

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	John [Deutch] to Mack McLarty (1 page)	02/16/1994	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Too Late to Process
OA/Box Number: 20387

FOLDER TITLE:

January 1994-February 1994, Folder 5 [2]

2019-0990-S

rs3525

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

MEMORANDUMNH
✓ cc Bernie
✓ 2/2 BRL

To: Nancy Hernreich
Tel: 202-456-6610
Fax: 202-456-6703
2 pages

Dated: February 2, 1994

From: Bob Raymar
Tel: 201-621-9020
Fax: 201-621-7406

Re: Steven S. Honigman for General Counsel, DOD

Would you please deliver the attachment as soon as possible.

Thank you very much.

RSR/cb

Attachment

Bob Raymar thinks
you should consider
STEVE HONIGMAN for
General Counsel at
DOD if Jamie Perle
goes to Justice

Man/Bl.MEMORANDUMTHE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{2/4}To: ~~President Bill Clinton~~

Dated: February 2, 1994

From: Bob Raymar

Re: Steven S. Monigman for General Counsel, DOD

In the event that Jamie Gorelick, Esq. is nominated to be Deputy Attorney General, I urge you to consider Steve Monigman for General Counsel of the Department of Defense.

You may recall that Steve was the first civilian confirmed by the U.S. Senate (June 1, 1993) for any of the military services. As General Counsel of the U.S. Navy Department, he already knows the key issues and the key players, including the top civilian and military leadership at the Pentagon, and in the Civil Division of the Department of Justice. He has developed an excellent reputation for administering a large and far-flung legal department, for giving sound and sensitive legal advice, for building coalitions among contentious factions, for being a tough litigator fully protective of the Navy's interests, and for acting at all times with total integrity and civility.

There cannot be anyone in the Administration who is more loyal to you, who has worked harder or with better effect for the past year, who is more cognizant of the Administration's big picture at all times, or who is more a team player than Steve.

RSR/cb

cc: Honorable Hillary Rodham Clinton

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

FACT SHEET: SSI BENEFITS FOR ALCOHOLICS/DRUG ADDICTS

On Tuesday night, February 8, 1994, the NBC program Dateline ran a segment about benefits being paid to alcoholics and drug abusers through the Social Security Administration's disability program. The Washington Post ran a story on this topic on February 7, 1994. Below are some key facts regarding this issue.

THE PROBLEM:

- * **Supplemental Security Income (SSI) benefits for drug addicts and alcoholics are mandated by statute.**

Since Congressional enactment in 1972, individuals have received SSI benefits for disabling conditions that will last at least 12 months and will keep them from working. Drug addiction and alcoholism are included.

- * Current law requires substance-addicted SSI recipients to accept treatment and that their benefit be paid to a legal guardian or "representative payee." However, it is often difficult to find decent representatives, or any representatives at all, for some SSI recipients.
- * Recent reports have indicated that some SSI recipients addicted to drugs and alcohol may use benefits to sustain their habits. **This is a serious concern.**

THE RESPONSE:

- * The Social Security Administration (SSA) **has already improved** its referrals to treatment programs and its monitoring systems.

In October, 1993, SSA had referral and monitoring contracts in only 18 states. Today, such systems are in place in 33 states and the District of Columbia. By the end of FY 1995, all states will be involved. These new contracts will require recipients to undergo regular substance abuse testing.

SSA is also working aggressively to find more and better representative payees.

- * **The FY 1995 Budget reflects a determination to solve this problem.**

The FY 1995 budget requests \$36 million for referral and monitoring activities, an 80% increase from the FY 1994 level, and **an 800% increase over the Bush Administration figure** of \$4 million in FY 1993.

- * The FY 1995 budget also requests \$345 million for the treatment of hard-core drug abusers.
- * The Administration will work with Congress to make appropriate changes to the program. The public has a right to expect those disabled by substance addiction to take responsibility for themselves, seek treatment and do all they can to cure themselves of their addiction.

U.S. Funds Found to Feed Drug Habits

Senate Report Faults Programs Meant to Aid Addicts, Alcoholics

Reuter

Hundreds of millions of dollars in federal disability payments meant to help recovering drug addicts and alcoholics are instead being used to help feed their habits, a Senate report said yesterday.

The report by the minority staff of the Senate Special Committee on Aging and Congress's General Accounting Office found that last year more than 250,000 drug addicts and alcoholics got \$1.4 billion in cash from Social Security programs.

But only 78,000 of the beneficiaries were subject to any controls or monitoring of the money received—and those were so loose they invited widespread abuse, the report said.

"Hundreds of millions of scarce federal dollars are flowing directly to drug addicts, who are turning around and buying heroin, cocaine and other illegal drugs on the street the very same day," said Sen. William S. Cohen (R-Maine).

The report concluded that major problems existed in

the practice of paying cash under the Social Security Disability Insurance program and other programs to the addicts and alcoholics.

It said far too few protections were in place to prevent tax dollars from going directly to perpetuate rather than treat addiction.

Some of the benefits being spent on drugs or alcohol were harming or even killing the recipients, the report said. Persons appointed to handle benefits for abusers were at times themselves addicts or alcoholics who misused disability payments.

Cohen—the committee's senior Republican, who initiated the investigation in response to reports of widespread abuse—said Congress should consider switching benefits from cash payments to food vouchers or stamps or direct payments to treatment facilities.

The report quoted the director of a Denver homeless shelter as saying that one program in effect was "suicide on the installment plan" because it provided cash to addicts and alcoholics with no requirement for treatment.



SEN. WILLIAM S. COHEN

... initiated probe after reports of abuse

CLINTON - ARKANSAS OFFICE

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

2-28-94

B -

Erny ask me to give this
to you. He still wants to be
Ambassador to Italy if Mayor
Flynn decides to run for Governor
of Massachusetts.



Enzo de Chiara

*Counsellor
International Relations*

February 24, 1994

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

I hope this note finds you, Hillary and Chelsea in good spirits and in good health.

I am sending this letter to you, Mr. President, to ask you to consider me for the position of United States Ambassador to the Holy See, if that position becomes available. During my recent three week trip to Italy I read and heard many reports that Ambassador Flynn has other plans for the near future, in particular, running for Governor of Massachusetts.

As you know from personal experience, my knowledge of Italy is vast and I am well informed about the financial, business and industrial centers of Italy. I am equally competent regarding the Vatican and its protocol and inner workings.

I have kept you informed through letters of my meetings with Ambassador Bartholomew. We work well together and I am grateful for the opportunities he has given me to relate to him my findings regarding the current political situation in Italy.

Mr. President, it would be a great honor for me to be appointed to serve and represent the United States government as Ambassador to the Vatican. I believe that my unique insight into Italy's politics, customs and culture and the Vatican's agenda make me the most qualified Italian-American to serve as Ambassador to the Holy See and additionally, to serve as a resource for Ambassador Bartholomew.

I hope to hear from you at your earliest convenience and I thank you for your time and consideration.

Very Truly Yours,

Enzo de Chiara



EdC/bjz

Page Two
Curriculum Vitae - November 1992
Enzo de Chiara

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

Date	Employer/Corporation	Position
1976-1992	Enzo de Chiara, International Business Consultant, Washington, DC	Owner
1984-1985	JFP & Associates of Washington, DC Consulting and Public Relations	Executive Vice President
1978-1982	The National Italian American Foundation, Washington, DC	Assistant to Chairman for International Affairs
1972-1976	Enzo Boutique The Watergate, Washington, DC	Owner
1971-1972	Valentino Company New York, New York	U.S. General Manager Operations
1968-1971	The Gucci Company New York, New York	Director U.S. Imports Retail
1960-1968	ITALCABLE, S.p.A. Roma, Italy	Trainee Technician Purchasing Agent
1958-1960	Tirrenia Shipping Company Genoa, Italy	Second Officer
1957-1958	Lauro Shipping Company Naples, Italy	Third Officer

Page Three
Curriculum Vitae - November 1992
Enzo de Chiara

PROFESSIONAL HISTORY

- As a deck officer for the Italian Merchant Marine he had an opportunity to develop good international experience.
- He successfully passed the Italian government state exams at the Telecommunications Superior Institute for the First Class degree of the International Communications Certificate.
- Fluent in four languages: Italian, English, Spanish and French.
- He has resided in the United States since 1968 where he began his activities in the editorial, commercial and industrial fields.
- In 1972 he relocated to Washington, DC where he began his activities within the public relations field with special focus on the political, commercial and diplomatic institutions, those areas where he feels expertise.
- He has covered the following positions: Special Consultant to the Chairman and Executive Officer of RIZZOLI INTERNATIONAL (publishing corporation), Counsellor for International Relations for ITALCABLE and Special Consultant to the Chairman of the Italian Petrochemical Corporation, once called SOCIETA' ITALIANA RESINE (S.I.R.), Counsellor for International Relations for GRUPPO FERRUZZI, CRAGNOTTI & PARTNERS Capital Investment, and RAGGIO DI SOLE FINANZIARIA.
- Presently he holds the following positions: Counsellor for International Relations for STET, AERONAUTICA MACCHI, INTERMARINE, U.S.A., and S.I.P. Italian National Telephone Company.
- In 1983 he was appointed Honorary Consul General of the Republic of Panama in Washington, DC and consequently has become very active and well introduced in the Washington Diplomatic Corps.
- He has been a member of the Advisory Board for the National Italian American Foundation in Washington, DC.
- In 1989 he was appointed to the Executive Board of INTERMARINE U.S.A.

Page Four

Curriculum Vitae - November 1992

Enzo de Chiara

- He maintains a well connected and well balanced relationship with many members of the Congress of the United States; in the Republican Party in particular the Honorable Senator Robert Dole, the Honorable Senator Alfonse D'Amato, the Honorable Senator Peter Domenici, and in the Democratic Party in particular the Honorable Senator Dennis DeConcini, the Honorable Senator Patrick Leahy, the Honorable Congressman Thomas Foglietta, he holds a particularly close and personal friendship with the former Vice President of the United States, Mr. Walter Mondale and the former House Judiciary Committee Chairman, The Honorable Peter W. Rodino, Jr.

HONORARY DEGREES

- Cross to the Merit of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta
- Commendation by the Republic of San Marino
- Commendation by the Republic of Italy

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3.4.94

~~BE~~

Sandy Berger

What about
this?

Bc

COPY

Tom
Emerson
also

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

MACK McLARTY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{2/6}

February 5, 1994

To The President:

This turned out okay and reflected a conscientious effort on the part of many, including a thorough briefing by Secretary Bentsen and Director Panetta.

Mack /pm

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

**United States House of Representatives
Office of the Majority Leader**

FAX TRANSMISSION

TO: GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

FROM: MIKE WESSEL

FAX #: 456-6703

DATE: 2/11/94

OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 1

MESSAGE: _____

Telephone: (202) 225-0100 Fax: (202) 225-7414/7296

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/11/94

NEWS FROM THE HOUSE MAJORITY LEADER

For Immediate Release
February 11, 1994

Congressman Richard A. Gephardt
H-148, U.S. Capitol

GEPHARDT COMMENTS ON FAILURE OF U.S.-JAPAN TRADE TALKS

Washington, D.C. -- House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt released the following statement today regarding the refusal of the Japanese Government to negotiate in good faith to achieve the goals of the U.S.-Japan Framework Agreement signed last year.

"President Clinton should be applauded for telling his negotiators to push their chairs away from the negotiating table. He said that he would be flexible -- but resolute -- in standing up for the interests of American workers.

"The Japanese weren't negotiating in good faith. Last year they signed the Framework Agreement that was designed to finally resolve long-standing trade problems between our two countries. Today they showed that they thought they could walk away from the Framework Agreement, just as they have walked away from virtually every other trade agreement they've signed in the past.

"We can no longer accept the *status quo* trade relationship with Japan. The Japanese Government and the Japanese people need to understand that we place tremendous value on our relationship. But that part of our trade deficit which is the result of Japan's protectionist policies is not merely an obstacle -- it's an outrage.

"In the last twelve years the Republican refusal to face these problems resulted in the loss of economic power, jobs, and standard of living. Since 1980, we've amassed more than one-half trillion in trade deficits with the Japanese.

"The economic elite and academics have engaged in a "blame America first" strategy -- that American products weren't competitive. They're just plain wrong. Americans aren't scared of the competition -- they simply want a fair fight.

"President Clinton recognized last year that we needed a new approach in our trade relations with Japan. Today, he proved that his new approach has two facets: First, we need a results-oriented trade policy with the Japanese. Second, he's not interested in photo-opportunity Summits or empty trade deals."

"We stand ready to come back to the table when the Japanese get serious about really addressing these difficult issues. But we aren't going to sit back and wait -- now is the time for action."

###

Press Contacts:

Laura Nichols/Dan Sallick (202) 225-0100

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING



OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

U.S. SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20416

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2-8-94

Hillary
FYI
Ann
cc POTUS

Ms. Ann Stock
Special Assistant to the President and
Social Secretary to the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ann:

You have no idea how much the picture of my daughter Annie with President and Mrs. Clinton meant to her. Annie is the top student in her high school class and recently wrote an essay for a college scholarship on the three people she most admired. One was a legendary female character from Greek mythology, the second was her mother, and the third was Mrs. Clinton. As you can imagine from the above, having the chance, however brief, to be with the President and Mrs. Clinton has really set her aglow.

You made me a hero with my Annie. You could do me no greater favor. Thanks so much, my friend.

Sincerely,

Erskine B. Bowles
Administrator

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 3/1



Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C. 20530

February 26, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: RON KLAIN *RKL*

SUBJECT: BRADY BILL CHALLENGE

Rumor has it that on Monday, a challenge may be brought by NRA-backed local and state officials to enjoin enforcement of the Brady Bill. Their claim may be that the Bill's mandate that "law enforcement officers" undertake a "reasonable effort" to ascertain the background of gun purchasers is an unconstitutional infringement on state sovereignty, under the Tenth Amendment.

Background

As originally drafted in 1986, the Brady Bill provided a seven-day wait for handgun purchases, during which local law enforcement could perform a background check on a purchaser. Thus, one of the NRA's principal criticisms of the original Brady Bill was that it insured only delay in gun purchases, without guaranteeing that a background check would be performed.

In 1991, as part of a compromise that first won Senate passage of the Bill, Sen. George Mitchell combined the original Brady Bill with an NRA Instant Check alternative, to create a new version of the legislation. One of Mitchell's major changes was to make the background check mandatory on law enforcement officials. This provision was included in the final version of the Brady Bill, enacted late last year.

Constitutional Attack on the Law

Relying on a 1992 Supreme Court decision, United States v. New York, NRA-backed state and local officials may attack the Brady Bill, saying that its mandatory background checks violate the Tenth Amendment. In essence, their claim would be that the mandate from the federal government to state and local officials to perform a specific task is violative of the Tenth Amendment's protection of core state sovereignty.

SENT BY:Xerox Telecopier 7020 ; 2-26-94 ; 2:17PM ;

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DAG

2003

The Office of Legal Counsel has never passed on this question, declining to render an opinion on the constitutionality of the mandatory background checks in February 1993. Walter Dellinger and his staff are now studying the question.

Their initial read is this: even if the mandate of background checks is unconstitutional (and they do not yet even concede this point), the five-day waiting period can probably be severed and saved. In this scenario, the Brady Bill would be restored to its original provision -- a waiting period with the opportunity for a check, but no mandate of a check. If so, the NRA's "victory" in a lawsuit against the Brady Bill would be pyrrhic at best.

What to Say If Asked

I think if you are asked on Monday about this issue, you could say:

- If it is attacked, we will defend the Brady Bill in court, and hope to prevail.
- I believe that the core of the Bill, the five-day waiting period for gun purchases, will ultimately be upheld if challenged.
- As I understand it, the legal challenge is centered on the federal mandate on local law enforcement to conduct background checks. Without speaking to the merits of that legal case, my view -- based on touring the country and talking to countless police chiefs and sheriffs -- is that the vast majority of police departments will implement this law with or without a mandate.
- Given how strongly law enforcement lobbied for the waiting period, I am confident that -- if given the time to do the checks -- law enforcement will undertake the background checks -- whether or not they are mandated.

We will keep you informed if the litigation is in fact filed, and if any Temporary Restraining Order against enforcement of the Bill (the relief that the NRA would likely seek) is granted.

MACK McLARTY

Feb. 22, 1994

Mr. President:

Per our recent visit, enclosed
is Phil Lader's update on our
correspondence situation.

cc: The Vice President

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/25/94 db

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK McLARTY FEB 23 11:02

FROM: Phil Lader *PL*

February 15, 1994

SUBJECT: WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE

Matt Miller's team's "management review" of White House operations identified Correspondence as a primary target for reallocating staff and reengineering work-processes. Though not agreeing with many of their specific recommendations (e.g., replace many personalized form responses with pre-printed cards), I STRONGLY agree that Correspondence warrants attention.

It is not the intensity of work, but the systems and policies on which the criticism is based. According to Jim Dorskind (Correspondence Deputy Director),

- * Because of holiday/bad-weather backlog, the Office was running 6-8 weeks behind, but has now caught up; and
- * 20,000 condolence letters and all personal notes accompanying holiday cards have been acknowledged; but
- * A simple acknowledgement, response on general inquiries, or congratulatory note ("kitchen table mail") received today would go out in 3-4 weeks;
- * "More Important"/"Special Constituency" mail received today would be answered in 1-4 weeks depending on (a) the reliance on other offices/departments for input, and (b) the volume of additional mail received.

Volunteers number 250-300 (40-250 per day) and require considerable supervision.

Correspondence reports to Marsha Scott (who -- having significant roles in California/political issues, the important Presidential database assignment, and frequent ad hoc duties -- has had to "juggle," using her time and Correspondence staff to support these other responsibilities) and, "through" her, to John Podesta (who, in addition to traditional Staff Secretary work, is regularly involved in policy/planning/legislative affairs). All concerned with Correspondence seem to have made a heroic effort to deal with unprecedented volume; but some systems re-thinking with individuals devoting full-time attention to Correspondence would undoubtedly yield some improvement.

217194 db

THE WHITE HOUSE
OFFICE OF MEDIA AFFAIRS

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

For Immediate Release
February 14, 1994

Contact: 202-456-7150

**TREASURY DEPARTMENT RELEASES STUDY OF BALANCED BUDGET
AMENDMENT: STATE-BY-STATE IMPACT ON TAXES, SOCIAL SECURITY,
MEDICARE AND DEFENSE**

In anticipation of the Senate Hearings on the Balanced Budget Amendment that begin tomorrow, the Treasury Department today released an analysis of the likely impacts on states if the Amendment is passed. The study is designed to encourage an honest discussion of the economic consequences and specific, detailed choices that would have to be made if a Balanced Budget Amendment is passed.

As few proponents of the Balanced Budget Amendment have offered plans to meet its requirements, the Treasury Department determined five likely scenarios and studied the impact on each state. The report recognizes that under any scenario, a Balanced Budget Amendment would lead to some combination of sharp tax increases, substantial cuts to Social Security, Medicare and Defense.

"While supporters offer a lot of tough talk, few proponents spell out the details of how they would achieve this laudable goal," said Alicia Munnell, Assistant Secretary of Treasury for Economic Policy. "This analysis provides a starting point for the discussion we must have before any votes are cast. The American people have a right to know what this Amendment will mean in terms of tax increases, and cuts in areas like Social Security, Medicare and Defense."

According to the Treasury Department, a plan that called for both revenue increases and spending cuts would impact taxpayers as follows:

- \$728 in additional annual taxes per taxpayer;
- \$16.8 billion less in defense spending;
- \$605 less for the average Social Security recipient;
- \$480 less for each person enrolled in Medicare;
- \$34.4 billion less for funding for crime, education, infrastructure and the environment. (See Option 1)

Recognizing that some supporters of the balanced budget believe they can comply with out raising taxes, the report also analyzes the impact on states with spending cuts only. The report shows that a balanced budget without significant tax increases would lead to even sharper cuts in Social Security, Medicare, Defense and programs such as education and law enforcement.

The Treasury Department analysis indeed shows that if the budget is balanced with only spending cuts, taxpayers would face:

- \$1,100 cut for the average Social Security recipient;
- \$873 cut for each person enrolled in Medicare;
- \$30.6 billion less in defense spending;
- \$62.6 billion less for education, law enforcement, and infrastructure. (See Option 2)

The report also presents three additional options (See attached for details):

- Option 3 shows likely division of cuts if Defense was excluded.
- Option 4 presents likely cuts if Social Security is excluded, and;
- Option 5 presents cuts if both Social Security and Defense are excluded from the balanced budget requirement.

The report demonstrates that when supporters of the balanced budget exclude either taxes, Social Security or defense from the balanced budget requirements, it makes the affects on the other, all the more severe.

Deputy Treasury Secretary Roger Altman stressed that, "after over a decade of spiraling deficits, we now have a tough, strong deficit reduction plan. It cuts the deficit in half as a percentage of our national income relative to the deficit we inherited. It produces three consecutive years of declining deficit – the first time that has happened since the Truman Administration. We need to keep making the tough, specific choices necessary to bring the deficit down – without resorting to gimmicks. As the President said during the State of the Union: 'We have shown that we can bring down the deficit dramatically, without choking off the recovery, punishing the middle class and senior Americans, or risking our national security.' Let's see if the supporters of this Amendment can explain the specific steps they would take to meet this same standard."

#

The Balanced Budget Amendment would cost New Jersey \$5.4 to \$7.1 billion a year

Option 1: Tax increase and across-the-board spending cut'

Increases in taxes -- \$3.9 billion a year (\$952 per taxpayer)

Cuts in Benefits, Services, and Defense -- \$3.2 billion a year

- \$665 cut per year for the average Social Security recipient
- \$552 less for each person enrolled in Medicare
- \$351 less for each Medicaid recipient
- \$782 million in reduced funding for fighting crime, building highways and bridges, protecting the environment, providing education, and other federally funded programs
- \$375 million additional cut in annual defense spending

Option 2: Across-the-board spending cut

Cuts in Benefits, Services, and Defense -- \$5.8 billion a year

- \$1,209 cut per year for the average Social Security recipient
- \$1,003 less for each person enrolled in Medicare
- \$639 less for each Medicaid recipient
- \$1.4 billion in reduced funding for fighting crime, building highways and bridges, protecting the environment, providing education, and other federally funded programs
- \$682 million additional cut in annual defense spending

• Tax increase comprises 45% of national deficit reduction package (percentage varies by state), equal to the average revenue component of the last two deficit reduction packages. Spending cuts are proportional across programs.

Note Budget numbers based on CBO projections for FY 2000. Allocations based on 1992 data. The potential contractionary impact of tax increases and/or spending cuts is not included.

Option 3: Across-the-board spending cut, excluding defense

Cuts in Benefits and Services -- \$6.1 billion a year

- \$1,427 cut per year for the average Social Security recipient
- \$1,184 less for each person enrolled in Medicare
- \$754 less for each Medicaid recipient
- \$1.7 billion in reduced funding for fighting crime, building highways and bridges, protecting the environment, providing education, and other federally funded programs

Option 4: Across-the-board spending cut, excluding Social Security

Cuts in Benefits and Services -- \$5.4 billion a year

- \$1,352 less for each person enrolled in Medicare
- \$861 less for each Medicaid recipient
- \$1.9 billion in reduced funding for fighting crime, building highways and bridges, protecting the environment, providing education, and other federally funded programs
- \$920 million additional cut in annual defense spending

Option 5: Across-the-board spending cut, excluding defense and Social Security

Cuts in Benefits and Services -- \$5.7 billion a year

- \$1,703 less for each person enrolled in Medicare
- \$1,085 less for each Medicaid recipient
- \$2.4 billion in reduced funding for fighting crime, building highways and bridges, protecting the environment, providing education, and other federally funded programs

To the President - FYI

94 FEB 18 P4:24

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2/22/94 db

MEMORANDUM

TO: Leslie Maddin
White House Liaison
Department of Treasury

FROM: Phil Lader *Phil*

DATE: February 15, 1994

RE: Jeff Watson

✓ Mack and I would appreciate your helping Jeff Watson find a substantive, political appointment, appropriate to his background and talents, in your Department.

Please contact Antonella Pianalto at 456-6761 with your ideas.

Thank you for your very prompt attention and assistance.

cc: Mack McLarty ✓
Antonella Pianalto

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

TO: Awilda Marquez
White House Liaison
Department of State

FROM: Phil Lader *PL*

DATE: February 15, 1994

RE: Jeff Watson

Mack and I would appreciate your helping Jeff Watson find a substantive, political appointment, appropriate to his background and talents, in your Department.

Please contact Antonella Pianalto at 456-6761 with your ideas.

Thank you for your very prompt attention and assistance.

cc: Mack McLarty ✓
Antonella Pianalto

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

TO: Betsy D'Jamoos
White House Liaison
Department of Housing and Urban Development

FROM: Phil Lader *PL*

DATE: February 15, 1994

RE: Jeff Watson

Mack and I would appreciate your helping Jeff Watson find a substantive, political appointment, appropriate to his background and talents, in your Department.

Please contact Antonella Pianalto at 456-6761 with your ideas.

Thank you for your very prompt attention and assistance.

cc: Mack McLarty ✓
Antonella Pianalto

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

TO: Eileen Parise
White House Liaison
Department of Commerce

FROM: Phil Lader *PL*

DATE: February 15, 1994

RE: Jeff Watson

Mack and I would appreciate your helping Jeff Watson find a substantive, political appointment appropriate to his background and talents, in your Department.

