The Brady Bill and the assault-weapons ban included in the crime bill aren't very important in themselves. But as symbolic victories over the National Rifle Association they mean something. Clinton's Interior secretary, Bruce Babbitt, has moved beyond a stale debate on endangered species to an approach that emphasizes the protection of whole ecosystems. The secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Henry Cisneros, has tried to direct federal resources toward scatter-site public housing, instead of pouring it down the sieve of high-rise projects in the ghetto.

None of these are minor matters. Indeed, assuming health-care and welfare reform pass in some form, Clinton's legislative agenda will be more or less complete around the halfway point in his first term. What will he do for an encore? George Stephanopoulos says the administration will concentrate less on legislation and more on making sure the first-half initiatives work. Expect a total news blackout if implementation goes smoothly.

Bill Clinton is somewhat harder to defend as a foreign-policy president. He has to feel foolish for the way he has changed his positions on China, Bosnia, and, most dramatically, Haiti. The case for Clinton, however, is that while flip-flopping on these issues, he has actually gotten the big things mostly right. "The obsession with Haiti—a country that is cruel and horrible but strategically totally insignificant—obscures the broader gains," says Adrian Karatnycky, president of the human-rights group Freedom House.

What are those gains? First and foremost, Clinton's policy toward Russia. "An unceasing chorus has been saying Clinton has been naïve about the course of the events or too pro-reform," says Jeremy Rosner, who recently left the National Security Council for a perch at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "But the truth is, he has had it just about right. He has clearly advanced our interests in the region." The president wins high marks for getting Ukraine and Belarus to give up their nuclear weapons, and for supporting the cause of reform. Even Richard Pipes, a Russian scholar at Harvard and a hard-line conservative, credits Clinton with being a strong advocate for Boris Yeltsin. Where Pipes faults Clinton is in allowing Russia too free a hand to intervene in the former Soviet republics. He acknowledges, however, that the policy would probably be the same had George Bush been re-elected.

Clinton's foreign policy has been crypto-Bushite in other areas as well. He did a brilliant job as moderator in the Israeli-Palestinian and Israeli-Jordanian dialogues, thanks in part to the work of Dennis Ross, a former aide to James Baker who stayed on. Clinton has managed the North Korean nuclear crisis deftly. His Partnership for Peace, an alternative to offering 22 Eastern European nations full membership in NATO, was a smart compromise. And he has resisted the excessive cuts in defense some on the left advocate. Clinton has also done a few good things Bush would probably never have done, like reestablishing relations with Vietnam.

Clinton can surely be faulted for attending to his domestic agenda to the exclusion of foreign policy. This is, of course, the mirror image of Bush, who barely tolerated the need to deal with domestic issues for the sake of the opportunity to act abroad. Unfortunately, the president has not done enough to compensate for his own lack of interest. Clinton of all presidents needs a forceful secretary of State. Instead, he has surrounded himself at the top level with vision-impaired officials. It can only be hoped that after the fall election he will elevate some of the excellent people who populate his foreign-policy ranks at the secondary level and take their advice.

But Clinton's relative weakness on foreign policy hardly explains the strikingly low esteem in which he is generally held. Since the end of the Cold War, alas, most Americans don't care much about the rest of the world either. Clinton's election was partly a reaction to Bush's bias in favor of foreign policy. So what's Clinton's pro lem? Most analysts contend that, like N on's, it is one of visceral trust: The pub now reflexively doubts him. There is, be sure, an element of truth in this. E there is also an element of self-fulfilli prophecy: Voters mistrust Clinton in p because the media keep telling them r to trust him.

MANY HAVE REMARKED Clinton's being the fi president to face exte sive muckraking into prepresidential pa while in office. This true, but it's only part the story. The new poi ical journalism isn't vestigative in natu though it draws upon dirt-digging. Ra er, it is based on an evolution from repo ing to analysis to psychoanalysis. Satu tion coverage has driven the mo prestigious outlets toward a kind of poli cal movie-reviewing. "It's a three-st process," says Stephanopoulos. "CN has replaced the wires. And even thou no one watches CNN, the nightly ne feels it has to put an edge of judgment c And the papers have to take it a st farther."

Thus the new political journalism h more in common with the opening mon logues of late-night talk shows than wi what reporters used to do. The Washin ton *Post* toppled Nixon with its reportin It's bringing Clinton down with "attitu writing." In newspapers, this form w largely invented by Maureen Dowd, wh she was writing about George Bush f the New York *Times*. Unfortunately, fe of Dowd's many imitators are as shrev or felicitous or observant as she is. I stead, they indulge in a self-satisfi mockery that passes for "edge" and pa ders to the popular prejudice that all po ticians are scoundrels.

According to some sort of Gresham law of media, this sort of criticism seen to have crowded out the work of exami ing programs and policies. Noisy, only o casionally relevant questions of charact replace those of more meaningful dem cratic substance. One reporter tells th president to his face that he reminds hi of his daughter's excuses for not doing h homework; another notes his telltale sig of sexual frustration.

This kind of journalism is a lot easi than traditional reporting; you hard have to leave the office. It also elevates th press to a godlike position; instead journalist as gumshoe, we get the journa ist as Savonarola, as Saint Peter. Th problem is that moral judgment is not a ways the most valuable kind. Sure, hone ty matters in politics, but it's not all th matters. Consider our last totally trus worthy president. His name was Jimn Carter. ■

Let's look at the record

With political rhetoric increasingly loud and poisonous, especially in Washington, it may be useful to put the adjectives aside for a moment and look at President Clinton's record.

In 21 months, Clinton has presided over:

The failure of health reform.

The failure of welfare reform.

Enactment of family leave legislation.

Enactment of the Brady Bill after a decade of defeats by the National Rifle Association.

Enactment of a crime bill that is balanced between prevention and punishment and puts thousands more police on the streets. President Bush's efforts to pass a crime bill did not succeed.

Enactment of a national service program that already enrolls more young people than the Peace Corps did at its peak.

Enactment of higher-education financing reforms that will make college loans more accessible for millions of middle-class families.

Environmental advances, including an agreement to protect the Florida Everglades.

Advancement of an urban agenda that includes empowerment zones, an expanded Community Reinvestment Act, a greater emphasis on homelessness, funding for the Community Development Financial Institutions Act and many specific grants, including $50 million for Mission Hill.

On economic matters, Clinton:

Failed to deliver a middle-class tax cut.

Raised taxes on those with high incomes and for many with middle incomes.

Raised, at the same time, the earned income tax credit, providing support for working families. The credit, with no bureaucracy, is already working powerfully against welfare and poverty.

Tackled the federal deficit. For the fiscal year just ended the deficit is expected to be close to $200 billion – far less than projections.

On governmental improvement, Clinton:

Failed to win campaign finance reform.

Delivered on most of the first-year goals of the Reinventing Government project, including a reduction of some 20,000 federal employees.

In foreign policy, Clinton:

Has achieved little in Bosnia, though he hasn't plunged the United States into war there, either.

Achieved some goals in Somalia, at some cost.

Helped peace efforts in the Middle East and Ireland, though not as a major player.

The verdict is still out in North Korea and Haiti, but progress has been made with minimal bloodshed so far.

Clinton's policy toward Russia and the former Soviet Union has won praise from right and left.

On trade issues, he won acceptance of the North American Free Trade Agreement, negotiated a new General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (yet to be ratified) and took steps to expand trade with China and last week with Japan.

The list isn't complete. Still, there is a record. Congressional Quarterly rated Clinton's first year the most effective since Lyndon Johnson's in 1965. The second year included failures, but health and welfare reform involved tough issues to which Clinton sought a comprehensive approach.

There has been no mention here of Clinton's style or management ability or decisiveness. Or of his woman friends, or his wife's investments, or the hair styles of either. Yet such matters dominate, making Clinton a pariah ridiculed by Republicans and shunned by many Democrats, including candidates for office.

Still, there is a record.

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CLINTON GETS HIS MESSAGE TOGETHER

By Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover

McLEAN, Va. As the crowd at a $30-a-ticket reception for Democratic Sen. Chuck Robb awaited his arrival and that of his featured guest here the other night, somebody on the speakers' platform suddenly held up a very small printed placard that read: ``Clinton.'' The crowd cheered, briefly.

That little handheld sign, and the presence of Secret Service agents, were the only hints that the president of the United States was about to enter the hotel ballroom. And when he and Robb strode onto the platform to lustier cheers, the two men made no effort to give photographers the customary victory gesture of hands joined and thrust overhead ``the armpit shot,'' in the crude vernacular of the political pros.

It all seemed to reflect the conventional wisdom of the midterm election campaign that a visit from President Clinton is at best a gamble for Democratic incumbents like Robb, except as a fund-raiser. In this and another event on the same night, Clinton helped raise $500,000 for Robb in his campaign against well-heeled Republican nominee Oliver North.

But on this night at least, Clinton offered up considerably more than financial aid. In urging Robb's re-election, the president delivered a defense of his own beleaguered administration that for once accentuated the positive.

After 20 months in office, he said, ``look at the record. We have made a good beginning.'' He ticked off his major achievements ``the biggest deficit reduction package in history''; an income tax increase ``only on the top 1.2 percent of our people''; 90 percent of small businesses eligible for a tax cut; ``reduced taxes on 15 million working families ... increased investment in education and training, new technologies and defense conversion''; ``expanded trade more than in any comparable period in 35 years ... 4.3 million new jobs ... reduced the size of the federal government by 70,000.''

Clinton, to be sure, did his share of Republican-bashing, charging the opposition with ``exalting fear over hope, by exalting blame over responsibility and by exalting division over unity.'' But he also presented a coherent description of his political motivations and achievements that more often than not has been lost in the two-sided babble over gridlock in Washington.

Clinton himself could not resist joining that babble even as he sought to tell his Virginia audience that his administration had made a good start. He told of how the Republicans had declined to give him a single vote for deficit reduction and it passed anyway. He charged that Senate Republicans voted 42-2 last year to pass a crime bill that included a ban on assault weapons only because ``they didn't believe the House would pass it,'' then voted against it this year when the bill came back to them from the House. And he charged them with killing health care reform. He made no mention of the fact that Republican votes bailed him out on approval of NAFTA.

When he ran in 1992, Clinton said, he was convinced the nation could solve its most serious problems ``if only we had the courage, the wisdom and the good old common sense to line up our problems and take them on one at a time.'' After the election, he said, he had ``grand dreams'' that this approach could be adopted in a spirit of bipartisanship, but he was wrong. (Republicans, to be sure, will argue that Clinton has displayed none of the above requisites.)

In 12 years of Republican presidents, he said, they ``railed about the deficit and quadrupled the debt,'' and ``every single issue was talk. We've been here 20 months, folks, and the Republicans are saying, `Well, if your problems aren't solved, it's just because the aliens have taken over Washington.'" Citing the Republicans' recent ``contract'' to return government to conservative principles if they win control of the House, he said it meant a return to ``trickle-down economics'' that ``will take us right down the road we were on before.''

For all the Republican-bashing, however, Clinton did make a case for his ``good beginning.'' But because he did it at length, little of it made the television news shows that provide only the most combative snippets. Most reports, on television and in print, featured the fact that Robb had had the ``courage'' to invite an unpopular president.

That is Clinton's challenge: to get his case for a ``good beginning'' out beyond the ``sound bites'' and through the clutter of criticism of his leadership and not all of it from Republicans, either.

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OPINION PAGE

Clinton deserves praise

We're at peace. We're prospering. Yet we ignore the good news and fail to give Clinton some credit



COUNTERPOINTS
By Michael Gartner

AMES, Iowa — Isn't it about time someone says something nice about President Clinton?

Like: You know, things aren't so bad in this country these days.

Or maybe, even: You know, things are pretty good in this country these days.

For if you'll quit looking at the headlines — the flailings from Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich and the wailings from the special interests — and take a look around you, there's good news:

The economy is doing well. Unemployment is down. Growth is up. The stock market is booming. Interest rates are OK. Inflation is low. The auto companies are soaring. The technology companies are growing. The farmers are smiling. The poor are being housed and fed, and the evil are being sent to jail.

And we're not at war.

That's called peace and prosperity, and isn't that what we all have been striving for all these years? Isn't that every American's dream?

Well, we have it.

And don't you think the president of the United States should get at least some of the credit?

For, goodness knows, if we had war and bad times we'd all be blaming the president.

In fact, the president is responsible for much of the good times. All the naysayers were saying nay when he proposed his budget bill a year or so ago; the economy would be ruined, they said. Inflation would soar, they said. Well, the economy wasn't ruined. Inflation didn't soar. And, as promised, the deficit is coming down.

The president, through the force of his personality, got the North American Free Trade Agreement passed. He proposed and got enacted a sound economic program. He proposed and got passed a strong anti-crime bill. And he and his [illegible]



By Porter Binks, USA TODAY

DOING OK? President Clinton addresses White House correspondents at a prime time news conference earlier this month.

that must be solved. And it's a good bet it will be solved — or, at least, we'll take the first steps — in the next Congress.

Is that not a record to be proud of?

And remember, all this is being accomplished by a man who was elected two years ago by only 43% of the people. He didn't exactly arrive in Washington with a ringing mandate. (That's a number to bear in mind when reading polls about his popularity. When "only" 45% of the nation think he's doing a good job, that's an increase from the percentage that elected him.)

So, why is he getting all this guff?

Because of blunderbusses on the radio and dunderheads in his administration.

The blunderbusses — the first blunderbusses were guns that made a lot of noise and were capable only of random firing, and can you think of a better word to describe today's talk-show hosts?

Anyway, starting over ... The blunderbusses simply are wealthy cynics whose livelihoods would disappear if people felt good about this country and this president. So, on their radio talk shows, they fire noisily and randomly at anyone and anything linked to the president. They give a skewed picture of America and America's mood. If they reflected reality — conceded that things probably were better right

like the gang that couldn't shoot straight. They dominate the headlines and dilute the good news by their antics. The administration, ever since it was elected, has been plagued by mini-scandals. The justice department couldn't get organized. The commerce secretary had some questionable friends. The White House staff seemed inept. Now the agriculture secretary is caught cadging sports tickets.

So, in truth, the president's friends are as damaging to him as his enemies are.

And, then, there's Whitewater, the thing nobody understands, and sex, the thing everybody understands. Those divert our attention and diminish the man.

In truth, too, there still are too many poor people, and homeless people, and addicted people, and jobless people in this country. Some test scores are falling, and some social programs are failing. Life is far from perfect.

But it never is perfect. And if you can look behind the headlines, if you can peer around the scandals, if you can see through the radio haze, you will discover that things are pretty good in this country right now.

Don't you think you should thank President Clinton?

COUNTERPOINTS' columnists provide diverse

The media overlook his victories on key issues

Clinton's bad rep is a bad rap

Haiti is in the news again, providing the press with another opportunity to hammer its claim that Bill Clinton doesn't keep his word.

Yes, Clinton has broken a few key promises, including his campaign pledge to open our shores to the Haitian boat people. But despite that, he has fulfilled or is pursuing most of his major commitments.

Among the dozens he has kept are a tax increase on higher incomes, an end to the abortion-counseling ban, family-leave legislation, the North American Free Trade Agreement and the Brady law. An ambitious crime-prevention bill may soon join the list. Numerous other proposals, including health-care reform, are still working their way through the Congress.



By Thomas E. Patterson, *author of* Out of Order *about the media's role in politics.*

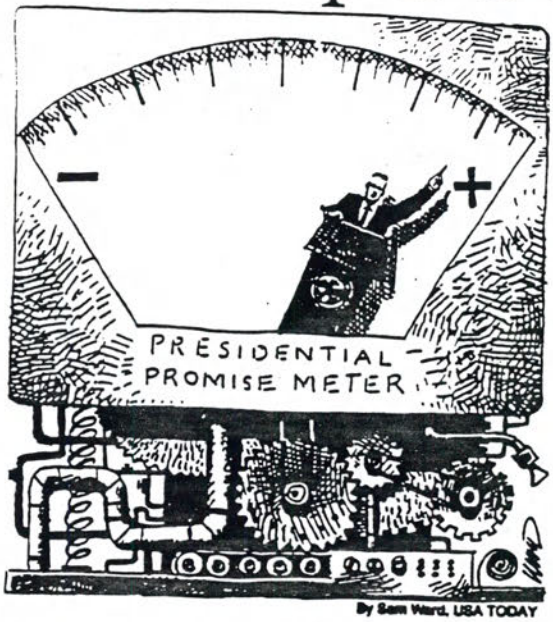
His relationship with Congress has been extraordinary. Since 1953, *Congressional Quarterly* has kept track of bills on which the president has announced a position.

Congress backed Clinton's position on 88% of contested votes in 1993, a level exceeded only twice in 40 years — by Dwight Eisenhower with 89% in 1953 and by Lyndon Johnson with 93% in 1965.

Clinton's record is the profile of a president who easily could have acquired a reputation for keeping his promises. Nevertheless, the press has repeatedly criticized the record.

According to the Center for Media and Public Affairs, Clinton received mostly negative news coverage (just 34% positive) during the first six months of his presidency.

Since then, he has had favorable periods, including during the NAFTA debate. Overall, however, his presidency has been dogged by negative news. Nearly everything about Clinton, from his handling of Bosnia to his response to Paula Jones' allegation of sexual harassment, has been the subject of harsh reporting.



By Sam Ward, USA TODAY

Why has the nation's supposedly liberal press been so tough on a Democratic president?

The answer is the same one that explains its rough treatment of his Republican predecessor, George Bush.

Today's journalism is rooted in a profoundly cynical attitude toward politicians, whatever their party.

This cynicism prevails because it is not substantially constrained by the facts.

For a brief period during the Vietnam and Watergate years, most journalists took pains to limit their criticisms to demonstrable claims.

Top-notch investigative journalism, however, requires a level of time and knowledge that journalists do not routinely possess.

By the mid-1970s, they had found an easier way to impugn a politician's message. They asked opponents for a rebuttal. The nastier the retort, the better the story. Investigative journalism gave way to attack journalism.

This type of reporting only appears to be watchdog journalism. It emphasizes controversy rather than accuracy. It is ideological: Politicians are presumed liars.

The nature of news maintains this fiction.

When a president keeps his promise, as Clinton did by ordering an end to the ban on abortion counseling, it makes news for that day only. A broken promise, however, lives on. Eighteen months after the fact, Clinton's retreat on the Haitian refugee issue is still newsworthy.

Contrary to what journalists say, politicians tend to keep their word. Clinton's performance parallels that of other presidents.

Four major scholarly studies have systematically compared what presidents did in office with what they said as candidates. Each of these studies reached the same conclusion: Presidents attempt to fulfill their campaign promises and succeed in achieving most of them. When they fail to deliver, it's usually because Congress refuses to agree or because conditions have changed dramatically.

Why would it be otherwise? Presidents seek to govern, and to do so they need their supporters' loyalty. Politicians have a stronger incentive to keep their word than to break it. There is no following that is loyal to a broken promise. George Bush paid dearly even within his own party for reneging on his pledge of "no new taxes."

Nor, as the press implies, is there dishonor in the play of politics. Press accounts of Clinton's presidency imply that compromise and negotiation are a retreat from principle. This perspective makes no sense. American presidents are not like European prime ministers, who sometimes operate with a ready-made majority. The president and Congress are separately elected and share legislative power. For a president to adhere rigidly to his positions, particularly when big issues like health care are involved, is to invite deadlock and risk everything.

A certain degree of skepticism on the part of the press is healthy for democracy. However, news that incessantly and unjustifiably labels political leaders as insincere and inept fosters public mistrust and undermines leadership. The presidency is particularly affected, since much of the president's authority comes not from constitutional grants of power but from his ability to persuade others to accept his lead.

The news media are not the only cause of our jaded public and tattered institutions, but they are the prime contributors. For an institution that demands such high standards of others, the press is incredibly careless in upholding its own.

Thomas E. Patterson is a political science professor at Syracuse University.

From a Ditch, A Ray of Sun

Clinton Exudes Cheer Despite Many Crises

By R. W. APPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 19 — To hear President Clinton's recent visitors tell it, he is frustrated with Congress, the news media and the whole Washington political culture. He speaks, those who have talked with him say, with weariness and some bitterness about his difficulties.

News Analysis

More openly than ever, his senior aides admit that he and they have made serious mistakes, some of them again and again, and they freely concede that Mr. Clinton is in a political ditch (which is, after all, no more than an acknowledgement of what the polls say). Change now, they suggest, or it may soon be too late.

The Bill Clinton on exhibit today in the East Room of the White House, and on the nation's television screens, was a different sort of animal altogether, who seemed to have been listening to those warnings. On his 48th birthday, the President was all sunshine and optimism, pointing with pride instead of viewing with alarm, seemingly at peace with the past and confident about the future.

So complete was his mastery of the occasion that it was hard not to wonder why he has so seldom availed himself of the opportunity to hold prime-time news conferences.

"He's got his head in the game," said one of the White House stalwarts who has known Mr. Clinton longest. "He's finally starting to realize that taking the criticism is part of fighting the battles, inevitable, normal, something to be expected, and as he realizes that, it's liberating."

In the view of many, the biggest problem of the President and his Administration has been a lack of discipline. The question now, therefore, is how long the President, whose attention can wander like a teen-ager's on Saturday night, manages to keep himself squarely on target.

It is a climactic moment — if not necessarily the climactic moment — of the Clinton Presidency.

With the mid-term elections, always perilous for first-term Presidents, less than three months away, he is struggling to break the deadlock over the crime bill in the House of Representatives. Victory is by no means assured, and if he fails in the next few days, as he failed last week, he will look weak and his party's chances in November will dim.

Health care legislation, a battle as important to him as Waterloo to Napoleon or D-Day to Eisenhower, also hangs in the balance. A Senate compromise seems barely possible; the House seems stalled for now.

An invasion of Haiti, often implied but never actually threatened, may lie just over the horizon, and the Cuban refugee problem, which plagued Mr. Clinton as governor of Arkansas, could again have explosive political consequences for him.

Following the Mariel boat lift of 1980, thousands of refugees were taken to Fort Chaffee, Ark. Eventually, some of them escaped from detention, and when they were driven back, they rioted and set buildings afire. Mr. Clinton's Republican opponent that autumn ran ads accusing him of not having "stood up" for Arkansas, and he was denied re-election.

This time, he risks alienating the Cuban-American community as well as others who think the United States should continue to offer refuge to those fleeing the Castro regime.

In a ditch, the President shows a sunny demeanor.

But if he was apprehensive, the President indulged in no verbal wringing of his hands today. His jokes sounded mildly self-mocking rather than testy. He asked the reporters to join him for birthday cake with the surprising comment, "This is not an easy K6 for you, either."

When he met later with his staff on the South Lawn, Mr. Clinton told them that they needed to take the rough with the smooth and reminded them that they had come to Washington with great goals in mind, and not just the perquisites of power.

All this week, Mr. Clinton has been avoiding the casual meetings with reporters, at photo sessions and the like, during which he used to toss off comments on the news of the day. At the insistence of Leon Panetta, his new chief of staff, and others, he has kept his mund on the crime bill and then, unavoidably, on Cuba as well.

Perhaps it is just a show, but if so it is a show he has not been able to mount with much success in the past. Perhaps in his own mind he has turned a corner. Perhaps Mr. Panetta really has succeeded in changing the President's approach, at least for public appearances, or perhaps the Birthday Boy (a.k.a. Comeback Kid) was just in a good mood.

In any event, he gave a remarkably upbeat account of his relations with Capitol Hill, arguing that "we're doing quite well with the Congress if you look at it in any kind of historic pattern." He lamented only his failure "to get the Democrats and Republicans to reach across to each other in good faith" more often.

And he got back to his best theme, the one that carried him through the primaries and the general election in 1992: change. He asserted that while he got only 43 percent of the vote, "82 percent of the American people" voted for him or for Ross Perot — and thus "for fundamental change in the things that we were doing and in the way government works."

Frustrated? Discouraged? Not a bit of it, not this afternoon.

"I like the tough fight, so this is an exhilarating period for me," Mr. Clinton said. "I like the big challenges. I think we're all put on this earth to try to make a difference."

A CLOSER LOOK

U.S. Policy Towards Cuban Refugees

Refugees from Cuba have long had a special status under United States law. Until today, nearly all those seeking to enter the United States were automatically admitted. Their special status was granted under the Cuban Refugee Adjustment Act of 1966, one of several measures reflecting decades of tension between Fidel Castro and the United States. The act gives the President the latitude to determine conditions under which Cuban refugees can remain. Following is a summary of the provisions of that act and others.

THE CUBAN REFUGEE ACT OF 1966

This law allowed refugees from Cuba who were picked up by American authorities while attempting to flee or who entered the United States after January 1, 1959 (the beginning of Mr. Castro's regime) to apply for permanent resident alien status after a one-year stay in the United States. Permanent resident status is necessary before an alien can apply for citizenship. Prior immigration law had required nationals of Western Hemisphere countries to obtain an immigrant visa at the U.S. consular office in their native country. But the U.S. consular office in Cuba closed Jan. 3, 1961.

TRADE EMBARGO WITH CUBA

The regulations spelling out the embargo were issued by the United States on July 8, 1963, under the Trading With the Enemy Act:

- With some exceptions, no U.S. products, technology or services may be exported to Cuba, either directly or through third countries.
- Cuban goods and services may not be imported into the U.S.

CUBAN DEMOCRACY ACT OF 1992

The purpose of this act was to tighten the embargo while holding out the possibility of assistance to Cubans. It provides the following:

- Tightens prohibitions regarding the licensing of trade with Cuba by foreign subsidiaries of American firms.
- Authorizes direct mail delivery via the U.S. Postal Service between Cuba and the United States; improves telephone communications.

Clinton's Secret Successes

In Ireland and Latvia, The President Gets on Track

By Martin Walker

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM says that President Clinton's foreign policy has blundered from disaster in Somalia to humiliation in Haiti, from ineffectiveness in Bosnia to kowtows in Beijing. But if the international scene is littered with the jetsam of embarrassments as the Florida Straits are strewn with rafts, there were two discreet but notable successes last week.

The cease-fire in Northern Ireland and the final withdrawal of Russia troops from the Baltic republics might have happened without U.S. intervention. But the quiet role played by the White House, which included bringing Latvian nationalists into the White House situation room and intense contacts with Ulster's Protestant Unionists, has not yet been fully revealed.

It should be, not only because Clinton deserves credit, but because the way in which these two breakthroughs were promoted by the White House reveals a highly personal style. This was diplomacy kept close to the presidential chest, run by and through his National Security Council staff and not through the State Department.

A secret exchange of letters this spring between the White House and Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams, written at Clinton's direction by national security adviser Anthony Lake, helped seal the IRA's decision to order the cease-fire, NSC sources said last week. Lake's letter of April 8 called on Adams to accept the secret offer made the previous day by Roderick Lynn, Lake's British counterpart, which offered the prospect of dialogue after a permanent cease-fire. In effect, the White House put its own prestige behind the British proposal.

Until now, Clinton's Irish initiative has drawn attention primarily because it seemed to fit the pattern of bumbling. The personal decision by the president last winter to overrule his diplomats and intelligence chiefs and grant a temporary visa for Gerry Adams to visit the United States for 48 hours provoked a major rift in U.S.-British relations. That decision now emerges as an important breakthrough in the Northern Ireland political process—a consistent objective of Clinton's foreign policy since his campaign pledge to send a special

SUCCESS. From C1

"Peace Envoy" to Ulster. So far, no envoy. But there has been an Irish policy, driven hard by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), whose sister is now U.S. ambassador in Dublin and whose former foreign policy aide, Nancy Soderberg, has been leading the White House effort from the NSC.

The decision to grant the visa to Adams was opposed by the CIA director, the attorney general, the director of the FBI, the secretary of state and the U.S. ambassador in London. It was promoted by Kennedy, Soderberg and Lake and supported by Clinton as a chance worth taking to bring the IRA's political wing, Sinn Fein, into the negotiating process and to bring the IRA to a cease-fire.

In London, British Prime Minister John Major was not pleased but was initially prepared to listen to the advice from Sir Robin Renwick, his ambassador in Washington, that Britain should not overreact. The outraged response of the British media made this impossible, but when the dust settled—with a lot of soothing from the Dublin government and from Washington—Major and Clinton agreed to try something new.

"You had to look ahead," said a senior British official who was involved in the process. "If getting the political credibility that came with the U.S. visa pushed Adams toward the peace process, then that was all to the good. If it did not, the Americans would learn their lesson and be far more skeptical of Sinn Fein in the future."

"That was how it worked out. The White House felt it had been a bit let down by the Gerry Adams road show, and they have been far more hard-nosed since in assessing the messages they got from Sinn Fein. They have insisted on evidence the IRA was for real before granting any more favors. And it was the promise that the cease-fire was on that led to the visa waiver for [IRA activist] Joe Cahill this week."

The agreement by Clinton and Major to widen the U.S. involvement to include the Ulster Unionist politicians also helped allay Unionist fears that the Americans were favoring the IRA. British Ambassador Renwick personally arranged the first visit by James Molyneaux, the cautious, 74-year-old leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, to the White House last April. Molyneaux met with Vice President Al Gore and Lake, and then went to Capitol Hill to talk to Speaker Tom Foley, and Sens. Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) and Kennedy.

"It was a major breakthrough, convincing the Americans for the first time that the Unionists did not wear horns," commented a British source who helped shepherd the visit. "Molyneaux made clear that he was prepared to get into the constitutional talks, saying more—and more positively—than he had ever said at home. He really impressed the White House."

Said Molyneaux, as he left the White House, "I believe that the principle of consent in Northern Ireland is now underwritten by American opinion in a very clear way for probably the very first time in history." Lake had convinced him that America fully supported the position of the two governments in London and Dublin that change in Northern Ireland would come only with the consent of the Protestant majority.

According to Irish and British sources, Clinton followed up six weeks ago by suggesting to Major that a humanitarian gesture would help. Major accordingly moved some IRA prisoners from British jails back to Northern Ireland, easing family visits. Prodded by Clinton, Lake called Molyneaux repeatedly in recent weeks to reassure the Unionist leader that Washington believed a cease-fire was coming and that the constitutional talks that would follow would have its backing. Molyneaux's leadership was needed, said Lake, to reassure the Protestants, even if some extremists tried to sabotage the process with bombs and bullets.

The fruit of this has been an unprecedentedly low-key reaction from Molyneaux, a token grumble that the word "permanent" was notably missing from the phrase "cease-fire" in the IRA announcement. It was to meet that concern that, after some last-minute telephone huddling among British, Irish and U.S. officials on Wednesday, Clinton's statement said, "There must be a permanent end to the violence." The flap over the availability of U.S. aid notwithstanding, Irish Deputy Prime Minister Dick Spring acknowledged at the end of the week that Clinton's once controversial visa decision "played a significant role in showing Mr. Adams the correct path to follow."

The U.S.-British relationship has now been significantly repaired. In their private phone call on Wednesday, Clinton told Major that the cease-fire was "a testimony to your political courage."

And if Clinton could hope for the best when the IRA cease-fire came on Wednesday, he was entitled to a fuller sense of accomplishment when on the same day he was able to celebrate the final withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic state of Estonia—an event which, as the president said, "marked the real end to World War II in Europe."

Clinton had secured from Russian President Boris Yeltsin at their Vancouver summit last year—and again in their Moscow meeting in January of this year—an agreement to negotiate the withdrawal of Russian troops which had been in the Baltics since Hitler and Stalin made their pact to carve up Eastern Europe in 1940. But beset by Russian nationalists inside and outside parliament, and with strenuous objections from his defense ministry, Yeltsin did little to fulfill his pledge, citing his concern for the rights of the ethnic Russians still living in the Baltic states. In Moscow, Clinton promised to raise the matter with the Baltic leaders and did so.

Clinton did still more, thanks to the urging of the young Russian affairs expert at the NSC, Nick Burns. Through the Swedish ambassador to Washington, Henrik Liljegren, (whose own government was pushing hard for the Russian troop withdrawal) Burns met Toomas Ilves, the new Estonian ambassador who told him there was a real political problem in the Baltics as well as in Moscow. Could Washington help?

Clinton agreed to invite to the White House a delegation of 13 Latvian political leaders, including hard-line nationalists who opposed granting full civic rights to ethnic Russians and wanted no compromises on a "temporary" Russian military presence at the Skrunda radar station. When they arrived in March, at a time when the health reform task force was in full flow, no conference rooms were available. Clinton said they could use the White House situation room in the basement. Gore and Lake met the Latvians and urged them to give Yeltsin enough concessions to close a deal, according to a participant at the meeting.

Still there was no movement in a surly Moscow, where Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev was telling a meeting of Russian ambassadors that "the greatest achievement of Russian foreign policy in 1993 was to prevent NATO's expansion eastward to our borders." With the urging of Burns, Clinton broadened his efforts, writing Yeltsin and raising the issue in every phone call with the Russian leader. Finally, at the G-7 summit in Naples in July, Clinton hand-delivered to Yeltsin a letter from Estonian President Lennart Meri asking for a meeting in Moscow. Clinton pressed Yeltsin to agree, telling him that the troop presence in the Baltics was in danger of becoming "a burden to the Russian-American relationship" that could overwhelm Yeltsin's autumn visit to Washington.

Yeltsin finally agreed, and President Meri turned up in Moscow—to be met at the airport by a deputy prime minister for agriculture, a calculated snub. Meri was shown into Yeltsin's presence. On the table, one bottle of Absolut vodka and another of Stolichnaya. Yeltsin, who had already been sampling, launched into an angry tirade against Estonia's ingratitude, its treatment of ethnic Russians. Meri calmly replied by congratulating Yeltsin on cutting the ruble inflation rate and, although a near teetotaler, agreed to join in a vodka or two. Or three.

By the end of the night, the bottles were empty, and broken china littered the floor. Perhaps it was accidentally brushed off by the Russian Foreign Ministry team of Andrei Kozyrev and Vitaly Churkin as they dashed in and out of the room to Yeltsin's shouted orders to "get this fixed into a deal." Perhaps the china was hurled to the floor in anger. Accounts differ.

But come the bleary dawn, the deal was sealed, and when Meri got back to Estonia's capital Tallin, he told U.S. Ambassador Robert Frasure, "Tell Mr. Clinton that Estonia will never forget what he has done for us. Never."

Critics of President Clinton's foreign policy might want to tread a little softly in Belfast and in Tallin these days.

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Richard Cohen

Prospects for Popularity

Stepping outdoors one night while on vacation, I looked at the sky, held a finger to the wind and deduced a change in the *Zeitgeist* for Bill Clinton. Having been pummeled by the press, by the GOP, by certain members of the Christian right and even by members of his own party, he is now so low in public esteem (40 percent approval rating) that there is nowhere to go but up. Here are some factors that will give him a boost.

(1) If there is nothing like the prospect of one's hanging to concentrate the mind, then there is nothing like the prospect of Bob Dole as Senate majority leader to refocus Democrats. By late August, the congressional GOP had proven itself so partisan, so opportunistic (a flip-flop on the crime bill), so patently foolish (Al D'Amato doing a version of "Old MacDonald Had a Farm"), that it made Clinton look the very model of principled resoluteness. His argument that never has Washington been so meanly partisan, a somewhat self-serving rationale for his own failures, is beginning to look truer and truer. Straying Democrats will start coming home.

(2) The behavior of the congressional Republicans has been downright delicate compared to some of their allies on the Christian right. Jerry Falwell, for one, got his program bounced from a Florida television station for going into such detail about Clinton's alleged extramarital activities that the mother of a 9-year-old complained. Heavy breathing for God has long been a staple of those who clamor for moral values, but this time, it seems, Falwell went too far. Clinton's critics, not wishing to be associated with such sanctimonious smut, have little choice but to come to his defense.

(3) Haiti. The invasion is a-coming, and the United States will get out easier than most people now believe. Ousted Haitian President Aristide, elected with about 67 percent of the vote (in an 11-person field), will be welcomed back by the Haitian people—even some of the rich who, by now, prefer Aristide to a ruinous economy. Clinton will get the usual bounce in the polls from a successful military operation and will finally be able to say that his foreign policy does indeed have backbone. In Cuba, Fidel Castro will be watching CNN—and wondering.

The question is whether the president can take advantage of them.

(4) The press is starting to have second thoughts about how it has treated Clinton. His argument that press criticism has been excessively personal—and often unfair—is starting to get a receptive hearing, especially by those journalists Clinton has telephoned or those who have met socially with him, most recently on Martha's Vineyard. The president's case has been buttressed by the studies of social scientists, particularly Thomas Patterson of Syracuse University and Robert Lichter of the Center for Media and Public Affairs. They say television has been too critical. More favorable TV coverage is sure to follow.

(5) Let Bill be Bill. This chant, unheard in the land until this very moment, suggests that Clinton ought to be treated no differently than was Ronald Reagan. When Ron misspoke, got his facts wrong, joked about bombing Moscow and took his wisdom from items in the Reader's Digest, his partisans said, "So what, we know what he means." They argued the case for t essential Reagan, which is what Clinton's fa ought to do, too. So what if he talks too muc thinks out loud, seems disorganized, wea too-brief running briefs and stays too long at party? He is doing what a president is suppos to do. This brings me to item . . .

(6) The Clinton record is better than it seem Okay, there's been no middle-class tax decrea as promised in the campaign, and an overhaul the health care system has gone from a propo to a dream. But the country is both peaceful a prosperous. That's pretty much what America demand of their president. Less obvious, b important nonetheless, the administration actu ly cut the deficit (as promised)—a sign to t all-important bond market that this preside appreciated how debilitating deficit spending is the American economy.

(7) Clinton may not look great all by himse but compared with some of the potential Repu lican nominees, he's Woody Wilson, FDR a JFK rolled into one. Pat Buchanan, Bob Dol Phil Gramm . . . paleeze! Republicans who cou appeal to middle-of-the-roaders—Massach setts Gov. William Weld, for instance—a anathema to the antiabortion crowd and a unlikely to get the nomination. Labor Day really the start of the new year, and alread people are looking ahead to the next preside tial race. Compared to no one, Clinton loo weak. Compared to some of the Republican however, he's a towering political figure. The are the factors affecting the political *Zeitgei* The question is whether the president can tak advantage of them by being disciplined, cand and principled. For Clinton, that's a tall orde The *Zeitgeist* can take him only so far. Afte that, he's on his own.

TRB

FROM WASHINGTON

The cure

You knew impressions of Bill Clinton were hardening when Michael Kelly's long-awaited *New York Times Magazine* cover story on the president appeared in late July. Prior to Kelly's piece, the conventional wisdom held that Clinton caves to pressure, tells people what they want to hear, reneges on promises and is unable to tell the whole truth. But Kelly's exhaustive reporting showed ... well, that Clinton tells people what they want to hear, reneges on promises and doesn't tell the whole truth. Two weeks later "Nightline" interviewed people who had voted for Clinton. They called him "weak," a "wimp" and a "pathetic little thing." The way things are going, you almost expect to see Strobe Talbott on "Charlie Rose" confessing that he's distrusted Clinton ever since meeting him at Oxford.

It wasn't until three years into Jimmy Carter's term that a critique of his character had gained such widespread acceptance that it seemed to render further psychoanalysis unnecessary. Clinton has reached that point in less than two years. Now come the desperate "comeback" scenarios. The difference is that Clinton, unlike Carter, still has time to come back. How might he do it?

It's silly to search for a magic bullet that will restore the president's popularity. He already has one, or something close to it: welfare reform. Whenever Clinton has been in trouble in the recent past, he's started talking about his promise to "end welfare as we know it" by imposing a two-year limit on cash aid.

Unlike Clinton's health care plan, his welfare plan is wildly popular. It attracted 90 percent approval in one recent poll. By pushing it through to passage, the president could remind the voters he's no old-style liberal. Perhaps more important, he would show he's no push-over for Democrats who *are* old-style liberals.

Unlike Clinton's crime bill—which was a pollster's vision of neoliberalism, a balance of controversial, but mainly symbolic, steps—a welfare time limit would have a large, measurable impact. Even on crime. What, after all, will make the streets safer: creating fifty-eight new federal death penalties, or shrinking the culture of poverty and broken families that welfare subsidizes?

If I were a Democratic member of Congress, I'd certainly want to vote for welfare reform before November. A few months ago the president seemed to be preserving the option of trying for a welfare bill this year if his top priority, health reform, failed. But health reform is now failing, and Clinton seems to have forgotten his welfare plan exists. No congressional subcommittee has passed it. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the Senate's designated welfare sage, has done virtually nothing. Even if Clinton suddenly punted on health reform and shifted to welfare, there probably wouldn't be enough time to pass welfare legislation this year.



That's too bad for congressional Democrats, who now will likely face mid-term elections with neither health care nor welfare reform to brag about. But it's not necessarily bad for Clinton, and certainly not for his welfare plan, which will get a warmer reception in 1995's more Republican legislature. Certainly, Majority Leader Richard Gephardt won't be able to argue—as he did, inanely, on the crime bill—that the president should water down his proposal in order to pass it without Republican votes. Next year, there won't be enough Democrats left to pass anything without Republican votes. Clinton will have to govern from the center.

So much for substance. What about character? All the bipartisanship in the world won't erase the doubts about Clinton himself. At the equivalent moment in Carter's term, Charles Peters of *The Washington Monthly* wrote that "What we need, Mr. President, . . . is for you to get down on your knees and admit you have sinned." That would be nice. At the very least, Clinton could drop the sort of obvious self-pity—blaming Rush Limbaugh, blaming the "confusion" of voters in "a time of change"—that avoids the need even for introspection.

It is not good news to learn (see "No Excuses" by Fred Barnes, page 9) that the president is enamored of Thomas Patterson's *Out of Order*. Patterson, a professor at Syracuse University, argues that Clinton's presidency has been a historic triumph, but that he is put upon by a lazy, cynical press. Even if Patterson is right, complaining about it won't help Clinton with the voters. As Peters says, they "want presidents to raise themselves up above that."

Nor will it help with the press. It's true that journalists have changed in the ways Patterson describes. They used to just report the facts. Now they feel they have to add "analysis." Lose a big vote in Congress and R.W. "Johnny" Apple will be there on the front page of *The New York Times* the next morning, beating his tom-toms of doom. It's also true that often the press's "analysis" is ironic, cynical commentary rather than in-depth investigative reporting. No correspondent is going to describe, with a straight face, a politician saying that his "crime bill must belong to the American people."

But this cynical trend has been obvious in journalism and the larger culture for a couple of decades now. Like T.V., or the global economy, it isn't going away. A modern politician like Clinton—and certainly a hip, young aide like George Stephanopoulos—is supposed to recognize and adapt to this change, not moan about it like a dinosaur trapped in a tar pit.

How might a politician appeal to journalists who, inevitably, put their "spin" on the news? Not, it turns out, by "spinning" the story himself—certainly not with the grim, defensive spin that has become Stephanopoulos's trademark. A more adaptive strategy would recognize that today's reporters are likely to reward gratuitous honesty. Look at Representative Barney Frank. In 1989 the papers reported that Frank, a Massachusetts Democrat, had hired a gay male prostitute in a "personal capacity." What did Frank do? He freely admitted what hadn't been proved: that he knew the man was still turning tricks while "working" for him! Frank violated the old damage-control rules. But he satisfied the new, cynical rules. If he was *that* honest, maybe he wasn't playing the usual games. Frank was re-elected. Clinton should be so lucky.

A final "comeback" suggestion, regarding Clinton's four outside political consultants: fire them. As any reader of Bob Woodward's *The Agenda* knows, these four (James Carville, Paul Begala, Mandy Grunwald and Stanley Greenberg) give questionable advice—e.g., they ignored the anti-deficit boom—and they leak to the press when it isn't taken. Of course, a dramatic, public firing of the consultants is just the sort of anti-Beltway stunt the consultants themselves would recommend. Better to quietly tell them to go away. The news will get out soon enough.

MICKEY KAUS

Smaller, Softer, Simpler—Please

The public has come to mistrust grand schemes and lofty rhetoric

BY JOE KLEIN

"THIS IS HOW WASHINGTON SHOULD WORK," THE PRESIdent said in his last radio address before shuffling off to his Martha's Vineyard vacation. He wasn't talking about Congress leaving town, although recent polls suggest the public wouldn't mind a *very* extended leave. No, he was pumping air into the crime bill—"the toughest attack on crime in history"—which had just passed Congress with bipartisan support. And now "members of both parties are trying hard to work out their differences" on health care. "When we put aside the rhetoric and the partisanship, we can solve any issue . . ."

A frightening thought, given the cast of characters. But optimism is nice in a presidency. And anyway, it's fall. Bill Clinton's pattern, in this highly seasonal presidency, has been to rally in autumn. Last year's version—passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), passage of the Brady bill, the Memphis speech on race relations—gave hope that the president had finally figured out the job. "People liked the fact that NAFTA passed, even though they disagreed with the specifics," said Stan Greenberg, Clinton's pollster. "They liked the bipartisanship, the feeling that progress was being made." Somehow the lesson failed to penetrate the White House. The health-care strategy was fiercely—witlessly—partisan, and ultimately disastrous.



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

Rising in the fall: *At Labor Day rally in Maine*

So, now: bipartisanship—but a season late, one suspects. With an electoral thrashing imminent for the Democrats, there's no percentage in cooperation, even for the high-minded sort of Republicans Clinton hopes to recruit. Anyway, bipartisanship to what end? In the president's mind, the goal remains the same: to add more government. This has been a fundamental miscalculation of the Clinton administration, a failure of vision—the idea that activism in the 1990s is essentially a reprise of the activism of the 1930s and 1960s: the perfection of the welfare state, the further aggrandizement of the federal government. The president has looked to the past for activist models, rather than creating a new one of his own. The passage of the crime bill may prove to be the last gasp of the old order: a federalization, largely symbolic, of functions best left to localities.

Clinton's desire to add more government has been a miscalculation

If there's new ground to be broken in the 1990s, it may have more to do with subtraction than addition. Activism in this scared, skeptical time is about "cleaning out the barn," as the Mad Perot used to say, clearing away layers of regulation and bureaucracy. It's about *how* government works. The president, one senses, understands this—but doesn't like it much. He sent the vice president off to "reinvent government" and this week they'll celebrate the first anniversary of that effort—which has been a surprising and substantive success—and then he'll forget about it again, no doubt devoting all his attention to replacing right-wing thugs in Haiti with left-wing thugs, and the futile effort to pass a "bipartisan" health bill that means anythin

Success, if Clinton is to find any, lies elsewhere. It will com from improving the things government does now, or eliminatin them. An example: Labor Secretary Bob Reich spent a year- admirably—going around the country, asking unemploye workers what they wanted from the U.S. Employment Servic The answer was: something other than the Employment Servic They *laughed* about the Employment Service. When the subjec was raised in focus groups, someone would—inevitably, perfect ly—imitate the mating call of the American bureaucrat, "Next! And everyone would hoot. So Reich came up with a plan to allov private employment agencies to compete—tentatively, in a fev states—against government agencies. A great idea, quickl trashed. It was killed in congressiona committee by organized labor (whicl represents public employees). A "Clinton" re-employment bill still exists: i would pump more money into a failec bureaucracy. *Real* activism would require the president to fight the unions and give unemployed workers a service they might find useful. Will he do it? He hasn't so far.

Unsexy times: Similar opportunities abound throughout the federal plantation—and a much larger opportunity as well: restoration of faith in government, and perhaps even in Bill Clinton. The conventional argument against such a strategy is that fierce battles would be fought, great gobs of political capital would be spent and no one would care (except the special interests involved, who would make every battle Armageddon). But then, the television magazine and evening news shows are filled with bureaucratic tidbits and outrages—chicken-feces stories, literally; the public appetite for this stuff is apparently limitless. There might also be a substantial appetite for a president who hacked away at practical problems—rationalizing Medicaid, cleaning up (or closing down) veterans hospitals, finding out what all those folks are doing at the Department of Agriculture, and on and on.

Leadership is about more than good management, of course; but for *this* president, management may be the place to begin rebuilding trust. It isn't a very sexy project—there'd be none of the heavy breathing that has attended other Clinton initiatives—but these aren't sexy times. The public has come to mistrust grand schemes and lofty rhetoric. Lines like "the toughest attack on crime in history" clank dreadfully; they *diminish* credibility. Gimmicks like a middle-class tax cut—floated again last week—only seem desperate. An emphasis on the nuts and bolts of governance might, however, impose a certain discipline (on Republicans as well, who'd finally have to put up or shut up). It would be serious, sober—eloquent in its modesty. It might force the president to find a more competent team, to speak more plainly, to appear less callow. Maybe even presidential.

RENO AT LARGE: It's Not What Clinton Says; It's That He's Saying it

By Robert Reno= (c) 1994, Newsday=

It was, of course, President Harding who first proposed the national observance of Arbor Day.

This is forgotten along with the fact that he is the father of modern disarmament he signed the Washington Naval Treaty limiting the capital ship tonnage of the major powers and of federal fiscal accountability he was the first president to have a budget. What is remembered is his assignation with his mistress in a White House broom closet, undetected by his ever-prowling wife, Florence, and the Teapot Dome scandal involving the pilfering of public assets so vast as to make Whitewater, even in the dreams of Alfonse D'Amato, R-N.Y., pale to triteness.

Anyway, suppose it was Bill Clinton who, perhaps at his wife's urging, had dreamed up Arbor Day. The reaction of Bob Dole, R-Kan., and Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., is so predictable as to evoke the image of a pair of wind-up dolls. Their sound bites would write themselves: ''A threat to the hard working lumberjacks of this country" (read: the timber companies won't like it) ''Another piece of pork" (read: we didn't think of it first), ''Another attempt to intrude federal authority into our lives" (read: next they'll say you can't chop down a stand of virgin redwoods to build a shopping center) or ''Who elected Mrs. Clinton to pick our holidays?" (read: she's another one of those meddling females.) D'Amato, the fox who has taken up guard outside the nation's ethical chicken coop, would undoubtedly smell evidence of malignant collusion between the nurserymen's lobby and the White House.

That the congressional Republicans have become monotonously reactive is clear. But why they have become so ideologically mindless, so transparently vacant of anything but cant in their obsession to demonize the president isn't. Who can conceive, for instance, of a Cuba policy, any Cuba policy, that wouldn't have automatically activated the Republican fax machines to churn out denunciations that would require only the filling in of blanks with ''too weak," ''too tough," ''too late," or ''too soon?"

You have to suspect it all has more to do with a sense of frustration than anything approaching principled outrage. And it must derive from Clinton's shameless larceny of three button-pushing issues which have defined the Republican Party for more than a generation: law and order, an antipathy to welfare and fiscal probity.

Think of it. Since the New Deal, Republicans have ridden free on the trolley of out-of-control (read: Democratic) fiscal policy. But just last week the Congressional Budget Office forecast a $202 billion deficit in the current year and a $162 billion shortfall next year, indicating that the administration is more than $20 billion ahead of its original goals for reducing the inherited Reagan-Bush deficits. The crime bill that drove the Republicans to parliamentary hysterics leaned heavily toward traditionally Republican punitive approaches death penalties, three-strikes-you're-out, more prison cells, more cops and gave but marginal emphasis to traditionally Democratic systemic solutions midnight basketball. And if throwing mothers off welfare after two years, another Clinton proposal, isn't solid gold Republican orthodoxy, then what is? Maybe you'd be bitter too if you were a traditional Republican, naked of issues, who found your party being increasingly defined by its traditional embarrassments, by figures like Oliver North and Rush Limbaugh.

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Yes, There *Is* a National Interest

Counterpoint: Replacing thugs with an elected president is a good place to start

By Michael Elliott

It's easy to oppose an invasion of Haiti, and if you polled the gurus of international affairs, you'd find that most of them do. And if those gurus were always right, gas would cost Americans $10 a gallon. There's a respectable case for a U.S.-led invasion of Haiti, and some of the arguments against it are specious.

A thoughtless invasion won't work. If the administration drops into Haiti, restores President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and organizes a few homecoming parades in time for the November elections, then a long failure of policy will be compounded. Much of the Caribbean is in or near a political and economic crisis, for reasons that run from a bullheaded Fidel Castro to the price of bananas. Washington needs to address that crisis long-term, by offering security and economic assistance in exchange for democracy. There are worse places to start than Port-au-Prince, replacing some thugs with Haiti's elected president.

"Intervention" is not an either/or concept, especially when applied to the U.S.-Caribbean relationship. When the sun rises each morning, the United States intervenes in the Caribbean, just by being where and what it is—the richest, most prosperous nation on earth, both squashing and nourishing the Antilles like a great sow with a litter of runts. Until an embargo was imposed after Aristide was deposed, three quarters of Haiti's international trade was with the United States (that's not intervention—that's domination). Economic ties alone can't justify one nation lumbering into another to put right great wrongs. But America's economic and cultural grip does show that for every nation in the Caribbean, "sovereignty" is a concept with practical limits.

That's now understood in the region itself. The days of seeing America as a bullying colossus are ending; people in the Caribbean know how cruel government in small places can be. They cheered the invasion of Grenada in 1983 and they will provide forces to keep the peace in Haiti; invasion is authorized by a U.N. Security Council resolution. This is not gunboat diplomacy.

Whatever it does for Haiti, does an invasion make sense for America? "There is absolutely no national interest in an invasion," thunders former U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, while Dan Quayle says Clinton plans to invade just to get a boost in the polls. Are things really that simple? Randall Robinson, of TransAfrica, whose hunger strike forced a change in Haiti policy, thinks not. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, says Robinson, "the whole question of what is our 'national interest' has to be puzzled out in a national debate." So: why shouldn't it be in America's interest to promote harmony and democracy in its own region? As Haiti and Cuba have shown, instability in the Caribbean doesn't stay there—it washes up, dead or alive, on the Florida shore.

The counsel of despair says that America shouldn't intervene because it always makes a hash of nation-building—in Haiti 60 years ago as in Somalia last year. But that's wrong. The United States is too politically correct to say so, but as a colonial power it has built one extremely successful nation in the Caribbean—Puerto Rico. America's intervention in Haiti between 1915 and 1934 failed because the presence of racist army officers fanned the flames of nationalism—a mistake that today's integrated armed forces aren't likely to repeat. And no one suggests that Haiti is as warlike, well armed and bent on self-destruction as Somalia.