Please contact Antonella Pianalto at 456-6761 with your ideas.

Thank you for your very prompt attention and assistance.

cc: Mack McLarty✓
Antonella Pianalto

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

SECRETARY OF LABOR
WASHINGTON, D.C.

JAN 31 1994

94 FEB 1 P2:38

Mr. Helmut Werner
Mercedes-Benz
Postschliessfach 800230
Stuttgart
Germany 7000

Dear Mr. Werner:

President Clinton recently mentioned to me that you and he spoke when you announced the decision of Mercedes-Benz to locate its new plant in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Of particular interest to me as Secretary of Labor was the accompanying apprenticeship training program that you are planning with the State of Alabama.

As you may know, enactment of a comprehensive school-to-work transition program, offering youth apprenticeships and other strategies, is one of my highest priorities as Secretary of Labor. I firmly believe that a strong program which prepares youth for practical employment is one of the most important tasks facing my department.

Naturally, I am intrigued to learn more about your planned apprenticeship program in Alabama and hope that you will share your experience with us as we implement our national effort. While I cannot predict my schedule precisely, I would be interested in visiting your plant and seeing your program once it is operational. In the interim, I would appreciate knowing who my staff could contact in your office to get additional details on your activities and to share our plans here at the Department of Labor.

I know that President Clinton has already welcomed Mercedes-Benz to the United States. Let me add my own welcome to you. We are delighted you are here and look forward to working with you in the near future.

Sincerely,



Robert B. Reich

cc: President Clinton

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

AGENDA
GOVERNORS' MEETING
MONDAY, JANUARY 24, 1994

RBM
2-8-94

- I. This Weekend " []
-- Sunday Shows [Tuesday]
-- Radio Address []

Mayors

Talked Press Conf
- TPs - SOTV/Accomplishments
- Urban Agenda (HC)

- II. Op-Eds
-- Bayh on Welfare
-- Dean on Health Care

USATV
CHITRI
Crime?

- 125 Mayors

- III. White House Briefing in Advance
-- Accomplishments of First Year

Th Fri

- IV. Monday Morning at the White House
-- Topic
-- Open Press (Spray or Opening Remarks)
-- The North Lawn

/DGA Mtg

- V. Tuesday Speech to the Plenary Session
-- News Hook of the Speech
-- Responding to the Minority Leader

- VI. DGA Dinner
-- Press Policy

- VI. The Line on the 1994 Races
-- Unified Message on General Outlook

- VII. Talking Points
-- In Advance
-- During Meeting

- Wolf
- Becke
- Broder/Balz
(Wires)

POTUS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

AGENDA
GOVERNORS' MEETING
MONDAY, JANUARY 24, 1994

- I. This Weekend
 - Sunday Shows
 - Radio Address
- II. Op-Eds
 - Bayh on Welfare
 - Dean on Health Care
- III. White House Briefing in Advance
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 - In Advance
 - During Meeting

**DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION
AGENDA**

Saturday, January 29, 1994

Hotel Washington

515 15th St., NW

The Sky Room

**1:30-3:30 p.m. "HOW TO RUN AS AN INCUMBENT IN A
NON-INCUMBENT WORLD"**

*** Opening and Introduction**

Governor Evan Bayh, DGA Chair

*** NGA Meeting Prospectus**

Governor Howard Dean, Vice Chair, National Governors' Association

1:45-2:30 p.m. Getting Things Done: Three Case Studies

*** Crime:** Governor Roy Romer

*** Welfare Reform:** Governor Zell Miller

*** Health Care Reform:** Governor Lawton Chiles

2:30-3:30 p.m. How to Win in 1994

*** Incumbents: What's Your Case For Another Term?**

*** The Angry Electorate: Who's Mad at Whom?**

*** Which Issues Matter to Voters _ and Why**

*** How to Fashion a Winning Message**

Panelists: Celinda Lake, pollster

Doug Schoen, pollster

Bob Shrum or Frank Greer

**DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION
BUSINESS MEETING AGENDA**

Monday, January 31, 1994

J.W. Marriott

Salon One, Grand Ballroom

- 7:30 a.m. Call to Order**
Governor Evan Bayh, DGA Chair
- * DGA Chair selection guidelines for adoption
 - * 1994 Elections
 - * 1994 Agenda
 - * Plans for Indianapolis event in May
 - * Possible event with VP Gore in New York
- 7:50 a.m. Question and Answer**
- 8:00 a.m. Speakers**
 - * DNC Chairman David Wilhelm
 - * DNC Executive Director Debra DeLee
 - * Harold Ickes, White House Deputy Chief of Staff
- 8:45 a.m. NGA Business**
- 9:00 a.m. Adjourn**

AGENDA

SATURDAY, JANUARY 29

9:30 a.m.-4:00 p.m. News Media Registration
Russell Room
Meeting Room Level

10:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. General Registration
Capitol Foyer
Ballroom Level

11:00 a.m.-11:30 a.m. Opening News Conference
Salon G
Capitol Ballroom
Ballroom Level

11:30 a.m.-1:00 p.m. Health Care Leadership Team Luncheon Meeting
State Room
Meeting Room Level
Governor Roy Romer, Colorado, Co-Chair
Governor Tommy G. Thompson, Wisconsin, Co-Chair
Governors and Their Staff Only

6:00 p.m.-7:30 p.m. Reception Honoring the Nation's Governors
Austrian Residence
2419 Wyoming Avenue NW
Hosted by:
The Honorable Helmut Tuerk, Ambassador of Austria to the
United States, and Mrs. Tuerk
By Invitation Only
Business Attire and Cocktail Dress
Guests are responsible for their own transportation.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 30

8:00 a.m.-6:00 p.m. General Registration
Capitol Foyer
Ballroom Level

8:00 a.m.-6:00 p.m. News Media Registration
Russell Room
Meeting Room Level

9:30 a.m.-10:30 a.m. Staff Advisory Council to the Committee on Human
Salon J Resources
Capitol Ballroom
Ballroom Level

SUNDAY, JANUARY 30 (continued)

9:30 a.m.-10:30 a.m. <i>Salon H</i> <i>Capitol Ballroom</i> <i>Ballroom Level</i>	Staff Advisory Council to the Committee on Natural Resources
9:30 a.m.-10:30 a.m. <i>Salon I</i> <i>Grand Ballroom</i> <i>Ballroom Level</i>	Staff Advisory Council to the Committee on Economic Development and Commerce
10:30 a.m.-11:30 a.m. <i>Salon F</i> <i>Capitol Ballroom</i> <i>Ballroom Level</i>	NGA Executive Committee and Standing Committee Chairs Governor Carroll A. Campbell Jr., South Carolina, Chairman <i>Open to All Governors</i> ■ Update on Legislative Priorities ■ Consideration of Policy Positions
11:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m. <i>Justice Room</i> <i>Meeting Room Level</i>	Education Update <i>Governors' Staff Only</i>
11:45 a.m.-1:00 p.m. <i>Salon G</i> <i>Capitol Ballroom</i> <i>Ballroom Level</i>	Governors-Only Luncheon
11:45 a.m.-1:00 p.m. <i>Salon I</i> <i>Grand Ballroom</i> <i>Ballroom Level</i>	Chiefs of Staff Luncheon
11:45 a.m.-1:00 p.m. <i>Salon D</i> <i>Capitol Ballroom</i> <i>Ballroom Level</i>	Press Secretaries Luncheon

SUNDAY, JANUARY 30 (continued)

1:15 p.m.-3:15 p.m.

Salon III

Grand Ballroom

Ballroom Level

PLENARY SESSION

Governor Carroll A. Campbell Jr., South Carolina, Chairman

■ Adoption Assistance Programs

Guest:

Dave Thomas, Founder and Senior Chairman of the Board, Wendy's International Inc.

■ Education

Governor Jim Edgar, Illinois, Co-Chair, Education Leadership Team

Governor James B. Hunt Jr., North Carolina, Co-Chair, Education Leadership Team

National Education Goals

Report of the Chair of the National Education Goals Panel

Governor John R. McKernan Jr., Maine

Discussion of State Education Reform

Presentation of State Report Card Awards

Governor Carroll A. Campbell Jr., South Carolina

■ Children and Violence—Panel Discussion

Governor Pete Wilson, California, Chair, Committee on Human Resources

Governor David Walters, Oklahoma, Vice Chair, Committee on Human Resources

Moderator:

Mark Singer, Case Western University

Panel of Youth Program Participants:

Wacław High School, Peer Mediation Program, Pauley's Island, South Carolina

Pennsylvania Service Corps, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Youth Challenge Program, Oklahoma National Guard, Tulsa, Oklahoma

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SUNDAY, JANUARY 30 (continued)

3:30 p.m.-4:30 p.m.
Salon I
Grand Ballroom
Ballroom Level

Committee on Economic Development and Commerce
 Governor Terry E. Branstad, Iowa, Chair

- Telecommunications Vision Statement
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
 Governor Ann W. Richards, Texas
- General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT)
 Governor Tommy O. Thompson, Wisconsin
- Announcement of Business Incentives Report
- Consideration of Policies

3:30 p.m.-4:30 p.m.
Salon III
Grand Ballroom
Ballroom Level

Committee on Human Resources
 Governor Pete Wilson, California, Chair

- Consideration of Policies
- Status of Welfare Reform Initiatives
- Overview of Federal Family and Children Initiatives

Guest:

Mary Jo Bane, Assistant Secretary for Children and Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

3:30 p.m.-4:30 p.m.
Salon F
Capitol Ballroom
Ballroom Level

Committee on Natural Resources
 Governor Bob Miller, Nevada, Chair

- Risk Assessment and Environmental Mandates

Guests:

Senator Max Baucus (D-Mont.)

Mayor Greg Lashutka, Columbus, Ohio

- Consideration of Policies

5:00 p.m.-6:00 p.m.
Garden Terrace Restaurant
Lobby Level

Reception for All Attendees

7:30 p.m.-10:00 p.m.
The White House

White House Dinner

Governors and Spouses Only

Black Tie

Governors and their spouses are responsible for their own transportation arrangements.

MONDAY, JANUARY 31

7:00 a.m.-6:00 p.m.
Russell Room
Meeting Room Level

News Media Registration

8:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.
Capitol Foyer
Ballroom Level

General Registration

8:30 a.m.-10:00 a.m.
Salon E
Capitol Ballroom
Ballroom Level

Briefing for Governors' Staff and Meeting Attendees on
 National Service

9:10 a.m.
**E Street Entrance*
Pennsylvania Avenue Level
**The Mayflower Hotel*
1127 Connecticut Avenue

Bus Transportation for Governors Departs for the
 White House

**Transportation will be provided from both locations.
 For security reasons, Governors are encouraged to use group
 transportation. Return transportation will be provided at the
 conclusion of the press availability.*

9:30 a.m.-11:15 a.m.
The White House

Meeting with the President
Governors Only

9:30 a.m.-12:00 noon
Salon D
Capitol Ballroom
Ballroom Level

Briefing on the Administration's Health Care Plan
Governors' Staff Only

12:15 p.m.-2:15 p.m.
Salon G
Capitol Ballroom
Ballroom Level

Governors-only Luncheon

12:15 p.m.-2:15 p.m.
Salon E
Capitol Ballroom
Ballroom Level

Chiefs of Staff Luncheon

MONDAY, JANUARY 31 (continued)

2:30 p.m.-4:30 p.m.
Salon III
Grand Ballroom
Ballroom Level

PLENARY SESSION*

Governor Carroll A. Campbell Jr., South Carolina, Chairman

- Invitation to 1994 Annual Meeting
Governor William F. Weld, Massachusetts
- German-American Relations: Ensuring Peace and
Freedom

Guest:

Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of Germany

- Development of Health Care Networks—Panel
Discussion
Governor Roy Romer, Colorado, Co-Chair, Health Care
Leadership Team
Governor Tommy G. Thompson, Wisconsin, Co-Chair,
Health Care Leadership Team

Guests:

Sister Lynn Casey, President and CEO, St. Mary's
Hospital & Medical Center, Grand Junction, Colorado

Stephen C. Cohen, M.D., President, National
Organization of Physicians Who Care, San Antonio,
Texas

Charles DeShazer, M.D., Director of Clinical
Information Systems, The Southeast Permanente
Medical Group, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia

George C. Halvorson, President and CEO,
HealthPartners, Minneapolis, Minnesota

- Consideration of Policy Position on Federal Barriers to
State Health Care Reform

*Attendees should plan to arrive early to allow sufficient time to
obtain special translation equipment that will be used during
Chancellor Kohl's remarks. In addition, special reserved seating
will be designated. Your cooperation is appreciated.

4:45 p.m.-6:00 p.m.
Salon G
Capitol Ballroom
Ballroom Level

Corporate Fellows Issues Briefing
Governors and Corporate Fellows Only

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 1

7:30 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
Russell Room
Meeting Room Level

News Media Registration

8:00 a.m.-12:00 p.m.
Capitol Foyer
Ballroom Level

General Registration

9:15 a.m.-12:00 noon
Salon III
Grand Ballroom
Ballroom Level

PLENARY SESSION*

Governor Carroll A. Campbell Jr., South Carolina, Chairman

■ Remarks

Senator Bob Dole, Republican Leader, U.S. Senate

■ Welfare Reform—State Initiatives and Roles

Governor Tom Carper, Delaware, Co-Chair, Welfare Reform Leadership Team

Governor John Engler, Michigan, Co-Chair, Welfare Reform Leadership Team

■ Remarks

President Bill Clinton

■ Chairman's Remarks

■ State Management Task Force Report

Governor Kirk Fordice, Mississippi, Co-Chair

Governor Mel Carnahan, Missouri, Co-Chair

■ Federalism Report

Governor George V. Voinovich, Ohio, Co-Lead

Governor

Governor Bruce Sundlun, Rhode Island, Co-Lead

Governor

■ Committee Reports and Consideration of Policy

*Special security procedures will be in effect for this session. Attendees are requested not to bring packages into the ballroom. In addition, special reserved seating will be designated. Your cooperation is appreciated.

12:15 p.m.-12:45 p.m.
Salon E
Capitol Ballroom
Ballroom Level

Closing News Conference

ANCILLARY MEETINGS

SUNDAY, JANUARY 30

8:30 a.m.-10:15 a.m. Governors/CEO's School-to-Work Meeting
Salon D Governors, Governors' Staff, and Invited Guests Only
Capitol Ballroom
Ballroom Level

8:45 a.m.-10:15 a.m. Council of Governors' Policy Advisors Membership
Salon K Breakfast Meeting
Capitol Ballroom
Ballroom Level

9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon Offshore Governors' Forum
State Room
Meeting Room Level

2:00 p.m.-3:00 p.m. National Governors' Security Association
Justice Room
Meeting Room Level

MONDAY, JANUARY 31

7:30 a.m.-9:00 a.m. Democratic Governors' Association Breakfast Meeting
Salon I
Grand Ballroom
Ballroom Level

7:30 a.m.-9:00 a.m. Republican Governors' Association Breakfast Meeting
Mayflower Hotel
1127 Connecticut Avenue NW

9:30 a.m.-1:00 p.m. Council of Governors' Policy Advisors Executive Board
Salon A Meeting
Capitol Ballroom
Ballroom Level

1:00 p.m.-2:00 p.m. National Governors' Security Association
Justice Room
Meeting Room Level

5:00 p.m.-6:30 p.m. Women Executives in State Government Reception
Salon F By Invitation Only
Capitol Ballroom
Ballroom Level

ANCILLARY MEETINGS (continued)

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 1

7:30 a.m.-8:15 a.m. <i>Salon D</i> <i>Capitol Ballroom</i> <i>Ballroom Level</i>	Coalition of Northeastern Governors
7:30 a.m.-8:15 a.m. <i>Salon H</i> <i>Capitol Ballroom</i> <i>Ballroom Level</i>	Midwestern Governors' Conference
7:30 a.m.-9:00 a.m. <i>Salon F</i> <i>Capitol Ballroom</i> <i>Ballroom Level</i>	Southern Governors' Association
7:30 a.m.-9:00 a.m. <i>Salon I</i> <i>Grand Ballroom</i> <i>Ballroom Level</i>	Western Governors' Association
8:15 a.m.-9:00 a.m. <i>Salon K</i> <i>Capitol Ballroom</i> <i>Ballroom Level</i>	Council of Great Lakes Governors
8:15 a.m.-9:00 a.m. <i>Salon D</i> <i>Capitol Ballroom</i> <i>Ballroom Level</i>	New England Governors' Conference
12:00 noon-4:00 p.m. <i>Salon F</i> <i>Capitol Ballroom</i> <i>Ballroom Level</i>	National Education Goals Panel Meeting

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 20, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR SENIOR STAFF

FROM: MARCIA L. HALE *MCH*

SUBJECT: INPUT FOR PRESIDENT'S BRIEFING FOR MAYORS CONFERENCE

As many of you are aware, the U.S. Conference of Mayors Legislative Conference is next week, January 26 - 28, 1994. The President will host the mayors at the White House on January 28, 1994 (list attached). I would like to prepare a complete briefing for the President on all the relevant issues that the mayors may want to discuss.

If you or your staff have been dealing with mayors on any particular issues that should be brought to the attention of the President, please send me a memorandum discussing these issues.

I would like to begin coordinating this as soon as possible. Please try to get me your information by close of business on Tuesday, January 24, 1994.

I look forward to hearing from you.

cc: John Podesta
Loretta Avent



1994 Winter Meeting
The U.S. Conference of Mayors
January 26-28, 1994

PRE-REGISTERED MAYORS

Capital Hilton Hotel
Washington, DC

ALABAMA**Alabaster**

Roger N. Wheeler

Dothan

Alfred Sailba

ALASKA**Anchorage**

Tom Fink

ARKANSAS**Little Rock**

Jim Dailey

North Little Rock

Patrick Henry Hays

ARIZONA**Gilbert**

Wilburn J. Brown

Phoenix

Paul Johnson

CALIFORNIA**Alameda**

William E. Withrow, Jr.

Alhambra

Barbar A. Messina

Carson

Michael I. Mitoma

Compton

Omar Bradley

Fremont

Bill Ball

Inglewood

Edward Vincent

Long Beach

Ernie Kell

Montclair

Larry L. Rhinehart

Newark

David W. Smith

Pasadena

Rick Cole

San Bernardino

Tom Minor

San Diego

Susan Golding

San Francisco

Frank M. Jordan

San Leandro

John E. Faria

CALIFORNIA (CONTINUED)**Santa Barbara**

Hal Conklin

Stockton

Joan Darrah

Westminster

Charles V. Smith

COLORADO**Colorado Springs**

Robert M. Isaac

Denver

Wellington E. Webb

CONNECTICUT**Danbury**

Gene F. Eriquez

East Haven

Henry J. Luzzi

Hartford

Michael P. Peters

New Haven

John DeStefano, Jr.

Waterbury

Edward D. Bergin

West Haven

H. Richard Borer, Jr.

FLORIDA**Dunedin**

Manuel Koutsourais

Fort Myers

Wilbur C. Smith, III

Miami Beach

Seymour Gelber

Orlando

Glenda E. Hood

Port St. Lucie

Bob Minsky

GEORGIA**Augusta**

Charles A. DeVaney

Macon

Tommy C. Olmstead

Savannah

Susan S. Weiner

HAWAII**Wailuku, Maui**

Linda Crockett Lingle

IDAHO**Boise**

H. Brent Coles

ILLINOIS**Aurora**

David Pierce

DeKalb

Greg Sparrow

Freeport

Richard "Dick" Weis

Highland Park

Daniel M. Pierce

Palatine

Rita L. Mullins

Quincy

Charles W. Scholz

Rockford

Charles E. Box

Springfield

Oswald "Ossie" Langfelder

INDIANA**Anderson**

J. Mark Lawler

East Chicago

Robert A. Pastrick

Elkhart

James P. Perron

Fort Wayne

Paul Helmke

Gary

Thomas V. Barnes

Terre Haute

P. Pete Chalos

IOWA**Davenport**

Patrick J. Gibbs

KANSAS**Topeka**

Harry "Butch" Felker

Wichita

Elma Broadfoot

KENTUCKY**Louisville**

Jerry Abramson

LOUISIANA**Alexandria**

Edward G. Randolph, Jr.

New Orleans

Sidney J. Barthelemy

MAINE**Lewiston**

John T. Jenkins

MARYLAND**Baltimore**

Kurt L. Schmoke

MASSACHUSETTS**Boston**

Thomas M. Menino

Cambridge

Kenneth E. Reeves

Chicopee

Joseph J. Chessey, Jr.

Everett

John R. McCarthy

Fitchburg

Jeffrey Bean

Leominster

Dean J. Mazzarella

Lynn

Patrick J. McManus

New Bedford

Rosemary Tierney

Newton

Theodore M. Mann

Quincy

James A. Sheets

Springfield

Robert T. Markel

Taunton

Robert Nunes

MICHIGAN**Dearborn**

Michael A. Guido

Detroit

Dennis W. Archer

Flint

Woodrow Stanley

Pontiac

Charlie J. Harrison, Jr.

Taylor

Cameron G. Priebe

MINNESOTA**Rochester**

Chuck Hazama

MISSOURI**Columbia**

MaryAnne McCollum

Jefferson City

Louise Gardner

Kansas City

Emanuel Cleaver, II

St. Charles

Grace M. Nichols

St. Louis

Freeman R. Bosley, Jr.

NEBRASKA**Lincoln**

Mike Johanns

NEVADA**Las Vegas**

Jan Laverty Jones

Reno

Peter J. Sferrazza

NEW JERSEY**East Orange**

Cardell Cooper

Edison

George A. Spadaro

Elizabeth

J. Christian Bollwage

Hope

Timothy C. McDonough

Irvington

Michael G. Steele

Middle Township

Michael J. Voll

Newark

Sharpe James

Orange

Robert L. Brown

Trenton

Douglas H. Palmer

NEW YORK**Hempstead**

James A. Garner

Rochester

William A. Johnson, Jr.

Rome

Joseph A. Griffo

Schenectady

Frank J. Duci

NORTH CAROLINA**Charlotte**

Richard A. Vinroot

Durham

Sylvia S. Kerckhoff

Wilmington

Don Betz

Winston-Salem

Martha S. Wood

NORTH DAKOTA**Fargo**

Jon G. Lindgren

Grand Forks

Michael Polovitz

OHIO**Akron**

Donald L. Plusquellic

Cleveland

Michael R. White

Columbus

Gregory S. Lashutka

Cuyahoga Falls

Don L. Robart

Kettering

Richard P. Hartmann

Lima

David J. Berger

North Olmstead

Ed Boyle

Toledo

Carty Finkbeiner

Youngstown

Patrick J. Ungaro

OKLAHOMA**Muskogee**

Kathryn Ann Hewitt

OREGON**Portland**

Vera Katz

CHILL COTHE
Joseph P. SULZER

PENNSYLVANIA**Chester**

Barbara Bohannon-Sheppard

Pittsburgh

Thomas J. Murphy, Jr.

Wilkes-Barre

Lee A. Namey

PUERTO RICO**Aguadilla**

Ramon Calero Bermudez

Arecibo

Angel M. Roman Velez

Caguas

Angel O. Berrios

Canovanas

Jose R. "Chemo" Soto

Carolina

Jose E. Aponte

Cayey

Daniel Oquendo Figueroa

Ciales

Angel M. Otero Pagan

Fajardo

Anibal Melendez Rivera

Isabela

Carmelo Perez Rivera

Jayuya

Jose A. Rivera Rodriguez

Luquillo

Edna Figueroa Gomez

Mayaguez

Jose G. Rodriguez

Rincon

Ruben Caro Muniz

San Juan

Hector Luis Acevedo

San Lorenzo

Victor Figueroa

San Sebastian

Justo Medina Esteves

Santa Isabel

Roque Delpin

Toa Baja

Victor M. Soto

Utuado

Juan Luis Ortiz Montalvo

Yauco

Pedro Torres Rivera

RHODE ISLAND**Cranston**

Michael A. Traficante

Providence

Vincent A. Cianci, Jr.

SOUTH CAROLINA**Charleston**

Joseph P. Riley, Jr.

Columbia

Robert D. Coble

Rock Hill

Elizabeth D. Rhea

TENNESSEE**Knoxville**

Victor Ashe

TEXAS**Abilene**

Gary D. McCaleb

Beaumont

Evelyn M. Lord

El Paso

Larry Francis

Fort Worth

Kay Granger

Galveston

Barbara K. Crews

Laredo
Saul Ramirez, Jr.

UTAH**Ogden**

Glenn J. Mecham

Salt Lake City

Deedee Corradini

Sandy

Thomas M. Dolan

VIRGINIA**Alexandria**

Patricia S. Ticer

Chesapeake

William E. Ward

Newport News

Barry E. DuVal

Norfolk

Mason C. Andrews

Portsmouth

Gloria O. Webb

VIRGINIA (CONTINUED)**Richmond**

Walter T. Kenney

Roanoke

David A. Bowers

Virginia Beach

Meyera E. Oberndorf

WASHINGTON**Everett**~~Edward D. Hansen~~ *Cancelled '12'***Seattle**

Norman B. Rice

WEST VIRGINIA**Charleston**

Kent Strange Hall

Wheeling

John Lipphardt

WISCONSIN**Green Bay**

Samuel J. Halloin

Madison

Paul R. Soglin

Milwaukee

John O. Norquist

The Society of
The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick
Washington, D. C.