Then there's the really pernicious argument: that intervention in Haiti is somehow illegitimate because only the Black Caucus wants it. Note that "only." In what Walt Whitman called a "nation of nations," it will often be in the "national interest" to take an action about which one group feels passionately while others acquiesce. There's nothing peculiar about that; it's true of U.S. policy toward Ireland, perhaps even Israel. The Black Caucus has argued its case and the president has agreed with it; that's as legitimate a policymaking process as any other around.

True, this is the Clinton administration; if something can go wrong, it probably will. An invasion alone won't be enough: the administration should also be lobbying for a Caribbean trade bill presently stalled in Congress. Yet when all's said and done, the Caribbean would be a better place if the Haitian junta was forced to leave. Gas is still cheap, and foreign-affairs gurus can be wrong.

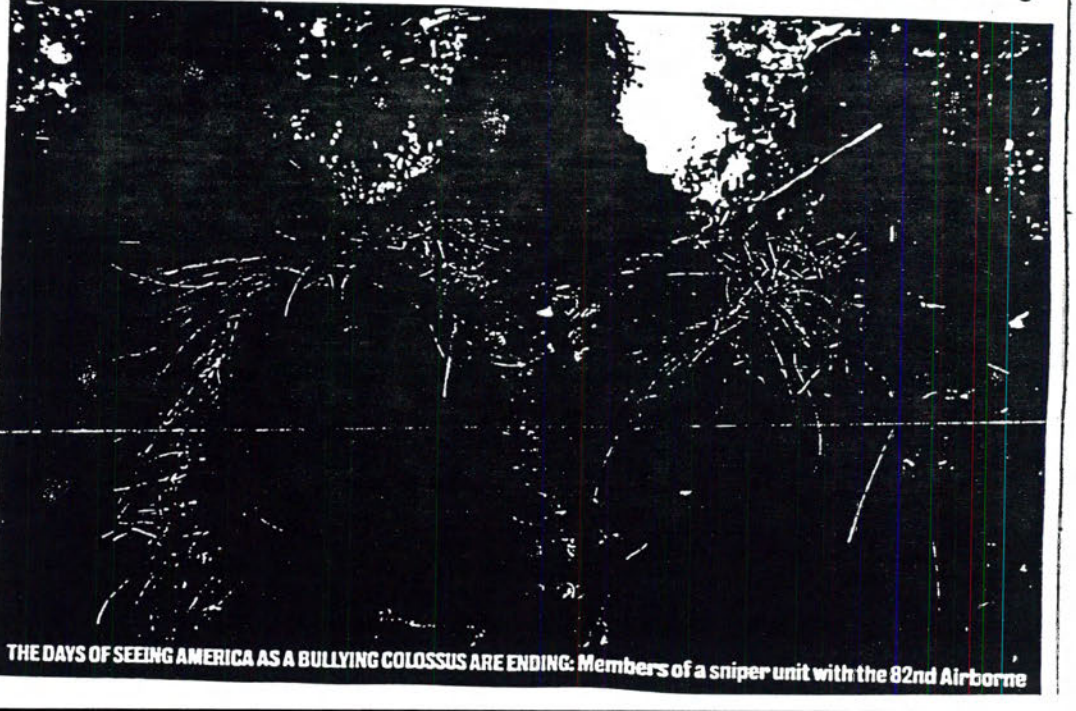
NEWSWEEK POLL

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Clinton is handling the situation in Haiti and the problem of Haitian refugees?

31% Approve

47% Disapprove

FOR THIS NEWSWEEK POLL, PRINCETON SURVEY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES INTERVIEWED 758 ADULTS BY TELEPHONE SEPT. 8-9, 1994. THE MARGIN OF ERROR IS +/- 4 PERCENTAGE POINTS. SOME RESPONSES NOT SHOWN. THE NEWSWEEK POLL © 1994 BY NEWSWEEK, INC.



THE DAYS OF SEEING AMERICA AS A BULLYING COLOSSUS ARE ENDING: Members of a sniper unit with the 82nd Airborne

The Bad News About Clinton

Report Says Coverage Unfair to President

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Clinton has been badly battered by television news coverage since taking office, with negative assessments filling the airwaves in every month but one, a new study says.

At a time when some journalists are questioning whether media coverage of politicians has become too cynical, the report from the Center for Media and Public Affairs may help fuel an emerging argument that, whatever his own mistakes, Clinton has been unfairly painted as a failed president.

From Inauguration Day through late June 1994, Clinton has been the target of more than 2,400 negative comments on the network evening newscasts, an average of nearly five per night, the center found. He drew far greater coverage, and far more negative coverage, than George Bush did in the first 16 months of his presidency.

The study, which tabulates explicitly positive and negative comments from all sources, found that nearly 62 percent of the evaluations of Clinton were negative. When obvious partisans, such as administration officials or congressional Republicans, are excluded, nearly three out of four assessments of Clinton were negative on "NBC Nightly News," "CBS Evening News" and ABC's "World News Tonight."

"We've hit the point where the coverage is so nasty and there's so much of it that it's produced a qualitative difference in the way people feel about their president," said Robert Lichter, the center's director,

COVERAGE, From D1

who has written a book describing the media as liberal and whose research is often cited by conservatives. "There's a feeling that this guy is a scoundrel because there's such a hostile media environment. He's had the misfortune of being president at the dawning of an age that combines attack-dog journalism with tabloid news."

A handful of journalists and academics have contended in recent weeks that Clinton is a better president than he has been portrayed by the media. This, they say, is partially responsible for the decline in Clinton's approval rating, which sank to an all-time low of 39 percent in the latest USA Today-CNN poll.

David Dreyer, the White House deputy communications director, said yesterday that "we live in the age of O.J., and we understand that tabloid shows more and more are setting the agenda. . . . But we still believe there is an audience for the very real

cutting the deficit to creating 4 million jobs."

Clinton has also been roughed up by the print media lately. Newsweek columnist Joe Klein has accused him of practicing the "politics of promiscuity." Michael Kelly declared in the New York Times Magazine that "there is a hollowness to the Clinton presidency, a sense that it lacks a center because the man at its center lacks one of his own." Washington Post reporter Ruth Marcus said in an opinion piece that "the Clinton White House often seems to be following a pattern of knowing or reckless disregard for the truth." Bob Woodward's book "The Agenda" depicts the White House as a place of chaotic indecision. Even Garry Trudeau's "Doonesbury" cartoon strip has begun portraying the president as a waffle.

But a few dissenting voices are beginning to be heard. With the economy humming and the nation at peace, "don't you think the president of the United States should get at least some of the credit?" former NBC News president Michael Gartner asked Tuesday in USA Today.

New York Magazine's Jacob Weisberg wrote this week that "Bill Clinton has been more faithful to his word than any other chief executive in recent memory," but that "voters mistrust Clinton in part because the media keep telling them not to trust him."

A broader debate is taking shape about whether "the press is caught up in a rampant wave of national cynicism," as Gerald Seib put it in yesterday's Wall Street Journal. Many Americans view the media as just another failed national institution, a sentiment that has given rise to a thriving alternative culture of talk radio, opinion magazines and computer bulletin boards. A recent Wall Street Journal-NBC poll found that the news media rank well below Clinton on the credibility scale, with just 21 percent saying the press is very or mostly honest.

Network officials defend their White House coverage as fair but concede that the nature of journalism has changed.

"He's had a bumpy ride," Bill Wheatley, NBC's vice president for news, said of Clinton. "They'd be the first to admit they've made quite a few mistakes, and the coverage probably reflects that. I think we have given Clinton credit when he's managed to push through legislation. But careful, long-term reflection gets lost in the process."

Wheatley pointed to the explosion of news analysis in the last two decades, saying that "since analysis inevitably gets into the problems a president is having, that may be at least partly responsible for the 'negative' coverage."

Rick Kaplan, executive producer of "World News Tonight," said that "our newscast has been eminently fair." But he added that "we've all tended to be more negative. You could say it's a reaction to Watergate and its aftermath, a continuing cynicism about people in public office."

Ken Bode, host of PBS's "Washington Week in Review," disputes the notion that journalists are the chief culprits in Clinton's unpopularity. "His problem is he doesn't seem to know what he stands for, and the people out here don't trust him," Bode said from DePauw University in Indiana, where he teaches politics and media. After the campaign controversies about Gennifer Flowers, marijuana use and draft avoidance, "there's a predisposition to doubt this guy on the part of journalists."

Bill Clinton is clearly a television president: His administration has been the subject of 4,256 stories on the network evening news, more than 120 hours of air time, Lichter found. The sheer volume of reports—an average of 8.2 a night—is 44 percent higher than the coverage of the Bush presidency during a comparable period. And Bush received balanced coverage—49 percent positive assessments and 51 percent negative—in that period.

While Lichter's method of categorizing sound bites misses some factors, such as the impact of visual images, it provides a rough measure of the tone of television coverage.

By this accounting, the only month that Clinton received more positive than negative assessments was last November, when Congress passed the North American Free Trade Agreement and the Brady gun-control law. By April, after a barrage of criticism against Clinton's policies on health care, Haiti, Bosnia and North Korea, the televised comments turned 72 percent negative, the highest since the early months of his term.

Clinton hasn't even gotten a boost from his own party: Nearly two out of three televised comments from Democratic members of Congress have been negative, the study found.

The president has been pounded far more on the issues than on questions of personal character, with scandal stories accounting for only 5 percent of the network total. But he has taken a beating on virtually all issues: 68 percent negative on health care, 60 percent negative on the economy, 64 percent negative on other domestic issues, 66 percent negative on foreign policy, and 56 percent negative on character questions.

Television reporters have contributed to the drumbeat: 64 percent of their assessments have been thumbs down. Two examples cited by the study: "For as long as he's been in the national spotlight, there has been a Slick Willie problem." (CBS's Eric Engberg). "The Clinton administration has repeatedly bungled high-profile nominations, with the president looking indecisive, his staff incompetent." (ABC's John McWethy).

Not surprisingly, Lichter found a strong correlation between Clinton's negative coverage and subsequent declines in his Gallup poll rating.

Lichter's numbers have become political fodder before. During the 1992 campaign, Bush repeatedly assailed the media by citing Lichter's finding that 91 percent of comments about the economy on the network newscasts were negative.

Hillary Rodham Clinton has fared much better than her husband on the evening news, the study found. She received the best coverage of any member of the administration last year—76 percent positive—and only dropped to 59 percent positive this year, despite heavy coverage of her role in the Whitewater affair.

Paul Begala, a political adviser to Clinton, said the adversarial tone of most reporting has clearly hurt the president. "Every time Clinton has a new initiative, reporters have got to have a 'take,' and the take has got to be negative, lest you be accused of being in the tank," he said. "If it's snotty, so much the better. They can't do a stand-up on the White House lawn saying, 'What the president did today, Dan, was nothing short of miraculous.' "

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST

A Domestic Peace Corps With a '90s Twist

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL THURSDAY, AUGUST 18, 1994

Politics & People

By Albert R. Hunt

Earlier this summer the national press focused on Bill Clinton's attack on conservative talk show impresario Rush Limbaugh instead of focusing on Tim Hager, who introduced the president at a St. Louis event that day. It's a shame; Tim Hager may be a more interesting story.

The 18-year-old St. Louis native is one of the first AmeriCorps volunteers, the about-to-be-launched domestic sequel to the Peace Corps. His AmeriCorps efforts to help stem violence in his neighborhood have special meaning. Tim Hager was brutally beaten by thugs four years ago, leaving such permanent damage that he had to abandon his lifelong dream of service in the Marine Corps. But AmeriCorps is a special opportunity for special kids like Tim.

On Sept. 12 the Clinton administration will formally launch AmeriCorps, a three-year, $1.5 billion program that eventually aims to put 100,000 young men and women to work in community service in four areas: education, health and human needs, the environment and public safety. This national service program was a major Clinton campaign promise.

The volunteers—there will be 20,000 the first year—will receive minimum-wage pay amounting to about $7,500 a year and free health care. For one year of work they will get a $4,725 educational voucher that can be used for college, vocational education, or to pay off a college loan.

The head of the American service corps is Eli Segal, a 51-year-old former political activist, successful businessman and long-time Clinton confidant. He seems ideally suited for the task. He has successfully started up three businesses, providing him a distinctive view of the challenges awaiting him.

"We must view ourselves less as a grant maker and more as an investment banker; we hope to be very involved in these programs." He promises to set tough, business-like standards. "We don't believe we are going to solve the problems of crime, illiteracy or the environment, but we can make a difference. Any program that doesn't make a difference, where we can't say we have improved the situation, doesn't deserve to keep funding."

Mr. Segal loves the idea of tapping into idealism, of AmeriCorps being a sequel to the Peace Corps or Civilian Conservation Corps. But he also believes its mission is to instill a sense of personal responsibility in its participants. The educational value he believes is critical. The average debt of a graduate of a public university or college is $6,500. AmeriCorps volunteers could serve up to two years, meaning lots of kids could go to college or use the vouchers to pay off an educational debt.

Unlike the Peace Corps or CCC, however, AmeriCorps seeks to build on existing programs—there are thousands of effective grass-roots organizations around America—and the existing propensity for young students to engage in volunteer work; one study shows that almost 70% of college students now do more than three hours of volunteer work a week.

About two-thirds of the program will be funneled through the bipartisan AmeriCorps commissions established in the states. Final approval of any program and participants will be made by the National Service Corp., but many of the ideas and much of the energy will bubble up from localities.

"This really promises to be a grass-roots effort building on an infrastructure already there," says Vanessa Kirsch, the founder and executive director of Public Allies, a Washington-based program that enlists young people to work in nonprofit and local governmental activities. "They really seem to be looking for people who are going to get down and dirty in the streets."

AmeriCorps projects on the drawing boards include:

- Teaching underprivileged kids how to read.
- Working with clerics to get youths out of gangs.
- Teaming up with retired IBM executives to teach inner-city children how to use computers.
- Cleaning up the shorelines of Galveston Bay.
- Working with the Navajo Indian nation on projects like providing clean tap water.
- Helping rebuild hurricane-devastated homes in south Florida in tandem with Habitat for Humanity.



Eli Segal

There are more than a few critics who worry that the program will evolve into costly political pork, or that it will be a feel-good, "goo-goo sop" to liberals. Some even ask why should the government "pay" volunteers.

If Tim Hager is the prototype of AmeriCorps volunteers, these concerns are groundless. Despite his earlier injury, he joined the Marine Corps last year but eventually had to leave when the degenerative arthritis in his hips worsened. He was devastated, but soon discovered AmeriCorps, offering a chance not only for public service but also to return to his old neighborhood and work at reducing the sort of crime that afflicted him.

"It was awful when I had to leave the Marines. But now I feel like I'm serving my country, maybe even in a more direct manner," he says. Without the AmeriCorps job and aid he doubts that he would be able to go to college. This is one reason the national service concept is much more appealing than George Bush's 1,000 Points of Light, which would have encouraged volunteerism more as noblesse oblige for more affluent kids than as a program to enlist and help working-class kids like Mr. Hager.

As for worries about political pork, Mr. Segal continually hammers home the point that these projects have got to make tangible contributions to the communities as well as to the participants. The model is a demonstration project last summer. Some 80 young men and women were sent to Texas to publicize the childhood immunization program and locate children who needed inoculations. The result: There were 104,889 immunizations in southern Texas. "For every $1 we spent on this, the return was $5.65," Mr. Segal brags, based on a study by his organization and the Centers for Disease Control.

No one is better able to assess the opportunities and problems facing AmeriCorps than the remarkable R. Sargent Shriver, who started the Peace Corps more than 33 years ago. Mr. Shriver sees a lot more difficulties with this program because of the diversity of existing efforts and the greater political problems with a domestically based initiative than a foreign-based one. But the opportunities today are plentiful: "In 1960 Jack Kennedy aroused a sort of idealism and self-sacrifice; something suddenly began to happen. Today that is more the norm. This is one of the most heartening developments of the last part of the 20th century."

Eli Segal has the potential to become the Sargent Shriver of this decade. That would be an achievement.

Did Gore Reinvent Government? A Progress Report

By Donald F. Kettl

MADISON, Wis.

In September 1993, Vice President Al Gore promised nothing less than a campaign to reinvent the Federal Government. In a document boldly named the National Performance Review, he pledged a Government that "works better and costs less," treating citizens as customers and delivering better value for their tax dollars.

Skeptics dismissed the campaign as hollow rhetoric, just another strand in a long string of ill-fated Presidential commissions to improve Government efficiency. But a year later, the skeptics have been proved wrong. Amid sour debate over health reform and crime, the National Performance Review has been one of the Clinton Administration's few clear victories.

The review promised to reduce the Federal civilian work force by 252,000 over five years — a pledge the public liked so much that Congress voted for even greater reductions. The Administration has done away with the Government's inordinately complex all-purpose resume and application form. It has hammered out a tough bargain with Congress to simplify procurement and created a council of chief operating officers from all the Cabinet departments to focus attention on management problems.

Even more important, Mr. Gore's review generated a fresh sense of the possible. Good ideas that lay fallow for years have sprung to life; "reinvention labs" throughout the Government are producing mountains of fresh ideas. In Milwaukee, for example, a team of Veterans Affairs managers figured out ways to decentralize some functions and centralize others, thereby saving $2.8 million, 8 percent of their budget.

But if the review has given rise to new excitement and energy — and more progress in its first year than almost anyone believed possible — its success is threatened by two major problems.

First, a preoccupation with short-term savings. As the Vice President has argued, a Government that works better can cost less. In practice, however, focusing on immediate savings can weaken the campaign and increase costs in the long run.

The biggest chunk of the $108 billion in promised savings — $40 billion — was to come from shrinking the Federal work force; where and how to make these cuts would be determined by carefully rethinking how to do the Government's job. Practice has been exactly the reverse: the downsizing has come first, largely disconnected from any strategic plan, leaving managers scrambling to perform jobs that if anything have grown.

Not surprisingly, this reversal has undercut the morale of the very workers being called to take bold risks. In contrast with the familiar anti-Washington rhetoric that blames "bureaucrats" for waste and inefficiency, Mr. Gore's report saw the problem as the system, not the workers, and it promised to enable them to do their jobs better. In return, it asked them to take more chances and worry more about performance.

The downsizing plan has been a bucket of cold water on those goals. Indeed, for most Federal employees, the threat to their jobs, not the focus on results, has been the defining reality of "reinventing Government."

It would be naive to think that any change of this magnitude could be accomplished without upsetting the people being changed. And the Federal work force can clearly be reduced; there are far too many layers and too many mindless rules. But as downsizing in the private sector has taught us, big cuts without broader strategies only hurt morale and often fail even to achieve their goal of reducing costs. Quick public-opinion victories from cutting Federal employees could easily pale in comparison with the long-term performance problems that would be produced from a government that is dumbsized instead of downsized.

The second threat to the National Performance Review is the lack of an explicit strategy for dealing with Congress. At first, it was thought that the Administration could accomplish most of its reforms without Congressional approval. But the first year has made clear that this hope simply isn't realistic. Despite Congress's enthusiasm for the general concept of the performance review, both houses have been tugging at its individual threads in ways that could unravel it. For example, House members didn't want to hurt health care for veterans, so they voted to exempt the Veterans Health Administration's 217,000 employees (almost 10 percent of the total) from the work-force cutbacks. The Senate then voted to exempt Federal criminal justice employees.

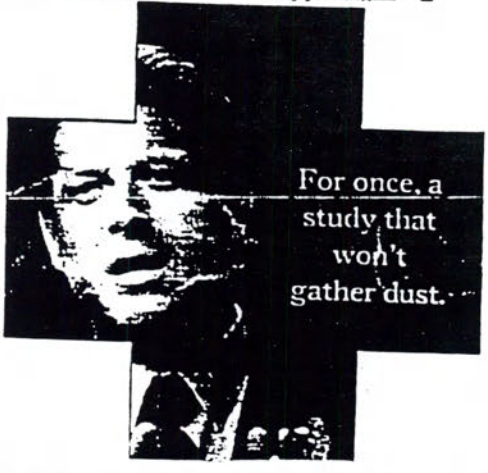
For the many valuable pieces of Mr. Gore's effort to endure, a new balance of power will somehow need to be struck. Congress has a legitimate interest in overseeing the executive branch. But if bureaucrats are to produce a cheaper and more effective Government, they need greater freedom to do their jobs without micro-specification of the details. The Government Performance and Results Act of 1992, which commits the Government to a decade-long effort to draft strategic plans and measure the results, is an important first step.

Congress and the President need to strike a new bargain, based on these foundations, if government is to improve the way it works. The movement launched a year ago, however promising, is not self-sustaining. Making it stick will require hard work that has only just begun. □

Donald F. Kettl, professor of public affairs and political science at the University of Wisconsin, is a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington. He is author of the institution's new report "Reinventing Government? Appraising the National Performance Review."

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1994

THIS SUNDAY
September 25th



'Reinvention' Delivers Smaller U.S. Bureaucracy

But Will the Goal of Better Service Suffer?

By Stephen Barr A1
Washington Post Staff Writer

Since the Clinton administration took office, 78,000 federal workers have departed. They will be followed by at least 60,000 others in the next year as hiring freezes, buyouts and layoffs shrink the bureaucracy.

This downsizing of the government, underway in almost every department and agency, ensures that Vice President Gore will achieve one of the top goals laid out in his "reinventing government" report, which was issued one year ago this month.

Gore, who is scheduled to release a status report Wednesday on his plans to reshape the government, will attain another of his goals within the next few weeks, when legislation simplifying government procurement passes Congress and goes to the White House.

The administration, in keeping with an earlier Gore theme, is pushing agencies to measure program performance, getting the government focused on results so that taxpayers can see what they get for their money. Gore, meanwhile, has spent this year advocating what his report called "a new customer service contract with the American people, a new guarantee of effective, efficient and responsive government."

The Gore report, of course, promised much more. The vice president's "reinvention" team, the National Performance Review, made 384 specific recommendations and predicted savings of $108 billion over five years. In announcing plans for the report, President Clinton called the project a "historic step." A White House statement said Gore would "lead a revolution in Washington that will change the way government does business."

But the cost savings have been dismissed, challenged or mired in technical debates on how budget savings can be counted. Skeptics have asked whether Gore can motivate managers and workers to put customers first when they are worried about losing their jobs. Even as he helps create what political scientists call "islands of excellence" in the bureaucracy, Gore faces questions about whether he can sustain his crusade and show it will make a difference.

In a recent Washington Post-ABC News poll, nearly eight out of 10 Americans questioned thought the Clinton administration had made lit-

See REINVENTION, A6, Col. 1

REINVENTION, From A1

tle or no progress in making the federal government more efficient. Nearly two-thirds said they had not heard or read anything about the administration's "reinventing government" efforts.

The government, however, will become smaller, in large part because Congress has written into law that federal employment, now at 2.1 million, can be no more than 1.88 million by the end of fiscal 1999.

The decision to shrink the bureaucracy goes back to the presidential campaign, when candidate Clinton pledged to cut 100,000 civil service jobs. Gore's report increased the number to 252,000, and was reinforced when Congress approved buyout legislation earlier this year and wrote a new target into law. Under the congressional baseline: the administration must cut 272,900 jobs between 1993 and 1999.

The Defense Department will bear the brunt of the cutback. About 40 percent of the civil service works for the department, which faces smaller budgets in the post-Cold War world. Unofficial estimates suggest that the Pentagon cutback will contribute about 160,000 civilian jobs to the downsizing.

How the cuts will affect domestic agencies will not be known until next year, when the departments complete work on "streamlining plans" and the administration folds them into the fiscal 1996 budget.

But the buyout legislation for domestic agencies—which provides up to $25,000 to each worker who voluntarily resigns or retires early—has given the administration a jump start. This year, about 15,000 federal workers have taken buyouts. The takers have come from all agencies, with thousands leaving the U.S. Forest Service, the Interior Department, the Federal Aviation Administration and NASA.

The administration estimates another 60,000 workers in domestic agencies will leave between the start of the new fiscal year, Oct. 1, and the end of March, when Congress closes the buyout window.

The Defense Department has been granted separate buyout authority by Congress, which recently extended it through fiscal 1999. The Pentagon has given buyouts to about 62,000 civilian employees over the last two years.

Reliance on Reengineering

For the domestic agencies, Gore's report has relied heavily on private sector "reengineering" and streamlining models.

The federal streamlining plans are intended to reduce what Gore's report called "the structures of over-control and micromanagement that now bind the federal government: supervisors, headquarters staffs, personnel specialists, budget analysts, procurement specialists, accountants and auditors."

Among the tactics to achieve a government that "works better and costs less": reorganize work around results, cut administrative rather than front-line jobs and reduce the number of middle managers.

But government managers have scoffed at the streamlining effort, complaining that Gore is cutting to a number and not to a plan. They contend that the National Performance Review made a series of assumptions and produced an arbitrary number.

In private, some administration officials acknowledge that politics shaped the decision and the magnitude of the cut. "It was subjective," said one top political appointee, "but we had to come up with a number thought was doable. As Democrats, we had to play to both sides of our belief system. One was that we believed government can, in fact, work, and the other was the political imperative that people want the government to be cut and streamlined. And we had to walk that line.

"So we spent a lot of time debating, what was the most realistic number we could choose that would allow us to both say to the public that yes, we have streamlined the government, but we also continue to provide government services."

A number of critics, however, are worried that Gore's restructured government will not be able to deliver. As Ronald C. Moe, a government management expert, told a group of federal executives, "Anyone who seriously studies the condition of the executive branch today knows that the problem of government is not that it is too big as measured by the number of civil servants but that it no longer has the capacity for many basic functions."

There is little dispute that demands on agencies are growing, especially in social services. AIDS, for example, was not on the table 10 years ago at the Health and Human Services Department.

Despite increased demand, there has been little growth in the number of people working in the government. From 1982 to 1992, federal employment grew by about 4 percent, an average annual increase of less than one-half of 1 percent, according to the Congressional Budget Office. During the early 1980s, the Reagan administration dramatically expanded defense employment, but held the total federal employment figure in check by decreasing domestic agency staff.

Gore's report focused on how government should work, not on what it should do, prompting criticism that it also ignored other questions. For example:

- Can private sector models, driven by bottom-line profits, be applied to government agencies that protect the national interest according to laws written by Congress?
- Will agencies fudge on the downsizing, cutting unfunded slots instead of people? If agencies are cut, but turn to outside contractors to perform tasks, will there be any cost savings?
- Can government really be permanently cut?

The Gore initiative "may be one of the most important things the Clinton administration does, and it will take a while to see how it all works," said incoming OMB director Alice M. Rivlin. "My hope is that somebody looking back 10 years from now will see that we started something that continued and really made a difference in how the government performs.

"But the stereotypes are so strong and the skepticism has so much basis that I don't expect that we will convince people of that right away."

Restructuring Work

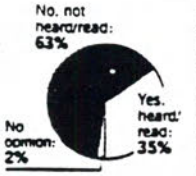
For now, the missing links in the downsizing debate are the streamlining plans. The first round of proposals did not meet Gore's expectations and he directed agencies to make deeper cuts in their Washington staffs. The question seems to be whether departments can restructure and consolidate workloads.

"The fundamental problem is the number of work steps and the way these processes have been designed and layered over the years," said Deputy Labor Secretary Thomas P. Glynn. Even without a mandate to downsize, he said, "I think the question would still be on the table: How many people do you need to have these organizations well-managed and make the work interesting for the people doing the work?"

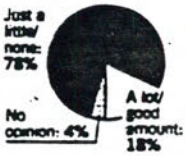
A LITTLE-KNOWN EFFORT

Relatively few Americans surveyed in a Washington Post-ABC News poll had heard about the administration's "reinventing government" initiative.

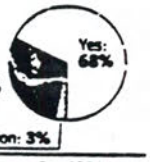
Q. Have you heard or read anything about any efforts of the Clinton administration to make the federal government more efficient, sometimes called "reinventing government"?



Q. How much progress has the Clinton administration made in making the federal government more efficient:



Q. Do you think that Clinton is seriously interested in making government more efficient, or not?



NOTE: Figures are from a Washington Post-ABC News telephone poll of a random sample of 1,015 adults conducted Aug. 5-7. Margin of sampling error for the overall results is plus or minus 3 percentage points. Sampling error is, however, only one of many potential sources of error in this or any public opinion poll. Interviewing was conducted by Chilton Research of Radnor, Pa.

—Compiled by Sharon Warden

Glynn has led an effort at the Labor Department that shows how to reorganize and cut paperwork. He found that hiring a new employee at Labor involved 120 work steps and required the attention of six to eight personnel specialists. After study, the department's personnel offices cut the number of steps to 47, with only three to four personnel specialists needed.

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration, Glynn said, performs about 40,000 workplace inspections each year and receives 17,000 requests for documents under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). More than 100 employees worked on FOIA requests, with 105 steps needed to process a request. That has been cut to 25 steps, freeing up enough time for 1,875 more OSHA inspections each year.

Where agencies are planning significant reductions in the numbers of supervisors and managers, some workers worry they will have fewer career paths and fewer opportunities for promotion, and could even be demoted.

"Losing a title is very tough on people who got it because they were our very best," said a supervisor at the Environmental Protection Agency. "They're taking these thirty-somethings who have made it to a managerial level and taking their title away, and that [creates] a morale problem."

Not everyone in the government is unhappy about the downsizing. Take Rick Cook.

He recently volunteered to transfer from the National Park Service's Washington headquarters, where he had worked 18 years, to the Everglades in Florida. His old job, in international affairs, was abolished, and he now works as a park ranger handling public affairs and external issues.

Cook is upbeat about the move, because it provides a fresh career challenge and he gets to retain his pay grade. "There's a sense of greater stability here," he said. "In Washington, people are probably very nervous about what's going to happen, and in regional offices also."

Serving the Customer

Despite the tensions created by the downsizing, there are signs that other parts of Gore's message are taking hold in corners of the bureaucracy.

Sheila Vasquez, a claims representative in the Social Security Administration's M Street office, said the agency has asked her to fill out questionnaires and attend meetings on customer service. "We know it is an important issue right now," she said. "Unlike the private sector, people don't have a choice who to come to to file for retirement or disability. They have to come to Social Security."

Her supervisors have been open to suggestions, she said, and employees sometimes take the lead in trying to solve problems. "Our little voices won't be heard by Congress or anything," Vasquez said. "We're talking about local procedures that will help us help the people, make things run smoother."

Improving customer service, Gore told Commerce Department employees earlier this year, "is the main purpose of government reinvention. If you turn the organizational chart on its head and you put the customer at the top and then ask what do these front-line workers need in order to provide high-quality service at low cost, then everything takes on a different focus and a better focus."

In his visits to agencies, Gore has pointed out that the public does not trust the government to do the right thing. That can be remedied—"one American at a time"—if the government treats citizens like valued customers, he said.

For the public, that is supposed to mean no more long lines at government counters, fewer busy signals on the telephone and answers based on correct readings of the rules.

Gore has used the customer service theme to reinforce other parts of reinventing government—the cutting of red tape and "empowering" front-line workers to make common-sense decisions. Gore, for example, has praised the:

- Defense Department for improving its travel voucher system, which one employee described as a "bureaucratic nightmare."

The Pentagon traditionally issued travel orders and reimbursed travel vouchers in a complicated way that involved 17 steps and took two months. After an employee team was challenged to streamline the process, it produced a four-step computer-based procedure that takes less that 15 minutes.

"It really is incredible that the estimates are that this change, when fully implemented, will save up to $1 billion over a five-year period," Gore said during a March visit to the Pentagon.

- Customs Service Miami district office for new techniques that speed shipments of goods.

The Miami office formed a partnership with some major shippers that were taught to do their own inspections. American Airlines, for example, inspects its shipments, reducing cargo and passenger delays and saving the company more than $300,000 a year.

The arrangement frees up Customs inspectors for spot checks and improved enforcement. Shippers now make more than 40 percent of the Customs drug seizures in the Miami district.

But big bureaucracies are hard to change. Mayors and governors may score points for cutting the time voters spend in waiting lines, but public perceptions about the federal government probably will not improve when a huge organization like the U.S. Postal Service, which was highlighted in the Gore report, struggles to deliver mail on time in New York, Chicago and Washington.

Donald F. Kettl, the author of a recent Brookings Institution report on Gore's initiative, points out, though, that most bureaucrats "inevitably have substantial discretion" in how they administer laws and deploy resources.

"The question is whether more federal employees can be persuaded to find a balance among the competing demands on their time and energy that makes it easier for citizens to deal with their government," Kettl said.

Changing the Rules

If Gore's reinvention teams still need more time to define what they expect to accomplish through customer service, they seem to have had good luck in cutting red tape.

Gore ridiculed bureaucratic practices, pointing to nine-page glass ashtray procurement specifications and government-issue floor wax. He went on the David Letterman show and smashed a government ashtray, noting that government rules even required manufacturers to produce ashtrays that did not break into more than 35 pieces.

Today, the General Services Administration no longer buys the ashtrays, and floor wax that can be bought off the shelf at the grocery store is offered to federal agencies through the GSA supply catalogue.

While the administration and Congress agreed on overhauling procurement laws, Gore still awaits action on two other big "systems" changes urged by his report—shifting the government from annual to two-year budgets and overhauling federal personnel laws. The administration lacks strong support in Congress for biennial budgeting, but plans to prepare a civil service package later this year. That package will keep the reinventing government debate alive for another year, and perhaps into the next presidential campaign.

With the administration almost halfway through this term in office, Gore's biggest enemy will be time. He knows that managers and employees—whether guided by principle or by narrow self-interest—can wait him out, confident that "this too shall pass." The administration also has lost or shifted a number of top political appointees, allowing some agencies to delay tough decisions.

Cynics think the reinvention "will sputter out and there will be some sound and fury signifying nothing," Gore told employees at the Office of Personnel Management. He urged them to not give in and to "find your own personal strategy for resisting and defeating the temptation to surrender to that kind of cynicism."

Ultimately there are risks in downsizing the government while failing to ensure the reinvention takes hold in the bureaucracy. Smaller government may be a plus with voters, but will not necessarily satisfy civil servants or proponents of good governance.

"The trap [the administration] has to worry about is downsizing and making the government work worse," said David Osborne, an architect of Gore's initiative. "The trap is what is happening in the post office, where the public becomes convinced service is deteriorating."



Dishing up some crow for conservatives

By MARILYN GEEWAX
Cox News Service

At this time last year, many conservatives were warning of the misery sure to result from President Clinton's deficit-reduction budget.

They predicted the new budget would hurt the country far more than the Reagan-Bush budgets, which had left us with an annual shortfall of $290 billion by fiscal 1992.

Donald Lambro, a conservative columnist in Washington, wrote last August that deficit reduction was "one of the biggest myths propagated by the (Clinton) White House."

The new budget, signed into law Aug. 10, 1993, would "result in a weaker economy, fewer jobs and less savings."

His 1993 forecast for this summer: "The deficit will be at least $10 billion higher and possibly more than that if the economy continues to wind down."

Lambro's comments reflected the conventional wisdom among conservatives last summer.

Good manners prevent me from making fun of people. So I'll just review the facts and you can do the ribbing yourself.

In the past year, the deficit has dropped sharply. In the coming fiscal year, it will fall below $170 billion.

Meanwhile, more than 98 percent of Americans have seen no increase in their federal income taxes. Only the richest of the rich are paying more.

Back in the second quarter of 1993, just before the Clinton budget was signed, the economy was growing at a rate of 2.4 percent. By the second quarter of this year, the economy was shooting up at a rate of 3.7 percent. New jobs are being added so quickly that some economists now worry a labor shortage will develop and boost inflation.

But those inflation fears may be exaggerated. U.S. productivity and international trade have increased so much in the past year that inflation is being kept in check. In the past 12 months, the widely followed core consumer-price index, which excludes food and fuel prices, has risen just 2.9 percent.

Thirty-year mortgage rates have leveled off at about 8.6 percent — far lower than in the 1980s. Car sales continue to boom. The unemployment rate stands at 6.1 percent, down dramatically from the 6.7 percent level before the Clinton budget passed.

Given how wrong their 1993 predictions were, are conservatives conceding anything this year? Certainly Donald Lambro isn't. Recently, he wrote that the economy "is about to run out of steam."

If that were true, why would the Federal Reserve keep raising interest rates to slow the expansion? The Fed sees so much growth it fears shortages of goods and labor will develop.

Lambro and other conservatives would be doing cartwheels if a Republican president were enjoying a period of such growth.

Earlier this month, Rep. Richard Armey, a Republican from Texas, attacked Democrats for suggesting that Republicans were blocking the crime bill to hurt Clinton, not to help Americans. Armey said that was not true. "Your president is just not that important to us."

Your president.

Maybe some Republicans have replaced basic patriotism with pure partisanship in Washington. But surely in the rest of the country, Americans can put aside the name-calling and distortions long enough to recognize that we have enjoyed a good year.

That's worth celebrating.

(Marilyn Geewax is an editorial writer for The Atlanta Constitution.)

CASPER (WY) STAR-TRIBUNE 8/27/94

CAPITAL JOURNAL
By Gerald F. Seib

New Democrat: An Old Concept Worth Revisiting

LIKE A STRUGGLING hitter working out of a slump, President Clinton gets plenty of unsolicited advice these days. But none is more important than the six-page memo he got a couple of weeks ago from Al From.

Mr. From is president of the Democratic Leadership Council, an organization of centrist or conservative Democrats (depending on your taste in terminology). Whatever its label, the DLC prides itself on not representing the liberal wing of the Democratic Party that dominates in Congress. Mr. Clinton was once the DLC's leader, and that helped convince people in 1992 that he was a "New Democrat" with a different philosophy that activist government doesn't mean big government.



Today, Mr. Clinton is sliding in public esteem because many Americans have simply stopped believing that he really is a New Democrat. The slide seems directly linked to the public's mounting distaste over his giant health-care reform plan. That's the bad news for the White House.

The silver lining, in the eyes of some Clinton advisers, is that if Mr. Clinton can only salvage something from the ashes of the health-care debate, he actually has laid the foundation to move on to a New Democrat agenda for the remainder of his term. In this view, Mr. Clinton's success in saving the crime bill in the House this week by reaching out to Republicans represents a corner turned.

THAT'S WHERE Mr. From and his memo come in. In Mr. From's view, the president is in trouble because he has looked like just another partisan warrior, standing alongside Democratic congressional leaders as they "refight the fights of the '80s." Mr. From argues not just for a centrist strategy, but for a new 1990s agenda.

That means focusing on jobs, not in the traditional way but by putting more juice behind an administration initiative to remake training programs for displaced workers. It means emphasizing anew the administration's "reinventing government" initiative to make the government smaller and sharper. It means stressing social values, particularly through a big push to overhaul the welfare system. It means showing more tight-fistedness with taxpayers' money. And it means standing up more often to old-line Democrats in Congress, who don't share this agenda.

"I'm not so much saying get in the middle of the two parties on every issue," Mr. From says. "I'm saying redefine the fight in his own terms."

In fact, the Clinton administration has done some of that. The problem is that its own Democratic allies in Congress resist. A prime example is Vice President Al Gore's reinventing government initiative. It calls for reducing the civilian federal work force by 252,000 over five years. But in Congress, lawmakers are quietly undermining that effort by slipping into bills language that shields various agencies from the vice president's knife. One bill alone, the Treasury Department's appropriations bill, would require the Customs Service to employ *at least* 17,524 full-time employees and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to employ at least 4,215 full-timers.

IN OTHER CASES, Congress has drained money away from New Democrat initiatives to fund Old Democrat programs. Mr. From notes that funding for the president's national service program, in which young people do public-service work in exchange for college tuition, was pared down so much that its three-year budget is now smaller than one year's cotton subsidy.

White House aides argue that the more important point is that there's a start toward a New Democrat agenda, with more coming. Even in its shrunken form, the national service program will have more volunteers than the Peace Corps did at its height. By backing the new North American and world trade treaties, the administration has put Democrats behind trade liberalization.

Administration aides talk favorably of jolting the education system by backing charter schools, in which teachers and parents are given freedom and funding to launch new public schools. The earned income tax credit to aid the working poor has laid the groundwork for a big push next year for welfare reform. And don't be surprised if the administration begins pushing next year for a Family Tax Credit, which would expand tax breaks for families with kids.

The problem, of course, is that this all could evaporate if the administration doesn't head off the very real prospect of disaster in both the health debate and fall elections. Mr. From's advice: Accept a health-care compromise, and call a bipartisan summit at Camp David if necessary to get it. The compromise obviously will fall short of Mr. Clinton's promise of universal coverage. But he could explain that away by telling the nation: "What I've discovered is that the path to universal coverage will take some time. This is just the beginning of the battle."

Politics of faith need not lean right

By **CHRIS SATULLO**

Things fall apart, the center cannot hold
The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity
— **William Butler Yeats**
"The Second Coming"



PenTip International Features / PAUL KOLSTI

And you thought Ireland was bad, Willie.

You should see America as it tumbles through what's becoming one of the meanest of political seasons.

Passionate intensity washes over the land, or at least the AM radio dial. The attack politics of Oliver North, Pat Buchanan and the Christian Coalition are met by a terrified counterattack from the left.

It is the hour of the evangelical activists. They are ready and eager — after years of feeling abused by the godless, elitist media — to push their claim that the United States is a Christian nation where the Bible is as binding as the Constitution.

This has put even such a cool political customer as Arlen Specter into a tizzy, as the Pennsylvania Republican senator scrambles to find some firm ground where he can throw up a "big tent" to shelter the much-abused center.

As a God-fearing Christian, I'm just annoyed as hell at all this.

Annoyed at the hypocritically short memories of agnostic liberals, with their tiresome chant about how scary they find these "zealots" who want to impose their morality on others."

Annoyed at the corrosive rhetoric of the leading spokesmen of the Christian right, and the cramped version of the Gospel they proclaim as divine endorsement for their uncharitable agenda.

And annoyed at the lack of conviction shown by Christians whose politics have been shaped very differently by the Gospel, at the uneasy, timid silence with which we've watched this damaging firefight. Instead of wincing, we ought to be loudly affirming that a politics shaped by faith needn't be unconstitutional or intolerant.

So before the term Christian liberal is officially declared an oxymoron, permit this one to bear witness with a little passionate intensity of his own.

First, some harsh words among friends. To those liberals who find God-talk in the public square odious when the topic is abortion, homosexuality or values education. Drop the double standard, will you.

Faith-based activism was just fine with you when it happened to align with your creed, when it worked for civil rights and the nuclear freeze, or against the war in Vietnam. To you, Scripture-drenched rhetoric that vowed opposition to legally sanctioned evil seemed moving when it came from the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. But now, when it comes from those who abhor abortion, you cry "Fanatics at the gates!"

Remember, you only fear the things you don't understand.

As Stephen L. Carter observes so pungently in *The Culture of Disbelief*, you piously uphold the faithful's right to their faith, but only so long as they are rational about it, so long as they treat it "like building model airplanes, just another hobby; something quiet, something private, something trivial," not as what it is: the centering principle of their lives.

You'll allow them their quirk as long as they don't insist on leaving room in the universe for mystery and miracle; as long as they tastefully check their faith at the door when they come to the table to talk seriously about things that matter.

Otherwise, you accuse them of "imposing their morality."

My friends, that is one tired shtick.

Democracy is precisely about persuading enough people to share your moral vision so that you can make it the community's norm.

After all, we all imposed upon Jeffrey Dahmer our morality that it's not OK to kill people and eat them. The other impositions differ in degree, not kind. The Pentagon budget imposes on us the morality that violence in defense of country is just; Medicaid imposes the morality that the comfortable are responsible for the health of the poor.

Try as we might to pretend otherwise, most issues that arouse us do so because they engage our moral vision. Liberals tend to dwell on the demands of public morality — what society should do because it's right. That doesn't make them any less moralists than the conservatives who dwell on the requirements of private morality — what individuals shouldn't do because it's wrong.

Which, by a round turn, brings us to the religious right, which is so cocksure about what individuals shouldn't be allowed to do.

To distance myself from the rhetorical clutter, a few affirmations. Activism by evangelical Christians is not scary, unless you consider democracy itself scary. That they are fervent about their faith does not make them fanatics; it does, often, make them swell folks to have living next door — caring, decent people.

That said, I'm still mystified by the political conclusions these folks draw from reading the same Bible, the same Gospels I do, by the vengeful anger that seems to crackle beneath their activism.

While trying not to fall into the fault I find in them — whipping up an ersatz, un-Biblical Jesus to sanctify their political biases — let me list some traits of the man whose ministry is described in the Gospels which, it seems to me, ought to inform the political morality of anyone who claims to follow him:

- He scandalized convention by defending the sexual outcast and welcoming the politically incorrect to his table and his ministry.
- He directed withering sarcasm at showy piety, chided the judgmental, and delighted in confounding those who were smugly sure they had divined all the right answers from Scripture.
- He mystified his male companions with the respect he offered women.
- He slyly joked that the rich had as much chance of getting to heaven as a camel did getting through the eye of a needle, but called the poor blessed.
- He healed the sick without regard to their riches, background — or coverage.
- He shunned the seduction of temporal power, though some of his followers urged it upon him.

No, it's hard to imagine that if Jesus were to come back today and tune in CNN, he would recognize Pat Buchanan or Ollie North as his modern apostles.

More likely he would see in them successors to another set of Gospel characters, the ones he castigated as "a brood of vipers."

The ones known as the Pharisees.

Chris Satullo is deputy editor of the Editorial Page.

Cuba can be brought back without tearing it apart

By **FRIDA GHITIS**

If you grew up in the United States, chances are that one of the great debates of the 20th century passed you by. Instead of hearing the arguments for and against the two main forces that helped shape this century — communism and capitalism — you were treated to a foregone conclusion.

Capitalism was doing a fine job of securing a decent life for the majority of Americans, who drove big cars, lived in comfortable homes filled with conveniences, and enjoyed universal education.

I grew up in Colombia in South America, where meals at home were interrupted frequently by hungry street children asking for leftovers. Where a decent education was out of reach for most people and the chances of improving your lot in life if you were born in poverty were almost nonexistent. The possibility that there was a better way, was the subject of impassioned debate.

From the 1960s onward, Fidel Castro's communist Cuba was at the heart of that debate. Only 90 miles from American shores, it was a demonstration of communism in action. Its people — once just as poor, if not poorer, than those of any Latin American country — were hungry no more. High-quality health care was available to all, as was day care, and higher education. Virtually all Cubans could read.

For some, Castro's Cuba was an enticing model, though it relied on massive Soviet aid and deprived Cubans of many of their basic rights. They could not freely say what they thought; they could not oppose their government openly and property owners were dispossessed.

For the United States, of course, Cuba was anathema — a Soviet client state that brazenly exported revolution throughout the region. A potential base for Soviet troops and weapons that nearly triggered nuclear war during the missile crisis of 1962.

An American economic embargo sought to bring it to its knees.

The debate is now over. Capitalism won. While Castro is still revered by some as a man who sought to improve the lives of his people, his communist experiment has failed ignominiously.

The Soviet Union, which generously subsidized Cuba in the face of the U.S. embargo and was Cuba's largest trading partner, disintegrated. Cuba's economy, lacking Soviet oil, collapsed and its agricultural production plummeted. Its malnourished citizens, fed up with severe rationing, reduced to moving about on bicycles, began fleeing in crude rafts to Florida.

Cuba is no longer a beacon to anyone in the rest of the hemisphere. No one wants to emulate it.

So why is the United States still clinging today to its Cold War-era policies regarding Cuba even as the country crumbles?

By continuing its embargo, the United States is letting a group of reactionary, but politically influential, Cuban exiles in Florida dictate its policy. It is guaranteeing that the Cuban people's suffering will become ever more acute, and it is bringing on itself the massive wave of refugees washing up on its shores and crowding the naval base at Guantanamo.

Instead of building tent cities, rebuild the nation.

It is also creating immense problems for any government that succeeds Castro and must seek to resuscitate the economy while preserving the worthwhile parts of the education and health system. And what kind of government will it be? If Castro is overthrown in a coup or civil war, will the new leaders embrace democratic reforms? Will it be a government that will look favorably to the United States?

Now is the time to engage Cuba in negotiations. Instead of spending $100 million to set up tent cities, and $20 million a month to run the refugee camps at Guantanamo, it could offer assistance to Cuba in exchange for reform.

Cuba could emerge from its decades of Marxism without being totally destroyed. The United States could help prevent bloodshed and spare the people of Cuba what could be years of suffering.

In the end, perhaps a new Cuba could become a model for Latin American capitalism: a country where poor children don't have to beg for food. A place where everybody receives a good education. A democratic nation of equality, where American tourists can vacation and businesses can prosper.

Frida Ghitis, a television producer and writer in Atlanta, frequently writes about affairs in the Caribbean.

'Tucker's list' is a stellar read

Clinton Working to Strengthen Ties to Clergy

By GUSTAV NIEBUHR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12 — Richard M. Nixon had a close friendship with Billy Graham. Jimmy Carter taught Sunday school while living in the White House. And Bill Clinton, despite being the target of conservative preachers, delights in punctuating his speeches with Scripture passages and broad religious references and in holding informal sessions with religious leaders.

The President has not shied from religious settings, whether that involves attending Rosh ha-Shanah services last week in Edgartown, Mass., or addressing the National Baptist Convention USA on Friday in New Orleans.

Over the past year, in fact, some of the most intriguing encounters between Mr. Clinton and the nation's religionists have gone on behind closed doors at the White House.

On at least eight occasions, the President has met with religious figures from widely different points on the theological spectrum at private breakfasts. His guests have engaged him in an informal give-and-take, swapping scriptural quotations and discussing big issues, like the nation's cultural and ideological divisions, the plague of urban violence, even how Mr. Clinton could better deal with the religious right.

Knowledge and Openness

Those who have attended come away citing Mr. Clinton's knowledge of Scripture and his appearance of openness to their ideas. Of course, none of this hurts a White House regularly lashed from such high-profile pulpits as the Rev. Jerry Falwell's.

The most recent of these breakfast meetings occurred last Thursday, the day after Mr. Clinton returned from his vacation. The gathering included about 60 people, mostly mainline Protestants, evangelicals, Roman Catholics and Jews.

The Rev. W. Frank Harrington, senior pastor of the Peachtree Presbyterian Church, an 11,800-member congregation in Atlanta, said: "We talked about how the church can be a resource in trying to focus on recapturing the sense of the common good in this country and this society. I had very positive feelings."

Another who attended, the Rev. C. Everett Goodwin, former pastor of the First Baptist Church of Washington, said that Mr. Clinton had "talked about the need to stop demonizing the people we disagree with, and who demonize us."

Lamenting Secular Attitudes

The White House began the gatherings a year ago, the day after Mr. Clinton returned from his first vacation on Martha's Vineyard. Playing host to several dozen religious leaders, he praised the book "The Culture of Disbelief: How American Law and Politics Trivialize Religious Devotion" (Basic Books, 1993) by Stephen L. Carter, a Yale Law School professor, and lamented secular attitudes that would push religion out of public life.

Since then, the White House has held at least half a dozen smaller meetings, usually with groups of a dozen or so — clergy from big churches and historic synagogues, theologians, academics, religious journalists and others. The political views of the President's guests have ranged from liberal to moderately conservative.

For those who attend, it can be a heady experience, having the opportunity to engage the President in conversations about faith and values. Some have taken the occasion to offer him pastoral advice.

At a meeting last month, the Episcopal Church's top official, Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning, urged Mr. Clinton to return to the broad themes of national unity that he enunciated the night he won the 1992 Presidential election. "I tried to give him such encouragement that that was what the nation was looking for and needing," Bishop Browning said. "I really think it energizes him to get involved in these kind of discussions."

It can be a heady experience to discuss faith and values with the President.

It was at that same meeting, an eclectic gathering of evangelicals, mainstream Protestants and a Roman Catholic theologian, that the discussion worked around to how Mr. Clinton should deal with religious conservatives, who are among his most bitter critics.

Martin Marty, a professor of religious history at the University of Chicago's Divinity School, said that several participants had told the President not to assume that religious conservatives thought and acted as a single bloc, and that many who tuned in to Mr. Falwell or Pat Robertson did so for a religious message, not for politics.

"Quite a few of the evangelicals there said they admired him for not responding" to most of the personal attacks, Mr. Marty said. "Most of them were giving him the advice to keep turning the other cheek."

The meetings have allowed the White House a breadth of personal contacts within the religious community, as well as the opportunity to explore opinion among the religious public, a body as fractured politically as it is theologically.

'Personal Nourishment'

But a White House official asserted that the events were not meant for forging political alliances with prominent pulpits. Philip Lader, the President's deputy chief of staff, said that Mr. Clinton "gets personal nourishment and encouragement as well as insights into the nation, which are not normally derived from political discussions."

"They are not about politics," Mr. Lader said. "They are a dialogue with persons of faith from across the spectrum of religious beliefs."

Yet for some who have attended, especially evangelicals, breaking bread with Mr. Clinton can be a mixed blessing, opening them to accusations of having been used by the White House.

Os Guinness, the senior fellow of the Trinity Forum, a group that runs seminars for business people, who attended last month's breakfast, said: "There's an unbelievable amount of hate against the man that goes on in Christian circles. A lot of people who have gone to these breakfasts have had to wrestle with that."

Mr. Guinness praised the gathering he had attended: "I was impressed with the level of seriousness the White House brought to that meeting," he said.

Republicans Rebuff Convicted Candidate

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Sept. 12 (Reuters) — The Arkansas Republican Party has refused to nominate a candidate for state attorney general who was convicted last week of assaulting his wife.

The nominee, Dan Ivy of Fayetteville, said he would sue to have his name on the November general election ballot.

On Saturday, a party committee refused to certify the nomination of Mr. Ivy, a lawyer who was the only Republican to file for attorney general. "State law requires the party certify my candidacy," Mr. Ivy said. "We will sue and we will win."

On Wednesday, Mr. Ivy, 39, was found guilty of third-degree assault against his wife, Sarah. He was sentenced to 30 days in jail and fined $500. He is appealing his conviction.

The state party chairman, Asa Hutchinson, said the Republicans had a legal right to nominate another candidate, but because the election was so soon would not offer one.

The Democratic incumbent, Winston Bryant, is seeking a second term.