Patrick J. Cassidy
President

c/o Cassidy & Pirkard, Inc.
2000 K Street, N.W., Suite 700
Washington, D.C. 20006
202 - 463 - 2100

January 13, 1994

Mr. Thomas "Mack" McLarty
Chief of Staff - Office of the President
West Wing - First Floor
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

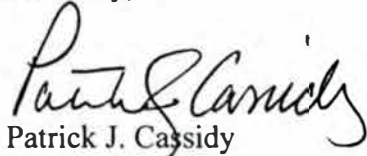
Dear Mr. McLarty:

On behalf of The Society of The Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick, once again I would like to invite you to be our honored guest at the Head Table for our Annual Dinner to be held this year, Thursday evening, March 17, 1994, at 6:30 p.m.

As you know, our Head Table is comprised of major political, military, religious and business figures. The dinner is held at the Capital Hilton Hotel, 16th and K Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Once again, I hope you will be able to be with us and celebrate on March 17.

Sincerely,


Patrick J. Cassidy
President

js

M:\COM\WPATSONSMCLARTY.LTR

MDG -
Mack cannot attend.
He suggested you may
want to sit in for him.
Let me know.
Thanks.
Janine

Justice Scalia
Kennedy
- overweight w/ Rep.
and would like
administration staffer.
?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 7, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK GEARAN

FROM: JAKE SIEWERT 
SUBJECT: Upcoming NGA Meeting

I wanted to give you a brief update on the NGA planning meeting conducted by Carol Rasco this morning. There are a number of actions that the Communications Department must take now to ensure that the meeting is successful. First, it might be helpful to outline our basic goals for the meeting:

1. Highlight our accomplishments and plans for the year ahead.
2. Keep meeting bi-partisan and cordial in tone.
3. Focus on issues where state and federal government are working or will work together effectively, particularly crime, welfare reform and health care -- not on distractions like the balanced budget amendment, etc.

ACTION TO BE TAKEN

1. **Assign SPEECHES.** As Carol has described it, there are three opportunities for the President to make remarks:
 - Monday, January 31, 1994 -- **Opening Remarks before the Governors' roundtable** at the White House. Focus will be on crime. Generally only a spray, but we could allow the press in for the opening. Good opportunity to build on crime message in SOTU. I assume Bruce Reed will be willing to help the speechwriter.
 - Monday, January 31, 1994 -- **Remarks at DGA Dinner.** At best, we should try to do no harm here. Last year was ideal with virtually no coverage at all. I will check with DGA on their latest plans. Let me know whether our current press policy is at fund-raisers. Remarks should be fairly straight-forward. Reporters may be curious on what, if anything, POTUS says about the outlook for the 1994 races. Suggest we sound cautious.

- Tuesday, February 1, 1994 -- **Speech to Plenary Session** of the NGA at the J.W. Marriott. Focus will be on health care reform with welfare in the mix. Open press. Again, this speech gives us an opportunity to follow up on themes of SOTU. I think that John Hart (health care) and Bruce Reed (welfare) will be able to help out here again. Speech will be immediately followed by a roundtable on welfare reform with some possibility that Senator Dole will follow that. Marcia is working to make sure that Dole does not immediately follow POTUS, as that seems to be contrary to NGA practice.
- 2. **Coordinate NGA speeches to follow up** and flesh out parts of the State of the Union. I will check with Dreyer and speechwriting to make sure that these speeches and sessions flow together as well as possible.
- 3. **Consider White House Briefing before Meeting.** I think we might get some benefit out of scheduling a briefing on Friday, January 28 to lay out the successes of the past year on state-federal cooperation. I am open to any sort of ideas on how we could do this and on who should brief. We could invite a governor in (?) or have some administration officials talk about the administration's record on flexibility and waivers (Shalala?). We can also strive for a larger theme here: New Era of Federalism - A Government that Works Together -- or something like that. I don't think this would be big news, but it might help pre-condition the press for the week-end. They are probably all looking for signs that the "honeymoon" between POTUS and the Governors is over. Plus, we have really made a dramatic turn-around on flexibility, and we should put people on notice. I think that POTUS might appreciate it as well. Let's not forget that he made a point of speaking at the Advisory Commission of Intergovernmental relations not long ago.
- 3. **Check on Sunday shows for January 30, 1994.** We can expect the weekend shows to focus on the State of the Union and, more generally, reactions to the administration's first year. We should have Vicki check to see what they're planning and help any Governors who are asked to appear -- talking points, etc.

MEMO ON NGA MEETING
JANUARY 7, 1994
PAGE 3

4. **Create some news with Helmut Kohl.** Helmut Kohl is having lunch with POTUS -- apparently off campus -- before he addresses the Governors on the afternoon of Monday, January 31.
5. **Schedule Cabinet Affairs and White House senior staff for NGA Committee Meetings.** We need to have these sessions covered well. Even if they turn out to be fairly sleepy, they will be carried on C-Span and by the print reporters. Also, Carol suggested that Bob Rubin or Roger Altman attend the DGA Breakfast to give them a briefing on the economy; we might as well spread the good news.
6. **Consider an OP-Ed for the Sunday papers.** I will check in with the Governors to see if any have plans to place op-eds on Sunday, January 30. We may want to place our own piece either on "federalism," health care, welfare or crime, as these issues relate to the states.
6. **Prepare for the stories on the outlook for the 1994 races.** Inevitably, some reports will focus on the "hot 1994 races" and we should make sure that White House Political, DGA and DNC are all saying the same thing about the overall outlook.
7. **Provide Surrogates with Talking Points.** I will check with DNC and DGA to make sure that we do a mailing and/or multi-fax before everyone comes to town. In particular, I can send out the "Year-End" document via DGA as well as any paper produced in conjunction with the SOTU.

CONCLUSION

Please advise on how I should proceed. In particular, let me know if I am missing something obvious or whether any of these "action items" is unrealistic. Also, keep in mind that Christie Todd Whitman and George Allen will both be "hot" at this meeting.

The Hearst Corporation

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DIRECTOR
CORPORATE ACTIVITIES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

VICE PRESIDENT
AND
DIRECTOR

VIA FAX AND MESSENGER

Feb. 2, 1994

The Honorable Thomas McLarty
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. McLarty:

I am writing to you on an urgent note because some confusion has arisen in connection with the Senate Youth Program's request to meet with President Clinton.

At 1 p.m. today, the First Lady's office called to advise that while the White House tour set for 9 a.m. Friday is confirmed, the President and Mrs. Clinton would be out of town that day.

However, the Washington bureau of the Hearst Newspapers has been advised that while Mrs. Clinton will be out of town on the health-care program, the President will be in Washington on Friday.

The Senate Youth Program delegates met this morning with Justice Souter at the Supreme Court and had lunch in the Dirksen Building this noon with senators. Their entire week is filled with such memorable opportunities. However, a brief audience with President Clinton would truly crown their time in Washington.

If the President cannot meet with them on Friday, would it be possible for him to meet the delegates on Thursday?

Please advise me at your earliest opportunity.

I remain deeply appreciative for all your efforts on this matter.

Sincerely,

Joseph Kingsbury-Smith

cc: Ricki Seidman

Mac - VP is very interested in program - but can't fit in schedule.

2/4 Mac met w / them.

Janine Mack said you were doing follow-up letters, P

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3/17

✓
P/TS
p-1e

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February 21, 1994

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

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MARKING INITIALS: ND DATE: 11/5/21

2019-0990-5

Mr. Mack McLarty
2475 Kalorama, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mack:

As you may be aware, I have been working on my own since May 1993 on special projects for a limited number of clients. Oaklawn is one of those clients. In my role as an Oaklawn communications and marketing consultant, I continue to work with the Cranford agency, primarily with Shelby Woods; regularly with Wayne Cranford, and am working on a daily basis with Herschel Friday.

A current Oaklawn-related project has produced some statewide research conducted by Drs. Zoe and Ernie Oakleaf of Opinion Research. (We are using the Oakleafs on the project and their guidance has been very professional and helpful.) As part of our project we have kept the Governor up to date and have included some general approval-rating questions in at least two recent surveys (October, and a survey completed Thursday, February 17).

Attached you'll find the most recent results on the President, the Governor, and others. For instance, you will see that the President's "very favorable" rating rose 11% from October (31%) to February (42%). We also tested Arkansans' opinion of Whitewater vis-a-vis the Clintons, and asked respondents to offer any other Arkansas politicians' names associated with the issue.

I thought you would find the results interesting. And helpful. Please keep this information in confidence among you, Donna Kay and me. You, of course, may pass along the information to the President, but I would like for it to go no further, please.

In the next 30-45 days, I may be able to brief you on our project. Until then, let me know if you have any questions.

Best regards,

Craig
Craig Douglass

Enclosure

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Now, I'd like to ask your impression of some people in public life. As I read each name, just tell me whether you have a very favorable opinion of that person, a somewhat favorable opinion, a somewhat unfavorable opinion, or a very unfavorable opinion. If you don't recognize a name, just say so. Here's the first one...

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | 1. Very favorable |
| | 2. Somewhat favorable |
| (VOL-must be volunteered) | 3. Mixed-a little of both |
| | 4. Somewhat unfavorable |
| | 5. Very unfavorable |
| (VOL-must be volunteered) | 6. Recognize name, but cannot rate |
| (VOL-must be volunteered) | 9. Don't recognize |

(ROTATE)

	1. VFAV %	2. SFAV %	3. MXD %	4. SFAV %	5. VUFAV %	6. RCOG %	9. DRK %
A1. Bill Clinton (October 1993)	42 (31)	24 (23)	5 (5)	10 (15)	19 (26)	1 (0)	0 (0)
A2. Jim Guy Tucker (October 1993)	30 (26)	42 (43)	8 (7)	9 (11)	4 (5)	7 (8)	1 (0)
A3. Sheffield Nelson (October 1993)	5 (7)	16 (22)	6 (5)	18 (17)	17 (13)	27 (28)	12 (8)
A4. Winston Bryant (October 1993)	13 (14)	30 (32)	8 (5)	10 (8)	3 (5)	25 (27)	11 (9)
A5. David Pryor (October 1993)	45 (41)	26 (33)	5 (4)	8 (10)	8 (7)	6 (4)	2 (1)
A6. Mike Huckabee (October 1993)	25 (21)	29 (32)	5 (4)	14 (12)	10 (10)	13 (18)	4 (3)
A7. Asa Hutchinson (October 1993)	14 (12)	25 (28)	5 (4)	11 (11)	9 (6)	28 (31)	9 (8)

NET NAME RECOGNITION:
(Responses 1+2+3+4+5)

	Oct 93	Feb 94
	%	%
Bill Clinton	100	99
David Pryor	95	92
Jim Guy Tucker	92	92
Mike Huckabee	79	83
Winston Bryant	64	64
Asa Hutchinson	61	64
Sheffield Nelson	64	61

A8. As you may know, President Clinton and his wife are involved in a controversy over an investment they made in Whitewater Development Corporation while Clinton was governor. Some people say this is a serious issue regarding the Clinton's political and business behavior, while others say that it is not a serious issue and is mostly a politically motivated attack on the Clintons. Which position comes closest to your own opinion?

	%
1. Whitewater is a serious issue	23
2. Whitewater is mostly a political attack	62
(VOL)3. Both	6
(VOL)4. Neither/Other response	2
(VOL)9. DK/Not sure	8

A9. Are you aware of any other Arkansas politicians involved in the Whitewater controversy?

(DO NOT READ RESPONSES--CLASSIFY ONLY)	%
1. Yes--Jim Guy Tucker's name mentioned at all	12
2. Yes--Any other politician mentioned (RECORD)	4
3. No/DK	84

MAR - 9 1994

February 23, 1994

Handwritten notes:
2-27-94
S - 7-94

The Honorable Mack McLarty
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

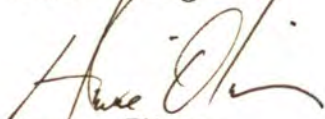
Dear Mack:

My sincere thanks for your kind words and assistance over the past several weeks.

As I reflect on my year in the Administration, I have a sense of both accomplishment and failure. Frankly, I could have done some things better. But throughout it all, my deep appreciation and pride in serving in the White House was constant. I have you and Mark Gearan to thank for the experience.

Wishing you much success and happiness in the future.

Warmest regards,


Andre Oliver

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 9, 1994

✓ NRN

Kelly,

Thank you for your help in getting a letter for Ambassador Stuart Eizenstat's mother, Sylvia Eizenstat, who soon will be celebrating her 80th birthday. Her 80th birthday is on February 19th, but the Ambassador would like to have a letter from the President for a dinner they are holding in her honor on February 12th.

The Ambassador reports that his mother is the epitome of all the things we consider special about mothers -- she is warm, caring, loving, and has been a source of strength and support for her family through good times and bad. Ambassador Eizenstat played basketball in high school, for instance, and his mother was known for her attendance not only at every game but every practice as well. She has long been active in the Jewish organization, Pioneer Women, and has been a docent at the Carter Center in Atlanta.

Ambassador Eizenstat has suggested, because of the short notice, that a copy of the note could be faxed to Carolyn in his office (fax 322-514-4339), and the original perhaps sent Federal Express, c/o Ambassador Stuart Eizenstat, 1830 Windemere Drive, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30324 (telephone 404-872-0586). The Ambassador leaves for his mother's home in Georgia Friday morning.

Thanks, Kelly, for your assistance. Needless to say, getting a letter from the President for the dinner on February 12th will have very special meaning for her. Please let me know if I can be of assistance in any way.

Linda

Linda McLaughlin x62174

per Bob Rubin

2/14

cc: The President

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 2/14

MEMORANDUM

94 FEB 14 P4:44

TO: MACK MCLARTY
DAVID GERGEN

FROM: MARK GEARAN *mg*

RE: PREP SESSION FOR SECRETARY PERRY

DATE: 12 FEBRUARY 1994

In preparation for Secretary Perry's first appearance on a Sunday talk show (This Week With David Brinkley), I convened a prep session in my office to review the format, logistics as well as a general Q & A. I asked George and NSC staff to join us. In addition, I asked Vice President Gore (who was already in the building awaiting a meeting) to join us -- which he graciously agreed to and added a great deal.

I believe Secretary Perry feels the White House provided the necessary back-up and support for his premiere, and I hope it will prove useful.

As an aside, I am working on a project which will analyze all the Sunday shows -- for format, position, style -- so that all new guests from the Administration can review. I will provide the tapes to you once completed.

JES. 14/154

Mark -

Good Effort. I called Perry Sunday night and told him he did a very good job. — Clear, relaxed, and courteous I thought. He indicated he was pleased & appreciated the WH support.

Ulf

cc: Gergen

BASIC POINTS IN THIS SPEECH

1. REASSURANCE FOR OLDER AMERICANS

- A. OUR PLAN PRESERVES MEDICARE
- B. OUR PLAN LET'S YOU KEEP YOUR DOCTOR
- C. WE WILL INSIST THAT HEALTH REFORM AND DEFICIT REDUCTION (IE. THE BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT) NEVER TAKE PLACE ON THE BACKS OF OLDER AMERICANS

2. NEW INITIATIVES IN OUR APPROACH FOR OLDER AMERICANS

- A. COVER PRESCRIPTION DRUGS
- B. PROVIDE LONG TERM, HOME BASED AND COMMUNITY BASED CARE
- C. BILLIONS MORE FOR RESEARCH FOR ALZHEIMER, CANCER, ETC.
- D. PROTECT EARLY RETIREES
- E. ENSURE OLDER AMERICANS GET EQUAL TREATMENT FROM INSURANCE COMPANIES.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 2/16

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Feb. 10, 1994

Mack:

FYI - At his request, I am getting a copy of a transcript of the President's remarks at the drug event yesterday for Joe Califano. I'm also working on getting a video tape of the event for him.*

He asked us to let the President know that he thought what he did yesterday was extraordinary -- nothing like it has ever been done before ...

Patty

* Califano plans to show the video tape to several hundred people.

Mr. President

WJC

WJC

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING



LARRY KING

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/18/94

Dear Mr.
President -

As always - Thanks
for being a great guest
See you soon - Love to
Hillary & Chels - ^{best} from

PHOTOCOPY
MISC. HANDWRITING

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

2/17/94

Medicare

Our health care approach provides guaranteed private health insurance for every American that can never be taken away. It controls costs and improve services. And it takes the savings that are achieved and invests them in profoundly important new benefits for older Americans.

Now there are a lot of ideas floating around Congress about how best to reform health care. But only one health care proposal honors our compact with older Americans, only one proposal keeps Medicare strong and makes it stronger, and that's our proposal.

Under our plan I pledge this to you: you will keep your Medicare benefits as you get them today. You will keep the doctor you've been going to. You will get guaranteed security for years to come.

Make no mistake: right now in Congress there are people plotting to use Medicare as a bank, to do whatever they want. If the balanced budget amendment passes, or, if any of the other health care proposals pass which cut Medicare, and they all do, middle class older Americans will suffer a very big hit.

We've shown that you can reduce the deficit and reform health care without punishing older Americans. Some out there believe the only way to reduce the deficit and reform health care is to punish older Americans.

I am here to day to tell you we will not let this happen. When others try to balance the budget on the backs of older Americans, when others try to reform health care solely on the backs of older Americans, we must say no, we must say never. We can do much better. And we have a proposal that does.

This is the way to go. It is about us taking care of each other. It's about improving America, improving our lives, about honoring those who deserve our honor. **Any other approach but preserving and improving health care for older Americans is completely unacceptable to me.**

Those who will try to do otherwise do not understand. Older Americans alone aren't responsible for the waste and inefficiency in the health care system, and shouldn't be asked to fix it. On the contrary, you are our parents and grandparents. You built the strongest freest land ever. You taught us to walk, to speak, to dream. You sacrificed for us, you sacrificed for the country, you trusted us, and we will not let you down.

In our plan we do achieve savings in Medicare, as we must. There is no reason Medicare should be allowed to rise at three

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{2/27}

THE
NEW YORKER



Ce
1-2/24
Mark
to.
2. The Pros.

February 24, 1994

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

Dear Mr. President:

I thought you might be interested in an article I wrote on the proposed balanced budget amendment for the February 28 *New Yorker*. I hope you find it useful.

Sincerely

[Signature]
Sidney Blumenthal
Washington Editor

SS
should
get run to
swing Senator
B

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

YOU CAN ALSO TAKE A DIP
IN ONE OF OUR THREE POOLS

WHY IS HE A MUCH BETTER DANCER HERE THAN AT HOME? COULD IT BE THE MYSTICUS HEALING POWERS OF THE SUNDRIAN DESERT? OR THE INTOXICATING AROMA OF A MESQUITE FIRE? MAYBE IT'S THE Piquant PRICKLY PEAR SALSA. ALL I KNOW IS THAT SINCE WE'VE BEEN AT THE SCOTTSDALE PRINCESS HE'S JUST NOT HIMSELF. COME TO THINK OF IT, HE'S MORE LIKE HIMSELF THAN HE HAS BEEN IN A WHILE. I HOPE MY FEET CAN TAKE IT. • CALL YOUR TRAVEL AGENT OR 800 223-1818.

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SIMON'S SIMPLE PIE

SENATOR PAUL SIMON, of Illinois, with his pert bow tie, still looks like what he once was: a crusading small-town newspaper editor who pecked out his stories on a manual typewriter. He is a decent liberal, who idolizes Lincoln and eulogizes Hubert Humphrey. But now this inveterate reformer has proposed a bill that, if it were to be enacted, would virtually outlaw social reform. Senator Simon hardly resembles a vandal with a spray can, but his amendment for a balanced budget would be an ugly swirl of graffiti on the Constitution.

The balanced-budget panacea was a rhetorical favorite of that great deficit spender Ronald Reagan. It was his genius to have it all ways: endorsing a balanced budget, though never presenting one to Congress, after gaining the benefits of an enormous federal stimulus to the economy by cutting taxes—especially for the wealthy. Reagan's effect (and, by some accounts, his intent) was to cripple the capacity of government for action (or, as he saw it, for mischief). As a political matter, his advocacy of a

balanced-budget amendment was of a piece with his approval of an amendment that would have criminalized abortion. While supporters of these conservative causes felt that Reagan shared their passions, his senior aides and the Republican leaders in the Senate adroitly managed to keep the amendments lost in the legislative labyrinth; the constituencies remained rolled, but nothing happened.

Paul Simon's balanced-budget amendment reverses the classic wisecrack of Karl Marx that history repeats itself, the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce. At the moment when President Clinton has brought the Reagan deficits down to manageable levels—slicing the deficit almost in half as a percentage of the gross domestic product by 1996, according to the Congressional Budget Office—a liberal Democrat has proposed a mechanism that would sanctify Reagan's social deficits and frustrate Clinton's plans for public investment.

The heart of the amendment, which will be debated this week on the Senate floor, seems perfectly straightforward: "Total outlays for any fiscal year shall

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not exceed total receipts for that fiscal year, unless three-fifths of the whole number of each House of Congress shall provide by law for a specific excess of outlays over receipts by a rollcall vote." This simple formula, however, is simple in more ways than one. It is denseness masquerading as homespun honesty.

The amendment is not merely a green-eyeshade calculation, making the federal ledger books balance. It is an attempt to enshrine an economic dogma, crippling pragmatic response to changing conditions. The fiscal flexibility that has enabled the country to sustain prosperity through much of the post-Second World War era would be hobbled. Policies structured into the economy, such as unemployment insurance and stimulative fiscal policy, have kept economic downturns from spiralling off the edge of a cliff. Keynesianism, in effect, enabled conservatives to profit politically from their denigrations of government while the social contract was held together by the liberal legacy. Reaganism was a mutant variety of Keynesianism pretending to be its contrary.

The balanced-budget amendment has more to do with cultural atavism than with economic policy. It presumes that the national economy can be organized like a household economy, and this fallacy is even more perverse than it seems, since the household it analogizes is not the modern one. Ours is the age of the

mortgage, not the mattress; businesses, families, and individuals borrow to invest in goods or services. To be credit-worthy is to be a good citizen, a candidate for further loans. The amendment would institutionalize a vision of an orderly, bucolic past without restoring it.

Forcing a balanced budget would deprive families and businesses of federal resources that now support them, for on the national balance sheet the Treasury's outflow is income to the private economy. Therefore, recessions would inevitably be deep and long. Even natural disasters, such as earthquakes and floods, would foster fiscal crises. Senator Simon's logic suggests that the catastrophe the amendment would foster would lead to the political result he wishes. He seems, indeed, to encourage precisely such crises. Faced with ruinous cuts in public investments, education, infrastructure, defense, and entitlements, Congress, having no alternative, would presumably raise taxes to keep pace with the social spending he favors. But under Simon's plan more votes would be required in the House and the Senate to raise taxes than to slash programs. The likely political dynamic would be a bacchanalia of cutting, further disabling the government's capacity to cope with economic cycles and widening the social deficit. In the ensuing struggle of each against all, tax-subsidized businesses and industries would be more protected po-

litically than programs for the middle class and the poor. Increased inequality would be the outcome. And the annual deficit-reduction frenzy would continue to fall heaviest on those not in the upper income brackets.

But why should this happen, when forty-six states have some version of a balanced-budget requirement? Why can't the federal government have the discipline of a state? To conflate the national government with the states is to misunderstand the federal system. Many of the states have to balance only operating budgets, not total budgets. Unlike the federal government, they have capital budgets to account for public investments, which are financed by floating bonds and by other borrowing techniques. All the states draw on the federal purse, without which none of them would have balanced budgets. The states are not accomplishing their fear alone, as though they were separate countries. The amendment, then, would place extreme stress on the federal system.

But perhaps the most pernicious consequence of the balanced-budget nostrum would be to imperil what James Madison, in *The Federalist* No. 58, described as "the fundamental principle of free government": majority rule. The federal system was carefully devised to protect the rights and the representation of minorities, but it was not created for "the power" to be "transferred to the minority," in the words of Madison. The balanced-budget amendment erases the fundamental principle, replacing it on all matters of money with rule by the minority. In this case, a particular minority's interest would be served. The amendment favors those who wish to obstruct, to stymie national action, or, as Madison warned, "to screen themselves from equitable sacrifices to the general weal, or, in particular emergencies, to extort unreasonable indulgences." The entire effect would be to throw into doubt the legitimacy of the idea of majority rule, which, Madison argued, would lead to "public convulsions and the ruin of popular governments." By unbalancing the Constitution, the balanced-budget panacea would unbalance the country. ♦



Bernard Schwabman

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2

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2.2.94

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

G --

Credit where credit is due:

Carter wasn't in this morning and Liz Bowyer
found these for you.

H

Henry-Martin

Gr

John
F I
copy
(RM)

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Defining Deviancy Down

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

IN ONE OF THE FOUNDING TEXTS OF SOCIOLOGY, *The Rules of Sociological Method* (1895), Emile Durkheim set it down that "crime is normal." "It is," he wrote, "completely impossible for any society entirely free of it to exist." By defining what is deviant, we are enabled to know what is not, and hence to live by shared standards. This aperçu appears in the chapter entitled "Rules for the Distinction of the Normal from the Pathological." Durkheim writes:

From this viewpoint the fundamental facts of criminology appear to us in an entirely new light. . . . [T]he criminal no longer appears as an utterly unsociable creature, a sort of parasitic element, a foreign, inassimilable body introduced into the bosom of society. He plays a normal role in social life. For its part, crime must no longer be conceived of as an evil which cannot be circumscribed closely enough. Far from there being cause for congratulation when it drops too noticeably below the normal level, this apparent progress assuredly coincides with and is linked to some social disturbance.