Lawmaker Denies Sex Acts

CHICAGO, Sept. 12 (AP) — Representative Mel Reynolds, Democrat of Illinois, today pleaded not guilty to charges of sexual assault, sexual abuse, child pornography and obstruction of justice.

Mr. Reynolds, a first-term Congressman, appeared before Judge Fred Seria Jr. of Cook County Circuit Court. When asked for his plea, he said, "Not guilty to all charges."

The Congressman was indicted on Aug. 21 on charges that he had sex with an under-age campaign volunteer and asked her to supply him with pornographic photographs of another youngster. He was also charged with trying to cover up the offenses by lying to investigators and persuading the victim to recant falsely.

Mr. Reynolds, 42, is married and has three children. He faces only write-in candidates in his bid for a second term representing the Second Congressional District, which takes in Chicago's South Side and some southern suburbs.

All the news that's fit to spin

Media's zeal to put a political twist on all coverage of government ill serves the public.

LOS ANGELES — The editor's note in Saturday's *New York Times* was a doozy, a classic example of how politics colors everything in Washington, even the facts.

In a front-page story Friday on the crime bill, the *Times* reported that the president was "anxious" to sign the bill "which represents one of the few major promises he made as a candidate in 1992 that he has been able to turn into law."

On Saturday, on the bottom of Page 2, just below the correction of the surname of a Harvard law professor and the misidentification of an executive as Michael, not Mark, the *Times* admits that its characterization of the president's record was "overly broad."

It goes on to acknowledge that "a number of initiatives have been passed" and lists "some of the most important" — deficit reduction, the North American Free Trade Agreement, abortion counseling, the Brady bill and national service.



COUNTERPOINTS
By Susan Estrich

This is a little more serious than getting a law professor's name wrong.

In politics, when you're up, you can do no wrong, and when you're down, you can do nothing right. The politics of the moment is the lens through which everything is analyzed and presented.

It's easy to get good press when you're doing well because every story is about what a genius you are. Even bad bumps can get cushioned when the press likes you. They bought Bill Clinton as the "Comeback Kid" in New Hampshire. The press liked him then.

But when you're down, every minor misstep is "another setback" for an embattled administration. More bad news, it's called. Just ask George Bush during the last year of his term, when nothing went right anymore. Better yet, ask Dan Quayle about potatoes.

What's worse, even a victory when you're down can get played as part of a pattern of failure. Even if the facts get in the way. Even if, whatever the problem, it's not your legislative record.

That's the sin of the *Times*, one of America's best papers, in this case. It's bad enough to give victory the smell of defeat. It's even worse to rewrite the facts to do it.

A shot at the president has become such an accepted part of any story — even a story about an administration victory — that no one even noticed that this time, they got the shot wrong. That's why they had to apologize.

Two things determine whether you're up or down:

First, and foremost, poll numbers. Poll numbers aren't just their own story, they are in every story. They are the story line, constantly measured, enforcing short-term vision.

The second is what the elite press and the establishment think of you: whether they think you're better or worse than your numbers.



AP

CLINTON: Have media been unfairly piling on?

President Clinton's numbers are so-so — about where they've been for much of his presidency. The turn against him by the chattering classes has been much documented. The result is stories like the one in *The New York Times*.

The press is entitled to its opinion about the administration; we all are. But we don't need to hear ours, much less theirs, in every story we read. Opinions belong in the columns, on pages like this, or on the talk shows, not on Page One or on the evening TV news.

The truth is that most Americans don't really care very much what the press thinks of the president. Most Americans don't think much of the press. And they'd rather, rightly, make their own judgments about their president.

When you read a Page One story, you're looking to find out what happened. Total objectivity is no doubt a fiction; context is inevitable; but some self-control is essential.

This is not about the press's right to know, or to investigate. This is about its right to warp the facts and color the news to reflect the prevailing political view.

At the very least, buyer beware. Editor's Notes like last Saturday's should remind everyone that just because it's in black and white doesn't mean it's so, and that coverage of the president owes as much to how he's doing as to what he's doing.

If Congress passes health-care reform, the crime bill may well be seen as the first step in the president's most recent rehabilitation. Hindsight can readjust the spin. But winning on health care is more difficult if winning on crime is made to count for less. How you're doing determines what you can do. Images gel. Opinions can become facts. Political coverage can easily be a self-fulfilling prophecy; it can even make lies come true.

COUNTERPOINTS' four columnists provide views from diverse perspectives on today's issues. **Mondays:** Tony Snow. **Tuesdays:** Michael Gartner. **Wednesdays:** Linda Chavez. **Thursdays:** Susan Estrich.

USA TODAY · THURSDAY, AUGUST 4, 1994

E. J. Dionne Jr.

Bill & Dan & Murphy Brown

Why, you might reasonably ask, were two politicians—President Clinton and former vice president Dan Quayle—lecturing the nation last week on the horrors of out-of-wedlock births? Isn't it the job of preachers and priests and rabbis and parents to say, as Clinton did, that "you shouldn't have a baby before you're ready and you shouldn't have a baby when you're not married"? Do we need a politician like Quayle to tell us that "it's important for fathers to be involved in raising their children"?

There are plenty of cynical explanations for why Clinton and Quayle did the "family values" number last week. Clinton, it is said, is desperate for some new issues and wants to sound like a "New Democrat" again by focusing like a laser beam on those tried-and-true values of community, opportunity and responsibility. The best speech of his term so far was his address to a group of black ministers in Memphis last year in which he also preached on these themes. What better way to get out of a deep hole than by trying Memphis II?

As for Quayle, he wants to be president and sees the religious right as a prime constituency, especially since former education secretary Bill Bennett—a favorite of religious conservatives—has decided not to run in 1996. The whole world knows that Quayle caused a huge ruckus in 1992 when he went after the Candice Bergen television character Murphy Brown for having a baby out of wedlock. In the process, he endeared himself to many a conservative.

Quayle, who is by no means as dumb as so many say he is, knew perfectly well that Murphy Brown II would get lots of attention. So he gave his new version of the old speech and got a respectful hearing from Ted Koppel and Katie Couric.

These explanations are true as far as they go. But they don't get at just why it is that out-of-wedlock births have become a political issue. Where Clinton and Quayle agree, and where both are right, is on the proposition that many social problems—especially street crime and falling educational performance—are caused in significant part by the decline in the proportion of children born to families in which a father and mother are present and have made more than a passing commitment to each other. If you care about poverty, the well-being of children, social justice and equality, you have to care about the state of American families.

This ought not be a complicated proposition. The fact is that raising children is an immensely time-consuming endeavor. Single parents have a tougher time of it than married parents do in large part because one person has exactly half the potential time available that two people do. Psychologically, a kid is obviously better off knowing that he or she is important enough that both a father and a mother are willing to be there. What happens to your sense of self-worth if your father simply disappears? Even children whose parents die prematurely have the security of knowing that the departed parent didn't just walk away.

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, to his enduring credit, tried to make these basic points almost 30 years ago. He argued that the rise in the number of children being raised without fathers would have a devastating social impact. He was pilloried by many, mostly liberals, who said he was "blaming the victims" of poverty. In fact, he was trying to figure out what could be done to stop the spread of poverty and reduce its toll.

Now, most liberals are willing to accept Moynihan's point. Clinton's embrace of the cause of restoring the family—he did so long before he ran for president—is a sign that this is one issue where left and right, Republican and Democrat, might come together.

By speaking out for the family, liberals are underscoring the view that social problems cannot be solved by government action alone. That, in turn, leads to a redefinition of the government's role. In many instances, the government's job is not to establish huge programs to deal with every aspect of a problem but to create conditions in which families and neighborhoods are in a stronger position to solve problems themselves. Family leave laws (opposed, by the way, by many conservatives) give parents a chance to do their jobs better. The national service program Clinton kicked off yesterday embodies a notion that conservatives talk about so much—the need to "empower" citizens and communities.

Dan Quayle takes some satisfaction in the altered debate, and it's true that much of what Quayle said in the Murphy Brown speech made sense. But before Quayle is canonized, it's worth recalling what the political point of the Murphy Brown speech really was.

Far from searching for a consensus on family issues, many Republicans used "family values" talk as a battering ram to cast Democrats as the advocates of "alien" ideas, presumably because they thought it was wrong to discriminate against gays and were somehow enmeshed in that horrid "counterculture" of the 1960s. Quayle couldn't resist another shot at the counterculture in last week's speech, arguing that "the elite in particular did not want to admit what was going wrong in America."

Well, okay: The folks who viciously assailed Moynihan were, indeed, wrong, and some liberals—though fewer and fewer—have been reluctant to accept that private behavior, especially when it involves children, does have social consequences.

But the Republicans' values talk failed in 1992 because on these issues, most people don't like bashing or "culture wars" or the pretense that one political party has a monopoly on familial virtue. People could think that it's wrong to have kids out of wedlock and still feel for Murphy Brown, who brought a child into the world rather than have an abortion. Quayle insists that his point was not to attack single mothers, only to emphasize "the importance of fathers." But he got into trouble because many outside the "elites" didn't read his statement that way.

So let's have a truce. Credit both Quayle and Clinton for being right about the intact family. Acknowledge that neither Quayle nor Clinton nor anyone else has come up with a magic cure for family dissolution. Go to work to figure out those limited things government can do to strengthen the family. Admit that both economic circumstances and the moral climate affect the well-being of kids. And stop pretending that our political opponents are sinners, knaves or freaks. On these issues, we all see through a glass darkly.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 19

Column

MARY McGRORY

Catholics, Democrats and Abortion

The Capitol Hill lunch in honor of Geno Baroni, an agitator in a Roman collar who was constantly in hot water with the hierarchy, seemed the very place to comment about the Cairo commotion over abortion. Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala, a fervent admirer and longtime co-conspirator, obliged. Her remark that "this has been a hard week for progressive Catholics" was greeted with applause and groans.

She was followed to the podium by another devout daughter of the church and fervent feminist, Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski (D-Md.). The senator delivered a fiery speech about mistaken public policy, citing rules that would deprive welfare mothers of benefits if there was a man on the premises and the de-institutionalization of the mentally ill, so many of whom turn up in homeless shelters. She did not mention the collision between Washington and Rome, but after her speech, she discussed its political effect: She regards it as nil.

Nor does she think that the menacing statement of Bishop James McHugh, that the Clinton administration's abortion rights position will be "a powerful incentive for American Catholics to walk away from the Democratic Party," is accurate.

The Vatican did not talk softly in Cairo, and it carried a big stick. In the old days, that would have set Catholic politicians to quaking. Mikulski, who lives in an ethnic Baltimore neighborhood—"bacon and eggs," she says, "not quiche"—thinks her church has the right, the obligation to speak out on matters of faith and morals. But she questions its right to "eclipse" the Conference on Population and Development, feeling it has "robbed the world of a significant opportunity to debate and plan the status of women around the world."

She argues that as economic opportunities and literacy rates for women go up, the birth rate goes down. And the Catholic vote "is larger than a single issue." One-fourth of the Catholic members of the Senate, and one-fourth of Catholic members of the House favor abortion rights—as does Mikulski.

Not even Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour thinks that the collision with the Vatican—which was as marked by an unprecedented personal, by-name attack on Vice President Gore—will be another nail in the widely anticipated Democratic coffin in November. At a media breakfast, he suggested that Catholics were feeling put upon by the anti-clerical remarks of Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders but ventured no opinion about any favorable fallout from Cairo. He knows that the GOP has to fight an anti-woman image.

And he knows that while many agree with the Catholic position that abortion is murder, many resent political intervention from the church. Some Catholics hope that Rome will change its rigid opposition to birth control. Nothing has moved since the publication of Pope Paul VI's 1968 encyclical "Humanae Vitae" in which he condemned the pill and ruled out "mutual love and consolation" as a reason for intercourse. A great falling away of young people and a sharp decline in vocations ensued. The church, some of the faithful said, had lost its power on abortion by its vehement objections to contraception, which is much used even in super-Catholic Poland.

Mikulski thinks it is up to the president to stress those themes that would appeal to Catholics—character and commitment and moral values.

At a time when the president is being blamed for everything, including a plane crash on his back lawn, Mikulski faults him for not emphasizing what he has done to help the family. As she spoke, of course, Clinton was in New Orleans inveighing against pre-marital sex and child-bearing.

"He is in trouble with the Catholic vote," she says, "but it isn't over abortion. He doesn't take time to explain what we have done on gun control in the crime bill and after-school programs that help the community. People want to hear the articulation of core values in public policy.

"Instead of hopscotching around on a frenetic schedule, he needs to use his office to create a social movement."

For some people, the idea of Bill Clinton preaching morality is as ludicrous as it would be for him to make speeches as a recruiter of Marines. But presidents must preach—the bully pulpit comes with the job—and he must, anxious Democrats say, not concede his right to talk about everyday moral questions that concern his countrymen.

BOB HERBERT

NATIONAL SERVICE

In America

BOB HERBERT

A Season Of Service

Think of it as an antidote to cynicism, a rejection of the rampant selfishness that managed somehow to become fashionable in the 1980's. Think of it as a return to the can-do spirit of the 50's and 60's, when large numbers of Americans believed it was possible to find remedies for violence and injustice, for poverty and ignorance, for the buffoonery and corruption of politicians, and for the wholesale degradation of the environment.

"I challenge a new generation of young Americans to a season of service," said Bill Clinton in his inaugural address. "There is so much to be done — enough, indeed, for millions of others who are still young in spirit to give of themselves in service, too."

On Sept. 12, amid elaborate ceremonies planned for the South Lawn of the White House, the President's national service program will get fully under way. It's called AmeriCorps and it's described as a domestic version of the Peace Corps. Its scope is less than I would have wished, but more than we've come to expect from a sociopolitical environment that over the past decade and a half has been poisoned by greed, a collapse of ideals and contempt for the old-fashioned notion of brotherhood.

Patriotism rolls up its sleeves for AmeriCorps.

In that environment, we were free to choose between the national values espoused by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and those currently embraced by Representative Newt Gingrich. We opted for Mr. Gingrich's.

The President's national service program is a modest step in Dr. King's direction.

Under the program, several thousand young Americans from all kinds of backgrounds will offer their services to organizations working on problems related to education, public safety, social services and the environment. For a two-year commitment, the participants will be paid $7,500 a year and will receive a credit of $9,450 ($4,725 a year) that can be used for college or graduate school expenses.

The program will reach into urban, suburban and rural America. Parts of it have already started. Young men and women are helping to restore wildlife habitats, conducting childhood immunization programs, escorting children and the elderly through [illegible] neighborhoods, counseling drug abusers, providing preventive health services and improving neglected playgrounds, parks and wetlands.

Tiffany Tidwell, an honors graduate from the University of Kansas, is teaching French at a public school in the Mississippi Delta. Leo Negron, who grew up in a tough neighborhood in Chicago, is teaching construction skills to teen-agers. Laura Sullivan, who grew up in a wealthy suburb in Massachusetts, has joined a program in Baltimore that provides assistance to poor women who want to start their own businesses.

"We have a lot of domestic problems that need creative answers," Ms. Sullivan said. "And I wanted to get to know the neighborhoods in the inner cities, rather than just living in the ivory tower of a college community."

She referred to friends who are serving in the military and said: "They are defending us internationally. I feel strongly that there should be a force of young people that are kind of defending us domestically."

Besides providing assistance to many worthwhile organizations, AmeriCorps is a way for young people to see a variety of fellow Americans up close and personal, the way they really are, without the distorting filter of the boob tube. It's a way to get beyond the stereotypes of situation comedy and the local news.

"Whenever possible," said Eli Segal, chief chaperone for this noble effort, "we want youngsters from different geographic areas, from different races and ethnic groups and from different economic backgrounds to pitch in and work together."

Mr. Segal, an assistant to the President, is the chief executive of the Corporation for National Service. He expects to have 20,000 AmeriCorps enlistees spread out across the country by the end of the year. "And if it works," he said, "we could have 100,000 by the end of 1996."

I have always believed that national service should be compulsory. Every American should serve two years in some military or civilian capacity. There should be more to patriotism than singing "The Star-Spangled Banner" at a ball game, or rooting (from the comfort of our living rooms) for the American team to win a nationally televised war.

AmeriCorps is a start.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Fiscal Credit to Bill Clinton

Robert J. Samuelson [op-ed, Aug. 24] is thoughtless and wrong when he suggests that statements by Alice Rivlin, Bob Rubin and the rest of the Clinton economic team defending President Clinton's performance were "totally dishonest." Part of Mr. Samuelson's theme—that presidents usually get more credit or blame than they deserve for the short-run twists and turns of the economy—is right. But economic policy matters a great deal for the longer-run health of the economy, and many good economists inside and outside the administration believe that the president deserves credit for his hard-won economic victories.

While most of the benefits of deficit reduction and free trade will be felt in the future, the administration's fiscal responsibility is the best explanation for the fall in long-term interest rates that followed the 1992 election. There can be no doubt that those lower rates helped fuel the recovery. It is natural that those rates have risen as the economy has strengthened. Rates would most likely be even higher without the president's policies.

It does public discourse a great disservice to characterize as political posturing the honest and, in this case, well-founded views of people with reputations for high integrity. It contributes to the popular cynicism that no one in public life can be trusted, which lets those who tell the real whoppers off the hook and makes it increasingly difficult for those we elect to govern.

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JONATHAN YARDLEY

The Media's Marked Man

No one who watches the network news with any regularity can possibly have been surprised by the accusation, made last week by a self-styled watchdog group called the Center for Media and Public Affairs, that television reports about Bill Clinton are routinely biased against him. According to the center's director, Robert Lichter, Clinton has "had the misfortune of being president at the dawning of an age that combines attack-dog journalism with tabloid news." No doubt that is true, but there is still more to the story.

Why is it that the news media are so hostile to Bill Clinton, so remorselessly cynical about his every word and deed that he is invariably described as a failure? To be sure, his successes have been relatively few, but even these have been reported not as limited victories but as barely avoided calamities. What is it about Clinton, or about the media, that arouses such condescension and contempt?

Certainly a substantial part of the explanation lies in Clinton himself. Through no fault of his own he speaks in a Southern accent, which many Americans still regard as prima facie evidence of imbecility. In his running shorts he has the look of a blimp seeking a safe landing, an image the press delights in disseminating. He has the unfortunate inability to distinguish at times between truth and falsehood, a shortcoming with which even the most tolerant among us eventually lose patience. He makes Hamlet, or Adlai Stevenson, seem decisive.

But the best of presidents come equipped with imperfections. Why is it that Clinton's, whether real or fancied, are derided and lampooned all out of proportion to their actual pertinence to the task of governing? Herewith, a couple of plausible explanations.

The first is that the press is not merely liberal, it is also hopelessly romantic. Forget all those images of tough-guy reporters with green eye shades and cigarette butts. The media, most particularly the Washington media, have never gotten over John Fitzgerald Kennedy. He made reporters and columnists feel important—never mind that he was spinning them within an inch of their lives—and he was a figure of surpassing glamour. One does well at this remove to recall the dithyrambic lamentations with which his assassination was greeted by the Washington press corps; it was mourning not so much a president as a man with whom it had fallen in love.

Consider, then, that the only two Democrats elected president since the fall of Kennedy's chosen heir, Lyndon Johnson, were men who chose to run as Kennedys manque. Jimmy Carter styled his hairdo and his smile after JFK; Bill Clinton styled his manner and his rhetoric after JFK. No Americans were more eager to believe these fictions than those who work in the press, seeing as they did in Carter and then Clinton men whose election would accomplish the Restoration, bringing Camelot back to life and giving the press a friend in the White House.

It didn't work out that way. As is inevitably the case, fiction turned out to be . . . fiction. Within weeks if not days of their inaugurations, Carter and Clinton were stripped of such glamour as they possessed and revealed by an embittered press as traitors to its own hopes and dreams. With the fury that only the scorned can muster, the press turned on Carter and Clinton, its ideological allies, with a venom far surpassing any it lavished upon Ronald Reagan or George Bush, its ideological opponents.

If Clinton can't be Kennedy—let's forget for the moment that the Kennedy presidency was no model of accomplishment—then the press isn't about to let him get away with pretending to be. Hell hath no fury like a journalist whose illusions and longings have been bared and betrayed. Hence we have the unseemly spectacle of grown men and women assailing Clinton with all the blind, irrational anger of jilted teenagers.

Add to this the second explanation, which is that the present climate in which the press operates encourages personal and superficial assault upon public figures rather than clinical examination of their actual performance. Writing in a valedictory mood in the Wall Street Journal last week, Christopher Wood, who is returning to Britain after a stint as New York correspondent for the Economist, said of the Washington-New York press: "Many journalists' eyes glaze over at the first hint of a technicality. This is the by-now familiar world of press coverage by sound-bite." Whether Wood is correct in arguing that this is why the press has not pursued Whitewater en masse is debatable, but there can be no question that the sound-bite culture encourages journalism by inflection and body language rather than journalism by inquiry and investigation.

It's a lot easier to make sport of Clinton than to look deeply into his actions and policies. Watch any evening news broadcast, and you can't help but be astonished by the number and variety of ways in which reporters and anchors alike convey their disapproval or contempt for Clinton. Not counting comments from news sources of avowed partisanship, last week's study reported, nearly 75 percent of evaluations of Clinton on the three network news programs are negative—a figure so gross as almost to defy comprehension. These, after all, are alleged to be "objective" and "unbiased" news programs, not panel discussions or editorials; yet for all intents and purposes the evening news is now an attack dog gnawing away at the president.

It's easier to snipe than to investigate. It also, in today's climate, may be more profitable. For the high-profile journalist in Washington or New York, the ticket to success now is not diligent reportage but noisemaking of the sort that opens up a seat on one of the gong shows masquerading as political commentary. Pugnacity is the order of the journalistic hour. This has nothing to do with the "adversarial" role of the press as envisioned by the likes of Jefferson and Mencken, and everything to do with the self-aggrandizing careerism of journalists in search of fame and wealth.

That Bill Clinton isn't exactly lighting up the scoreboard is irrelevant. If it is his "misfortune" to be at the right place in the wrong time, this isn't just because such standards as journalism once swore by have been tabloidized. It's also because big-time journalism has gotten fat, lazy and self-serving, ready to pounce on anyone whose humiliation can pay dividends for those leading the assault. If the handiest target happens to be an ersatz Saint Jack, all the better.

Presidential Scholars Grow Critical Of Clinton's Performance in Office

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Sept. 3—When Charles O. Jones saw the TV clip of Bill Clinton pounding the lectern so hard at a health care rally that the seal of the president clattered to the ground, he took it as a sign that Clinton is still campaigning so much he has yet to move into the constitutional office to which he was elected.

After recounting the anecdote, Jones, a University of Wisconsin professor and president of the American Political Science Association, told an APSA panel here this weekend that in a real sense, Clinton "has yet to form his presidency."

"Same verdict as last year," said Princeton's Fred Greenstein. "The jury is still out."

But the jury of academic experts on the presidency is increasingly critical of Clinton, complaining of a lack of focus in his agenda and a lack of seriousness in his stewardship of government.

Some are drawing larger lessons, arguing that Clinton's problems suggest that the "rhetorical presidency," oriented to mobilizing public opinion to move the levers of power in Washington, may have ended with the Cold War and the disappearance of the perpetual crisis mentality it engendered.

The APSA was founded by Woodrow Wilson and academics in this field retain a tradition of favoring liberal, activist presidents like Clinton. But most of their judgments on Clinton were unflattering.

Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., the historian and onetime aide to President John F. Kennedy, described Clinton's free-form White House as "government by bull session."

He said that the president, "suffering from the delusion that he can carry Florida in 1996," has given Cuban Americans more control over foreign policy than any domestic interest group has exercised "since the China lobby in the 1950s." The role of the Congressional Black Caucus in shaping Haiti policy is an equally "ominous development," he said.

Clinton's own traits work against his success, some of the professors suggested. Greenstein said Clinton's "almost unnatural energy, optimism and ebullience" are combined with "an extraordinary lack of self-discipline." The result, he said, is that for Clinton, "The phrase White House organization is almost an oxymoron."

Taking a more upbeat view, Nelson Polsby of the University of California at Berkeley argued that Clinton has changed the agenda in Washington as much as President Ronald Reagan did in his first two years and has enjoyed greater success with Congress than the press and public acknowledge.

But Polsby also blamed Clinton for "the unprecedented turmoil in the four great departments of government, State, Defense, Treasury and Justice," saying that the personnel upheavals and policy reverses indicate that "the president made those appointments simply on the basis of what he thought were the proper political criteria and did not ask if they could do the job."

Clinton got higher marks from two female professors who complained that the panels on his presidency were virtually monopolized by men. Beverly Kahn of Fairfield University said there was insufficient attention to "the emphasis on community and citizenship and altruism in

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Female Academics Give President High Marks for Agenda's Emphasis

CLINTON, From A10

the Clinton agenda," an approach she said appealed to women's values but was resisted by the largely male Washington power structure.

Barbara Sinclair of the University of California-Riverside said, "Clinton is trying to teach the country that freedom is meaningless without the security the community and the state can provide. You're not free if you can't change jobs without losing health insurance or you can't go to the 7-Eleven without being mugged."

Clinton, in the view of virtually all the academics, is using the "outsider" approach to the presidency, as did Reagan and President Jimmy Carter. "His answer to governing," said George C. Edwards III of Texas A&M, "is the perpetual campaign."

The tactic is natural for a man who started in Arkansas politics as an attorney general and governor with only a two-year term, Edwards said. It was reinforced by constant need to expand the popular base of support for his ambitious legislative program. "What is ironic," said Edwards, "is that a president who seems so skilled has had great difficulty getting public support." With the notable exception of NAFTA, none of Clinton's exercises in public persuasion have had the effect he hoped for, and he has been forced to wheel-and-deal for squeaker victories on Capitol Hill.

Edwards and some others put the blame on Clinton's lack of "a focused message." But the view that drew more attention here was the argument that time has run out on that kind of "public presidency."

"The presidency has lost its great prop of popularity, the Cold War," Cornell's Theodore J. Lowi argued, and without that, every domestic fight a president takes on is likely to erode his public support, by alienating some constituency group.

Clinton's problem in pursuing "the rhetorical presidency" is heightened, several scholars said, by the huge budget deficits he inherited from the Reagan-Bush era, which limit his ability to pay for programs that measure up to his own descriptions of the nation's needs. He also inherited a political culture where words like "bureaucracy," "taxes" and "government" carry huge negative overtones, said Michael Rogin of the University of California at Berkeley.

The Reagan legacy creates a basic political dilemma for Clinton, some of the professors said. His core support, Edwards said, has come from traditional Democrats—older New Dealers, minorities, labor unionists and liberals—who hoped Clinton would fulfill the promise to "reverse the economic policies of the Eighties."

But he also campaigned as a "New Democrat," ready to produce leaner, smaller government and "end welfare as we know it." The public remains confused about his real goal, Edwards said, so he gets little credit when Congress acts on either of those agendas.

Stephen Skowronek of Yale argued that Clinton's effort to encourage "New Democrats" are like President Dwight Eisenhower's struggles to popularize "modern Republicanism" in the Fifties.

Just as Eisenhower's historical role was to reconcile Republicans to the legacy of the New Deal, Clinton's is to reconcile Democrats to the altered public psychology and the budgetary restraints of the Reagan-Bush era.

VII.

percent of the population is Roman Catholic, and far fewer are Muslim. Pope John Paul II visited in 1989, but Zinanga who, like Mugabe, is Catholic said his visit had no impact on the family-planning program.

"Religion is not something people are crazy about," he said. "There's a lot of Catholics, after church, they go and get their tubes tied or pick up their pills."

Local Catholic leaders hope to change that. They issued a letter to clergy last week denouncing the Cairo conference as an "assault on the integrity of the family" and demanding that the government fight "corrosive foreign influences and ideologies."

But Father Oskar Wermter, spokesman for the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference, concedes that he's fighting a losing battle. Birth control "has been largely accepted by large parts of the population," he said. "I must be honest. It is very controversial even here within the church."

Clinton Gets Little Credit for Economic Recovery (Washn)
By James Risen=
(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

WASHINGTON Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich is frustrated, and doesn't mind letting off a little steam when asked why he thinks his boss isn't getting credit for the nation's job-rich recovery.

Reich can't understand why President Clinton's approval ratings are sinking even while he presides over a robust economic turnaround that has generated 4.1 million new jobs since January 1993. What's more, on his second Labor Day in office, the president is ahead of the pace needed to live up to his promise of generating
8 million jobs in his four-year term; that growth has come at a time when inflation remains under control and the federal budget deficit is plunging.

"Why isn't he getting credit? You tell me," Reich demands, adding, "The negative press coverage of the president has been at the heart of it."

Indeed, for the Clinton administration, the failure of good employment and economic data to provide a political tonic for Clinton remains a mystery. It has been especially baffling for a team that won the White House on the strength of the rallying cry: "It's the economy, stupid."

All summer, as the administration has struggled with other nagging problems Whitewater, health care, Cuba and the crime bill
White House officials have repeatedly been frustrated by their inability to emphasize the positive and get the public to recognize the president for his economic accomplishments.

As a result, Clinton policy-makers now are beginning to echo the complaints of their predecessors in the Bush White House about news coverage of the economy.

Overshadowed is another factor that some analysts outside the administration suggest may loom larger: the deep-seated structural problems that are generating a feeling of insecurity among some Americans and can't be dispelled by less than two years worth of positive data.

"I think there is a jarring disconnect between media coverage and the very fine performance that we are seeing from the U.S. economy," says Laura D'Andrea Tyson, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. "I could go down the list of all the statistics that people normally look at. ... I could put the numbers from the Clinton years side-by-side with the statistics from the Bush administration, and I think a class of Econ 101 students would all agree by any objective measure that our performance has been far better."

(Begin optional trim)

To be sure, Clinton has gotten less credit than might be expected. While presidents only influence the economy on the margins, they still usually receive either credit or blame for its overall performance. After all, public opinion research shows, Reagan won a landslide reelection in 1984 and Bush suffered a humiliating defeat in 1992 largely based on voters' perception of their handling of the economy.

In Clinton's case, while the economic trends have generally been good during his term, 60 percent of network television news stories about the economy have been negative, according to a new study by the Center for Media and Public Affairs.

"I think it is true that Clinton hasn't gotten credit for the economy in the media," said Robert Lichter, director of the center. "And that translates into the public's perception of Clinton's handling of the economy. One of the big changes I think we've seen in the last 10 years is that the media-generated perception of the economy is beginning to have a much bigger impact on people's perception of conditions than ever before."

(End optional trim)

Yet even Tyson acknowledges that there may be more to it than just bad press. The larger economic trends that are squeezing some industries and types of jobs have left many unconvinced that the White House has improved their own personal outlook.

While the recovery has generated millions of new jobs during the past 19 months, there remains a continuing decline in wages and in the overall American standard of living. Coupled with the psychological impact of large corporate layoffs on Americans' sense of job security, those trends seem to have generated anxiety that is stubbornly resistant to the the recovery.

"It's great that we have job growth and unemployment is dropping, but we haven't done anything as a country to address our long-term problems," said Lawrence Mishel, an economist at the Economic Policy Institute in Washington and author of the just-published "The State of Working America."

"And so the middle-class squeeze that Bill Clinton railed against and made an issue in the 1992 campaign is still going on. People are still working more for less. And on that score, Clinton hasn't delivered," he said.

Mishel documented, for example, that U.S. wages, adjusted for inflation, have stagnated despite the recovery. Between 1989 and 1993, median real wages fell 2.6 percent. There has been only a little improvement since. "In the summer of 1994, we are just starting to return to the levels for family income that we saw before the recession in 1989," Mishel said.

Tyson agrees and says that the long-term decline in living standards took two decades and can't be reversed in one or two years.

(Begin optional trim)

The causes of stagnant wages are buried deep in the engine that drives growth U.S. productivity. While American companies and workers have seen their productivity level rise from their 1980s lows, it still has not returned to the level of the 1960s. Ultimately, living standards are linked to the nation's ability to turn out high quality products at low prices which is a good definition of productivity.

The income gap between highly educated workers and

unskilled laborers is also continuing to widen under Clinton, increasing the sense among Americans that the benefits of the recovery are not being equally shared. The top 25 percent of American families accounted for 51.3 percent of total national income in 1992, up from 48.2 percent in 1980.

Reich acknowledges that trend has not slowed since Clinton's team took over, and it has played a role in creating what he terms a new "anxious class" of Americans. "The notion that we're creating a bounty of bad jobs is a myth," he said. "Most new jobs are good jobs. The problem is that the jobs that remain for workers without skills or with the wrong skills are becooming grimmer and grimmer."

(End optional trim)

But what's worse for the administration, as it searches for ways to mine political capital from this year's employment and growth figures, is that the best economic news may already be in the past for Clinton.

The Federal Reserve Board's series of five interest rate hikes this year finally seem to be reining in the recovery. And economists fear that Friday's report of a slowdown in job growth in August could be an early sign that Clinton will have a hard time matching the performance of his first two years in office in 1995 and 1996. While the nation's unemployment rate held steady at 6.1 percent in August, the government reported that the increase in new jobs was the smallest since January and well below earlier expectations.

Labor Wars Hit Home in the Pride of the Prairie (Decatur, Ill.)

By Donald W. Nauss=

(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

DECATUR, Ill. On this city's northeast side, where strip shopping centers give way to smokestacks and cornfields, 22nd Street is the demarcation line for a global battle on three fronts.

It's where 4,000 workers 7 percent of the local work force have set up picket lines to protest their treatment by three multinational employers: one Japanese, one British and one American.

On this 100th anniversary of Labor Day, Decatur a farming and manufacturing center that calls itself the Pride of the Prairie stands as unwitting symbol, and some say victim, of the long and evolving struggle between big business and big labor.

Workers are on strike against Peoria-based Caterpillar and Japanese-owned Bridgestone/Firestone, while their soulmates at A.E. Staley Manufacturing Co. a home-grown concern bought several years ago by the British conglomerate Tate & Lyle have been locked out for 14 months.

It's a triple jolt this central Illinois town of 90,000 just now recovering from the '80s downsizing and the last recession doesn't need, and the international economic forces at work have triggered some predictable xenophobia: Picket signs bash both the British and Japanese.

The angry pickets and mass demonstrations may seem a throwback in an era of reputedly weak unionism. And the actual disputes today are less about wages than workplace changes that corporations argue must be made to make Decatur's products competitive in today's tough global markets.

But labor is making a stand in Decatur.

"It's our solidarity against theirs," said Larry Solomon, president of United Auto Workers union Local 751, which struck Caterpillar in June. "If we fall here, you will feel the waves to California and beyond."

(Begin optional trim)

And although Decatur has a long labor history, and a memory of bitter strikes, the current struggle is creating greater community discord than most residents can remember.

"There is a growing polarization," said Mayor Eric Brechnitz. "This is an epic struggle in which both sides are dug in and we are suffering as a result."

Labor experts say that what is unfolding in Decatur represents a microcosm of the bigger drama being played out by labor and management on a global scale.

"It may be a coincidence you have three major strikes involving three multinational companies in the same town," said Michael LeRoy, labor professor at the University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana. "But there are synergies developing between these disputes."

(End optional trim)

The overlapping labor actions have driven union solidarity to unusual lengths. The confluence of interests was displayed at a recent coalition meeting of about 25 members of the auto, rubber and paper workers union, as well as transportation and teachers union officials.

Such meetings, rare in the past, are held weekly. There is talk about media coverage. There is talk about fund-raising and helping families make ends meet. And there is talk about court injunctions, demonstrations and political action.

For Decatur, the labor strife has been about as welcome as a prairie tornado.

The area is just recovering from the devastation of the '80s when recession and foreign competition wrecked the Rust Belt and Decatur lost a third of its factory jobs and nearly 10 percent of its population.

The trend has reversed itself in recent years as the city has attracted new light manufacturing and high-tech industry. Still, the area's jobless rate stands at about 7.5 percent, compared to less than 6 percent for all of Illinois. And city officials fear that the labor strife will curb business expansion and dissuade other companies from moving here.

Merchants say the disputes carving a weekly payroll of up to $3 million out of the economy have also begun to hurt businesses. "Purchases of big-ticket items are being put on hold," said Ed Markgraf, manager of the local Sears store. "I'm cutting back inventory for the fall.

Even the opening of the Decatur Celebration, an annual summer festival, was disrupted when striking workers repeatedly interrupted a speech by Mayor Brechnitz, a stockbroker who union members regard as anti-union. Brechnitz also complains that the city's police department has been stretched thin by the labor actions.

While many residents are sympathetic to the workers, others are perplexed that they would risk jobs that pay $17 an hour, among the area's highest wages. "Some wives don't understand why their husbands are out there," said Markgraf.

A demonstration at Staley in early June resulted in the arrest of 47 union supporters, including a local minister. In another rally, police sprayed the crowd with pepper gas to maintain control.

And there are more demonstrations to come. At last week's joint meeting of leaders from the three unions, the union members talked of their concerns about being arrested in peaceful demonstrations.

Local officials worry what the unions may have up their sleeve for Labor Day The unions only say they plan to

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31, 1994

CAPITAL JOURNAL
By Gerald F. Seib

Confidence Gap: Press Trapped In Own Cynicism

AS A JOURNALIST, I have to say: Thank God for Congress.

Thanks not just for all those late-night theatrics and verbal spitball contests, which make for great news stories.

No, thanks for something else. As an institution, Congress is suffering such a spectacular fall in public confidence that it has obscured an uncomfortable fact: The press is suffering a similar shortfall in public confidence.



The evidence is scattered all around for any journalist with the stomach to look. When The Wall Street Journal and NBC News decided to test voters' feelings about President Clinton's trustworthiness, they asked Americans in a poll to rate the honesty of various leaders and institutions. President Clinton didn't exactly soar; 37% said he is very or mostly honest. But the news media did worse. Just 21% said it is very or mostly honest.

The Gallup Organization, which has been rating public confidence in various national institutions for more than 20 years, found in a survey this year that just 29% expressed a great deal or quite a lot of confidence in newspapers. That's down from 51% in 1979. Television news fared slightly better, but there's a dark cloud around TV's silver lining. Last year, 46% expressed confidence in television news, but this year that dropped 11 points, "the worst plunge of all institutions in the new poll," Gallup says.

SIMILARLY, REPUBLICAN pollster Frank Luntz has just completed a broad survey for the Hudson Institute and found that confidence in the news media fell below confidence in government.

After getting slightly nauseous over this, any tough reporter must of course quickly recover his wits and ask incisively: What's going on?

Obvious: The answer is that the press is caught up in a rampant wave of national cynicism, in which confidence in virtually every national institution is dropping. Congress, of course, is in even worse shape than the press. Gallup finds that just 18% now express a great deal or quite a lot of confidence in Congress, down from 42% two decades ago.

Over the same period of time, confidence in banks and public schools also has dropped nearly 25 percentage points, while organized religion and the Supreme Court have dropped about 10 points. Organized labor and big business rate below newspapers.

(Both the Gallup and Luntz research produce an intriguing corollary. The institution standing tallest in public confidence is the military, which tops each poll's list. The Clinton White House might note that as it seeks allies in its efforts to enhance the public credibility of its policies.)

But journalists owe it to the public and to themselves to ask whether there's a problem that goes beyond the general cynicism about all institutions. There probably is. One factor may be the changing nature of the "press" itself, at least as the public perceives it.

IN AN ERA of Gennifer Flowers scandals, lots of Americans seem to think that the National Enquirer and "Hard Copy" tabloid TV shows are in the same business as daily newspapers and network news divisions. That association doesn't exactly boost the credibility of the mainstream press. And by churning out breathless saturation coverage of O.J. Simpson murder proceedings, TV news divisions and newspapers only blur the distinctions between themselves and the sensational fringes of the industry, adding to their problems.

Mr. Luntz, the pollster, offers another theory. He thinks that, as cable television offers more Americans the chance to watch news events themselves, they are troubled when they see gaps between what they viewed and what they find reported later. And some analysts will argue the problem is the celebrated "liberal bias" of the press, though the thrashing Democrat Bill Clinton has taken as president ought to finally debunk that theory.

A more compelling theory is advanced by Kathleen Hall Jamieson of the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania. She and a colleague argue, in a paper to be presented this weekend at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, that the press's tendency to report not on the substance of public debates but on the strategic maneuvering and attacks of participants generates cynicism among voters. They learn little about content, but are led to conclude that all players are simply pursuing their own selfish interests.

Prof. Jamieson is about to begin research on a related theory: By focusing on strategic ploys rather than substance, she surmises, the press is making people cynical about news organizations as well as public officials. "We think that people are responding to press coverage negatively because the press is adopting a cynical posture," she says.

In short, what we have here is a compelling story line for journalists to ponder: Press wounded by its own weapon.

Detroit Free Press

On Guard For 163 Years

RUN AWAY?

Democrats should be proud to stand with their leader

President Bill Clinton comes to Detroit today to headline a fund-raiser for Democratic candidates on the November ballot in Michigan. At the same time, the president's own pollster is counseling Democratic incumbents to play up their own records, rather than their ties to Mr. Clinton or their party, during this year's re-election campaigns.

The wizardry of political pollsters and handlers routinely eludes us, so we ask naively: What, precisely, should Democratic candidates find objectionable about the president's performance?



Clinton: No need to run

Is it his 1993 budget package, which has helped strengthen the national economy, reduce the deficit, and bring greater fairness to the tax code? Republican lawmakers who last year issued dire — and, as it turned out, utterly wrong — predictions of job losses, bigger deficits and simultaneous inflation and recession as results of the budget plan aren't saying much now.

Or is it Mr. Clinton's support of the North American Free Trade Agreement, which has stimulated economic growth throughout the continent? The warnings of union bosses and demagogues across the political spectrum (or, as with Ross Perot, in orbits of their own) about massive NAFTA-related unemployment have held up about as solidly as, well, the GOP scaremongering about the budget deal.

Should Democrats flee from the president's insistence that all Americans have access to basic health care? His selection of two excellent, middle-of-the-road Supreme Court justices? His moderate-verging-on-conservative stances on crime control and welfare reform? His efforts to enact sane firearms regulations that Americans have demanded, to ensure constitutional freedom of choice for women, to make the nation more inclusive rather than polarized on religious or ideological grounds?

Certainly Mr. Clinton has had problems with foreign policy and with reforms of campaign finance and government practices. Has Congress done better?

Looking at a few of the Michigan candidates who will run on the Democratic ticket this fall, we think the president might seem better advised to steer clear of them, rather than the other way around. At least Mr. Clinton has shown his ability to take difficult positions and get important things done, often in the face of near-brutal opposition. That's an example more candidates, Democratic and Republican, should emulate.

The Teflon Congress

In the Media, Capitol Hill Gets Coddled While Clinton Gets Clobbered

By Howard Kurtz

IMAGINE THE media uproar if President Clinton, having strongly endorsed the crime bill, announced that he now had second thoughts and no longer supported key elements of the legislation.

"Clinton Caves Again." "Bumbling Bill Waffles." "The Flip-Flop Presidency." The press would have pilloried Clinton for bending with the political winds, and the pundits would have prescribed a spine transplant.

Yet the Republicans in Congress performed just this kind of double-gainer on the crime legislation without so much as a mild scolding from the Fourth Estate. Just when it looked like Clinton might win a major legislative victory, most GOP members in the House and Senate suddenly invented new objections to a measure they had already voted for. Yet this point was all but lost in what the press essentially covered as a partisan mudfight ultimately won by Clinton.

The plain truth is that the press holds the opposition party to a far lesser standard than the occupant of the White House. This is not because reporters are anti-Clinton or pro-Bob Dole or anti-midnight basketball. Congressional Democrats got the same sort of free ride when Ronald Reagan and George Bush were at the center of the media universe. The Democrats could oppose Reagan-Bush nominees on the flimsiest of grounds, or pass wish-list bills designed solely to draw a veto, and the journalistic spotlight never shone as harshly on them as it did on the Republican White House.

When the Senate first passed the crime bill last November, Republican Sen. Orrin Hatch of Utah called it "the right combination of tough-on-crime provisions and rehabilitation." A couple of weeks ago, he called essentially the same bill "a big, gravy-sucking pig." Republican Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas spoke last November of "the

See PRESS, C4, Col. 1

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The Teflon Congress

PRESS, From C1

toughest crime bill ever passed in American history." Last month Gramm said the bill "has $5 billion of absolute, pure, certifiable pork" and accused the Democrats of "coddling criminals."

Few journalists criticized Hatch, Gramm, Dole or any of the 42 Republican senators who had voted for a somewhat slimmer version of the crime bill. The overriding theme of the media coverage was about how badly the GOP's hardball tactics had hurt Clinton.

National news coverage always revolves around presidents; that's why Brit Hume and Andrea Mitchell and Wolf Blitzer are familiar faces. Each morning, hundreds of Washington journalists tackle some variant of the question: How did the president screw up today, and how will it affect the next election? The opposition party offers no such target; it is diffuse, a loose collection of politicians who are defined mostly by how they attack and undermine the nation's elected leader.

The result is that the press doesn't worry much about whether opposition lawmakers are stretching the truth or being wildly inconsistent. Most reporters, being cynical sorts, assume that the lawmakers operate from the basest partisan motives; that doesn't qualify as news. Their role in our president-centered world is to test the chief executive's mettle, and we don't particularly care how.

This is not meant as a defense of Bill Clinton, who has made more than his share of blunders in pushing his agenda. Nor is it meant to deride those who oppose Clinton initiatives on principled grounds. But when members of Congress attempt to derail legislation they have already approved with minor differences, and the press looks the other way, our hypocrisy meters seem to run out of batteries.

Remember when Clinton suggested to the nation's governors that he might settle for health insurance that covered 95 percent of the population, as opposed to the roughly 98 percent envisioned in his now-deceased legislation? The media made such a fuss that the president had to back off in the blink of a news cycle. But what about Dole, who had originally endorsed a more modest but still significant health reform bill of fellow Republican John Chafee? As the political climate for health reform grew chillier, Dole simply abandoned his support for Chafee and favored an increasingly minimalist approach. Few columnists raised a stink; in fact, it was hardly news at all.

Clinton, not surprisingly, has been touting the book "Out of Order" by Thomas E. Patterson, a Syracuse University political scientist, who says that press coverage of presidents has become "hypercritical." That thesis seems a bit overstated. But it's hard to argue with Patterson's assertion that "Republican leaders who shout the loudest and give the best sound bites get the most coverage. They get off the hook a little easier. It's absolutely correct that they don't get as much scrutiny."

Mandy Grunwald, Clinton's media adviser, put it more bluntly. "What gets covered is the battle: Here's what the president said, here's what Al D'Amato or Hatch or Dole said, end of story," she said. "That's an easier story to cover than that the Republicans are being disingenuous."

William Kristol, chairman of the Project for the Republican Future, conceded that "if you looked closely at Republican elected officials, they would have had a tougher time than the press gave them in sustaining the distinction between why they voted one way once and the other way another time .... Once you point out that they voted for something with some pork, it becomes a question of how much more pork makes a difference."

But the former Dan Quayle aide says the media have unfairly painted Republicans as the party of gridlock for opposing flawed legislation. "There's a huge bias in the mainstream Washington press corps in favor of 'bipartisan-



BY JAMES YANG FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

ship': Things should be worked out: legislation should be passed," he said. "If Congress doesn't pass legislation, it's *failed*, and Washington has *failed*, and it's less interesting for all the journalists who cover it."

Ironically, the original crime legislation was a classic left-right compromise on an issue that had been bogged down in Congress since the Bush administration. Sure it was oversold—the 100,000 new police officers supposedly funded by the bill is greatly overstated—but it was a mirage that both parties had a hand in devising.

Liberals had to swallow some 60 new federal death penalties and billions of dollars for prison construction. Conservatives had to accept a ban on assault weapons and (fewer) billions of dollars in social programs meant to deter crime. There was no doubt a fair amount of dubious spending in the bill, but it did manage to build a winning coalition on the quintessential election-year issue. That's why it passed the Senate 95 to 4.

But that was before Clinton had been bloodied by Whitewater, Paula Jones and legislative setbacks that sent his poll ratings south. And some Republicans made little effort to hide their partisan glee. House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich, who coordinated the GOP assault on the crime bill, told the New Yorker he was "giddy" while "watching the president get into his Mustang and drive straight into a ditch."

To be sure, the crime bill ballooned from $24 billion (Senate version) to $28 billion (House version) to $33 billion (House-Senate conference). And the Democrats larded the bill with such fuzzy targets as a $10 million grant for the alma mater of House Judiciary Chairman Jack Brooks. But there was always three times as much funding for police and prisons as for prevention programs, and the more costly version covered six years instead of five.

Still, the Republicans began to move the goalposts. First they said they would torpedo the bill unless the Democrats dropped a provision allowing racial statistics to be used in appeals of death penalty cases. Yet even after that provision was axed, 54 Republicans who had voted for the bill in April switched sides on Aug. 11, blocking the House from final approval.

In press accounts, however, these GOP defectors did not become the issue. Understandably, perhaps, journalists were more interested in the 46 Democrats who switched their votes, most of them under pressure from the National Rifle Association or the Black Caucus leadership. And the main story line, of course, was: Major Defeat for Clinton.

The Clintonites salvaged the bill by slicing $3 billion from it, drawing support from 46 House Republicans. But the compromise wasn't good enough for the Senate Republican leadership, which escalated the demands once again. The GOP mounted a procedural effort (requiring just 41 votes) to clear the way for a slew of weakening amendments, which would have killed the fragile compromise with the House.

What was drowned out by the Republicans' hue and cries of "pork!" is that while prevention programs had grown from $5.5 billion in the original Senate bill to $7 billion, funding for police and prisons had been boosted even more, from $18.7 billion to $23.2 billion. Yet headlines played up the much-derided midnight basketball programs, which accounted for just $40 million.

Every reporter in town knew that this was, at bottom, an effort to prevent Clinton from stealing the Republicans' thunder on crime (just as Democrats had tried to embarrass Reagan and Bush by holding grandstanding hearings on such issues as "Debategate" and the "October Surprise"). But the conventions of objective journalism reduced the battle to politics as usual. "Caught between Republican demands for changes in a $30.2 billion crime bill and Democratic refusal to do so, the Senate remained paralyzed Wednesday," USA Today said in a typical lead. "Attorney General Reno said fat and pork are phony issues," ABC's John Cochran reported. One side says this, the other side says that.

One exception was a Washington Post report by Kenneth J. Cooper saying that if the bill was indeed full of pork, Republicans "didn't wake up and smell the bacon frying until recently." It ran on page 17. A front-page story that day declared that "the past 10 days have been as bad as it gets" for Clinton.

Even the bill's final passage was immediately overshadowed by the collapse of Clinton's effort on health care, the Cuban refugee crisis and other travails. "Clinton Will Have Little Chance to Savor Victory," the Los Angeles Times announced. The Republicans, meanwhile, reaped a publicity bonanza as several publications ran pieces on Gingrich and Dole.

Kristol, in an interesting twist, praises the Republicans for having the courage to oppose a crime bill they had supported a few months earlier. "The thing that changed politically was Clinton's weakness," he said. "Clinton's weakness allowed some Republicans to be more principled than they would otherwise be. They flip-flopped in the right direction."

But Paul Begala, a Clinton strategist, is still crying foul. "The press has abandoned its referee function," he said. "If Bob Dole says the moon is made of green cheese, and the president says no, it's made of rock, the headline reads 'Dole, Clinton Spar on Lunar Landscape.' "

In the Senate, the Dole Filibuster Busts The Designs of the Founding Fathers

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST

By Thomas Geoghegan

YEARS FROM now, when people in Washington wake up and realize what happened, maybe someone will make a Hollywood political thriller about the filibuster "coup" of 1994. Instead of "Z," the title should be "Zzzz." For when the nation's capital experienced an extra-constitutional transfer of fundamental power, few noticed or cared.

At the heart of the New Constitutional Order is the threat of filibuster. The filibuster, as defined by William Safire's political dictionary is "the technique by which a minority of senators attempts to defeat or alter legislation by the device of continually talking." Except that in the Dole era, the filibuster is more pernicious and more common. Now senators don't have to keep actually talking for six nights in a row. All they have to do is threaten to filibuster. Under Rule 22 of the Senate the only way to close debate is get 60 senators to concur. By using the filibuster threat liberally, conservative forces in the Senate have thwarted the Clinton administration's legislative agenda time and again.

In 1992, independent presidential candidate Ross Perot said the U.S. ought to have a new constitution. Well, now we effectively do. Unlike the design of the Founding Fathers, which envisioned majority rule (with carefully defined exceptions) in both houses of Congress, we now have one house, the Senate, governed by supermajority rule: 60—not 50—votes required for every bill. Make that for every bill that the Senate minority leader chooses.

While the filibuster rule has been in effect since the 1820s, it has never restrained any administration as effectively as it has President Clinton's. True, the filibuster threat was used 90 times in the 1980s, when Republicans occupied the White House, according to a Congressional Research Service study cited recently in the New Yorker. But in the '90s, at the current rate, the Senate will use the filibuster 200 times.

The president had to give up on comprehensive health care reform, not because he didn't have a chance of

See FILIBUSTER, C4, Col. 1

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The Dole Filibuster

FILIBUSTER, From C1

mustering a majority, but because he couldn't muster 60 votes. On the crime bill, Clinton had to make funding concessions to the Republicans, not to win a majority—he had that—but to win 60 votes. In July, the administration abandoned its labor law reform—strongly supported by organized labor as a way to address the 20-year decline in U.S. wages—because it lacked 60 votes. Last year, Clinton had to abandon his so-called "stimulus" package, his main vehicle for fulfilling his campaign promise to "invest" in America because he lacked the super-majority.

The filibuster threat has hindered Clinton like no previous U.S. president because Bob Dole has expanded its use with impunity.

Historically, the practice of filibustering emerged in the 1820s when the Senate was divided between slave and free states. Unlimited debate, without cloture, was an additional way to maintain the deadlock—and slavery. For the next century, the filibuster was a rule that effectively meant: "On bills affecting blacks, two-thirds of the Senate must approve." The filibuster was occasionally used for other things, but that was the price the Senate was willing to pay, to have a special indirect voting rule on civil rights issues. In the 1940s, the threat of filibuster was used to beat down anti-lynching bills; in the 1950s, it served mainly as a way to protect Jim Crow laws that discriminated against blacks.