Durkheim suggests, for example, that "in times of scarcity" crimes of assault drop off. He does not imply that we ought to approve of crime—"[p]ain has likewise nothing desirable about it"—but we need to understand its function. He saw religion, in the sociologist Randall Collins's terms, as "fundamentally a set of ceremonial actions, assembling the group, heightening its emotions, and focusing its members on symbols of their common belongingness." In this context "a punishment ceremony creates social solidarity."

The matter was pretty much left at that until seventy years later when, in 1965, Kai T. Erikson published *Wayward Puritans*, a study of "crime rates" in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The plan behind the book, as Erikson put it, was "to test [Durkheim's] notion that the number of deviant offenders a community can afford to recognize is likely to remain stable over time." The notion proved out very well indeed.

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Despite occasional crime waves, as when itinerant Quakers refused to take off their hats in the presence of magistrates, the amount of deviance in this corner of seventeenth-century New England fitted nicely with the supply of stocks and whipping posts. Erikson remarks:

It is one of the arguments of the . . . study that the amount of deviation a community encounters is apt to remain fairly constant over time. To start at the beginning, it is a simple logistic fact that the number of deviancies which come to a community's attention are limited by the kinds of equipment it uses to detect and handle them, and to that extent the rate of deviation found in a community is at least in part a function of the size and complexity of its social control apparatus. A community's capacity for handling deviance, let us say, can be roughly estimated by counting its prison cells and hospital beds, its policemen and psychiatrists, its courts and clinics. Most communities, it would seem, operate with the expectation that a relatively constant number of control agents is necessary to cope with a relatively constant number of offenders. The amount of men, money, and material assigned by society to "do something" about deviant behavior does not vary appreciably over time, and the implicit logic which governs the community's efforts to man a police force or maintain suitable facilities for the mentally ill seems to be that there is a fairly stable quota of trouble which should be anticipated.

In this sense, the agencies of control often seem to define their job as that of keeping deviance within bounds rather than that of obliterating it altogether. Many judges, for example, assume that severe punishments are a greater deterrent to crime than moderate ones, and so it is important to note that many of them are apt to impose harder penalties when crime seems to be on the increase and more lenient ones when it does not, almost as if the power of the bench were being used to keep the crime rate from getting out of hand.

Erikson was taking issue with what he described as "a dominant strain in sociological thinking" that took for granted that a well-structured society "is somehow designed to prevent deviant behavior from occurring." In both authors, Durkheim and Erikson, there is an undertone that suggests that, with deviancy, as with most social goods, there is the continuing problem of demand exceeding supply. Durkheim invites us to

imagine a society of saints, a perfect cloister of exemplary individuals. Crimes, properly so called, will there be unknown; but faults which appear venial to the layman will create there the same scandal that the ordinary offense does in ordinary consciousness. If, then, this society has the power to judge and punish, it will define these acts as criminal and will treat them as such.

Recall Durkheim's comment that there need be no cause for congratulations should the amount of crime drop "too noticeably below the normal level." It would not appear that Durkheim anywhere contem-

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plates the possibility of too much crime. Clearly his theory would have required him to deplore such a development, but the possibility seems never to have occurred to him.

Erikson, writing much later in the twentieth century, contemplates both possibilities. "Deviant persons can be said to supply needed services to society." There is no doubt a tendency for the supply of any needed thing to run short. But he is consistent. There can, he believes, be *too much* of a good thing. Hence "the number of deviant offenders a community *can afford* to recognize is likely to remain stable over time." [My emphasis]

Social scientists are said to be on the lookout for poor fellows getting a bum rap. But here is a theory that clearly implies that there are circumstances in which society will choose *not* to notice behavior that would be otherwise controlled, or disapproved, or even punished.

It appears to me that this is in fact what we in the United States have been doing of late. I proffer the thesis that, over the past generation, since the time Erikson wrote, the amount of deviant behavior in American society has increased beyond the levels the community can "afford to recognize" and that, accordingly, we have been re-defining deviancy so as to exempt much conduct previously stigmatized, and also quietly raising the "normal" level in categories where behavior is now abnormal by any earlier standard. This redefining has evoked fierce resistance from defenders of "old" standards, and accounts for much of the present "cultural war" such as proclaimed by many at the 1992 Republican National Convention.

Let me, then, offer three categories of redefinition in these regards: the *altruistic*, the *opportunistic*, and the *normalizing*.

The first category, the *altruistic*, may be illustrated by the deinstitutionalization movement within the mental health profession that appeared in the 1950s. The second category, the *opportunistic*, is seen in the interest group rewards derived from the acceptance of "alternative" family structures. The third category, the *normalizing*, is to be observed in the growing acceptance of unprecedented levels of violent crime.

11

It happens that I was present at the beginning of the deinstitutionalization movement. Early in 1955 Averell Harriman, then the new governor of New York, met with his new commissioner of mental hygiene, Dr. Paul Hoch, who described the development, at one of the state mental hospitals, of a tranquilizer derived from rauwolfia. The medication had been clinically tested and appeared to be an effective treatment for many severely psychotic patients, thus increasing the

percentage of patients discharged. Dr. Hoch recommended that it be used systemwide; Harriman found the money. That same year Congress created a Joint Commission on Mental Health and Illness whose mission was to formulate "comprehensive and realistic recommendations" in this area, which was then a matter of considerable public concern. Year after year, the population of mental institutions grew. Year after year, new facilities had to be built. Never mind the complexities: population growth and such like matters. There was a general unease. Durkheim's constant continued to be exceeded. (In *Spanning the Century: The Life of W. Averell Harriman*, Rudy Abramson writes: "New York's mental hospitals in 1955 were overflowing warehouses, and new patients were being admitted faster than space could be found for them. When he was inaugurated, 94,000 New Yorkers were confined to state hospitals. Admissions were running at more than 2,500 a year and rising, making the Department of Mental Hygiene the fastest-growing, most-expensive, most-hopeless department of state government.")

The discovery of tranquilizers was adventitious. Physicians were seeking cures for disorders that were just beginning to be understood. Even a limited success made it possible to believe that the incidence of this particular range of disorders, which had seemingly required persons to be confined against their will or even awareness, could be greatly reduced. The Congressional Commission submitted its report in 1961; it proposed a nationwide program of deinstitutionalization.

Late in 1961, President Kennedy appointed an interagency committee to prepare legislative recommendations based upon the report. I represented Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg on this committee and drafted its final submission. This included the recommendation of the National Institute of Mental Health that 2,000 community mental health centers (one per 100,000 of population) be built by 1980. A buoyant Presidential Message to Congress followed early in 1963. "If we apply our medical knowledge and social insights fully," President Kennedy pronounced, "all but a small portion of the mentally ill can eventually achieve a wholesome and a constructive social adjustment." A "concerted national attack on mental disorders [was] now possible and practical." The President signed the Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act on October 31, 1963, his last public bill-signing ceremony. He gave me a pen.

The mental hospitals emptied out. At the time Governor Harriman met with Dr. Hoch in 1955, there were 90,314 adult residents of mental institutions maintained by New York State. As of August 1992, there were 11,363. This occurred across the nation. However, the number of community mental health centers never came near the goal of the 2,000 proposed community centers. Only some 482 received federal construc-

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tion funds between 1963 and 1980. The next year, 1981, the program was folded into the Alcohol and Other Drug Abuse block grant and disappeared from view. Even when centers were built, the results were hardly as hoped for. David F. Musto of Yale writes that the planners had bet on improving national mental health "by improving the quality of general community life through expert knowledge, not merely by more effective treatment of the already ill." There was no such knowledge.

However, worse luck, the belief that there *was* such knowledge took hold within sectors of the profession that saw institutionalization as an unacceptable mode of social control. These activists subscribed to a re-defining mode of their own. Mental patients were said to have been "labeled," and were not to be drugged. Musto says of the battles that followed that they were "so intense and dramatic precisely because both sides shared the fantasy of an omnipotent and omniscient mental health technology which could thoroughly reform society; the prize seemed eminently worth fighting for."

But even as the federal government turned to other matters, the mental institutions continued to release inmates. Professor Fred Siegel of Cooper Union observes: "In the great wave of moral deregulation that began in the mid-1960s, the poor and the insane were freed from the fetters of middle-class mores." They might henceforth sleep in doorways as often as they chose. The problem of the homeless appeared, characteristically defined as persons who lacked "affordable housing."

The *altruistic* mode of redefinition is just that. There is no reason to believe that there was any real increase in mental illness at the time deinstitutionalization began. Yet there was such a perception, and this enabled good people to try to do good, however unavailing in the end.

III

Our second, or *opportunistic* mode of re-definition, reveals at most a nominal intent to do good. The true object is to do well, a long-established motivation among mortals. In this pattern, a growth in deviancy makes possible a transfer of resources, including prestige, to those who control the deviant population. This control would be jeopardized if any serious effort were made to reduce the deviancy in question. This leads to assorted strategies for re-defining the behavior in question as not all that deviant, really.

In the years from 1963 to 1965, the Policy Planning Staff of the U.S. Department of Labor picked up the first tremors of what Samuel H. Preston, in the 1984 Presidential Address to the Population Association of America, would call "the earthquake that shuddered through the

American family in the past twenty years." *The New York Times* recently provided a succinct accounting of Preston's point:

Thirty years ago, 1 in every 40 white children was born to an unmarried mother; today it is 1 in 5, according to Federal data. Among blacks, 2 of 3 children are born to an unmarried mother; 30 years ago the figure was 1 in 5.

In 1991, Paul Offner and I published longitudinal data showing that, of children born in the years 1967-69, some 22.1 percent were dependent on welfare—that is to say, Aid to Families with Dependent Children—before reaching age 18. This broke down as 15.7 percent for white children, 72.3 percent for black children. Projections for children born in 1980 gave rates of 22.2 percent and 82.9 percent respectively. A year later, a *New York Times* series on welfare and poverty called this a "startling finding . . . a symptom of vast social calamity."

And yet there is little evidence that these facts are regarded as a calamity in municipal government. To the contrary, there is general acceptance of the situation as normal. Political candidates raise the subject, often to the point of dwelling on it. But while there is a good deal of demand for symbolic change, there is none of the marshaling of resources that is associated with significant social action. Nor is there any lack of evidence that there is a serious social problem here.

Richard T. Gill writes of "an accumulation of data showing that intact biological parent families offer children very large advantages compared to any other family or non-family structure one can imagine." Correspondingly, the disadvantages associated with single-parent families spill over into other areas of social policy that now attract great public concern. Leroy L. Schwartz, M.D., and Mark W. Stanton argue that the real quest regarding a government-run health system such as that of Canada or Germany is whether it would work "in a country that has social problems that countries like Canada and Germany don't share to the same extent." Health problems reflect ways of living. The way of life associated with "such social pathologies as the breakdown of the family structure" lead to medical pathologies. Schwartz and Stanton conclude: "The United States is paying dearly for its social and behavioral problems," for they have now become medical problems as well.

To cite another example, there is at present no more vexing problem of social policy in the United States than that posed by education. A generation of ever-more ambitious statutes and reforms have produced weak responses at best and a fair amount of what could more simply be called dishonesty. ("Everyone knows that Head Start works." By the year 2000, American students will "be first in the world in science and mathematics.") None of this should surprise us. The 1966 report *Equal-*

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ity of Educational Opportunity by James S. Coleman and his associates established that the family background of students played a much stronger role in student achievement relative to variations in the ten (and still standard) measures of school quality.

In a 1992 study entitled *America's Smallest School: The Family*, Paul Barton came up with the elegant and persuasive concept of the parent-pupil ratio as a measure of school quality. Barton, who was on the policy planning staff in the Department of Labor in 1965, noted the great increase in the proportion of children living in single-parent families since then. He further noted that the proportion "varies widely among the states" and is related to "variation in achievement" among them. The correlation between the percentage of eighth graders living in two-parent families and average mathematics proficiency is a solid .74. North Dakota, highest on the math test, is second highest on the family compositions scale—that is, it is second in the percentage of kids coming from two-parent homes. The District of Columbia, lowest on the family scale, is second lowest in the test score.

A few months before Barton's study appeared, I published an article showing that the correlation between eighth-grade math scores and distance of state capitals from the Canadian border was .522, a respectable showing. By contrast, the correlation with per pupil expenditure was a derisory .203. I offered the policy proposal that states wishing to improve their schools should move closer to Canada. This would be difficult, of course, but so would it be to change the parent-pupil ratio. Indeed, the 1990 Census found that for the District of Columbia, apart from Ward 3 west of Rock Creek Park, the percentage of children living in single-parent families in the seven remaining wards ranged from a low of 63.6 percent to a high of 75.7. This being a one-time measurement, over time the proportions become asymptotic. And this in the nation's capital. No demand for change comes from that community—or as near to no demand as makes no matter. *For there is good money to be made out of bad schools.* This is a statement that will no doubt please many a hard heart, and displease many genuinely concerned to bring about change. To the latter, a group in which I would like to include myself, I would only say that we are obliged to ask why things do not change.

For a period there was some speculation that, if family structure got bad enough, this mode of deviancy would have less punishing effects on children. In 1991 Deborah A. Dawson, of the National Institutes of Health, examined the thesis that "the psychological effects of divorce and single parenthood on children were strongly influenced by a sense of shame in being 'different' from the norm." If this were so, the effect should have fallen off in the 1980s, when being from a single-parent home became much more common. It did not. "The problems associated

with task overload among single parents are more constant in nature," Dawson wrote, adding that since the adverse effects had not diminished, they were "not based on stigmatization but rather on inherent problems in alternative family structures"—*alternative* here meaning other than two-parent families. We should take note of such candor. Writing in the *Journal of Marriage and the Family* in 1989, Sara McLanahan and Karen Booth noted: "Whereas a decade ago the prevailing view was that single motherhood had no harmful effects on children, recent research is less optimistic."

The year 1990 saw more of this lesson. In a paper prepared for the Progressive Policy Institute, Elaine Ciulla Kamarck and William A. Galston wrote that "if the economic effects of family breakdown are clear, the psychological effects are just now coming into focus." They cite Karl Zinsmeister:

There is a mountain of scientific evidence showing that when families disintegrate children often end up with intellectual, physical, and emotional scars that persist for life. . . . We talk about the drug crisis, the education crisis, and the problems of teen pregnancy and juvenile crime. But all these ills trace back predominantly to one source: broken families.

As for juvenile crime, they cite Douglas Smith and C. Roger Jarjoura: "Neighborhoods with larger percentages of youth (those aged 12 to 20) and areas with higher percentages of single-parent households also have higher rates of violent crime." They add: "The relationship is so strong that controlling for family configuration erases the relationship between race and crime and between low income and crime. This conclusion shows up time and time again in the literature; poverty is far from the sole determinant of crime." But the large point is avoided. In a 1992 essay "The Expert's Story of Marriage," Barbara Dafoe Whitehead examined "the story of marriage as it is conveyed in today's high school and college textbooks." Nothing amiss in this tale.

It goes like this:

The life course is full of exciting options. The lifestyle options available to individuals seeking a fulfilling personal relationship include living a heterosexual, homosexual, or bisexual single lifestyle; living in a commune; having a group marriage; being a single parent; or living together. Marriage is yet another lifestyle choice. However, before choosing marriage, individuals should weigh its costs and benefits against other lifestyle options and should consider what they want to get out of their intimate relationships. Even within marriage, different people want different things. For example, some people marry for companionship, some marry in order to have children, some marry for emotional and financial security. Though marriage can offer a rewarding path to personal growth, it is important to remember that it cannot provide a secure or permanent

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status. Many people will make the decision between marriage and singlehood many times throughout their life.

Divorce represents part of the normal family life cycle. It should not be viewed as either deviant or tragic, as it has been in the past. Rather, it establishes a process for "uncoupling" and thereby serves as the foundation for individual renewal and "new beginnings."

History commences to be rewritten. In 1992, the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families of the U.S. House of Representatives held a hearing on "Investing in Families: A Historical Perspective." A fact sheet prepared by committee staff began:

"INVESTING IN FAMILIES: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE"

FACT SHEET

HISTORICAL SHIFTS IN FAMILY COMPOSITION CHALLENGING CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

While in modern times the percentage of children living with one parent has increased, more children lived with just one parent in Colonial America.

The fact sheet proceeded to list program on program for which federal funds were allegedly reduced in the 1980s. We then come to a summary.

Between 1970 and 1991, the value of AFDC [Aid to Families with Dependent Children] benefits decreased by 41%. In spite of proven success of Head Start, only 28% of eligible children are being served. As of 1990, more than \$18 billion in child support went uncollected. At the same time, the poverty rate among single-parent families with children under 18 was 44%. Between 1980 and 1990, the rate of growth in the total Federal budget was four times greater than the rate of growth in children's programs.

In other words, benefits paid to mothers and children have gone down steadily, as indeed they have done. But no proposal is made to restore benefits to an earlier level, or even to maintain their value, as is the case with other "indexed" Social Security programs. Instead we go directly to the subject of education spending.

Nothing new. In 1969, President Nixon proposed a guaranteed income, the Family Assistance Plan. This was described as an "income strategy" as against a "services strategy." It may or may not have been a good idea, but it was a clear one, and the resistance of service providers to it was equally clear. In the end it was defeated, to the huzzahs of the advocates of "welfare rights." What is going on here is simply that a large

increase in what once was seen as deviancy has provided opportunity to a wide spectrum of interest groups that benefit from re-defining the problem as essentially normal and doing little to reduce it.

IV

Our normalizing category most directly corresponds to Erikson's proposition that "the number of deviant offenders a community can afford to recognize is likely to remain stable over time." Here we are dealing with the popular psychological notion of "denial." In 1965, having reached the conclusion that there would be a dramatic increase in single-parent families, I reached the further conclusion that this would in turn lead to a dramatic increase in crime. In an article in *America*, I wrote:

From the wild Irish slums of the 19th century Eastern seaboard to the riot-torn suburbs of Los Angeles, there is one unmistakable lesson in American history: a community that allows a large number of young men to grow up in broken families, dominated by women, never acquiring any stable relationship to male authority, never acquiring any set of rational expectations about the future—that community asks for and gets chaos. Crime, violence, unrest, unrestrained lashing out at the whole social structure—that is not only to be expected; it is very near to inevitable.

The inevitable, as we now know, has come to pass, but here again our response is curiously passive. Crime is a more or less continuous subject of political pronouncement, and from time to time it will be at or near the top of opinion polls as a matter of public concern. But it never gets much further than that. In the words spoken from the bench, Judge Edwin Torres of the New York State Supreme Court, Twelfth Judicial District, described how "the slaughter of the innocent marches unabated: subway riders, bodega owners, cab drivers, babies; in laundromats, at cash machines, on elevators, in hallways." In personal communication, he writes: "This numbness, this near narcoleptic state can diminish the human condition to the level of combat infantrymen, who, in protracted campaigns, can eat their battlefield rations seated on the bodies of the fallen, friend and foe alike. A society that loses its sense of outrage is doomed to extinction." There is no expectation that this will change, nor any efficacious public insistence that it do so. The crime level has been normalized.

Consider the St. Valentine's Day Massacre. In 1929 in Chicago during Prohibition, four gangsters killed seven gangsters on February 14. The nation was shocked. The event became legend. It merits not one but two entries in the *World Book Encyclopedia*. I leave it to others to

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judge, but it would appear that the society in the 1920s was simply not willing to put up with this degree of deviancy. In the end, the Constitution was amended, and Prohibition, which lay behind so much gangster violence, ended.

In recent years, again in the context of illegal traffic in controlled substances, this form of murder has returned. But it has done so at a level that induces denial. James Q. Wilson comments that Los Angeles has the equivalent of a St. Valentine's Day Massacre every weekend. Even the most ghastly re-enactments of such human slaughter produce only moderate responses. On the morning after the close of the Democratic National Convention in New York City in July, there was such an account in the second section of the *New York Times*. It was not a big story; bottom of the page, but with a headline that got your attention. "3 Slain in Bronx Apartment, but a Baby is Saved." A subhead continued: "A mother's last act was to hide her little girl under the bed." The article described a drug execution; the now-routine blindfolds made from duct tape; a man and a woman and a teenager involved. "Each had been shot once in the head." The police had found them a day later. They also found, under a bed, a three-month-old baby, dehydrated but alive. A lieutenant remarked of the mother, "In her last dying act she protected her baby. She probably knew she was going to die, so she stuffed the baby where she knew it would be safe." But the matter was left there. The police would do their best. But the event passed quickly; forgotten by the next day, it will never make *World Book*.

Nor is it likely that any great heed will be paid to an uncanny reenactment of the Prohibition drama a few months later, also in the Bronx. The *Times* story, page B3, reported:

9 Men Posing as Police Are Indicted in 3 Murders Drug Dealers Were Kidnapped for Ransom

The *Daily News* story, same day, page 17, made it four murders, adding nice details about torture techniques. The gang members posed as federal Drug Enforcement Administration agents, real badges and all. The victims were drug dealers, whose families were uneasy about calling the police. Ransom seems generally to have been set in the \$650,000 range. Some paid. Some got it in the back of the head. So it goes.

Yet, violent killings, often random, go on unabated. Peaks continue to attract some notice. But these are peaks above "average" levels that thirty years ago would have been thought epidemic.

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LOS ANGELES, AUG. 24. (Reuters) Twenty-two people were killed in Los Angeles over the weekend, the worst period of violence in the city since it was ravaged by riots earlier this year, the police said today.

Twenty-four others were wounded by gunfire or stabbings, including a 19-year old woman in a wheelchair who was shot in the back when she failed to respond to a motorist who asked for directions in south Los Angeles.

["The guy stuck a gun out of the window and just fired at her," said a police spokesman, Lieut. David Rock. The woman was later described as being in stable condition.

Among those who died was an off-duty officer, shot while investigating reports of a prowler in a neighbor's yard, and a Little League baseball coach who had argued with the father of a boy he was coaching.]

The police said at least nine of the deaths were gang-related, including that of a 14-year old girl killed in a fight between rival gangs.

Fifty-one people were killed in three days of rioting that started April 29 after the acquittal of four police officers in the beating of Rodney G. King.

Los Angeles usually has above-average violence during August, but the police were at a loss to explain the sudden rise. On an average weekend in August, 14 fatalities occur.

Not to be outdone, two days later the poor Bronx came up with a near record, as reported in *New York Newsday*:

Armed with 9-mm. pistols, shotguns and M-16 rifles, a group of masked men and women poured out of two vehicles in the South Bronx early yesterday and sprayed a stretch of Longwood Avenue with a fusillade of bullets, injuring 12 people.

A Kai Erikson of the future will surely need to know that the Department of Justice in 1990 found that Americans reported only about 38 percent of all crimes and 48 percent of violent crimes. This, too, can be seen as a means of *normalizing* crime. In much the same way, the vocabulary of crime reporting can be seen to move toward the normal-seeming. A teacher is shot on her way to class. The *Times* subhead reads: "Struck in the Shoulder in the Year's First Shooting Inside a School." First of the season.

It is too early, however, to know how to regard the arrival of the doctors on the scene declaring crime a "public health emergency." The June 10, 1992, issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* was devoted entirely to papers on the subject of violence, principally violence associated with firearms. An editorial in the issue signed by former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop and Dr. George D. Lundberg is entitled: "Violence in America: A Public Health Emergency." Their proposition is admirably succinct.

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Regarding violence in our society as purely a sociological matter, or one of law enforcement, has led to unmitigated failure. It is time to test further whether violence can be amenable to medical/public health interventions.

We believe violence in America to be a public health emergency, largely unresponsive to methods thus far used in its control. The solutions are very complex, but possible.

The authors cited the relative success of epidemiologists in gaining some jurisdiction in the area of motor vehicle casualties by re-defining what had been seen as a law enforcement issue into a public health issue. Again, this process began during the Harriman administration in New York in the 1950s. In the 1960s the morbidity and mortality associated with automobile crashes was, it could be argued, a major public health problem; the public health strategy, it could also be argued, brought the problem under a measure of control. Not in "the 1970s and 1980s," as the *Journal of the American Medical Association* would have us think: the federal legislation involved was signed in 1965. Such a strategy would surely produce insights into the control of violence that elude law enforcement professionals, but whether it would change anything is another question.

For some years now I have had legislation in the Senate that would prohibit the manufacture of .25 and .32 caliber bullets. These are the two calibers most typically used with the guns known as Saturday Night Specials. "Guns don't kill people," I argue, "bullets do."

Moreover, we have a two-century supply of handguns but only a four-year supply of ammunition. A public health official would immediately see the logic of trying to control the supply of bullets rather than of guns.