The Dole era filibuster has not changed this reactionary tradition, merely expanded it. What Chief Justice Harlan Stone once called our "insular minorities" are more insular than ever, locked up in the central cities of our largest states. These are the people who get hurt, over and over, by the Dole era filibuster. Aid to cities, labor law reform, public works projects, raising the minimum wage: for these types of programs, any positive action takes 60 votes.

And the most objectionable part of all is that this new requirement is unplemented haphazardly, at the whim of Dole or any other senator. It would be one thing if the Senate as an institution decided that this or that type of bill ought to require 60 votes. But this is exactly what the Senate does not decide. No one has the responsibility of deciding. No one is accountable.

As a result, people have no idea in advance how many votes it will take to pass a bill. A citizen's group cannot know whether to push for campaign finance. A union does not know whether to push for a labor law reform. A member of the House of Representatives does not know whether to risk voting or a bill, or even proposing a bill. Even the president cannot know, in advance, which of his bills will take 60 votes, and which only a majority of, say, 45 to 50.

Whose republic is this, anyway?

Very few will speak out against this power grab. A weakened president doesn't want to offend anyone, with his legislative agenda at stake. Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell seems terminally polite. So it is time for somebody else—a public interest group, a congressman interested in breaking the Capitol gridlock, even a mad-as-hell senator—to challenge the new super-majority rule in court.

One of the first lawyers to attack the new filibuster as unconstitutional is the former White House general counsel, Lloyd Cutler. Over a year ago, in The Post, Cutler wrote two articles claiming the use of the filibuster violates Article I of the Constitution. Why? Because Article I allows the Senate to vote only by "concurrence," which Cutler argued, meant a simple majority. Where the Founders wanted a super-majority, i.e., a two-thirds for treaties or to override a presidential veto, they explicitly said so.

But if someone did sue, whom would they sue? The most obvious defendant, ironically enough, is the Senate's presiding chair, Vice President Al Gore. It would be intriguing to put the Clinton Administration in the position of having to defend the Dole era filibuster in court.

So what about Cutler's argument? Is the claim of original intent a strong enough legal argument to prevail in court? It seems clear that the framers of the Constitution would be against this type of filibuster. The authors of the Federalist Papers—James Madison, Alexander Hamiliton and John Jay—denounced super-majorities, except where expressly provided for in the case of treaties.

But against original intent, one must weigh legislative independence. Why shouldn't the Senate have the right to decide what "concurrence" means? First, the routine requirement of a super-majority upsets the whole balance of power between the branches of government. Look at the deadlock that Washington is in now. The House and the president are weakened in relation to the Senate in that they are less able to implement their agendas. The Senate is already set up as a type of minority veto. By giving all states, no matter how populous the same number of senators, the Senate overrepresents small (and mostly Republican) states. The Dole era filibuster with its 60 votes requirement ratchets up this built-in minority veto by a factor of 1.25 or more, and thus disrupts the Founders' finely calibrated system of checks and balances.

But, the constitutional lawyers will ask, isn't the Senate's voting procedure a political question that the courts should not presume to decide? The "political question" doctrine, as articulated by the courts, holds that judges should generally abstain from interfering in the affairs of other branches of government.

But not always. In cases like *Powell v. McCormick* in 1969 and others, the Supreme Court has ruled on the constitutionality of House rules and procedures. As Justice David Souter recently pointed out, Congress should not have free rein on procedural rules. In the 1993 case, *U.S. v. Nixon* (not Richard but Walter, an obscure federal judge convicted of taking bribes), the Supreme Court held it would not review the Senate's impeachment of Nixon, because it was a "political question." But the court's reasoning referred to the unique phrasing of the impeachment clause of the Constitution, which says that the Senate had "sole" power to impeach. Souter, concurring, said the word "sole" even here did not mean, in his view, that "anything goes."

What if, Souter asked, the Senate started making decisions by "flip of the coin?" That would be so abusive that the "political question" doctrine would not apply.

Isn't the filibuster rule at least as abusive as Souter's hypothetical "flip of the coin?" Indeed, the current filibuster is not even the Senate's flip of the coin but Bob Dole's or Jesse Helms's or Phil Gramm's as to whether 60 votes or a majority is needed to pass a bill. This the real evil of the filibuster. No one decides in advance that health care reform or any other legislation needs a super-majority. No one is ever accountable.

The evil of the filibuster is much like the problem addressed by the courts in the "delegation doctrine." Under this line of reasoning, the Supreme Court has long held that Congress cannot delegate its own powers to others without limits or standards. Of course, the filibuster rule does not "give away" power in quite this sense. But it does transfer the Senate's power over the most crucial issue of all—how many votes it takes to pass a bill—to a shifting, unidentified minority bloc who make the 60-vote decision on an ad hoc basis. This is a classic example of an arbitrary use of power.

Suppose a constitutional lawsuit against the Dole era filibuster was brought and the Clinton administration or the vice president were effectively the defendant. Would the administration that has been crippled by gridlock fight for the rule in court? Even if Gore and others did not want a legal battle, they would have the opportunity to force the Senate to confront the issue.

For example, Gore could go to the court and say: "Yes, I will raise the 'political question' defense in this case because I believe the Senate itself is mature enough to deal appropriately with the growing abuse of the filibuster rule. I am appointing today a blue-ribbon commission of legal scholars and senators to advise me with respect to the legality and wisdom of the filibuster rule." Then, at last, the administration would bring this constitutional crisis to public attention.

The great tragedy of the Senate minority's coup is that most Americans don't know that it has happened. They only know that Washington seems to be in paralysis when it comes to protecting their wages or expanding their health care. If nothing else, a legal challenge to the filibuster rule could get the attention of—and help educate—the citizenry of a demoralized republic, in more trouble than it really knows.

FURTIVE TRIPS. [illegible] letters, consultants and commissions are feeding off [illegible] interest. Law firms such as Miami's Holland & Knight [illegible] to counsel clients. Reflecting the broad spectrum of views on investment, interest groups run the gamut from the U.S.-Cuba Trade & Economic Council, which is planning to host a luncheon in early October with Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina, to the U.S.-Cuba Business Council, which describes itself as a "post-embargo, post-Castro" group.

What's missing, it appears, is the corporate will to force the issue of trade with Cuba publicly. Most businesses remain loath to speak out against the embargo for fear of angering some factions of the Cuban-American community—though Carlson's Blyth spoke in favor of lifting the sanctions in congressional hearings this spring and says the company has had no reaction.

For most companies, Cuba is simply too small and too poor a market to risk political exposure. But the end of the embargo is nearly certain. Although foreign companies are quickly establishing beachheads in tourism, oil, and telecommunications, [illegible] executives content themselves with furtive fact-finding trips. Cubans "have been hurt, and that pushes us to work against the embargo," says Roberto [illegible], president of Miami-based Cuban-American Entrepreneurs & Professionals. It's what everyone else, however, seem doomed to wait out what promises to be a long diplomatic slog.

By Gail [illegible] in Miami, with Ruth Pearson [illegible] Mark [illegible] in Washington

Commentary by Douglas Harbrecht

BOB DOLE'S GATT ATTACK IS PURE POLITICS

To hear Senate Republican Minority Leader Bob Dole tell it, there is no rush for Congress to pass new world-trade rules this year. "Be careful and do the job right," intones the longtime free-trader. Hasty action would deprive the public of learning what's in the pact, he warns.

Wait a minute. Is Dole talking about the same deal that took seven years—spanning three Administrations—to negotiate? The pact that Congress has been haggling over since January? The accord that Dole and his fellow Republicans support in its basic contours? The answer is yes, yes, and yes.



For Clinton, GATT's passage would cap the work of seven years and three Presidents

JUST A PLOY. What's really behind Dole's high-minded rhetoric is a GOP ploy to go for President Clinton's political jugular. The party that stands for free trade would rather kill every Clinton-backed initiative this year than advance the cause of trade liberalization by approving a new General Agreement on Tariffs & Trade. It's a dangerous game that Dole and the GOP should abandon.

Dole's go-slow approach is one more attempt to kill anything Clinton wants

Just a few months ago, passage of a revised GATT and creation of a World Trade Organization to enforce it seemed assured. Now, the White House frets that the deal will crumble. For one thing, 117 other nations that have signed GATT are awaiting U.S. approval. Unless it comes, recalcitrants such as France and some developing nations may withdraw.

The WTO is the target of the same kind of scare tactics that opponents on the left and right used against the North American Free Trade Agreement. Conservative Patrick J. Buchanan excoriates the WTO as a U.N. of trade that will strip the U.S. of its national sovereignty. Ralph Nader says it will give foreigners the power to scuttle environmental and health laws.

Sound familiar? These were the same false prophets who predicted that NAFTA would trigger the mass exodus of 6 million jobs to Mexico, permit the shipment of tainted food to the north, and depress wages in both countries. Instead, U.S.-Mexico trade has soared, border towns are booming, and Mexico just held the cleanest democratic election in its history.

Buchanan and Nader are tapping into a strain of American isolationism that one U.S. official concedes is "damn good politics." It's also *déjà vu*. In 1948, when the first GATT was signed, Congress refused to back an international trade organization for fear it would constrain U.S. sovereignty. That left a toothless trade group that had only limited success trying to fend off protectionist practices.



The WTO is no U.N. It's simply a pact among nations to try to lower tariffs and trade barriers. As the world's largest free market, the U.S. should be the panel's 800-pound gorilla, leading other nations against closed-trade practices. And just in case critics are right, Clinton accepted a House GOP provision that would let the U.S. pull out of the WTO after five years.

Lower tariffs in the new GATT rules will add $1 trillion to the U.S. economy and create 2 million jobs in the next decade, the Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development estimates. But the most persuasive case for strengthening the world trading system is that there is no alternative. The global economy is changing so rapidly that without order, trading blocs will emerge—potentially prompting massive trade wars. With the most comprehensive trade pact hanging in the balance, more time is not what lawmakers need. To the contrary, time is running out.

Harbrecht covers trade wars for BUSINESS WEEK from Washington.

Washington Outlook

EDITED BY OWEN ULLMANN

CLINTON IS STREAMLINING GOVERNMENT— BUT VOTERS MAY NOT CARE

"Efficient government" strikes voters as an oxymoron, and for good reason. From Richard Nixon's Ash Commission to Ronald Reagan's Grace Report, Presidents have declared war on bureaucracy for decades, yet the federal behemoth grows only more bloated. So skepticism will be in order on Sept. 14 when President Clinton releases a one-year anniversary "Reinventing Government" report and boasts that sweeping reform is at hand.

But only cynics would dismiss the ReGo effort headed by Vice-President Al Gore as worthless. The Administration actually has made a promising start. Agencies insist they're delivering services more efficiently, from distributing food stamps electronically to shortening approval time for government mortgage insurance from five months to five days. The Administration's bottom line: It's on track toward a five-year goal to save $108 billion and is halfway toward downsizing U.S. payrolls by 272,000, in part by copying private-sector buyouts.



SHOW TIME: GORE DOES LETTERMAN

Government reform was a key element of Clinton's campaign as a New Democrat. To keep his pledge, he "needs to convince Americans that he can fix government," says Al From, president of the centrist Democratic Leadership Council. That's why the Veep has a full-time "reinvention" staff and why many agencies have their own ReGo czars—all trying to improve customer (read: taxpayer) satisfaction. Gore even awards tiny hammers to those who bust up bureaucracy.

By the end of September, agencies are supposed to meet new performance standards. The Internal Revenue Service, for example, must provide refunds within 14 days to taxpayers who file electronically, and the U.S. Geological Survey will try to fill requests for maps within two days, rather than the current six weeks.

There's more. Under a new governmentwide procurement law, the Pentagon is eliminating onerous paperwork requirements for vendors, saving billions in the purchase of commercial products. The Interior Dept. has transferred 300 Bureau of Reclamation employees from Denver headquarters to area offices to work more closely with customers in the field. Mortgage companies can expect to save $4 million a year because the Housing & Urban Development Dept. has automated the processing of FHA insurance applications. The Agriculture Dept. is consolidating field offices from 3,700 to 2,500 so farmers won't have to traipse to different locations for various services.

SACRED COWS. But change isn't coming easily. Reform faces trouble from congressional barons who protect pet agencies. The House barred personnel cuts at the Veterans Health Administration, for example. And conservatives will try to block civil-service reforms that give unions job-security concessions in return for flexible work rules.

Anticipating such opposition, the ReGo-nauts decided at the outset to steer clear of major reorganizations, such as consolidating 100-plus job-training programs. Useless sacred cows such as the Rural Electrification Administration and the Interstate Commerce Commission will be spared, too.

But the decision to reinvent existing services rather than deinvent unwanted ones may mean Clinton won't get the big political payoff he seeks. Voters won't thank him for improving programs they don't want. "It's like making the buggy-whip factory more competitive," scoffs Scott A. Hodge, an analyst at the conservative Heritage Foundation. "They'll just find ways to waste our money more efficiently." With a voter mind-set like that, Bill Clinton and Al Gore shouldn't be surprised if their good deeds go unrewarded in the voting booth.

By Susan B. Garland, with Amy Barrett

CAPITAL WRAPUP

POLITICS

Former Housing & Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp is hinting to top Republicans that he may sit out the '96 GOP Presidential race. Kemp, who lags far behind Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole in early polls, has said he is having too much fun making money on the lecture circuit to give it up for the campaign. Republican insiders say the ex-quarterback may change signals, but they're betting he stays on the sidelines. One sign of a no-go: Kemp has been slow to assemble a campaign team, while Dole, ex-Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, former Tennessee Governor Lamar Alexander, and Texas Senator Phil Gramm are recruiting top talent. Another omen: Kemp plans to pass up the Christian Coalition's September conclave.

LEGAL REFORM

The Clintonites are about to launch civil-justice reforms—but they'll be meek. With two lawyers in the First Family, the White House wants to avoid the kind of controversy the Bush Administration stirred with attacks on the litigation explosion. Instead, the Justice Dept. plans to try to clear crowded federal court dockets by using arbitration to resolve disputes. Another idea: creating special courts for family and business conflicts.

THE ADMINISTRATION

President Clinton may be supporting anticrime legislation, welfare reform, and immigration curbs to woo moderate voters, but his appointments appeal to old-fashioned Democrats. The Prez has tapped U.S. Judge Abner J. Mikva, a liberal ex-congressman from Illinois, as his new chief counsel. Robert Greenstein, head of the leftish Center on Budget & Policy Priorities, is in line for deputy director of the Office of Management & Budget. And a front-runner for a seat on the Federal Trade Commission is Georgetown University law professor Robert Pitofsky, a liberal antitrust expert.

COMMERCE

Clinton's Art of the Deal

The President and his Commerce Secretary woo Big Business with an aggressive "Buy American" policy

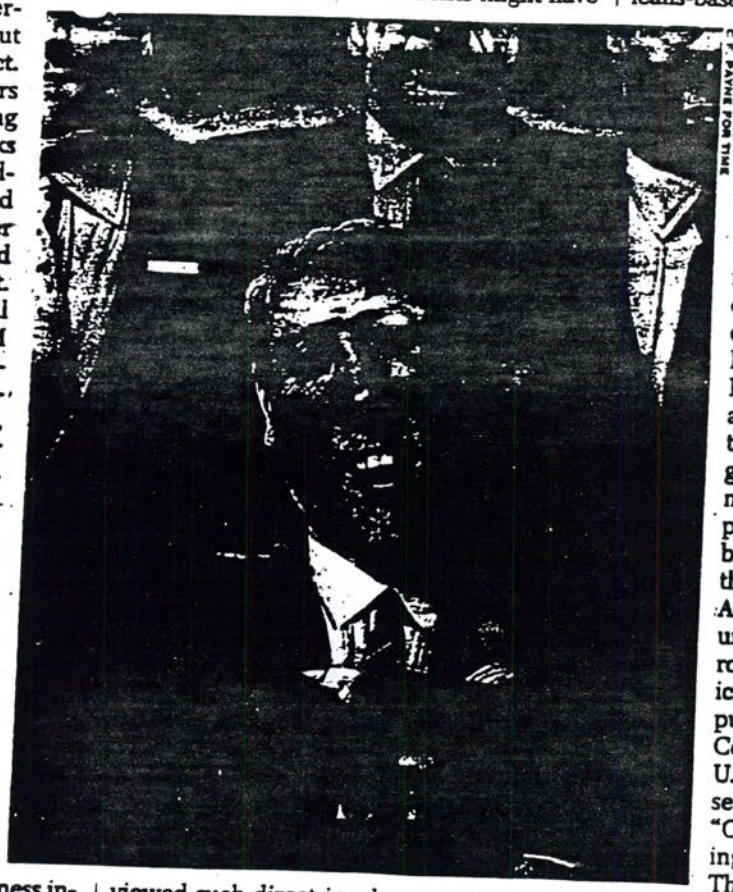
By JANICE CASTRO

SHIFTS IN HISTORY AREN'T USUALLY this well orchestrated, even in Germany. Last week the Allies formally ended their 49-year occupation of Berlin, withdrawing the last of their troops; Chancellor Helmut Kohl, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, British Prime Minister John Major and French President François Mitterrand marked the occasion by delivering heartfelt speeches about friendships forged in conflict. But even as ordinary Berliners were toasting the departing American soldiers, a few blocks away Germany's business leaders were greeting a star-studded U.S. corporate delegation eager to get the new era of peace and prosperity off to a lucrative start. Among the Americans: General Motors CEO John Smith, IBM chairman Louis Gerstner, Goldman Sachs chief Stephen Friedman, Motorola's Robert Galvin, Morgan Stanley's Richard Fisher and Dwayne Andreas of Archer-Daniels-Midland. Said U.S. Ambassador to Germany Richard Holbrooke: "For almost five decades in the postwar period, the relationship [between the U.S. and Europe] was basically military. The departure of the troops from Berlin represents the beginning of an emphasis on trade and economics."

Very simple economics: "Buy American." For all the arguments about whether Bill Clinton is a new Democrat or an old one, when it comes to pushing U.S. business interests abroad, no recent President has demonstrated Clinton's willingness to roll up his sleeves and dive into the sometimes grubby details of international dealmaking, or "national export policy," as it is styled by the Administration.

Clinton, in fact, is earning a reputation as Closer in Chief. If George Bush was famous for getting out the Filofax and phoning world leaders in pursuit of diplomatic goals, it was Bill Clinton who picked up the phone last summer and talked King Fahd of Saudi Arabia into buying $6 billion worth of Boeing and McDonnell Douglas civilian aircraft, and then got the Export-Import Bank to sweeten the deal so that European rival Airbus could not steal it away. Last May the President helped AT&T close a $4 billion deal for Saudi telecommunications modernization. He intervened again last June to persuade the Brazilian government to award a $1.4 billion radar project to Raytheon.

Whereas other Presidents might have viewed such direct involvement as unfair interference with the free market—or maybe just déclassé mercantilism—Clinton, the putative populist, has turned out to be a natural in the role of salesman. It is not, of course, a selfless role: Administration officials maintain that by boosting U.S. exports, 13 million new American jobs can be created by the year 2000. To drive home the point after the President helped close the Boeing deal, Vice President Al Gore visited a Boeing plant in Seattle to announce the good news to cheering workers there.



J. P. PAYNE FOR TIME

Corporate leaders are now clamoring for seats on Commerce Secretary Ron Brown's plane whenever he ventures abroad to drum up trade. Brown—glad-handing, glib, a kind of *über*-Jaycee—is focusing his efforts mostly on such large emerging markets as Indonesia, South Korea and Latin America. China is the biggest prize: during the next five years, as it struggles to industrialize as rapidly as possible, the People's Republic is expected to go on a $1 trillion shopping spree for foreign technology. Leading a group of 24 U.S. business executives on a whirlwind trip to China two weeks ago, Brown helped net deals worth nearly $6 billion. The agreements included a commitment by Shanghai Airlines to purchase 11 Boeing 757 passenger jets ($1 billion), a telecommunications contract for AT&T ($500 million) and a $1 billion deal for the New Orleans-based Entergy Corporation to build an electric-power plant. While some of these transactions had been in the works for more than a year, sources close to the negotiations said the Chinese side did not sign off on them until Brown's road show came to town.

It remains to be seen how much Clinton will reap politically for his team's efforts at succoring Big Business. Since his Inauguration, the Democratic Party has received record amounts of "soft money" donations, largely from corporate givers—some of whom, perhaps not coincidentally, have accompanied Brown on his jaunts. Yet businessmen and -women say they remain uneasy with an Administration that seems to understand their needs on the road but is all too willing to criticize—or tax—them in order to pursue domestic initiatives. Complains Bruce Josten, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce senior vice president for policy: "One day the President is bashing pharmaceutical companies. The next day he is breaking down doors to sell exports in China and Saudi Arabia. This Administration talks very pro-business in some respects, yet Secretary of Labor [Robert] Reich will go to an AFL-CIO convention and say, 'Your agenda is our agenda. We need bigger and stronger unions.' That leaves business confused." Well, maybe so. But when Ron Brown starts packing his bags, some of the most powerful executives in corporate America start packing theirs. —*Reported by William Dowell/Hong Kong, Suneel Ratan and Adam Zagorin/Washington and Bruce van Voorst/Berlin*

from Jack Mel

FOREIGN REPORT

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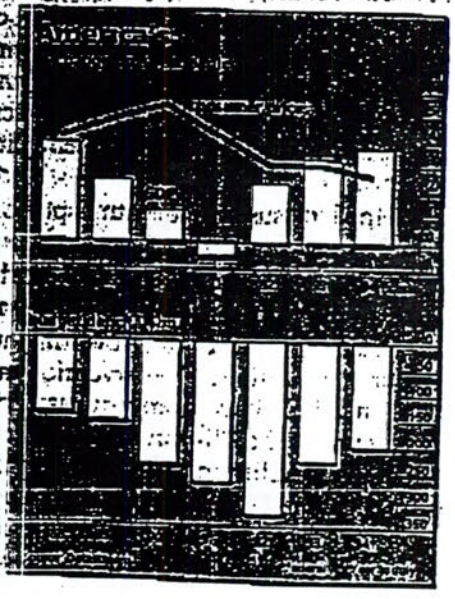
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The Bill Clinton success story

Too many people have confused flaws with failure

ON APRIL 14th, against the prevailing current of media opinion in America and Britain, FOREIGN REPORT said that the much-criticised Bill Clinton was almost certainly not guilty of any crime over the impenetrable "Whitewater affair" and in fact was building a substantial record as an energetic president. Since then, the Whitewater investigation has gone nowhere. Yet the president has been subjected to vitriolic attack from the religious right, his bitter enemies in Arkansas (his home state) and other assorted Clinton-haters. He has also been sniped at repeatedly by Republican Senator Bob Dole and his friends. At times, privately, the president seems rather downhearted. But he is still building that record. By any standards it is impressive.



The economy:
What matters most to voters is the state of the economy. Clinton has:

- Won congressional approval for a deficit-cutting budget.
- Negotiated a deal on the Uruguay round of the GATT.
- Campaigned hard for, and won congressional approval of, the extension of the North American Free-Trade Agreement to Mexico.

• Presided over an economy that grew by 3.1% in 1993 and is likely to grow by 3.7% this year, with inflation running at only 2.6%. America has been helping to pull much of the industrialised world out of recession.

Domestic politics:
After the economy, voters are most concerned about law and order.
• As the first president with the bravery to take on the formidable National Rifle Association, Clinton has campaigned hard for, and won passage of, two laws limiting the access to firearms. One of these laws also deals with the government's fight against crime.
• As the first president to place universal health care firmly on the agenda, he has persisted in the face of the overwhelming odds. Clinton has agreed with his wife that, although she knows more about the plan than most people, it would be best if she conducted her advocacy discreetly (such is the power of the religious right and its hatred of "intelligent women").
• Federal-government restrictions on abortion have been eased.
• More women and minorities have been appointed to federal posts, making the government more representative of the population at large.

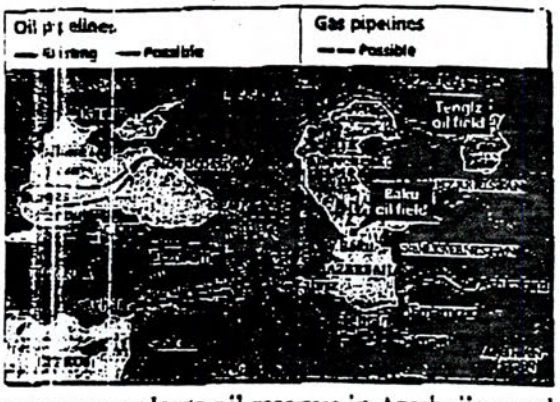
Foreign policy:
Voters preferred Clinton to George Bush because he indicated he would spend less time than Bush on foreign policy and more on home affairs. Nonetheless Clinton has:
• Maintained good relations with Russia and kept going the dismantling of inter-continental ballistic missiles in the United States, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan; ensured that the IMF helped the Russian economy with a large loan when it was badly needed; and done what he can to prevent a turn in Russia to radical nationalism.
• Helped bolster the independence of the East European countries that were members of the Warsaw Pact by admitting them to NATO's North Atlantic Co-operation Council and as "Partners for Peace". (Although Russia has also joined Partnerships for Peace, it will be allowed no veto over NATO's growing ties with the East Europeans.)
• Successfully applied pressure (with others) on Russia to withdraw its forces from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The same is now being done in Moldova.
• Presided over agreements between Israel and both the Palestine Liberation Organisation and Jordan; told his secretary of state, Warren Christopher, to give high priority to a similar agreement with Syria; and kept up the impetus of the peace process.
• Helped to sustain the atmosphere (no more, but no less) in which the Irish Republican Army decided to declare a ceasefire.
• Did his best to avoid having to send the Marines into Haiti (an action that would not win support at home), while creating a consensus among a number of Latin American and Caribbean governments, as well as in the UN Security Council, in favour of a multilateral intervention rather than an all-American one.

True, there have been u-turns and delays. But no dangers have been dropped. What terrifies the Clinton-haters most is the possibility that, for all their efforts, legal or libellous, Clinton will be re-elected in 1996. Clinton may play two election-campaign aces. One is a modest tax cut for middle-income taxpayers. Another is a modest reduction in the capital-gains tax.

If the economy continues to grow at its current rate, he may be able to afford both

tax cuts, while continuing to hold down the budget deficit. Republican voters would lap that up and Democrats would not complain either. Where would that leave the Clinton-haters?

The "great game" in oil and gas



POWERPLAYS in the Trans-Caucasus and Central Asia before the first world war used to be called the "great game". What mattered then were the approaches to British India through Persia and Kaiser Wilhelm's Middle Eastern ambitions (which were so great that German propaganda in Arabia claimed the Kaiser had converted to Islam). There is now a new "great game". It is about power over large oil reserves in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan and natural-gas deposits (plus some oil) in Turkmenistan. Nobody has won this game—yet.

All the usual suspects are playing. Russia's rulers think the deposits fall within their sphere of influence. Iran would like to divert oil and gas exports southwards. Turkey is busy angling for pipelines to pass across its territory.

"When they started out," says a western expert, "the oil companies were rather naive. They thought it would all be straightforward. Now they realise that the Russians are going to have a major say in what happens—and will not let up the pressure until they get it."