Even so, now that the doctor has come, it is important that criminal violence not be defined down by epidemiologists. Doctors Koop and Lundberg note that in 1990 in the state of Texas "deaths from firearms, for the first time in many decades, surpassed deaths from motor vehicles, by 3,443 to 3,309." A good comparison. And yet keep in mind that the number of motor vehicle deaths, having leveled off since the 1960s, is now pretty well accepted as normal at somewhat less than 50,000 a year, which is somewhat less than the level of the 1960s—the "carnage," as it once was thought to be, is now accepted as normal. This is the price we pay for high-speed transportation: there is a benefit associated with it. But there is no benefit associated with homicide, and no good in getting used to it. Epidemiologists have powerful insights that can contribute to lessening the medical trauma, but they must be wary of normalizing the social pathology that leads to such trauma.

V

The hope—if there be such—of this essay has been twofold. It is, first, to suggest that the Durkheim constant, as I put it, is maintained by a

dynamic process which adjusts upwards and *downwards*. Liberals have traditionally been alert for upward redefining that does injustice to individuals. Conservatives have been correspondingly sensitive to downward redefining that weakens societal standards. Might it not help if we could all agree that there is a dynamic at work here? It is not revealed truth, nor yet a scientifically derived formula. It is simply a pattern we observe in ourselves. Nor is it rigid. There may once have been an unchanging supply of jail cells which more or less determined the number of prisoners. No longer. We are building new prisons at a prodigious rate. Similarly, the executioner is back. There is something of a competition in Congress to think up new offenses for which the death penalty is seemed the only available deterrent. Possibly also modes of execution, as in "fry the kingpins." Even so, we are getting used to a lot of behavior that is not good for us.

As noted earlier, Durkheim states that there is "nothing desirable" about pain. Surely what he meant was that there is nothing pleasurable. Pain, even so, is an indispensable warning signal. But societies under stress, much like individuals, will turn to pain killers of various kinds that end up concealing real damage. There is surely nothing desirable about *this*. If our analysis wins general acceptance, if, for example, more of us came to share Judge Torres's genuine alarm at "the trivialization of the lunatic crime rate" in his city (and mine), we might surprise ourselves how well we respond to the manifest decline of the American civic order. Might.

DEFINING DEVIANCY UP

By Charles Krauthammer

I.

In a recent essay in *The American Scholar* titled "Defining Deviancy Down," Daniel Patrick Moynihan offers an arresting view of the epidemic of deviancy—of criminality, family breakdown, mental illness—that has come to characterize the American social landscape. Deviancy has reached such incomprehensible proportions, argues Moynihan, that we have had to adopt a singular form of denial: we deal with the epidemic simply by defining away most of the disease. We lower the threshold for what we are prepared to call normal in order to keep the volume of deviancy—redefined deviancy—within manageable proportions.

For example. Since 1960 the incidence of single parenthood has more than tripled. Almost 30 percent of all American children are now born to unmarried mothers. The association of fatherlessness with poverty, welfare dependency, crime and other pathologies points to a monstrous social problem. Yet, as the problem has grown, it has been systematically redefined by the culture—by social workers, intellectuals and most famously by the mass media—as simply another lifestyle choice. Dan Quayle may have been right, but Murphy Brown won the ratings war.

Moynihan's second example is crime. We have become totally inured to levels of criminality that would have been considered intolerable thirty years ago. The St. Valentine's Day massacre, which caused a national uproar and merited two entries in the *World Book Encyclopedia*, involved four thugs killing seven other thugs. An average weekend in today's Los Angeles, notes James Q. Wilson. More than half of all violent crimes are not even reported. We have come to view homicide as ineradicable a part of the social landscape as car accidents.

And finally there is mental illness. Unlike family breakdown and criminality, there has probably been no increase in mental illness over the last thirty years. Rates of schizophrenia do not change, but the rate of hospitalization for schizophrenia and other psychoses has

This article is adapted from the author's Bradley Lecture at the American Enterprise Institute.

changed. The mental hospitals have been emptied. In 1955 New York state asylums had 93,000 patients. Last year they had 11,000. Where have the remaining 82,000 and their descendants gone? Onto the streets mostly. In one generation, a flood of pathetically ill people has washed onto the streets of America's cities. We now step over these wretched and abandoned folk sleeping in doorways and freezing on grates. They, too, have become accepted as part of the natural landscape. We have managed to do that by redefining them as people who simply lack affordable housing. They are not crazy or sick, just very poor—as if anyone crazy and sick and totally abandoned would not end up very poor.

Moynihan's powerful point is that with the moral deregulation of the 1960s, we have had an explosion of deviancy in family life, criminal behavior and public displays of psychosis. And we have dealt with it in the only way possible: by redefining deviancy down so as to explain away and make "normal" what a more civilized, ordered and healthy society long ago would have labeled—and long ago did label—deviant.

II.

Moynihan is right. But it is only half the story. There is a complementary social phenomenon that goes with defining deviancy down. As part of the vast social project of moral leveling, it is not enough for the deviant to be normalized. The normal must be found to be deviant. Therefore, while for the criminals and the crazies deviancy has been defined down (the bar defining normality has been lowered), for the ordinary bourgeois deviancy has been defined up (the bar defining normality has been raised). Large areas of ordinary behavior hitherto considered benign have had their threshold radically redefined up, so that once innocent behavior now stands condemned as deviant. Normal middle-class life then stands exposed as the true home of violence and abuse and a whole catalog of aberrant acting and thinking.

As part of this project of moral leveling, entirely new areas of deviancy—such as date rape and politically incorrect speech—have been discovered. And old areas—such as child abuse—have been amplified by

endless reiteration in the public presses and validated by learned reports of their astonishing frequency. The net effect is to show that deviancy is not the province of criminals and crazies but thrives in the heart of the great middle class. The real deviants of society stand unmasked. Who are they? Not Bonnie and Clyde but Ozzie and Harriet. True, Ozzie and Harriet have long been the object of ridicule. Now, however, they are under indictment.

The moral deconstruction of middle-class normality is a vast project. Fortunately, thousands of volunteers are working the case. By defining deviancy up they have scored some notable successes. Three, in particular. And in precisely the areas Moyrihan identified: family life, crime and thought disorders.

III.

First, family life. Under the new dispensation it turns out that the ordinary middle-class family is not a warm, welcoming fount of "family values," not a bedrock of social and psychic stability as claimed in conservative propaganda. It is instead a caldron of pathology, a teeming source of the depressions, alienations and assorted dysfunctions of adulthood. Why? Because deep in the family lies the worm, the 1990s version of original sin: child abuse.

Child abuse is both a crime and a tragedy, but is it nineteen times more prevalent today than it was thirty years ago? That is what the statistics offer. In 1963: 150,000 reported cases. In 1992: 2.9 million.

Now, simply considering the historical trajectory of the treatment of children since the nineteenth century, when child labor—even child slavery—was common, it is hard to believe that the tendency toward improved treatment of children has been so radically reversed in one generation.

Plainly it hasn't. What happened then? The first thing that happened was an epidemic of over-reporting. Douglas Besharov points out that whereas in 1975 about one-third of child abuse cases were dismissed for lack of evidence, today about two-thirds are dismissed. New York state authorities may have considered it a great social advance that between 1979 and 1983, for example, reported cases of child abuse increased by almost 50 percent. But over the same period, the number of substantiated cases actually declined. In other words, the 22,000 increase of reported cases yielded a net decrease of real cases.

Note the contrast. For ordinary crime, to which we have become desensitized, we have defined deviancy down. One measure of this desensitization is under-reporting: nearly two out of every three ordinary crimes are never even reported. Child abuse is precisely the opposite. For child abuse, to which we have become exquisitely oversensitized, deviancy has been correspondingly defined up. One of the measures of oversensitization is over-reporting: whereas two out of three ordinary crimes are never reported, two out of three reported cases of child abuse are never shown to have occurred.

The perceived epidemic of child abuse is a compound of many factors. Clearly, over-reporting is one. Changing societal standards regarding corporal punishment is another. But beyond the numbers and definitions there is a new ideology of child abuse. Under its influence, the helping professions, committed to a belief in endemic abuse, have encouraged a massive search to find cases, and where they cannot be found, to invent them.

Consider this advice from one of the more popular self-help books on sex abuse, *Courage to Heal*. "If you are unable to remember any specific instances [of childhood sex abuse] ... but still have a feeling that something abusive happened to you, it probably did." And "if you think you were abused and your life shows the symptoms, then you were."

If your life shows the symptoms. In a popular culture saturated with tales of child abuse paraded daily on the airwaves, it is not hard to suggest to vulnerable people that their problems—symptoms—are caused by long-ago abuse, indeed, even unremembered abuse. Hence the *reductio ad absurdum* of the search for the hidden epidemic: adults who present themselves suddenly as victims of child abuse after decades of supposed amnesia—the amnesia reversed and the memory reclaimed thanks to the magic of intensive psychotherapy.

Now, the power of therapeutic suggestion is well-known. Dr. George Ganaway of Emory University points out—and, as a retired psychiatrist, I well remember—how fiction disguised as memory can be created at the suggestion of a trusted therapist whom the patient wants to please.

Why should memories of child abuse please the therapist? Because it fits the new ideology of neurosis. For almost a century Freudian ideology located the source of adult neuroses in the perceived psychosexual traumas of childhood. But Freud concluded after initial skepticism that these psychosexual incidents were fantasy.

Today Freud's conclusion is seen either as a great error or, as Jeffrey Masson and other anti-Freudian crusaders insist, as a great betrayal of what he knew to be the truth. Today's fashion, promoted by a vanguard of therapists and researchers, is that the fantasies are true. When the patient presents with depression, low self-esteem or any of the common ailments of modern life, the search begins for the underlying childhood sexual abuse. "Some contemporary therapists," writes Elizabeth Loftus, professor of psychology at the University of Washington, "have been known to tell patients, on the basis of a suggestive history or 'symptom profile,' that they definitely had a traumatic experience. The therapist then urges the patient to pursue the recalcitrant memories."

This new psychology is rooted in and reinforces current notions about the pathology of ordinary family life. Rather than believing, as we did for a hundred years under the influence of Freud, that adult neurosis results from the inevitable psychological traumas of sexual maturation, compounded by parental error and crystal-

lized in the (literally) fantastic memories of the patient, today there is a new dispensation. Nowadays neurosis is the outcome not of innocent errors but of criminal acts occurring in the very bosom of the ordinary-looking family. Seek and ye shall find: the sins of the fathers are visible in the miserable lives of the children. Child abuse is the crime waiting only to be discovered with, of course, the proper therapeutic guidance and bedtime reading. It is the dirty little secret behind the white picket fence. And beside this offense, such once-regarded deviancies of family life as illegitimacy appear benign.

IV.

So much for the family. Let us look now at a second pillar of everyday bourgeois life: the ordinary heterosexual relationship. A second vast category of human behavior that until recently was considered rather normal has had its threshold for normality redefined up so as to render much of it deviant. Again we start with a real offense: rape. It used to be understood as involving the use of or threat of force. No longer. It has now been expanded by the concept of date rape to encompass an enormous continent of behavior that had long been viewed as either normal or ill-mannered, but certainly not criminal.

"Some 47 percent of women are victims of rape or attempted rape ... and 25 percent of women are victims of completed rape." So asserts Catharine MacKinnon on a national television news special. Assertions of this sort are commonplace. A Stanford survey, for example, claims that a third of its women have suffered date rape. The most famous and widely reported study of the rape epidemic is the one done by Mary Koss (and published, among other places, in *Ms.* magazine). Her survey of 6,159 college students found that 15 percent had been raped and another 12 percent subjected to attempted rape. She also reported that in a single year 3,187 college females reported 886 incidents of rape or attempted rape. That is more than one incident for

every four women per year. At that rate, about three out of every four undergraduate women would be victims of rape or attempted rape by graduation day.

If those numbers sound high, they are. As Neil Gilbert points out in *The Public Interest*, the numbers compiled by the FBI under the Unified Crime Reporting Program and suitably multiplied to account for presumed unreported cases, yield an incidence of rape somewhere around one in a thousand. As for the college campus, reports from 2,400 campuses mandated by the Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act of 1990 showed fewer than 1,000 rapes for 1991. That is

about one-half a rape per campus per year. Barnard College, a hotbed of anti-rape and Take Back the Night activity, released statistics in 1991 showing no reports of rape, date or otherwise, among its 2,200 students. Same for Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Brown—and Antioch, author of the strictest, most hilarious sexual correctness code in American academia.

How does one explain the vast discrepancy—1 in 2 differs from 1 in 1,000 by a factor of 500—between the real numbers and the fantastic numbers that have entered the popular imagination? Easy. Deviancy has again been redefined—up. Rape has been expanded by Koss and other researchers to include behavior that

you and I would not recognize as rape. And not just you and I—the supposed victims themselves do not recognize it as rape. In the Koss study, 73 percent of the women she labeled as rape victims did not consider themselves to have been raped. Fully 42 percent had further sexual relations with the so-called rapist.

Now, women who have been raped are not generally known for going back for more sex with their assailants. Something is wrong here. What is wrong is the extraordinarily loose definition of sexual coercion and rape. Among the questions Koss asked her subjects were these: "Have you given in to sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because you were overwhelmed by a man's continual arguments and pressure?" and "Have you had sex-



ILLUSTRATION BY ERIC BAKER FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

ual intercourse when you didn't want to because a man gave you alcohol or drugs?" The Stanford study, the one that turned up one out of three female students as victims of date rape, rests on respondents' self-report of "full sexual activity when they did not want to."

It is a common enough experience for people (both men and women) to be of two minds about having sex, and yet decide, reluctantly but certainly freely, to go ahead even though they do not really want to. Call that rape and there are few who escape the charge.

The cornerstone of this new and breathtakingly loose definition is the idea of verbal coercion. Consider this definition from the "Nonviolent Sexual Coercion" chapter in *Acquaintance Rape: The Hidden Crime* (John Wiley, 1991): "We define verbal sexual coercion as a woman's consenting to unwanted sexual activity because of a man's verbal arguments, not including verbal threats of physical force." With rape so radically defined up—to include offering a drink or being verbally insistent—it is no surprise that the result is an epidemic of sexual deviancy.

Of course, behind these numbers is an underlying ideology about the inherent aberrancy of all heterosexual relations. As Andrea Dworkin once said, "Romance . . . is rape embellished with meaningful looks." The date rape epidemic is just empirical dressing for a larger theory which holds that because relations between men and women are inherently unequal, sex can never be truly consensual. It is always coercive.

"The similarity between the patterns, rhythms, roles and emotions, not to mention acts, which make up rape (and battery) on the one hand and intercourse on the other . . ." writes MacKinnon, "makes it difficult to sustain the customary distinctions between pathology and normalcy, violence and sex." And "Compare victims' reports of rape with women's reports of sex. They look a lot alike . . . In this light, the major distinction between intercourse (normal) and rape (abnormal) is that the normal happens so often that one cannot get anyone to see anything wrong with it." Or as Susan Estrich puts it, "Many feminists would argue that so long as women are powerless relative to men, viewing 'yes' as a sign of true consent is misguided." But if "yes" is not a sign of true consent, then what is? A notarized contract?

And if there is no such thing as real consent, then the radical feminist ideal is realized: all intercourse is rape. Who needs the studies? The incidence of rape is not 25 percent or 33 or 50. It is 100 percent. Then Naomi Wolf can write in *The Beauty Myth* that we have today "a situation among the young in which boys rape and girls get raped as a *normal course of events*." (Her italics.)

Date rape is only the most extreme example of deviancy redefined broadly enough to catch in its net a huge chunk of normal, everyday behavior. It is the most extreme example because it is criminal. But then there are the lesser offenses, a bewildering array of transgressions that come under the rubric of sexual harassment, the definition of which can be equally loose and float-

ing but is always raised high enough to turn innocent behavior into deviancy. As Allan Bloom wrote, "What used to be understood as modes of courtship are now seen as modes of male intimidation."

V.

So much then for the family and normal heterosexual relations. On now to the third great area of the new deviancy: thought crimes.

This summer, I was visited by an FBI agent doing a routine background check on a former employee of mine now being considered for some high administration post. The agent went through the usual checklist of questions that I had heard many times before: questions about financial difficulties, drug abuse, alcoholism. Then he popped a new one: Did this person ever show any prejudice to a group based on race, ethnicity, gender, national origin, etc.? I assumed that he was not interested in whether the person had been involved in any racial incident. The FBI would have already known about that. What he wanted to know about was my friend's deeper thoughts, feelings he might have betrayed only to someone with whom he had worked intimately for two years. This was the point in the interview at which I was supposed to testify whether I had heard my friend tell any sexist or racist jokes or otherwise show signs of hidden prejudice. That is when it occurred to me that insensitive speech had achieved official status as a thought crime.

Now, again we start with real deviance—racial violence of the kind once carried out by the Klan or today by freelancers like the two men in Tampa recently convicted of a monstrous racial attack on a black tourist. These are outlawed and punished. So are the more benign but still contemptible acts of nonviolent racial discrimination, as in housing, for example. But now that overt racial actions have been criminalized and are routinely punished, the threshold for deviancy has been ratcheted up. The project now is to identify prejudiced thinking, instincts, anecdotes, attitudes.

The great arena for this project is the American academy. The proliferation of speech codes on campuses, restrained only by their obvious unconstitutionality, was an attempt by universities to curtail speech that may cause offense to groups designated for special protection. A University of Michigan student, for example, offers the opinion *in class* that homosexuality is an illness, and finds himself hauled before a formal university hearing on charges of harassing students on the basis of sexual orientation.

The irony here is quite complete. It used to be that homosexuality was considered deviant. But now that it has been declared a simple lifestyle choice, those who are not current with the new definitions, and have the misfortune to say so in public, find themselves suspected of deviancy.

There is, of course, the now-famous case of the Israeli-born University of Pennsylvania student who called a group of rowdy black sorority sisters making noise out-

side his dorm in the middle of the night "water buffaloes" (his rough translation from the Hebrew *behemoth*). He was charged with racial harassment. A host of learned scholars was assigned the absurd task of locating the racial antecedents of the term. They could find none. (They should have asked me. I could have saved them a lot of trouble. My father called me *behemoth* so many times it almost became a term of endearment. I don't think he was racially motivated.) Nonetheless, the university, convinced that there was some racial animus behind that exotic term and determined not to let it go unpunished, tried to pressure the student into admitting his guilt. Penn offered him a plea bargain. Proceedings would be stopped if he confessed and allowed himself to be re-educated through a "program for living in a diverse community environment."

Consider: the psychotic raving in the middle of Broadway is free to rave. No one will force him into treatment. But a student who hurls "water buffalo" at a bunch of sorority sisters is threatened with the ultimate sanction at the disposal of the university—expulsion—unless he submits to treatment to correct his deviant thinking.

This may seem ironic but it is easily explained. Under the new dispensation it is not insanity but insensitivity that is the true sign of deviant thinking, requiring thought control and re-education. One kind of deviancy we are prepared to live with: the other, we are not. Indeed, one kind, psychosis, we are hardly prepared to call deviancy at all. As Moynihan points out, it is now part of the landscape.

VI.

The mentally ill are not really ill. They just lack housing. It is the rest of us who are guilty of disordered thinking for harboring—beneath the bland niceties of middle-class life—racist, misogynist, homophobic and other corrupt and corrupting insensitivities.

Ordinary criminality we are learning to live with. What we are learning we cannot live with is the heretofore unrecognized violence against women that lurks beneath the facade of ordinary, seemingly benign, heterosexual relations.

The single-parent and broken home are now part of the landscape. It is the Ozzie and Harriet family, rife with abuse and molestation, that is the seedbed of deviance.

The rationalization of deviancy reaches its logical conclusion. The deviant is declared normal. And the normal is unmasked as deviant. That, of course, makes us all that much more morally equal. The project is complete. What real difference is there between us?

And that is the point. Defining deviancy up, like defining deviancy down, is an adventure in moral equivalence. As such, it is the son of an old project that met its demise with the end of the Soviet empire. There once was the idea of moral equivalence between the East and the West. Even though the Soviets appeared to be imperialist and brutal and corrupt and rapacious, we

were really as bad as they were. We could match them crime for crime throughout the world.

Well, this species of moral equivalence is now dead. The liberation of the Communist empire, the opening of the archives, the testimony of the former inmates—all these have made a mockery of this version of moral equivalence.

But ideology abhors a vacuum. So we have a new version of moral equivalence: the moral convergence within Western society of the normal and the deviant. It is a bold new way to strip the life of the bourgeois West of its moral sheen. Because once it becomes, to use MacKinnon's words, "difficult to sustain the customary distinctions between pathology and normalcy," the moral superiority to which bourgeois normalcy pretends vanishes.

And the perfect vehicle for exposing the rottenness of bourgeois life is defining deviancy up. After all, the law-abiding middle classes define their own virtue in contrast to the deviant, a contrast publicly dramatized by opprobrium, ostracism and punishment. And now it turns out that this great contrast between normality and deviance is a farce. The real deviants, *mirabile dictu*, are those who carry the mask of sanity, the middle classes living on their cozy suburban streets, abusing their children, violating their women and harboring deep inside them the most unholy thoughts.

Defining deviancy up is a new way of satisfying an old ideological agenda. But it also fills a psychological need. The need was identified by Moynihan: How to cope with the explosion of real deviancy? One way is denial: defining real deviancy down creates the pretense that deviance has disappeared because it has been redefined as normal. Another strategy is distraction: defining deviancy up creates brand-new deviancies that we can now go off and fight. That distracts us from real deviancy and gives us the feeling that, despite the murder and mayhem and madness around us, we are really preserving and policing our norms.

Helpless in the face of the explosion of real criminality, for example, we satisfy our crime-fighting needs with a crusade against date rape. Like looking for your lost wallet under the street lamp even though you lost it elsewhere, this job is easier even if not terribly relevant to the problem at hand. Defining deviancy up creates a whole new universe of behavior to police, and—a bonus—a higher class of offender. More malleable, too: the guilt-ridden bourgeois, the vulnerable college student, is a far easier object of social control than the hardened criminal or the raving lunatic.

These new crusades do nothing, of course, about real criminality or lunacy. But they make us feel that we are making inroads on deviancy nonetheless. A society must feel that it is policing its norms by combating deviancy. Having given up fighting the real thing, we can't give up the fight. So we fight the new deviancy with satisfying vigor. That it is largely a phantom and a phony seems not to matter at all. •

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

February 18, 1994

TO: MR. POLESTA

84 FEB 18 All : 07

John,

The two sheiks are relatively minor players. They were put-up as nominee shareholders of CCAH to disguise BCCI's acquisition of First American.

The State Department does not believe the sheiks, as rulers of individual emirates, are "Heads of State" and, therefore, does not intend to suggest their immunity. I'll let you know if that changes.

Alan

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON D.C. 20506

February 2, 1994

94 FEB 2 P7:40



INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM:

ALAN KRECZKOAK

SUBJECT:

BCCI - Head of State Immunity

A few weeks ago, we informed you that settlement talks between the Justice Department and Sheik Zayed would make it unnecessary for the Department of State to decide whether to suggest head of state immunity for Zayed and two of his sons in a BCCI-related civil lawsuit, as they had requested. (Info Memo at Tab I.)

Last week, the UAE for the first time requested that the Department suggest immunity for two other individuals, the rulers of the UAE emirates of Fujeirah and Ajman. These two individuals were not included in the settlement and apparently have shown no interest in settlement.

Justice has asked the court for 45 days to consider the UAE request. State will coordinate any response with us.

Attachments

Tab I January 11 Memorandum to Lake
Tab II UAE Request

cc: Bernard Nussbaum
John Podesta
Martin Indyk

Alan — BCCI involvement
Is there minimal or central?
TOTH

These two guys are behind to be nominee
of CCAH, set up to buy First Amer. — "subjects" of inquiry.
~~There~~ No grand jury. Not formed or
targets.

04:59 FEB 10

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concern?
BCC
10/10/1961
10/10/1961

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC LEADER

A news bulletin for Democrats across Texas

Winter 1994

Fisher urges change, declares Senate run

Bill Clinton and Al Gore just can't do it alone.

With the great challenges facing our nation, these young bold leaders need a strong progressive voice from Texas in the U.S. Senate. They need the voice of Richard Fisher.

"Voters are tired of politics as usual," Fisher said. "The result of the 1992 elections was a demand for change."

Fisher, a life-long Democrat who recently declared his campaign for U.S. Senate, says that change is at hand.

66

Democrats want new blood, not bad blood.

— Richard Fisher



President Bill Clinton with Richard and Nancy Fisher at the White House.

As a founding member of the Democratic Leadership Council and the DLC's think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute, Fisher has been advocating for a decade the changes necessary for the Democratic Party to lead a transformation of our society:

Democrats must champion the war on crime in our cities, towns and neighborhoods.

"Street crime and indiscriminate violence have made us prisoners in our

own homes. Crime is the most destructive tear in our nation's fabric," Fisher said. "Anyone, anywhere can be a victim."

Fisher believes in strong mandatory sentences and wants to put an end to early release policies at the state and federal level.

Democrats must champion economic growth.

"The only source of economic empowerment and lasting personal dig-

nity is a job. Small business is the source of job creation," Fisher said.

Democrats must continue to champion reform of the welfare system.

"Welfare as we know it does not work," Fisher said.

Fisher said welfare must be premised on empowerment, not dependency. Fisher supports the President's plan to make welfare a transition pro-

please see DEMAND inside

Son of immigrants lives the American Dream

Richard Fisher is the first to admit that he has never known the poverty his parents experienced, but he knows where he came from... nowhere.

Fisher's father grew up an abandoned orphan on the streets of Toowoomba, Australia.

His mother was born in a tin-roofed shack in a Scandinavian missionary outpost in South Africa.

Fisher's parents came to America and built a life for themselves, working between the United States and Mexico, where Richard lived most of his childhood.

Because of his parents and his own experience, Richard Fisher is a pas-



Richard Fisher with his daughter Texana

sionate believer in the power and promise of the American Dream.

Fisher's parents came to America uneducated immigrants, but their son

went to Harvard, graduating in 1971.

He worked his way through school building bicycles, frying burgers, waiting tables and hiring out on the crews of ocean-going vessels.

After working a year — in the Dominican Republic and at the Center for Community Change — Fisher studied Latin American Politics at Oxford University.

In 1975, Fisher earned an M.B.A. from Stanford University.

From 1977 to 1979, Fisher was executive assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, the Secretary's chief of staff for interna-

please see DREAM inside

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

DEMAND

continued from page 1

gram, rather than a way of life.

Democrats must radically restructure our Federal government.

"Washington is out of date and out of touch. It is designed for the needs of the past, not the world that is and will be," the Dallas Democrat said.

Vice President Al Gore has started to "re-invent" government and Fisher wants to drive a truck through that hole.

Democrats must also champion Congressional reform.

"The American people are angry at the abuses that are so common on Capitol Hill, from the House Bank scandal, to the extraordinary pension funds members enjoy at taxpayer expense," Fisher said.

Democrats must again champion inclusion and the American dream for all people, regardless of their race, creed, color, gender or sexual-orientation.

"For far too long we have focused on the politics of division — placing Hispanics in one corner, Anglos in another, African-Americans in another," Fisher said.

"The sum of the parts no longer equals the whole. We must craft policies that cut across all boundaries:

"We all want jobs, an effective war on crime, a better functioning welfare system, housing and jobs programs that work, and a health care program that provides comprehensive coverage at an affordable cost," Fisher said.

Politics of the past: the opponents

Jim Mattox is a former Congressman and Attorney General of the state. He was indicted in 1983 for commercial bribery and later acquitted.

Mattox is well known for his negative primary campaign against Gov. Ann Richards. He currently practices law in Austin.

Mike Andrews is a six-term incumbent Congressman best known for writing 121 overdraft checks from the House Bank totaling more than \$100,000.

He voted himself a congressional pay raise in 1989 and currently could collect a taxpayer financed pension greater than \$1 million.

DREAM

continued from page 1

tional affairs.

As a businessman in Dallas, Richard Fisher continued his work for Democratic causes.

In 1985, Fisher helped develop the Democratic Leadership Council in Washington, D.C., and is a founding trustee of the Progressive Policy Institute, the DLC's think tank.

Fisher is active in Dallas civic affairs, serving as a Director of Southwestern Medical Foundation and as Chair-

man-elect of the Board of Directors of Dallas Goodwill Industries.

He chairs Dallas' Committee on Foreign Relations and in 1990, was named a U.S.-Japan Leadership Fellow.

Fisher is managing partner of Fisher Capital Management and Fisher-Ewing Partners.

He and his wife Nancy Collins Fisher have four children: Anders, Alison, James and Texana.

Key Democrats

For 20 years, Richard Fisher has helped Democrats develop policy.

While Fisher did serve in the Carter Administration, his work as a Democrat thinking through complex issues facing our country did not start or end there.

In 1972, Richard worked as a community organizer under a program developed by Saul Alinski for the Center for Community Change.

He has continued working to improve our country by serving as a policy planner in the Carter Administration, a civic leader in Dallas and as a founder of the Progressive Policy Institute.

Immediately after the 1992 presidential election, Fisher attended the Economic Summit organized to brief President Clinton on economic issues facing his administration.

In August, Clinton appointed Fisher to the Russian-American Enterprise Fund Board, along with Bob Strauss and other Democrats.

Many have praised Fisher's commitment to ideas:



Fisher with U.S. Sen. John Breaux of Louisiana, 1993 chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council.

"Thank you... for your leadership for a New Democratic Party and a Better America..."

— U.S. Sen. John Breaux



President Carter with Anders Fisher at a July

President Bill

personal note
December 5, 1991

"Thank you v
help with the ec
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advice and coun

personal note
December 17, 1992

"Thank you v
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develop the poli
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U.S. Sen. Sam

personal note May 24,

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raise Fisher commitment to policy



ard, Nancy and young White House staff party.

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nn, at ed support and activities have icantly to the

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Bob Strauss,
former Democratic Party Chair
President Clinton recently appointed Amb. Strauss and Fisher to the board of the Russian American Enterprise Fund.

"He's an achiever...You see a great many people who come to Washington. But Richard was one of those people who stands out."

Dallas Democratic Party Commendation

January 26, 1989

"Fisher has given generously of his time and energy on behalf of the



U.S. Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen with Richard Fisher at a Democratic event last year.

Democratic Party

"...let it be known that the Dallas Democratic Party hereby commends Richard Fisher for his efforts on behalf of the Dallas County Democratic Party, its candidates, and the County of Dallas as a whole."

U.S. Rep. Richard Gephardt, Missouri Democrat

personal note dated April 26, 1988

"Richard and Nancy...You are great and good friends and I can never say thank you enough..."

Dallas Morning News

"Fisher has emerged as one of the most forthright and refreshing new faces on the political scene... No voter should underestimate Mr. Fisher's ability to do his own thinking on the complex issues facing this country or his gutsy determination to challenge the status quo."

Houston Chronicle

"He is doing his best to stake out the high moral ground..."

Washington Post

"...a 'Jefferson-Jackson' Democrat."

- David Broder

Abilene Reporter News

"Fisher is saying things that many Texans will agree with — things that need to be said about the future of our government..."



Above:
U.S. House Majority Leader, U.S. Rep. Richard Gephardt with Fisher.



Left:
U.S. Agriculture Secretary Michael Espy with Fisher.

Democrats must:

Champion stronger mandatory
sentencing and
end early release programs

☆

Reform welfare as we know it

☆

Cut congressional perks

☆

Balance the federal budget and
restructure the government

☆

Make the American Dream
possible again

☆

Promote economic growth

☆

Make health care affordable

Richard Fisher and family



The Fishers. From l-r: Texana (7), Alison (13), Richard, Nancy, Anders (17) and James (10).

Fisher for Senate '94
3850 W. Northwest Hwy.
Suite 500
Dallas, TX 75220

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
Permit No. 14
Dallas, Texas

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Paid for by Fisher for Senate '94. James Howard, Treasurer

Yes. I want to help **New Democrats like Richard Fisher.** I want to help our party reclaim the U.S. Senate seat, clean up the mess in Washington, reform Congress and make the American Dream possible for everyone. **Count on my support !**



✓ **Richard, I will:**

- ☐ display a Fisher yard sign
- ☐ serve on a steering committee
- ☐ host an event for Richard
- ☐ distribute literature
- ☐ display a sticker on my car/ truck
- ☐ volunteer at campaign headquarters
- ☐ call my friends for you
- ☐ make a campaign contribution:*
- ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$250
- ☐ \$500 ☐ \$1000 ☐ Other _____

Name _____

Address _____

City/Zip _____

Home Phone (____) _____

Work Phone (____) _____

*Campaign contributors:

Federal law requires we request:

Occupation _____

Employer _____

Thank you.

Please return to **Fisher for Senate '94, 3850 W. Northwest Hwy. Suite 500, Dallas, TX 75220. 214-357-0293**
FISHER FOR SENATE '94, James Howard, Treasurer. POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE NOT TAX-DEDUCTIBLE. Federal law requires political committees to report the name, address, occupation and name of employer for each individual whose contributions aggregate in excess of \$200 in a calendar year

DNC WEEKLY REPORT:

- Focus last week was to highlight the administrations accomplishments and promote the State of the Union message. Wilhelm did several interviews and community appearances.
- Highlight of local politics, specifically mentioning Norm Rice, Mike Sullivan, Lawton Chiles and Bill Orton.
- Kicked off 1994 fundraising program (\$2 mil for Congressional reelection campaigns)
- Completed reorganization of their Direct Mail Department with the signing on of Hal Malchow.
- Other activities including health care briefing and crime events.

DEMOCRATIC ★ NATIONAL ★ COMMITTEE

David Wilhelm, Chairman

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/11/94

Memorandum To:
From:
Re:
Date:

The President
David Wilhelm 
The DNC Weekly Report
January 23 - February 4, 1994

This report is the first in what will be a weekly update on the activities of the DNC.

State of the Union and 1993 Accomplishments

Our focus last week was the implementation of the DNC plan to highlight the accomplishments of your first year in office and to promote the message carried in your State of the Union address. Listed below are the highlights of those activities:

- Produced and released an "accomplishments" radio commercial which was aired in Washington and offered to state Democratic parties in every state.
- Organized over 200 State of the Union watch parties targeted to cover every state and every major media market.
- Released copies of the 1993 accomplishments video (These Are the Days) to supporters and elected officials around the country.

Public Appearances, Outreach and Communications

I participated in several national television, print and radio interviews to communicate the accomplishments of 1993 and reiterate your message coming out of the State of the Union including: an appearance on CBS This Morning on January 25; a breakfast with AP bureau chiefs and top reporters which resulted in Democratic Party fundraising competitiveness story (attached); Larry King Live; Christian Broadcast Network; National Public Radio, American Urban Radio, the USA Radio Network.

I spoke to the Machinists Union Legislative Conference on January 26, the first in a series of meetings and appearances with labor union leaders leading up to and including the annual AFL-CIO meeting in Bal Harbor, Florida in mid-February.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

On January 28, the Vice President and I addressed the newly revitalized Conference of Democratic Mayors and their supporters. Our Intergovernmental Affairs office has been instrumental in getting the CDM off the ground, both organizationally and financially.

On February 3, I met privately with Florida State Party Chair Terrie Brady and Simon Ferro to discuss the controversy over Leon County Chair Jon Ausman's call for Ferro to be removed from the Party and his implication that the Cuban American vote was not important to Democratic victories in Florida. I then held a meeting with leaders of the Cuban American community in Miami followed by a press conference with members of the Miami press corps (AP wire story attached).

On February 4, I held a briefing for the Jewish press corps about my recent trip to Israel with a dozen state party chairs. The briefing also provided an opportunity to respond to Farrakhan's statement on Thursday and speak out against racism, anti-semitism and intolerance.

Other appearances and meetings included the Congressional Message Retreat hosted by Majority Leader Gephardt, strategy sessions on Western issues and on the Radical Right, a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Association of Democratic Party Chairs, and a speech to Delaware party activists.

Politics

As you probably know, Norm Rice has decided not to run for the Senate. We really put the full court press on him -- I met with him the day after he stayed at the White House.

I spoke with Mike Sullivan about a bid for Senate in Wyoming. We sponsored a poll that showed he would have a tough but winnable race and we need to get him to run.

A poll was also conducted in Florida which shows Lawton Chiles with better than expected numbers - a touch race, but winnable.

Don Sweitzer travelled to Utah with Don Foley of the DSCC to talk to Bill Orton and other potential candidates. Indications are the Orton will not run, but there are a few other candidates that could run a good race.

Fundraising

On the fundraising front, I attended the Super Bowl with the Vice President and raised \$500,000 (not in bets, my money was on the Bills), and spent three days in Florida meeting with prospective supporters of the event we would like to schedule with you in early March. I also kicked off Team '94, a fundraising program designed to raise \$2 million in \$1,000 increments, all of which will be dedicated to helping Members of Congress with reelection efforts.

We also completed our reorganization of the Direct Mail Department with the signing on of Hal Malchow. Hal is one of the most respected and successful direct mail consultants in the business and has already made great strides in structuring our direct mail program for maximum benefit.

Other DNC Activity

- Organized health care briefing for leaders in the Hispanic community;
- Organized health care briefing for the DNC Women's Leadership Forum;
- Sponsored a National Health Care Campaign surrogate speaker training session;
- Facilitated Administration involvement in National Rainbow Coalition Crime Conference and Congressional Black Caucus hearings to discuss strategies for reducing black-on-black crime and crime in general;
- Set date and tentative agenda for coordinated campaign training workshops for Congressional, Senatorial and Gubernatorial campaign staff.

PM FL- Democrats-Cubans, 490

Former Dem Chairman Reassures Cuban-Americans Amid State Tiff

EDS: Moved for AMS

With AP Photo

d431jetkt

By JOHN PACENTI= Associated Press Writer=

MIAMI (AP) National Democratic party chief David Wilhelm, fearing the loss of inroads made among Cuban-American voters, sought Thursday to pour water on the growing fire surrounding Florida's former party leader.

Simon Ferro supported a Republican in Miami's nominally non-partisan mayoral election. Critics say that violated party rules, and plan to review his standing in the state and national Democratic Party at a hearing Saturday.

Wilhelm met with prominent Cuban-Americans to reinforce their importance to the state party and to discourage an effort to depose Ferro, one of the most prominent Cuban-American Democrats in the nation.

Ferro had been appointed Wednesday by President Clinton to the board of directors of a U.S. government agency that assists American businesses investing in developing nations.

"This party is making progress when it comes to the Cuban-American community," Wilhelm said. "and any statement that contradicts that simply does not reflect the attitude or intent of this party."

During the Ferro dispute, Jon Ausman, vice chairman of the state Democratic Party, said the Cuban-American vote was too small to significantly affect Florida races.

Ausman has led the charge against Ferro for his support of Republican Miriam Alonso in the Miami mayoral race.

On Saturday in Orlando, a scheduled party trial will determine if Ferro broke the Democrats' loyalty oath. If so, the former state party chairman could be stripped of his seats on the Democratic National Committee and the state Democratic Executive Committee.

Ferro said he pledged his support to Alonso, an old friend, before Democrat and eventual winner Steve Clark entered the race. He said he felt that since the contest was non-partisan, the loyalty oath was irrelevant.

Ausman, according to the party's office in Tallahassee, was traveling and couldn't be reached for comment.

In Miami, state Democratic chair Terrie Brady blasted Ausman before the Cuban-American groups' meeting with Wilhelm.

"No one else speaks on behalf of the Florida Democratic Party except Terrie Brady," she said. "I would like to denounce the comment made by the individual in reference to Mr. Ferro, and also to your community."

Some Cuban-American Democrats said this week they might quit the party if Ferro is humiliated.

The national Democratic party moved Wednesday to patch things up. Ferro was appointed to the board of the Overseas Private Investment Corp. And Maria Elena Torano a Cuban-American businesswoman from Miami was appointed to the Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy.

Wilhelm said he felt a trip to Florida was warranted because the Ferro rift could set back Democratic gains made with Cuban-Americans, an important bloc in the state Republican Party which has strongly influenced U.S. policy toward Cuba.

Clinton won more than 20 percent of Cuban-American votes in 1992, nearly three times that of the 1988 Democratic candidate, Michael Dukakis.

"We fundamentally believe we have a golden opportunity to turn around the votes of Cuban-Americans which is part of an overall strategy that could put Florida in the win column for the Democratic Party in 1996 and beyond," Wilhelm said.

PM-Party Money, 620

Democrats Have Record Fund-Raising Year, but GOP Has More in Bank

By JOHN KING= AP Political Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) Despite record fund-raising last year, the Democratic Party entered the 1994 election year with considerably less money on hand than Republicans, who also have history on their side in the coming midterm elections.

The one sour spot for the Republicans was the party's troubled House campaign committee.

Both national party organizations the Democratic National Committee and the Republican National Committee reported raising and spending more than \$30 million in the year after the presidential election.

That figure represents only the party accounts regulated by the Federal Election Commission because money is spent on House or Senate elections or other activities related to federal offices.

The parties can and do raise millions more for other unregulated accounts. Corporations and labor unions, which cannot give directly to federal accounts, can give unlimited amounts to such "soft-money" accounts, and individual contributions to these accounts are not subject to the limits placed on federal candidates and campaign committees.

The Democratic National Committee, with a president of its party in the White House for the first time in 12 years, raised \$31.2 million, according to spokeswoman Catherine Moore. That was a record for the party in a non-presidential election year, she said.

In its year-end report to the Federal Election Commission, due next week, the DNC will report spending more than \$30 million last year and having \$3 million on hand at the beginning of this month. The DNC will report debts totaling \$1.6 million, most of that representing short-term bills, Moore said.

The DNC has been criticized in some party circles for spending too much time and money promoting President Clinton's agenda and too little on other party races and activities.

While disputing that criticism, DNC Chairman David Wilhelm said in an interview this week that "because this is an election year our focus will be on campaigns and candidates." To that end, Wilhelm also announced a senior staff shakeup Thursday that added several Democratic campaign veterans to the party payroll.

The Republican National Committee began 1993 with \$2 million in the bank. It raised \$37 million last year and spent \$33 million, leaving \$6 million to begin the election year, according to RNC communications director Chuck Greener.

Likewise, the National Republican Senatorial committee raised more than its counterpart, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, even though the DSCC had a record off-election year.

The Republican Senate committee raised \$30 million in 1993 and spent \$28.2 million, according to spokesman Gary Koops. It began the year with \$1.6 million in its federal account and \$200,000 in a separate account not regulated by the FEC, Koops said. He said the committee's only debts were short-term bills totaling approximately \$400,000.

The DSCC, on the other hand, raised \$10.2 million and spent \$8.9 million last year. It had \$1.5 million in the bank at the beginning of this month.

The Democratic Congressional Campaign committee raised \$9.3 million in 1993, a record for a non-election year, according to a committee official. The Democratic House committee began the year with \$1.3 million in the bank. It spent \$8 million last year, including erasing its bank debts.

National Republican Congressional Committee spokesman Dan Leonard said the GOP House committee's report was not completed and that he could not provide any figures.

But another GOP official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the NRCC was expected to report debts of more than \$3 million and having less than \$500,000 on hand to begin a year in which it hopes to whittle the Democrats'

To: President Clinton
Fr: David Wilhelm
Re: Promoting Accomplishments
Date: January 24, 1994

George suggested that I provide you with a briefing on DNC activities related to administration accomplishments and the State of the Union address.

--We faxed talking points on accomplishments to our Morning Briefing network. This network includes 2,700 different households and offices around the country who in turn distribute it to their networks. The fax was sent last Wednesday to ensure widespread distribution prior to the inaugural anniversary on the 20th.

--We distributed these talking points with back-up statistical data to all DNC departments for constituency mailings. The mailing lists include intergovernmental organizations such as the US Conference of Mayors, NACO, Attorneys General, etc.; DNC members, every constituency group list, and all donor lists.

--We produced a brochure on accomplishments for delivery tomorrow. This printing of 10,000 documents is designed for use over the next several months.

--We conducted and are conducting briefings of key Democratic groups and constituencies on our first-year accomplishments, including conference calls with all state party chairs and DNC members.

--Tomorrow I will be appearing on the CBS Morning show and Crossfire, to discuss the accomplishments of the administration.

--We are placing nationwide op-eds and actualities throughout the week. For example, USA Today ran an op-ed which I wrote on the anniversary of the inaugural.

--An op-ed was written and submitted to USA Today from H and R Block on the Earned Income Tax Credit.

--Radio actualities have been fed this week and will continue next week from a variety of constituency leaders across the country.

--Network radio bookings and local radio bookings have taken place all week long and will culminate in my participation on the Larry King Radio show on Wednesday afternoon.

--Satellite time has been reserved for booking Cabinet leadership. We are working in coordination with the White House communications staff to ensure the best use of the satellite operations.

--We produced 100,000 bumper stickers reading: "Thank me. I voted Clinton/Gore."

--We are working very closely with Democratic governors and mayors, many of whom will be in town this week, to ensure that they reinforce the message of your State of the Union address.

--We have organized over 200 house parties around the country. We produced and distributed a 7 minute video of accomplishments for viewing at the house parties prior to your speech. The video was produced out of Mandy's shop.

--All the top media markets are covered with house parties. In addition, I am placing calls into house parties in Iowa, New Hampshire and Los Angeles. Contrary to what one might think, the people in Los Angeles are energized and have organized 10 parties.

The only thing we have not done is paid television or radio advertising concurrent with the State of the Union address. There is a reason for this. We do not have unlimited resources. In fact, right now, we have very limited resources. Labor money, which is usually our bread and butter at the first of the year, is still being withheld pending the AFL-CIO's winter meeting in Bal Harbour. We are also continuing to have difficulty getting any time on your schedule to do fundraising events.

Moreover, there are extraordinary demands on the money we do have. In 1994, we committed \$2 million in hard, federal money for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, at least \$7 million in a combination of hard and soft money for statewide coordinated campaigns (which principally benefit gubernatorial and U.S. Senate candidates), about \$4 million for the National Health Care Campaign, and at least \$2 million for Stan Greenberg's continuing research (including a joint project with Congressional leaders to develop a unified Democratic theme for 1994).

These figures don't include any of the additional White House support we provide or any costs associated with running the DNC.

There is a very real issue here about what the appropriate role for the DNC should be in an election year. I also believe that there are very real issues here about what the DNC can and can't do well and for what it can be fairly held accountable.

I believe that your own political interests are furthered to the extent that we are viewed as being helpful and effective in political campaigns. That is not to say that we do not have an ongoing role in the promotion of your legislative agenda and accomplishments; we do--and we are committing significant resources to precisely that effort. But somewhere something's got to give, and in an election year, I think that we must be in a financial position to meet our campaign commitments.

I do believe that we (the DNC) can and must do a better job defining who the Republicans are in 1994, and placing them on the defensive--I will hold a press briefing this

Thursday kicking off this effort. We are working on ideas to implement the "watchdog" concept I discussed with Hillary the other night (see enclosure). I also hope that the process begun with Congressional leaders to come up with a unified 1994 theme will lead us in this direction as well.

I would love to sit down with you and discuss these matters at further length. Give 'em hell tomorrow night!

Planning victory in '94, Democrats rally the troops

By CELIA COHEN
Staff reporter

DOVER — From Charles M. Oberly III to Annette Hubbard, Delaware Democrats turned out Saturday for a daylong workshop on how to win elections.

Oberly had an obvious reason to be there. He is the party's showcase candidate for 1994 — a three-term attorney general giving up his post to run an underdog campaign against U.S. Sen. William V. Roth Jr., a four-term Republican.

"If you can't come out and spend a little time with the party, I think they'd question your commitment," Oberly said.

By contrast, Hubbard didn't have to be there, but she was just the sort of person the Democratic Party was looking to attract.

"I have not run for anything. I'm an interested citizen," Hubbard said.

She intends to volunteer for the campaign of Cecil C. Wilson, who is challenging Republican incumbent Nancy Wagner for the 81st Representative District in the north Dover area.

Wilson, who also attended the workshop, is re-

turning to politics after a long break. He was the 1970 Democratic candidate for insurance commissioner, the only black ever to run on a statewide ballot in Delaware.

The workshop officially was called the '94 Victory Planning Conference. About 125 people paid \$7 for lunch, materials and admittance to the gathering, held in Legislative Hall.

The main session was so packed that when Charles E. Butler, attorney general candidate, got up to greet the crowd, somebody stole his seat.

The keynote speaker was Democratic National Chairman David Wilhelm. He complimented the participants for attending and gave them his evaluation of Bill Clinton's first year as president.

Not surprisingly, Wilhelm thought the president was doing a great job, although he conceded that the year wasn't always as sensational as a 90-yard touchdown pass.

"Sometimes it's three yards and a cloud of dust, and you end up with fourth and one, and that's when you call in Vice President Gore to break the tie," Wilhelm quipped.

State Democratic Chairman Gary E. Hinder

warned everyone to run clean campaigns — or else. "You're out of the Democratic Party if we find out about it," he said.

Hinder took advantage of the workshop to show off the statewide candidates. They are: Oberly against Roth; Butler for the vacant post of attorney general; and Dennis B. Phifer against Republican Treasurer Janet C. Rzewnicki. The Democrats still needs challengers against U.S. Rep. Michael N. Castle and Auditor R. Thomas Wagner Jr.

Because the party's leaders were assembled, they transacted a little business by officially endorsing Oberly. Their blessing is "vital" for Oberly's fund-raising, Hinder said.

The workshop offered a number of nuts-and-bolts seminars, such as "Campaign Management" and "Volunteer Recruitment and Motivation."

The sessions were designed to be straightforward, taking the jargon and the mystery out of politics. Here is the way "strategy" was explained by Edward J. Freal, Gov. Carper's chief of staff and longtime campaign manager:

"Deciding who is your audience, what you will say, how to do it and when to do it."

Democratic National Committee
January 25, 1994
"One Year"
Radio :60
FINAL

Voices rolling over one another (two voices, man and woman)

100,000 more cops on the street.
New incentives for businesses and job creation.
A tax cut to help make work pay better than welfare.
College loans available to students regardless of income.
A law that protects the jobs of parents who stay at home with a sick child.
A plan that guarantees comprehensive health care for all Americans.
A 5 day waiting period to buy a hand gun.
The lowest interest rates in 20 years.
The biggest deficit reduction effort ever.

Narrator (third voice)

Fantasy?
No. Reality.

In the last year alone, President Clinton and Democrats have taken these steps and others. The result - an economy that's helped create a million and a half new private sector jobs -- more than in the previous four years combined. The lowest interest rates in 20 years. The biggest deficit reduction effort ever.

How has it happened? Pressure. From you and voters just like you all over the country who said that business as usual was no longer good enough.

So, one year into Bill Clinton's Presidency, pat yourself on the back. You've done a pretty good job.