In Azerbaijan BP has the lead in a consortium that includes American and Norwegian companies and the uninvited Lukoil of Russia. It is preparing a huge contract. This is to pump oil through Armenia (if peace with Azerbaijan can ever be agreed) or a bit of Iran and across Turkey to a well-established terminal on the Mediterranean at Ceyhan (see map). This terminal used to handle Iraqi oil from a pipeline until it was cut off by UN sanctions.

FOREIGN REPORT has described some of the machinations of the parties involved in the Azerbaijan oil deal, which still has not been signed. The Russians want this oil to go by pipeline north-west to Novorossiysk and thence to customers by ship through the Bosporus. Turkey, worried about a calamitous oil spill, has imposed shipping limits which will slow down such traffic.

The Turks have an ulterior motive: they want the oil to reach the Mediterranean, not in unprofitable and dangerous Russian super-tankers, but along a lucrative trans-Turkey pipeline.

Another part of the "great game" was a recent agreement between Iran and Turkmenistan, which is rich in natural gas. It was signed by Iran's President Ali Akbar Rafsanjani and Turkmenistan's dictator, President Saparmurat Niazov. It provides for a pipeline to be built from Turkmenistan to Tabriz and through Turkey to Turkmenistan's customers. This route would bypass Russia, which says it does not have the pipeline capacity to carry more Turkmen gas.

ISSUES

BY CAROL CLURMAN

Can Clinton's AmeriCorps help?

'A lot of America's problems could be solved one on one,' the president says

PRESIDENT CLINTON, WHO this past week launched a national service program for college-bound youth, says volunteering should start at even younger ages — and be required for graduation from public school.

"I would like to see every state adopt as part of its minimum school standards a community service requirement," Clinton said in a recent Oval Office interview with USA WEEKEND.

About one-quarter of the country's public schools already have made community service work mandatory, in spite of protests — and lawsuits — from some parents who say schools don't have the right to force children to do so-called volunteer work.

Clinton's community service program, called AmeriCorps, is aimed at helping college-bound young people pay for their education and get a taste of community service in the bargain *(see box)*. Interview excerpts:







AmeriCorps pilot programs in action: Helping to restore Colorado wetlands, left, and tutoring Boston schoolchildren

Q: Isn't it still going to be tough for students to pay for college, even with the $4,725 a year from AmeriCorps?

Sure it is. But it's something. You have to put it in context with the other thing we're doing with college education, which has not gotten enough publicity. A major part of the economic program I passed last year, which reduced the deficit, was also a dramatic reformation of the college loan program. Under the new system, young people can borrow money to go to college at a lower interest rate and can exercise the option to pay it off over as long as 30 years as a percentage of their income. These two things together will make a big difference.

Q: What's your advice to students who don't get into AmeriCorps and don't qualify for the student loans?

Well, nearly all of them do [qualify for loans].

Q: What kind of influence has Mrs. Clinton had on your feelings about community service?

She did a lot of volunteer work when she was a young person. When she came to Arkansas, she started a legal services clinic there. When I became governor, she'd already gotten some women together who were family advocates and formed a group called the Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families. She's been my role model, because it's been so much more a part of the fabric of her everyday life even than it has been of mine.

Q: Has it been hard for her these days, now that she is so caught up in ...

Yes. I think she misses that a lot.

Q: Do you see her going back to community service?

I think she would in a heartbeat if she thought she could, if she had the chance. We like the life we had before we came here, because it was informal, open and full — very full of the things we cared about. And a big part of that for her was the community work she did.

Q: Have you spoken with Chelsea about joining AmeriCorps, or has she expressed any interest in it?

She's fairly big into community service. She did a week's worth of work this summer on her own with her church group here in downtown Washington with young children who came from poor families. And her school, Sidwell [Friends], requires all students to do community service work each semester. So my little girl [now 14 years old] will probably outdistance her parents in her devotion to community service.

Q: Do you think public schools should require it?

Absolutely I do. Several years ago, I served with

MORE ON AMERICORPS

- 100,000 jobs in the next three years.
- Workers get minimum wage, health benefits and $4,725 per year toward college (up to two years).
- Cost: $1.5 billion, approved by Congress.
- 375 nonprofit groups have signed on.
- Everybody is eligible; individual programs select workers.
- What critics say: It's just another government program that won't work; it's not big enough to make a real difference.

the then-governor of New Jersey, Tom Kean, on a Carnegie Foundation group on middle schools, and we made a list of recommendations [including] a community service component in the curriculum of our public schools.

Q: A lot of people say that's not legal — that you can't require students to do volunteer work.

I know that. And that's why nationally I don't think you should, probably. But I think states require all kinds of things that are important for education. This is a big, diverse country; it's

AmeriCorps 'can have a lot to do with what kind of country we turn out to be 10, 20 years from now.'

a wonderful place. And we're weaker when we're divided. ... [Community service] will stay with them for the rest of their lives, even if it's just in their habits and attitudes as citizens and how they talk to their own children. It wouldn't do the kids of this country any harm to require them to be in community service.

Q: When you were young, did you ever consider joining the Peace Corps?

I thought about it. But by the time I came of age, there were just other issues and other concerns that kind of dominated my imagination. But I was really captivated with it, and I still sometimes wish I had had the experience.

Q: Is there any one place you dreamed about going?

I wish I had served in Africa, because I think Americans understand Africa less well than any other continent.

Congress Is Back. Now, to Lay the Blame.

Paralysis, Thanks To the G.O.P.

By Charles Peters

WASHINGTON

Congress is back in session, but there is little hope that it will accomplish much before returning to the campaign trail. The main reason for pessimism is the naysayers who control all but a handful of the Republican members in both houses — and who, with help from defecting Democrats like Senator Richard Shelby of Alabama, use procedural maneuvers (including an unprecedented number of threatened filibusters) to endow a minority with the power to impose gridlock.

One reason I feel this way may be that I am a liberal Democrat. But there is a relentless negativism, even mastiness, about the Republican leadership that I believe offends people of good will regardless of ideology.

The scariest fact is that the three most potent Republicans in Congress — Senators Bob Dole of Kansas and Phil Gramm of Texas, and Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia — are likely to be very powerful for years to come. Mr. Gingrich will either be minority leader or Speaker of the House in the next session. Mr. Dole will be either majority or minority leader of the Senate. He is also running for the 1996 Presidential nomination. Running even harder is Mr. Gramm, who is the leader in trips to New Hampshire. Because of his power over the G.O.P.'s dominant right wing in the Senate, he is also the man who brings Mr. Dole back into line on the rare occasions when the Kansan flirts with the possibility of reasonable compromise.

What I dislike most about these three is their hypocrisy and their refusal even to try to meet the Democrats halfway in an effort to solve the country's problems.

This hypocrisy is illustrated by their seemingly fervent opposition to Government spending in general and to pork in particular.

As for pork, Cobb County, Ga., Mr. Gingrich's home, gets more Federal dollars than all but two other suburban counties in America. "Gramm-standing" is the term Texans use to describe Mr. Gramm's penchant for claiming credit for every Federal dollar spent in Texas, including the billions wasted on the Superconducting Supercollider. Once, in an unusually candid moment, the Senator said of his appetite for pork, "I'm beginning to get trichinosis."

The National Taxpayers Union found in one recent period that Mr. Gramm was one of only three members of the House and Senate not to have sponsored a single cost-cutting measure. The bills he did sponsor, if enacted, would have added $8 billion to the Federal deficit.

recently, in the spirit of doing anything to exhibit Mr. Clinton at every turn, Senators Dole and Gramm attacked the crime bill's trust fund, which had been created to finance anticrime programs, forgetting to mention that they had been among the fund's original sponsors. When The Atlantic Monthly checked staff salaries for House members in 1991, Mr. Gingrich was spending more tax dollars to hire staff than any other member of the Georgia delegation. Not long ago The Dallas Morning News caught Mr. Gramm trying to frighten voters into thinking that funds for the Brooke Army Medical Center in San Antonio were threatened so he could appear as the hospital's savior. "We have tried to create a B.A.M.C. funding scare while feeling comfortable that B.A.M.C. is safe from the budget knife," said a staff memo that fell into the hands of The Morning News.

But beyond their cynicism, I am disturbed by the unwillingness of these three to meet Mr. Clinton even a quarter of the way when he tries, however imperfectly, to find solutions for the nation's problems.

Take their attitude on health care. Representative Fred Grandy, a Republican from Iowa, tells of receiving "marching orders" from Mr. Gingrich not to offer any constructive amendments that might attract bipartisan support and thereby enhance prospects for the legislation. And Mr. Dole, who in 1991 told the Senate there was a health care "crisis," suddenly changed his mind when the Clinton health plan came along.

The saddest aspect of this obstructionism is that for two decades liberal Democrats have increasingly tried to find common ground with conservatives. Neoliberals and New Democrats have been willing, for example, to abandon opposition to tough anticrime measures in favor of a position that says to conservatives: We agree that we should be tough on violent crime. Will you agree that we need to do something about prevention? And that if we're going to put the violent criminals away for a long time, we've got to make room for them with shorter sentences or alternative punishments for the nonviolent? The answer from Mr. Gramm, Mr. Gingrich and Mr. Dole: no.

There are, I am convinced, many areas where considerable liberal and conservative agreement is possible. On welfare, many liberals realize that a "tough love" policy is needed; they just want to make sure that the love doesn't get lost in the process. On education, although there is sharp disagreement among liberals and conservatives about vouchers, agreement

Bipartisanship? These guys never heard of it.

seems possible on issues like merit pay and administrative bloat. On legal and bureaucratic reform, liberals and conservatives alike are starting to recognize that the real enemies are not ideological differences but influential associations of lawyers and public employees — and the politicians who fear their power.

But none of this potential agreement is going to become reality in a Congress in which Mr. Gramm, Mr. Gingrich and Mr. Dole control the Republicans. They are today's Martin, Barton and Fish, whom older readers will remember as the three Republicans most dedicated to obstructing Franklin D. Roosevelt's efforts to prepare the nation for World War II. The only reason they are remembered at all today is a speech that F.D.R. made ridiculing their automatic negativism.

Their successors should consider the possibility of a similar fate. In a recent poll, 32 percent blamed Bill Clinton for the gridlock in Government — but 48 percent blamed the Republicans in Congress. ||

Charles Peters is editor in chief of The Washington Monthly.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1994

Clinton's legislative record ignored by press and public

By THOMAS E. PATTERSON

A recent ABC News poll found that 64% of Americans think Bill Clinton has accomplished little or nothing as President. A majority of Americans also believe he has done a poor job of handling the economy.

These perceptions are greatly at odds with reality. Clinton's presidency is the most ambitious since Lyndon Johnson's and has a substantial policy record, including a budget-deficit reduction plan, NAFTA, the Family Leave Act and the crime bill. Moreover, 4 million new jobs have been added to the economy in the last 18 months, more than were added during the previous six years.



RENÉE LOLYA DAILY NEWS

Clinton has a notable legislative record. In 1993, Congress backed Clinton on 88% of the bills on which he had taken a position, a level exceeded only twice in four decades: 1953, when Congress backed Eisenhower 89% of the time and 1965 when it supported 93% of Johnson's positions. In their top years, Nixon, Ford, Carter and Bush never reached even the 80% level. Reagan exceeded it once, but otherwise averaged less than 60%.

Although Clinton is said to be lax in keeping his commitments, he has kept or is actively pursuing roughly 80% of his campaign promises, a level that exceeds the 70% average of his five predecessors.

To understand why Clinton receives so little credit for what he has done, we need look no further than the relentless cynicism of the news media. Somewhere in the last decade or so, the press lost much of its capacity for constructive reporting. Journalists today win by making others lose.

stered the press' absurd claim that President Bush had no economic program. Even in the third quarter of 1992, when key indicators showed the economy was rebounding, more than 90% of news references to Bush's handling of the economy were negative in tone.

With Bush's defeat, Republicans got their chance to deliver the barbed one-liners that the press relishes. In conjunction with the media's appetite for scandal, the result has been a presidency awash in bad press. Roughly 60% of the press' evaluative coverage of Clinton has been unfavorable.

Clinton's style works against him in his dealings with the press. Perhaps the most open of our Presidents, Clinton freely expresses his ideas and actively negotiates at every stage in the policy process. Although the press lauds openness in theory, it punishes it in practice. Any Clinton deviation from an earlier position, however preliminary or conditional, is jumped on as a retreat from principle.

The notion that Clinton backs away from his positions too easily is open to debate. On get fight was won by a single vote, as was the crucial procedural vote in the Senate on the crime bill. NAFTA was rescued from certain defeat by Clinton's deft bargaining.

In domestic politics at least, the antithesis of compromise is not high-mindedness but stalemate, which characterized executive-legislative relations in the decade before Clinton took office. Clinton has yet to cast a veto. Bush vetoed 45 bills. Reagan struck down 78. Carter, the last Democratic President before Clinton, cast 31 vetoes. The press interprets Clinton's restraint as weakness. It may, in fact, signify a President committed to a process of constructive accommodation.

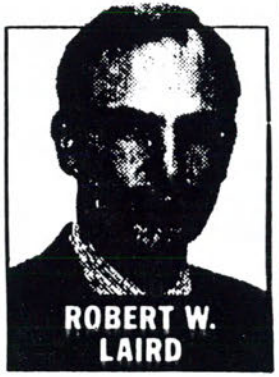
Journalists like The New York Times' Michael Kelly who suggest Clinton is unprincipled have no appreciation of the Southern reform politics that shaped his style. It is a politics where persistent give-and-take is the key to creating the fragile and, at times, improbable majorities that sometimes win out against powerful and deeply entrenched interests.

The scenario working itself out in Washington is remarkably similar. Instead of their lazy negativism, the media need to work out a more balanced appraisal of the Clinton presidency.

Thomas E. Patterson, a professor at Syracuse University's Maxwell School of Citizenship, is author of "Out of Order," about the media's role in politics.



If they're gonna do time, it should be for worst crime



ROBERT W. LAIRD

Those people down in Arkansas must be nuts, right? Look at the case of Kevin Elders, 28, son of Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders. On July 29, 1993, Kevin sells one-eighth of an ounce of cocaine to an undercover cop. On Dec. 19, he is arrested. He pleads guilty, and finally this week he is sentenced. What does he get? *Ten years.* Ten years for a nonviolent first offense. Ten years for selling an amount so minute that if it were placed in your outstretched palm, you couldn't detect the weight. And that's the minimum — under Arkansas law, he could have gotten life.

There are, in fact, disturbing questions in the Kevin Elders case. Why, for example, did the cops wait five months before making the arrest? But as for the sentence — no, it is not an Arkansas aberration. Harsh penalties for low-level offenders are common across the U.S. And nowhere is the practice of handing out punishment that does not fit the crime more notorious than right here in New York.

New York is saddled with two sets of laws that make a mockery of rational sentencing:

■ ***Rockefeller drug laws.*** Passed in 1973, the laws were based on the theory that harsh sentences would scare the druggies out of business. The idea would be laughable if the results were not so ruinous. Consider, as just one example, the elderly bodega owner from Spanish Harlem whose role in the sale of 2 ounces of coke was, according to the prosecutor, "minimal," but who had to be sentenced, by law, to 15 years to life.

■ ***Second Felony Offender Law.*** This statute mandates that any repeat felon must serve prison time regardless of the crime. That forces judges into such acts of insanity as sending a youngster with a drinking problem to prison for 1½ to 3 years for the terrible crime of stealing some crayons and erasers from an empty Rochester schoolhouse.

Now compare those cases with that of Ed-

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In Sandoval, Reservoir of Good Will for Clinton Is Drier But Not

SANDOVAL, Ill. (AP) To read some newspapers, watch some television shows or listen to certain radio hosts, you could get the idea that there are people across America who hate President Clinton.

And there are. You'd just be hard pressed to find them here.

At first blush, little Sandoval 1,535 people huddled against a sea of corn stalks would seem a good place to tap into the groundswell of anti-Clinton feeling that seemed to rumble around the country this summer.

It's poor. People here hold to traditional values. They're Democrats, but conservative, in a small town, Harry Truman kind of way.

A lot of them lined the highway in 1992 when the Democratic campaign bus tour breezed through so many, in fact, that Clinton ordered the buses to stop so he could get out and speak.

He promised change. People believed him.

Do they feel betrayed now?

It seems a reasonable question to ask because there are people elsewhere who clearly feel a deep, personal loathing for the president a sense of betrayal if they voted for him, just plain anger if they didn't.

Oh, there are plenty of people who support him the president's approval ratings have stayed pretty close to the 43 percent of the electorate that voted him into office. But you don't have to go far to hear the others.

Every once in a while, a president comes along who, if he was a piece of gym equipment, would be the heavy bag. Franklin Roosevelt was one, if you were conservative. Richard Nixon was one, if you were liberal.

And Bill Clinton is one, if you believe what you hear and read.

Just not in Sandoval.

Not at the Double D Hair Salon, where either Darrena or Darlene it isn't clear which, she wouldn't say looks up from washing hair clips and says, ''I just think he's great.''

Not at the Sandoval House Restaurant, where waitress Doris Lyons looks a bit dreamy when she describes how the president talks: ''He's got a nice, soft voice. He's easy to listen to.''

Not at Whitie's Barber Shop, where proprietor Steve Gregory whips out two Clinton-Gore campaign buttons from the wooden cabinet where he stores the combs and hair goop. ''I think he's doing a great job,'' Gregory says.

The mayor, Gary Deadmond, likes Clinton. ''Bill Clinton said he stood for change, and he is trying to change things,'' Deadmond says. ''With all the problems in Congress, he's having a hard time.''

In Sandoval, you will find people who are disappointed in Clinton, who strongly disagree with him. Who even dislike him.

But the sort of person who would believe Jerry Falwell when he all but accuses the president of murder? The sort of person who would own a popular bumper sticker that says: ''Smoke dope, dodge draft, cheat wife, become President. ... The new American Way!''

Not here.

Bill Resch owns the local video store, a little cottage with white aluminum siding and a gravel parking lot. He voted for Clinton and has lived to regret it. ''I've joined forces with those

who think he's turned out to be a weak president. He's real wishy-washy.''

Resch leans on the counter, a small, muscular man with sweptback bristles of red hair shading to gray. And he voices some complaints about Clinton that are common here, even among the president's most ardent supporters.

''After all the things he said he was going to do, the first thing he came out with was gay rights,'' Resch says, referring to Clinton's gays-in-the-military policy. ''With all the problems we have, that just really turned me off. And his foreign policy he doesn't have a foreign policy.''

But Resch expresses something else that's common here. He trusts Clinton, he says, and believes he means well. He isn't bothered in the least by Clinton's Whitewater investments or by the stories about the president's supposed extramarital affairs.

''I'm down on the press for that,'' he says. ''It just seems like any subject, they go to extremes. ... It seems like once they got a guy down, they just keep stomping on him.''

A customer comes in. Scott Magnus is a big, dark-bearded, 34-year-old grain farmer who voted for Bush, likes Rush Limbaugh and doesn't think much of Clinton's politics.

Still, he says, ''I really, truly believe that in most of what he does, Clinton means well.''

So he doesn't hate Clinton? ''I don't hate anybody,'' Magnus says.

It's a friendly place, Sandoval.

On the evening of July 21, 1992, the Clinton campaign came rolling up Highway 51, the road that nicks the edge of Sandoval on its way from Centralia to Vandalia. Those are the big towns around here, where many people in Sandoval drive to work. There aren't a lot of jobs in Sandoval. In fact, there's not a lot of very much.

What there were a lot of, at least on that night, were supporters of Bill Clinton and Al Gore.

The estimates range from 300 to 1,000 it doesn't much matter which is right. The point is that what seemed like the entire town was stretched out along the highway, everybody waving American flags and Clinton-Gore banners, singing patriotic songs, cheering in the warm Midwest night.

Clinton ordered the bus to stop. He and Gore and their wives got out, hopped onto the roof of a limousine and spoke. It turned out to be a magical moment, one of the most memorable of the campaign.

''When we are old men, Al Gore and I, we will say, you should have seen the crowd in Sandoval,'' Clinton declared.

For Sandoval, it was the most memorable moment since ever.

Carolyn Hensen, Democratic committeewoman, had organized the rally. ''It was something Sandoval will never forget,'' she says now. ''Because that day we were somebody. We meant something to somebody.''

Clinton went on to beat George Bush here by better than 3-to-1.

This town is almost all white, mostly Democratic and largely fed up with the whole lollygagging, tax-sucking, gossip-mongering Washington establishment.

They are people who didn't dodge the draft during the Vietnam War, whose children fought in Desert Storm. They are anti-immigration, anti-welfare, pro-gun, pro-flag. And despite it all, many are pro-Clinton.

Then there's Dave Schilling. Schilling owns a woodworking shop on North Main Street. He's gangly, 50 years old, with a long, droopy mustache. He wears suspenders hooked to his blue jeans. He is a registered Republican who voted for Ross Perot. And he doesn't

like Bill Clinton.

''Him?'' he says, his voice rising when the subject of the president is broached. ''You mean her! President Clinton that's Hillary. He's just a figurehead. And they both ought to be impeached.''

Schilling is standing outside his shop. He beckons a visitor inside, saying, ''I'm probably the only person in Sandoval who doesn't like Bill Clinton.''

''This town carried Bill Clinton,'' he goes on, his voice turning sharp with sarcasm. ''Everybody in this town voted for him. ... He could have said he would have doubled the income tax and everything else, and they still would have voted for him. Because, hell, he stopped to talk to them.''

Schilling missed the bus tour, quite intentionally. ''I wouldn't walk across the street to see him if he came today.''

He hates Clinton's health care plan. He hates his foreign policy. He hates Mrs. Clinton's role in the administration.

But hate Bill Clinton? ''I hate nobody,'' Schilling says. ''Well, I got a few people who owe me money I kinda dislike. ... No, hating's for young people. I'm too old to hate anybody.''

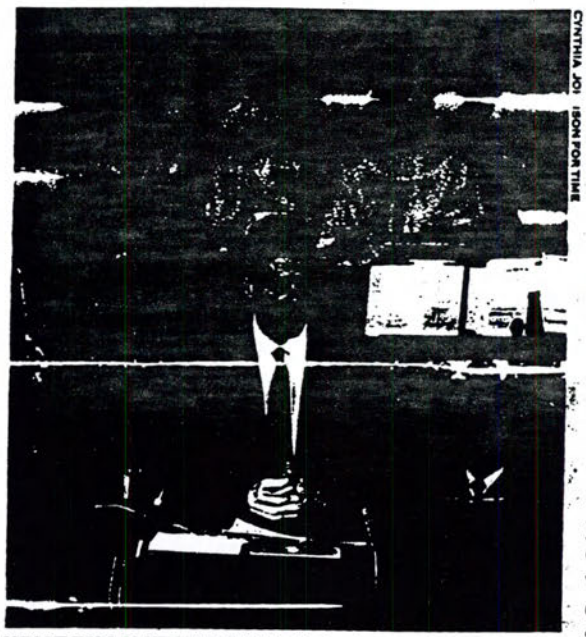
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Michael Kramer

Hope Grows in Harlem

POLITICIANS DO PENANCE IN PLACES LIKE HARLEM AND the South Bronx. They tour and deplore and promise, and very little ever changes. Last week it was Bill Clinton's turn. At a church in Harlem across the street from an abandoned building and down the block from a crack house, the master of empathy was strangely subdued. Perhaps because so much of his agenda is perceived of as dead or dying, the staple of such appearances, a litany of Administration accomplishments, was largely truncated. There was a bit of boasting ("We've done more in 20 months than anybody has in a month of Sundays"), but Clinton's overall tone was plaintive. "One of the things I ran for President about," he said, setting a rather minimalist goal for an activist leader, "was just to get us to face our problems again . . . and go to work on them instead of just talking about them all the time."

Given his muted remarks, Clinton seemed hardly aware that some in Harlem are already beginning to feel the effects of his presidency, a definite, substantive change in direction as, however incrementally, Clinton refocuses government spending and moves to implement proposals that have languished for decades.



CYNTHIA JOHNSON FOR TIME

WHAT BILL HATH WROUGHT: The domestic agenda may founder, but some urban policies are working

Along Harlem's main thoroughfare, 125th Street, business is booming, a function of indigenous forces mostly but of Clinton's policies as well. The vacancy rate for commercial property is less than 2%, and space is renting for more than $30 per sq. ft., about the same as in midtown Manhattan, an astounding surge. New stores will soon dot the cross streets, and nearby housing units are being rehabilitated. The private investment responsible for most of this growth is following rising incomes and the return of better-off families. Perhaps most important is the anticipated designation of the area as one of the nation's first six empowerment zones. "EZs," as they are known, are the latest incarnation of an old idea formerly called enterprise zones. What Clinton's added to the notion beyond tax incentives for businesses is a panoply of social services (day care and job training being the most prominent) designed to produce a work force capable of staffing the enterprises likely to be attracted by the tax breaks. After the Harlem–South Bronx EZ is formally approved later this year, the Federal Government will pour $100 million into the area, an amount New York City and State will match. Added to the total $300 million will be about $70 million in low-interest loans from Fleet Bank. "Only some corporations see the opportunities available," says Fleet's James Murphy. "Others will wake up before long and leverage the thing further. Harlem's coming back, and the EZ deserves a lot of the credit."

Coming back and being back are different, of course. Harlem's depression is still staggering. Single female–headed households account for 63% of all households with children. Forty-two percent of the population has an income below the poverty line. Black men living in Harlem are less likely to reach age 65 than men in Bangladesh. The murder rate for males nationally is 10.2 per 100,000 people; in Harlem it's over 100. The area's infant-mortality rate is 60% higher than that of New York City as a whole and can be attributed largely to alcohol and drug abuse by expectant mothers.

Some of this horror will be alleviated by Clinton's crime bill; more cops will walk Harlem's streets. Increased Head Start slots are coming too, along with new antidrug programs and additional dollars for day care. Above all, the newly expanded earned-income tax credit, a Clinton triumph, will lift about 54,000 working-poor families out of poverty. When fully implemented, about $100 million in new credits will come back to Harlem, and most of that money will be spent right there.

Public education, in trouble everywhere and in crisis throughout New York City, is worse in Harlem, where union rules ensure that the least competent teachers are assigned. As a result, barely 40% of students are performing at or above grade levels. At Junior High School 43, which is fairly representative, class size averages more than 30 students, discipline is hit or miss, books are scandalously lacking and there aren't even enough chairs to go around. Like airlines that overbook, the school counts on absentees. When "too many" students miraculously show up, teachers negotiate among themselves for chairs. Most of this tragedy is due to local budget cuts. One promising program is Teach for America, which trains eager, idealistic college graduates to serve in the nation's most distressed regions. By including Teach for America in his National Service plan (which already has 20,000 Americorps volunteers, more than the Peace Corps ever had), Clinton will add teachers to the classrooms of Harlem. If he wins his fight to redistribute $11 billion in federal education aid according to need, those classrooms will get more money too.

Jimmy Carter first visited what will soon be the Harlem–South Bronx EZ in 1977. Ronald Reagan toured the same streets in 1980, declaring he'd seen nothing "that looked like this since London after the blitz." Neither delivered more than rhetoric. Clinton has pledged the least, but at least he's delivering something. —*With reporting by Lina Lofaro/New York*