Paid for by the Democratic National Committee.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 2/17/94
THE LIMITED, INC.

Mark-Samuel Fried

SAMUEL P. FRIED
VICE PRESIDENT AND
GENERAL COUNSEL

THREE LIMITED PARKWAY
P.O. BOX 16000
COLUMBUS, OHIO
43216
TEL 614 479 7199
FAX 614 479 7188

RF

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

MACK McLARTY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/23/94 dh

February 21, 1994

94 FEB 23 P1:02

Mr. President:

Regarding your note on the attached,
George came into my office early last
week and told me he had not handled this matter
properly. He is well aware that he should
have discussed this with both you and me.

W.P.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

**DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT****TRANSMITTAL FORM**S/S 9329541Date January 7, 1994

FOR: Mr. William Itoh
Executive Secretary
National Security Council Staff
The White House

REFERENCE:

To: President Clinton
From: Jim Bolger
Date: December 23, 1993
Subj: Thank you for the President's letter of
congratulations upon Bolger's re-election

WH Referral Dated: _____
NSCS ID# (if any): _____

_____ The attached item was sent directly to the Department of State.

ACTION TAKEN:

- _____ A draft reply is attached.
_____ A draft reply will be forwarded.
_____ A translation is attached.
_____ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
☒ We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
_____ The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.
_____ Other (see remarks).

REMARKS: Prime Minister Bolger is acknowledging the President's letter of congratulations. No further response is therefore warranted.


Director
Secretariat Staff



NEW ZEALAND EMBASSY
37 OBSERVATORY CIRCLE, NW,
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008

Phone: (202) 328-4800
Fax: (202) 667-5227

UNCLASSIFIED FACSIMILE

PAGE ONE OF TWO PAGES

23 December 1993

Mr Michael Owens
Director
Office of Australia & New Zealand Affairs
Room 4318
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Fax No: (202) 647-4402

MESSAGE

Dear Mike

I should be grateful if you could arrange delivery of the attached letter to President Clinton from the Rt Hon J.B. Bolger.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Roy'.

(Roy Ferguson)
Charge d'Affaires

Attach.

cc: Ms Sandy Kristoff
Director for Asian Affairs
National Security Council
Fax No: 395-1184

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2/17/94 db

MACK McLARTY

94 FEB 16 P5:38

February 15, 1994

To Pat Griffin: / Susan B.

The Congressional talking points for the break are well done. This is the type of pro-active communication with the Hill that we need to have.

M. J.

bcc: The President
The First Lady
Harold Ickes
Skip Rutherford
Maggie Williams

Note: Same to Susan
Brophy and Mark
Gearan

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 14, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK MCLARTY

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY *SB*

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL TALKING POINT DISTRIBUTION

Pursuant to your conversation with Pat this morning, I wanted you to be aware that talking points on health care reform, the economy, and crime and violence in America were hand-delivered to each Democratic office last Friday. This morning, CEA talking points on the Economic Report, as well as NEC talking points and a state by state analysis of the Balanced Budget Amendment were distributed to every office.

MEMORANDUM

TO: MACK MCLARTY ✓
DAVID GERGEN

FROM: MARK GEARAN MS

RE: TALKING POINTS FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

DATE: 11 FEBRUARY 1994

I attach for your information the talking points which have been prepared for distribution to Members of Congress for the Mid Winter Congressional Recess.

The talking points have been copied and sent to Congressional Relations. My understanding is that a cover letter will be attached from Pat Griffin - emphasizing the President's work on these issues during the recess.

If you have any questions or comments, please call me.

attachments

cc: Pat Griffin
Susan Brophy
Phil Lader

PROGRESS ON GETTING OUR FISCAL HOUSE IN ORDER

FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY HAD LAID A FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC

GROWTH: After being in office less than one month, the President presented to Congress a major economic plan to reduce the deficit, spur job creation and business expansion and invest more in our people. By August, the Congress passed the President's plan including \$500 billion in deficit reduction -- including the largest deficit reduction plan in history.

- The plan cut spending by \$255 billion -- including a 12% real cut -- in discretionary spending over 5 years.
- Over 300 programs were cut in the first year of the plan, and there were reduction in nearly every entitlements -- amounting to over \$80 billion in entitlement savings.

THE BUDGET JUST PRESENTED -- IMPLEMENTING THE SECOND YEAR OF THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN -- IS ONE OF THE TOUGHEST EVER PRESENTED TO THE CONGRESS:

- It cuts spending in 60% of all major spending accounts -- 379 programs cut out of 626.
- It calls for completely eliminating 115 programs
- 10 of 14 major Departments are cut in real terms, and 7 of 14 are cut even if you do not take inflation into account.

THE ECONOMIC PLAN IS WORKING TO BRING DOWN THE DEFICIT:

- For a change, the deficit is coming in lower than projected -- after going up almost unstopped for 12 years. It is now projected to go down three years in a row -- for the first time since Truman was in the White House.
- It reduces the deficit by \$126 billion in FY1995 alone -- a 40% cut from what it would without our plan.
- The plan reduces the deficit by \$200 billion in FY1998 -- less than half of what the deficit would have been without passage of the President's plan. The President's plan cuts the deficit in half in three years as a percentage of our national income.
- The Congressional Budget Office has found the President's budget plan will lower the deficit even more than OMB projects.

PROGRESS ON TAX FAIRNESS

THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN REDUCED THE DEFICIT IN THE MOST FAIR WAY POSSIBLE: REVERSING THE TRENDS OF THE 1980s, BY RAISING RATES ONLY ON THE TOP 1.2% -- HOUSEHOLDS MAKING OVER \$180,000.

- As the Washington Post reported, the Congressional Budget Office has found "only a sliver of tax filers -- 1.2% will face higher income tax bill on April 15 because of the Clinton Administration's economic program, according to the Congressional Budget Office" The "income tax applies only to taxable income in excess of...gross income of roughly \$185,000." ("GOP Tax Issue May Fade Away: Only 1.2% of Filers will face Increase, CBO study Finds" Washington Post 1/13/94 p.A8)

- Others, such as H&R Block have confirmed that income tax rates are raised only numbers on the "top 1.2% of all taxpayers" while there is *"no income tax increase for middle-income taxpayers...income tax rates are unchanged on middle incomes -- 82.2% of all tax payers"* while there is a *tax cut for the other "16.6% of all taxpayers [who] benefit from Earned Income Tax Credit Expansion."* ("H&R Block Analysis of the Income Tax Consequences of the Revenue Reconciliation Bill of 1993"pp. 21-24)

15 MILLION FAMILIES -- 16/6% OF ALL TAXPAYERS -- WHO WORK FULL-TIME WILL RECEIVE A TAX CREDIT TO REWARD WORK:

- The President's plan expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit so that 15 million more families and households will get a tax cut to ensure the President's commitment that if you work full-time and have a child at home, you should not have to raise that child in poverty. According to H&R Block, 16% of all taxpayers will get a tax cut due to the Earned Income Tax Credit.

- This expansion helps working families with low-income get ahead, and is a first building block in the President's plan to reward work over welfare.

OVER 90 OF SMALL BUSINESSES ARE ELIGIBLE FOR TAX CUTS

- Small businesses are now allowed to expense 75% more due to the President's economic plan -- going from \$10,000 to \$17,500.

- There is a new capital gains tax cut targeted to expansion and creation of small businesses. Investors who invest for more than 5 years in small businesses can get a 50% cut in their capital gains rate.

- The plan also continued the 25% deduction for health premiums for the self-employed. The President is now proposing a 100% deduction in his health care plan.

INVESTMENTS IN THE CLINTON BUDGET

Although the Clinton budget reduces the deficit by 40% by FY1995 and maintains the real decrease -- a "hard freeze" -- of discretionary spending, the budget still makes billions of dollars in additional spending cuts so that America can make the investments it needs in education, training, law enforcement, defense conversion, children and other top priorities. If you look at what was being done in key programs in 1993 versus what we are proposing in 1995, you will see that there have been dramatic increases in key investments even while we are bringing the deficit down by dramatically

Between 1993 and this 1995 budget, we are making progress in the following key areas:

EDUCATION REFORM: \$700 million more for Goals 2000,

HEAD START: \$1.25 billion more for Head Start.

COMMUNITY POLICING: \$1.5 billion more for community policing.

AIDS: nearly doubling funding for Ryan White from \$348 million to \$672 million.

WORKER TRAINING: We have 2.5 times more for worker training from \$602 million to \$1.5 billion;

HOMELESSNESS: We have more than 2 times more for the homeless from \$572 million to \$1.25 billion;

TECHNOLOGY: We nearly triple funding for our top technology program NIST from \$381 million to \$935 million.

NATIONAL SERVICE: Spend more than ten times more on national service.

WIC: \$700 million more for WIC keeping it at a full funding pace,

HOUSING VOUCHERS: We are more than doubling housing vouchers from \$1.3 billion to \$2.7 billion;

ENERGY CONSERVATION: Nearly doubling energy conservation R&D from \$349 million to \$659 million;

THE STRENGTHENING ECONOMY IN 1993

SUMMARY

ECONOMIC RENEWAL: Passage of the President's economic plan has already started a period of economic renewal by putting our economy on a stronger footing by replacing a shaky economy with a solid recovery, led by investment in business and housing and resulting in strong job creation.

The President's deficit reduction plan has led to lower interest rates, which has fueled investment that has strengthened our economy and led to stronger job creation.

Quite simply: the deficit is coming down, interest rates are low, inflation is low at the same time that economic growth is up, consumer confidence is up and investment and job growth are all up.

While too many families and communities are still hurting, there is no question that the President's economic plan is helping to put the nation on a sounder economic course.

- Nearly 2 million jobs in one year, including 1.7 million private sector jobs – 70% more than were created during the last four years. We can create 2 million more in 94.'
- The lowest deficits as a percentage of national income since 1979 have led to historic low interest rates that means:
 - business investment is up 18% in 1993
 - business equipment investment is growing a seven times the pace of the last four years, housing starts are up 25%;
 - Consumer confidence is up about 30 percent over the past two months;
 - and 5 million American families have been able to refinance their homes saving -- many saving between \$1000-\$2000 a year.

1. JOBS: IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THIS ADMINISTRATION, THE ECONOMY HAS CREATED NEARLY 2 MILLION MORE JOBS. WE ARE CONFIDENT WE CAN CREATE "2 MILLION MORE IN 94"

- The President is on track to seeing that the economy creates 8 million jobs in four years. The economy created nearly 2 million jobs (1.9 million) in the first full year.
- In the first year of the Administration, the economy created 1.7 million jobs --- 70% more in one year than the 1 million private sector jobs created over four years. This means that the economy is now creating over 145,000 private sector jobs per month, seven times the rate of the previous four years.
- There are two standards now for measuring unemployment: the traditional one and the new one implemented last month. By either standard, the unemployment rate has dropped at least full 1% since December 1992. (Old standard: they have fallen from 7.3% 12/92 to 6.3% 1/94. New Standard: they have fallen from 7.9 12/92, to 6.7% for 1/94)
- Four straight months of increasing manufacturing jobs.

2. HISTORIC LOW INTEREST RATES: THE PRESIDENT'S DEFICIT REDUCTION PLAN HAS LED TO HISTORICALLY LOW INTEREST RATES THAT HAVE FUELED NEW INVESTMENT:

- **10 Year Rates:** When President Clinton was elected 10 year interest rates were at 6.97. Today they are nearly a full point lower at near 5.9.
- **30 Year Rates:** When President Clinton was elected, 30 year rates were at 7.76. Today they are over a full point lower at 6.4.
- **Mortgage Rates:** Down a full point from about 8.29 to 7.0% - 7.2 -- a 25 year low.

3. LOW INTEREST RATES DUE TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR DEFICIT REDUCTION PLAN ARE SPURRING AN INVESTMENT-LED RECOVERY

- **Business Investment.** Over the past year, real business spending on equipment is up 18.4% - this is the fastest pace since 1972.
- **Housing.** Housing starts are 25% above their July level and single family starts are at their highest level in 15 years.
 - Construction spending for single family homes, in real terms, is at its highest level since the data began almost 30 years ago.
 - To date, existing home sales in 1993 were the highest recorded in 14 years. Existing home sales also hit a record level in December -- 4.49 million units -- the highest number since the data began 25 years ago.
 - Late payments on mortgages were at a 19-year low, due to the low interest rates.

– As a result of low rates, more than 5.4 million Americans have refinanced their homes. For a family with a \$100,000 mortgage saving 2 percentage points, that would mean \$1700 a year pre-tax.

● **Durable Goods.** Household durable goods purchases were 11 percent higher than the fourth quarter of 1992. This is one of the biggest annual increases in a decade.

● **Auto Sales.** Automobiles and light trucks in 1993 have been selling at the highest rate since 1990. Sales of domestic light vehicles were 8 percent higher in 1993 than they were in 1992.

4. INFLATION IS AT HISTORIC LOWS:

– Core CPI (excluding food and energy prices) rose at the lowest rate for a full year since 1972, just 3.2% from December 1992 to December 1993.

– Core PPI inflation over the year was just 0.4%, the smallest increase since the government started measuring this series (1974) and the time of price controls.

5. MANUFACTURING SECTOR STRENGTHENING

– A strong sign of expansion in manufacturing, the National Association of Purchasing Management's index in January rose strongly up to 57.7 percent, its highest level in nearly one year.

– December factory orders climbed a strong 1.2%, with broad-based gains in nearly every major industry group.

6. CONSUMER CONFIDENCE IS PICKING UP

– The Conference Board's Consumer Confidence index is up nearly 40% over the past three months. As the newspapers reported, the Michigan index reached its highest level in January in more than 4 years, rising almost 15 points in December and January.

– More consumers in December reported favorable prospects for the nation's economy than had since 1989.

7. RETAIL SALES

– Sales rose 0.8 percent in December, the ninth consecutive monthly increase, rising nearly 7 percent in 1993.

8. LEADING INDICATORS LOOKING UP

– Leading indicators were up 0.7% in December, the fifth straight increase. The 1.4% quarterly increase was the largest quarterly increase in 10 years.

COMMENTARY ON PRESIDENT CLINTON'S ECONOMIC PLAN

Alan Greenspan, Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, 1/31/94:

The actions taken last year to reduce the federal budget deficit have been instrumental in creating the basis for declining inflation expectations and easing pressures on long-term interest rates. Although we may not all agree on the specifics of the deficit reduction measures, the financial markets are apparently inferring that, on balance, the federal government will be competing less vigorously for private saving in the years ahead. Partly because of these structural adjustments, the foundations of the economic expansion are looking increasingly well-entrenched."

Robert D. Reischauer, Director, Congressional Budget Office, 1/27/94:

"The deficit picture is significantly brighter than it appeared one year ago when the Congressional Budget Office projected that the deficit would soar above \$350 billion by fiscal year 1998. CBO now projects that the federal budget deficit will fall from \$223 billion in the current fiscal year to below \$170 billion in 1996, then creep up to \$200 billion in 1999. The dramatic improvement since last January is largely the result of the enactment in August of a major package of tax increases and spending-cuts--the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993."

Lehman Brothers, 1/10/94:

To President Clinton's credit, early last year he rejected an either/or construction for U.S. growth versus deficit reduction. Clinton's blueprint for economic revival had as its centerpiece a multi-year program of deficit reduction, but it promised higher growth in the short run. A move to restrain deficit spending, he wagered, would both lower U.S. long-term interest rates and energize U.S. interest sensitive sectors. Lower deficits, lower long-term rates and higher real growth was the overall promise. With the data now rolling in for December 1993, it seems clear that President Clinton delivered on all three counts over the second half of the year."

Business Week, 2/7/94:

"Both Clinton and the economy head into 1994 on the momentum from a strong showing at the end of 1993. Lower long-term interest rates, for which the White House can take partial credit, helped to rev up spending for cars, homes, and durable goods generally, boosting factory orders and production, while better growth in jobs and incomes kept people happy. The good news for the first quarter is that the fundamentals that lifted the economy at the end of last year remain in place, ready to support job growth this quarter."

HEALTH CARE REFORM UPDATE

1. There is a health care crisis in America and the American people know it. They feel it.

- Last year, 58 million Americans were without health insurance for some period of time. These people are left unprotected against the threat of illness. And up to 30% of people report they are afraid to leave their current job for fear of losing health insurance. (Journal of the American Medical Association, 1/5/94; 1993 Economic Report to the President, Council of Economic Advisers)
- The meaning of the word "insurance" has been lost. Most Americans do have insurance right now, but three out of four (76%) of those insurance policies have "lifetime limits" -- cutting off your benefits when you get really sick. And an estimated 81 million Americans under age 65 have medical problems for which insurance companies charge higher premiums, exclude coverage, or deny coverage altogether. (Bureau of Labor Statistics; Foster Higgins 1991 survey; Citizens Fund)
- A Newsweek poll released this week indicates that the American people recognize the seriousness of the problem. Nearly eight in ten Americans, 79 percent, agree with the President that there is a health care crisis in the United States. (Newsweek, 2/14/94)

2. The Congressional Budget Office confirms that the financing of the President's proposal will guarantee private insurance to every American and bring down the deficit in the long-run.

Sen. George Mitchell (D-ME):

"Am I correct in my understanding that your report supports the President's conclusions as to those principal objectives . . . So that all Americans would be insured, the deficit would be going down, health care spending as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product would be going down, and the wages of American workers would be increased by up to or close to \$90 billion a year. Is that correct?"

Mr. Robert Reischauer: *"That is the judgment that we reached."*
[CBO Testimony, Senate Finance Committee, 2/9/94]

The President's approach will guarantee every American health insurance and control costs.

- *"The CBO credited the administration with coming up with a framework that appears to reconcile what many had considered irreconcilable: extending health care to all Americans while at the same time slowing the growth of medical costs, which threaten to consume 20 percent of the nation's economic output by the end of the decade."* [Pearlstein and Broder, Washington Post, 2/9/94]
- *"[The CBO analysis] is a significant acknowledgment that health reform can do what is necessary; that is, provide health coverage for all Americans while containing sky-rocketing health-care costs."* [USA Today, 2/9/94]

American families will benefit from the President's approach.

- *"The Clinton plan, when compared to today's system, would cost average Americans less money, give them more health benefits and more choice of physicians and medical care, [Reischauer] said." [Priest and Rich, Washington Post, 2/9/94]*

The President's approach will lead to deficit reduction.

- *"[CBO Chairman Reischauer said] significant deficit reduction will be achieved by 2004." [UPI, 2/9/94]*

American workers will get higher wages from the President's approach.

- *"... the lion's share of those savings would be returned to workers in the form of higher cash wages. . . ." [CBO, 2/9/94, p. 35]*
- *"First, the proposal would increase the cash wages of U.S. workers . . ." ["An Analysis of the Administration's Health Proposal", CBO, 2/9/94, p. 51]*

National health expenditures will be "significantly" reduced under the President's approach.

- *"Thus, CBO projects that national health expenditures would fall \$30 billion below the current CBO baseline by calendar year 2000, and would be \$150 billion (7 percent) below that baseline in 2004." ["An Analysis of the Administration's Health Proposal", CBO, 2/9/94, p. xii]*
- *"Once the administration's proposal was fully implemented it would significantly reduce the projected growth of national health expenditures." [CBO, 2/9/94, p. 26]*

Businesses large and small will save substantially under the President's approach.

- *"[The President's proposal] would sharply reduce the growth of employer spending for health insurance. By 2004, employers would save about \$90 billion for active workers and more than \$15 billion for early retirees... ." ["Analysis of the Administration's Health Proposal", CBO, 2/9/94]*
- *"[The proposal] would benefit smaller firms that typically pay much higher premiums than larger firms. This leveling of costs could benefit all small businesses -- not just those that provide insurance today." ["An Analysis of the Administration's Health Proposal", CBO, 2/9/94, p. 54]*
- *This CBO report echoes what was already confirmed by the independent health policy consulting firm Lewin-VHI in December.*

CRIME AND VIOLENCE

"Violent crime and the fear it provokes are crippling our society, limiting personal freedom and fraying the ties that bind us. The crime bill before Congress gives you a chance to do something about it -- a chance to be tough and smart."

President Clinton
State of the Union Address
January 25, 1994

IT'S TIME TO PASS A CRIME BILL. AMERICANS HAVE WAITED LONG ENOUGH.

* Personal security has become the most pressing concern in the everyday lives of millions of Americans and their families. People have a right to feel safe, and the first duty of government is to keep them safe.

* We are in the midst of an epidemic of violence in this country. It is time to put politics and ideology aside and start providing real answers to the real fears of real people. We need more police, more drug courts, more boot camps, and a criminal justice system that keeps violent criminals off the streets. We also need stronger families, better schools, and more work in our communities.

FIGHTING CRIME IS A CENTERPIECE OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S DOMESTIC AGENDA.

* President Clinton made crime a centerpiece of his State of the Union Address, and challenged Congress to move quickly to pass a crime bill that will reduce and prevent crime and violence.

* The Administration is seeking action on all fronts:

Put 100,000 More Police Officers on the Street in Community Policing. Putting more police on the beat will do more than anything else to catch criminals and prevent crime from occurring in the first place. In December, the Administration awarded grants to 74 cities and towns to expand community policing.

Put Violent, Repeat Offenders Away for Life. Most violent crimes are committed by a small percentage of criminals. We need a criminal justice system that makes sure those who commit crimes serve their sentences, and says to repeat offenders: When you commit a third violent crime, you will be put away, and put away for good -- three strikes and you're out. The Senate crime bill includes more money for prisons.

Pass an Assault Weapons Ban. No other nation allows teenagers to roam the streets with assault weapons, better armed than the police. The President has challenged sportsmen and others to join in this effort to build on the Brady Bill and keep guns out of the hands of criminals. The Senate crime bill includes a ban on the manufacture and sale of assault weapons, the gun of choice for drug dealers and gangs.

Expand Drug Treatment. Drugs are a factor in an enormous percentage of crimes. Recent studies indicate that drug use is on the rise again among young people. The crime bill contains more money for drug treatment for criminal addicts and boot camps for youthful offenders, and the Administration FY95 budget will contain a large increase in funding for drug treatment and drug education.

Give Young People Something to Say Yes to. In America's toughest neighborhoods, meanest streets, and poorest rural areas, we have seen a stunning breakdown of community, family and work -- the heart and soul of civilized society. This has created a vast vacuum into which violence, drugs and gangs have moved. So, even as we say no to crime, we must give people -- especially our young people -- something to say yes to. The Administration has undertaken many initiatives to help rebuild distressed communities, strengthen families, and provide work, including: job training, welfare reform, health reform, Empowerment Zones, reform of the Community Reinvestment Act, and legislation to launch a national network of community development banks.

FOR POSSIBLE USE WHEN ASKED
ABOUT HILLARY ATTENDING THE GAMES

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/26/94

YOU KNOW PAT, HILLARY ALMOST
WENT TO LILLIHAMER AS MORE THAN
A SPECTATOR. WE WERE SO
INSPIRED BY OUR OLYMPIANS THAT
WE TRIED OUT AS A FAMILY FOR THE
NORDIC EVENTS, BUT DIDN'T MAKE
IT.

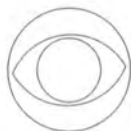
HOLD UP THE PICTURE

HERE WE ARE TRAINING AT CAMP
DAVID A WHILE BACK.

PAUSE SO THE CAMERA CAN FOCUS ON IT

DO YOU THINK YOU CAN PUT IT INTO
"ROCK AND ROLL HIGHLIGHTS"
ANYWAY?

✓



PAT O'BRIEN

2/18/94

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3/8/94

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT -

THANK YOU FOR GIVING US
SOME TIME.

THIS IS A GOOD RUNNING HAT!
KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK.

BEST REGARDS,

Pat O'Brien

Buc

94 MAR 4



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-7-94

P2:58

CITY HALL
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90012
(213) 847-2489

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

RICHARD J. RIORDAN
MAYOR

February 24, 1994

Meg Greenfield
Editorial Page Editor
Washington Post
1250 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20071

Mr. Asst. -

*Maybe you
could let me see*

Map

Dear Ms. Greenfield:

The people of Los Angeles are grateful to President Clinton, the members of the California delegation, and to the members of Congress for their swift work in passing the California Earthquake Relief bill. This will ensure a speedy recovery to the nation's worst natural disaster.

The federal response to this unprecedented natural disaster was magnificent.

Time and again since the earthquake of January 17, President Clinton has sent what we have characterized as his "A Plus" team to Los Angeles. Especially prominent in our recovery were the almost daily visits of Secretaries Pena and Cisneros and their senior staff who were on the ground hours after the earth first shook. The people of Los Angeles found FEMA Administrator James Lee Witt's daily presence here reassuring and his leadership was reflected in FEMA's swift response.

As we move away from the emergency recovery into the longer term issues, the Clinton Administration continues its steadfast presence in helping our city recover.

Angelenos are most grateful.

Sincerely,

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Richard J. Riordan
MAYOR

John Ferraro
PRESIDENT OF THE CITY COUNCIL

*P.S. your article on Loma was right on!
I only hope I can follow your advise. Dick*

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001. note	John [Deutch] to Mack McLarty (1 page)	02/16/1994	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Too Late to Process
OA/Box Number: 20387

FOLDER TITLE:

January 1994-February 1994, Folder 5 [2]

2019-0990-S
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Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

The Center for Democracy

1101 15th Street, N.W.
Suite 505
Washington, D.C. 20005
202/429-9141
FAX: 202/293-1768



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 2/17

Macd -
Nancy Soderberg
brought this and several
similar incidents with Jeff
to my attention today -
Pui

94 FEB 14 P4:44

Wednesday, February 9, 1994

MEMORANDUM

TO: Larry Rossin, National Security Council
FROM: Caleb McCarry, Vice President, Americas Programs *CM*
SUBJECT: Jeffrey Watson

As you know, The Center for Democracy has been facilitating a visit to Washington by a delegation of Haitian parliamentary and political leaders. We have been coordinating this effort at the request of Ambassador William Swing, the State Department Haiti Working Group and the UN Mission to Haiti. At approximately 11:00 p.m. last night, we returned to the Vista Hotel with the Haitian delegation. A young man was in the lobby waiting to speak to Chamber of Deputies President Frantz Robert Mondé. The man identified himself as "Jeffrey Watson from the White House."

Mr. Watson, who described himself as "an advisor to President Clinton," had phoned Mr. Mondé in the morning and met with him for an hour-and-a-half last night. Mr. Watson pressed Mr. Mondé for details on his proposals and views on the crisis. Mr. Watson offered to set-up a private appointment for Mr. Mondé with Vice President Gore. I introduced myself to Mr. Watson to get him to identify himself. When I asked him what department of the White House he worked for, he replied, "Just the White House." At 12:30 a.m., I interrupted the meeting by asking that our interpreter stop working.

We do not know who Mr. Watson is or why he pursued this meeting with Mr. Mondé. Mr. Mondé told several people that he now has a "special friend" in the White House who would be getting him in to see Vice President Gore.

cc: Michael Kozak, Haiti Working Group, State Department

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Macd
He does have
Haitian friends -
with whom he has
outside contacts -
and is a way to
deal with
DP

To: THE PRESIDENT

From: MACK

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/18

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

94 FEB 17 15:19 1994 09:22am

TO: Paul A. Toback

FROM: Carol H. Rasco
Economic and Domestic Policy

SUBJECT: Message for Mack, Skip

Paul: I mentioned this to Mack and Skip in passing this a.m. and told them I would put on more detail...thanks for serving as the messenger.

Mack and Skip:

As I mentioned, Bill Bowen in a conversation he initiated regarding health care business then turned to the Fed...he said David Mullins called him as he resigned and urged Bill to allow him to put Bowen's name forward to finish out his term. Bill said he initially thought it was crazy but then had calls of encouragement from Tom Melzer and Paul Volcker. I didn't really make any comment as I don't work this field; my plea is that we try very hard to shut this down if it isn't going to happen. I can't watch without crying our good friend Bowen go through another - to put it crudely - gut wrenching experience like he and all of you did previously. Let me know if I need to do anything...if it would help and I should be the one to call him back and say I checked and there is another plan in place I'll sure do it...just not sure I'm the appropriate person to do it. Let me know.....thanks.

Handwritten notes:
Mack
Mullins
Bowen
Detering

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

UNCLASSIFIED

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2122194 dbDCI Interagency Balkan Task Force
21 February 1994**Deaths In Sarajevo**

Since August 9: Roughly 1,500 killed; 5,000 wounded

Feb (Wk 1)	85 killed
Jan	248 killed
Dec	155 killed
Nov	210 killed
Oct	372 killed
Sep	270 killed
Aug (Wks 2-4)	147 killed

Factoids:

- On an average day in Sarajevo eight people are killed and 30 wounded.
- Average killed per month since Aug 9: 250
- Since the beginning of the war: 10,000 killed; 55,000 wounded in Sarajevo

Methodology:

Figures are derived from daily Sarajevo radio reports. Where data was missing, daily, weekly, and monthly averages were extrapolated from existing reports. (U)

UNCLASSIFIED

CL BY 715914
DECL OADR
DRV FR MULTIPLE

COMPARISON OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES*

Crisis vs. No Crisis

Our approach is based on the fact that American families and businesses are facing a health care crisis.

Others have adopted the insurance company/Republican line that a crisis does not exist. They don't understand how Americans live.

Guaranteed Private Insurance vs. Continued Insecurity

Our approach guarantees private insurance for every American that can never be taken away.

The other approaches don't protect families from the threat of losing their insurance or solve the problem of rising costs.

People In Charge vs. Insurance Companies In Charge

Our approach puts individuals and small businesses in control of their health care choices.

The other approaches allow insurance companies to continue picking and choosing whom to cover, how much to raise your rates, and when to drop you.

Comprehensive Benefits vs. Bare Bones Benefits

Our approach guarantees a comprehensive benefit package, including preventive care and prescription drugs, with low deductibles.

The other approaches provide for a bare bones package with high deductibles.

Benefits Spelled Out in Law vs. Benefits To Be Determined Later

Our approach sets down in law the comprehensive health benefits that must be provided to every American.

The other approaches leave it to a government board to decide what benefits people should get; they want you to buy a pig in a poke.

Good For Seniors vs. Threatening To Seniors

Our approach preserves Medicare, adding new coverage for prescription drugs and more long-term care options.

The alternatives threaten Medicare, cutting its growth but providing no new benefits; they see Medicare as a bank to pay other bills.

* This does not apply to the single-payer proposal.



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2-1-94

January 27, 1994

Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
Old Executive Office Building
Room 100
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Melanne:

I wanted to give you a heads up on what we are doing next week.

Enclosed is our "ten families" report that compares the Clinton bill with the Cooper and Chafee bills. There is a very vivid contrast of how the three bills deal with the problems exemplified by these families. We are releasing this analysis on Monday, January 31, in press conferences and media tours in Nashville, New Orleans and Providence. Phyllis Torda will represent us in Providence; Jeff Kirsch will represent us in New Orleans; and I will be in Nashville. Local families and organization representatives will join us at our press conferences. We already have very filled television, radio and print press schedules in these locations, and we have heavy remote interview schedules for other parts of Tennessee, Louisiana and Rhode Island. This Friday evening, I am debating Jim Cooper on MacNeil-Lehrer.

Subsequent to our releases in the three states, we are doing remote interviews in Kansas, Texas and Iowa. The report is being widely disseminated to the press generally.

Best regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Ronny".

Ronald F. Pollack
Executive Director

RFP/gj
Encls.

I'm enclosing an extra copy for the First Lady!

**PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING**

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2/22/44 ab

GS

Clay Constantine's
suggestion M. Garh
Americus (Greer)

- ① Went up 20-25
prominent Garh-Amer/
supporter
- ② get Macedonia to do
some face saving change

(also says do a New Jersey
Day at the White House)

B

① P. H. 1/p.k. ② 25
2/17 ④ Des L
③ Struth
⑤ Lev

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

14-Feb-1994 02:06pm

TO: Patricia A. McHugh
FROM: David Dreyer
Office of Communications

SUBJECT: Please pass this Memo along to Mack

Memorandum to Mack McLarty
From David Dreyer
Regarding the Project We Have Discussed
and two other issues we have not discussed
February 14, 1994

First, Rahm and I are scheduled to meet with the following people this week in furtherance of the project we have discussed:

Joan Baggett, Monday
David Wilhelm, Debbi DeLea, and Ed Lazarus, Tuesday
Alexis Herman, Tuesday
John Podesta, Tuesday
David Gergen, Tuesday
Marcia Hale, Tuesday
Paul Begala and James Carville, Wednesday
Pat Griffin, Wednesday
Stan Greenberg, Wednesday
Ricki Seidman, Thursday
Mandy Grunwald, Thursday
Mark and DeeDee, Thursday
Tony Coelho (Dreyer alone), Friday

Second, I need better access to materials in order to think through this project. As per Carolyn Lukensmeyer's memo of February 3, 1994, I would like to see --

- o Pat Griffin's legislative priorities document
- o All recent polling reports by Stan Greenberg
- o Any issue memoranda from DPC, NEC, Health Care, which contain strategic assumptions about the president's schedule or the message surrounding those efforts.

When Carolyn gets back from India, I hope to spend time with her on this -- as you can see, Rahm is fully integrated into the process.

Third, on a separate matter, I am alarmed by the increasingly frequent signs of breakdown of collegiality and the

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

apparent interest on the part of staff to aggrandize themselves at the expenses of others -- including Members of the Cabinet and other staff people.

Please refer to Fred Barnes' last two pieces in the New Republic -- on whether Gergen has influence in the White House and on which Cabinet Members are effective or not. Please also refer to the piece this morning in the New York Times on the President's Bosnia policy. Please also refer to Carol Rasco's heartbreak in this morning's 8am meeting over the Jason DeParle article. I thought the President set a tone in the East Room (on the fateful day I lost your White House I.D.) about using the press for purposes other than advancing the goals of the Administration. For most of the year, this rule was observed, and the atmosphere here was collegial. These recent examples of self-promotion and anonymous sniping is undoing the feelings of accomplishment we should all have about what the President has been able to do in just a short time.

Fourth and last, there was -- I believe -- a similar breakdown of collegiality in connection with the CEA Event in the Oval Office. That event should have been used as a vehicle for stressing the good economics news (news enough for the Washington Post to editorialize about it this morning). It struck me that moments before an event staff should buck up and motivate the President rather than to denigrate events as "unnewsworthy" or lacking in bite. The President sits astride a powerful podium; he matters as much as the boys in New York in determining who or what makes news. We will get more out of these events if we send our best fighter into the ring believe in his own uppercut.

I hope OK went well. I appreciate the confidence you show in me and my writing, and I hope you will continue to do so in the future.

D2/Dreyer

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 FEB 16 A 9:36

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Podesta
FROM: Phil Lader *PL*
DATE: February 15, 1994
RE: Office of the Staff Secretary

To help Mack, Harold and me become more familiar with the Office of the Staff Secretary, we would appreciate your providing me with the name, title (if applicable), and short description of the function of each person who currently works for or is assigned to your department. I would appreciate your providing me this information by February 22, 1994.

If this already exists in another format, that (as updated) would suffice.

Many thanks!

C

WHITE HOUSE COMMUNICATIONS AGENCY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500-0001

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 2/18

February 15, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID WATKINS
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR MANAGEMENT AND
ADMINISTRATION

THROUGH ALPHONSO MALDON, JR. *Amg*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR, WHITE HOUSE MILITARY OFFICE

FROM COLONEL THOMAS J. HAWES, USA *Hawes*
COMMANDER, WHITE HOUSE COMMUNICATIONS AGENCY

SUBJECT "Marvel of Modern Communications"

It was great to see the POTUS express his pleasure with the recent Lillehammer calls. We have the capability to extend calls to the POTUS anywhere in the world via a multitude of communications means accessed through our high technology electronic switching system. All members of WHCA get great satisfaction from making a "Boss Call" go well.

I wanted you to know that WHCA played a key part in making the "Marvel" happen. We sent a communicator to Lillehammer early on to ensure the First Lady would have the best capability possible to call back to DC. We leased both normal telephone support as well as cellular capability and tested it intensely prior to her arrival. Ms. Craighead used the cellular capability to call to "WHCA Signal", the military switchboard. Signal then extended that call to the President in the limo via the WHCA installed, tested and maintained mobile cellular telephone. The "Signal" operator had very little time considering Mr. Moe was standing with the First Lady. They handled the call with superb dispatch and linked the POTUS in the limo with the First Lady (Mr. Moe) via electronic switching in minimal time.

The Lillehammer calls were a great rush for us and we will continue to demand flawless communications support whether it be to an overseas swing, Head-of-State, earthquake stricken California, or to an Olympic gold medal winner.

Trip to Arkansas Helps President Catch Up and Visit With Family

By DOUGLAS JEHL

Special to The New York Times

HOT SPRINGS, Ark., Feb. 13 — President Clinton returned to his boyhood home this weekend for the first time since his mother, Virginia Clinton Kelley, died and turned his attention to what he had left undone because of the demands of office.

Mr. Clinton spent Saturday and much of today at the lakefront home where his stepfather, Richard Kelley, now lives alone. He spent time going through his mother's papers and devoted this morning to reminiscing with Mr. Kelley and his younger brother, Roger, who also spent the night.

For his journey to Hot Springs, the President was joined by Webster L. Hubbell, the Associate Attorney General, who helped him in reviewing Mrs. Kelley's records in his role as a "personal friend," the White House said.

Not Enough Time to Grieve

Mr. Clinton hurried to Hot Springs just hours after his mother died early in the morning of Jan. 6, and stayed with Mr. Kelley here until her burial two days later. But he chose to go ahead with a trip to Europe and Russia, and has had to contend since with the Los Angeles earthquake, his State of the Union Message and last weekend's shelling in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Mr. Clinton and his mother were together over the Thanksgiving and Christmas holidays. But he has said he told aides that he has not had enough time to grieve since her death, and aides said he wanted particularly to spend more time with Mr. Kelley after postponing plans to play golf with him during the December visit.

With his wife, Hillary, and daughter, Chelsea, in Norway for the Winter Olympics, Mr. Clinton gathered photo-

graphs and other memorabilia of his mother at the White House before flying to the airport here on Saturday afternoon, where he greeted Mr. Kelley with a hug. Told by another man in a crowd of well-wishers that "We miss your mother," Mr. Clinton clapped him reassuringly on the shoulder.

Call From Norway

On Saturday night, he joined other old family friends for what aides described as a "very homey" Italian dinner at the woody hillside home of Nancy and Brown Adkins, longtime Hot Springs residents and friends of Mrs. Kelley. Guests at the dinner included Mr. Kelley, Mr. Hubbell, Carolyn Huber, a longtime aide, and Sheriff Larry Selig of Hot Springs.

He finally played golf with Mr. Kelley this afternoon after a lunch of barbecue sandwiches prepared by Kathy Farrar, Mr. Kelley's daughter. Even on the ride across town to her home, aides said Mr. Clinton interrupted his personal time only when the telephone rang in the back of his armored limousine with an overseas call.

The caller was Mrs. Clinton, who was herself calling from a cellular telephone in Norway, and was standing with Tommy Moe, the American gold medalist in downhill skiing. Mr. Clinton said he had congratulated Mr. Moe and assured the skier that "America is proud of him."

But after spending two days last week trying unsuccessfully to reach President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia from the White House, Mr. Clinton seemed even more impressed about the Hot Springs-Lillehammer mobile link that his wife had pulled off. It was a "marvel of modern communications," he said.

(Schoenburg, Springfield STATE JOURNAL-REGISTER, 2/12).

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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QUAYLE: In a W. TIMES op-ed on Term Limits, Dan Quayle writes, "Does anyone really believe that the small number of people who run and win time after time are the only ones with the courage and wisdom and talent to lead the country? Look at Congress today. Its members are primarily interested in getting re-elected. Watch Congress perform this year and ask yourself this question: With such a dismal record, how can over 90 percent be guaranteed re-election? The answer is the power of incumbency" (2/15).

94 FEB 22

P6: 25

Mr. President

BAKER: CHICAGO SUN-TIMES' Sneed reports James Baker "is just completing his memoirs" and is "turning his sights toward Iowa" for '96. Sneed also notes that while Baker and George Bush were "once this close," they "now have a strained but friendly relationship, because of the widely held view that Baker was more interested in his own reputation than in trying to win the election for Bush" in '92 (2/15).

I ~ Kristis
connecting

Uucf

IMAGE WARNING: GOP leaders "dress differently from most Americans, watch the wrong TV programs, and will fare worse than they expect this fall unless they find a compassionate theme to counter President Clinton," according to pollster Frank Luntz. "Using polling research and opinions from focus groups around the country," Luntz briefed GOP House leaders at their 1/93 MD retreat. Luntz: "Americans think politicians in general, and Republicans in particular, are out of touch. ... Too many of us are seen as suit-and-tie Republicans trying to represent the jeans and T-shirt electorate. We're watching MacNeil/Lehrer while they're watching 'Rosanne.' We listen to NPR while they listen to Rush Limbaugh and Howard Stern. We're reading the Wall Street Journal, they're reading USA Today and People." Luntz added that Clinton is the "finest political manipulator" since FDR, and the GOP "will be hard-pressed to pin him down or find someone who understands and empathizes with people as well as he does" (Raasch, GANNETT NEWS, 2/15).

p. 12

EARLY BIRDS: DES MOINES REGISTER's David Yepsen, on why the potential candidates are in IA so early: "Bill Clinton's unpopularity made a lot of Republicans realize that the nomination was in fact a prize worth having. And the second reason ... is the move by some larger states ... to move up their contests." W. POST's Broder: "It's therapy for them. ... I don't think it has much to do with what will really happen in 1996. ... It keeps them from being even more impossible when they're at home with their wives." Yepsen noted Dole "has to be the early favorite." Yepsen on Kemp: "I've heard from some Kemp people who are disappointed he's not spending more time here" ("Inside Politics," CNN, 2/15).

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/11/94

February 11, 1994

Quake Aid Highlights

- Largest package of Federal aid to any single disaster, ever.
- Total Earthquake Assistance: \$9.5 Billion, including \$900 million from release of previously appropriated contingencies.
- *[Also included: \$315 million as final installment of rebuilding the Cypress Freeway in the Bay Area, destroyed in the 1989 Loma Prieta Quake.]*

A few key elements of the package [details on following chart]:

- FEMA \$5.1 billion
*includes \$300 million transit aid
\$700 million for school repair*
- SBA \$1.5 billion in loans
*covers businesses of any size,
and homeowners, too*
- HUD \$575 million
*over 10,000 rental assistance vouchers;
CDBG grants to local governments;
repairs to public and subsidized housing*

Plus:

Presidential Contingency: \$500 million for unanticipated needs.

EMERGENCY PROPOSALS -- LOS ANGELES EARTHQUAKE
(In millions of dollars)

	<u>Budget Authority</u> <u>New requests</u>	<u>Budgetary Resources</u> (<u>Budget Authority</u> <u>Plus Net Loans</u>) <u>New requests</u>	<u>Released</u> <u>Contingencies</u>	<u>Total Commitments</u> (<u>Budgetary Resources</u> <u>plus Contingencies</u>)
Education				
- Impact aid.....	165	165		165
- Pell grants.....	80	80		80
HUD				
- Vouchers.....	225	225		225
- Flexible subsidy.....	100	100		100
- CDBG/Home.....	250	250		250
Transportation				
- Federal Highways.....	950	950	41	991
- Federal Highways Contingency.....	400	400		400
VA				
- Medical Care.....	21	21	7	28
- Construction.....	46	46		46
FEMA				
- Disaster Assistance.....	4,709	4,709	408	5,117
- Emergency planning.....	15	15		15
SBA				
- Disaster assistance loans.....	254	1,109	391	1,500
- Disaster expenses.....	55	55	50	105
Presidential Contingencies:	500	500		500
- Commerce, HHS, HUD, Labor				
- Unanticipated needs				
Total Request for Earthquake Assistance.....	7,770	8,625	897	9,522

February 11, 1994

**EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDING
FOR SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA EARTHQUAKE ASSISTANCE
H.R. 3759**

- H.R. 3759 also includes emergency funding for the Midwest flood recovery (\$685 million), peacekeeping operations in Somalia, Bosnia, and elsewhere (\$1.2 billion), and a final installment (\$315 million) to repair the Cypress Freeway, which collapsed in the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake. Total supplementals are \$10.1 billion.

HOUSE

- Action. On February 3rd, the House passed \$8.6 billion in budgetary resources for assistance to victims of the Southern California earthquake, as requested. The vote was 337 to 74. This includes \$500 million in a Presidential contingency fund to be used for unanticipated needs of Federal agencies.
- Offsets to disaster assistance. A Fazio amendment was adopted that incorporates \$2.5 billion of rescissions from H.R. 3400 (savings identified by the NPR).
- Treatment of illegal aliens. A Torres amendment would prohibit Federal agencies from providing non-emergency assistance to an individual when it is known to a Federal entity that the individual is not lawfully in the United States. This would not require changes to agencies' current methods of distributing disaster assistance.

SENATE

- Action. The Senate passed (85-10) on February 10th the same \$8.6 billion in relief.
- Offsets to disaster assistance. While the higher level of rescissions (\$3.4 billion) adopted by the Senate is not problematic, several are of concern. These include reductions in funding for aid to the former Soviet Union and Defense's Landsat program.
- Treatment of illegal aliens. A Reid amendment was adopted that would also prohibit non-emergency assistance to individuals not lawfully in the U.S., but would also require Federal entities to take "reasonable steps" to determine applicants' legal status. This amendment would require agencies to modify application procedures for aid lasting longer than 90 days in order to verify applicants' legal status. This would slow the delivery of aid to victims.

CONFERENCE

- Action. Resolution of differences is expected today. The most contentious issues are the level and mix of offsets for disaster aid and the delivery of non-emergency aid to illegal aliens.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2.4.94

February 3, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO MACK MCLARTY

FROM: MARK MIDDLETON *mm*

RE: CONGRESSMAN BROOKS' PHONE CALL

As you know, I extended an invitation to Congressman Brooks to fly back to D.C. with the President on Monday. Unfortunately, we will be overnighing in Shreveport, Louisiana, so the Chairman will be unable to travel with us. Today, on your behalf, the Congressman was offered a ride to Houston on Air Force One, but declined since he was departing on Friday.

In short, we tried every option, but could not quite make the schedules work out. The Chairman appreciated your efforts and looks forward to seeing the President at the event.

Mr. President —

*For I — Jack is very
happy about our visit as
you know.*

WJC

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/10/94

Donny from good
will on
p3-

POSITION OF THE UKRAINIAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

REGARDING

UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH UKRAINE

B

Ukrainian-Americans are united in their support for the independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine. As Americans, we believe that a democratic and independent Ukraine is in the national security interests of the United States and consistent with our traditions of support for individual freedom and self-determination.

BACKGROUND

Under Russian and other foreign rule for centuries, Ukraine suffered the destruction of its culture, language, religions, and national identity. In the wake of the First World War, Ukraine proclaimed its independence on January 22, 1918 and announced that it would be a neutral nation with no territorial claims against its neighbors. The Government of Ukraine dismantled its military in an effort to demonstrate its goodwill. Immediately, Ukraine came under attack by Russian Tsarist, Russian Bolshevik, and German forces. Its naive policies resulted in the division of Ukraine among Russia, Poland, Romania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.

Under Soviet rule, the Ukrainian people again became victims to a policy of genocide which entailed policies to destroy the Ukrainian identity including the language, history, religions, and culture. This policy culminated in the man-made famine of 1932-3 which claimed the lives of over seven million men, women, and children. As the main battleground of the Eastern Front of World War II, Ukrainians suffered another 7.5 million casualties (both civilian and military) at the hands of the Soviets and Nazis.

In April 1986, the Chornobyl nuclear accident again threatened the very survival of the Ukrainian people. The long-term effects of the nuclear contamination of Ukraine are just beginning to appear. With the Chornobyl experience, the Ukrainian people realized, as never before, that their survival as a people was dependent on their controlling their own destiny.

On August 24, 1991, the Ukrainian parliament passed the Act of the Declaration of Independence of Ukraine by an overwhelming majority. The declaration acknowledged the "thousand-year tradition of state-building in Ukraine" and referred to the act as the realization of the July 1990 Declaration on State Sovereignty. In the true meaning of democracy, the independence declaration was made subject to confirmation by the people of Ukraine in a referendum on December 1. Over 90% of the people supported that Declaration of Independence.

The Government of Ukraine declared its intention to be a neutral and non-nuclear nation. Within months of independence, Ukraine removed 2,000 tactical nuclear weapons from its soil. Even prior to ratification of any arms control treaties, Ukraine began the dismantlement of strategic nuclear weapons. However, during the past two years, Ukraine

has again become the target of efforts by the Russian government to undermine its independence and territorial integrity. These efforts include acts of the Russian parliament and statements by Russian government officials including the President and Foreign Minister.

At the initiation of the United States, on January 14, 1994 Ukraine signed a Tripartite agreement to remove all nuclear weapons from the territory of Ukraine. Its Parliament ratified that agreement on February 3, 1994.

The Ukrainian-American community believes that the United States has an obligation to assist Ukraine in defense of its national security and territorial integrity and in its efforts to institutionalize democratic and economic reforms. Furthermore, the Ukrainian-American community believes that the national security interests of the United States lie in the fulfillment of that obligation.

* * * * *

The Ukrainian-American community urges the Government of the United States to immediately initiate the following actions:

- I. Forceful and public reaffirmation of United States recognition of and support for the independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine.
 - A. The United States must strongly reaffirm its recognition of Ukraine as a unitary state and does not recognize the right of any region of Ukraine to secede.
 - B. In light of past Russian claims to the territory of Crimea and the recent elections in Crimea, it is imperative that the United States inform Russia that any claims on the territory of Ukraine (including Crimea), instigation or support of secessionist movements within Ukraine, or interference in the internal affairs of Ukraine will be strongly condemned, and that the United States will take appropriate actions.
 - C. The signing of the Charter of American-Ukrainian Partnership, Friendship and Cooperation by the United States and Ukraine should be undertaken during President Kravchuk's visit to the United States.
 - D. US-Ukrainian cooperative programs in the field of national security should be expanded.
 - E. Ukraine recently signed the Partnership for Peace agreement. We urge the Government to lend real meaning and substance to this partnership agreement.
- II. Expansion of United States foreign assistance for Ukraine.
 - A. While the population of Ukraine is 18.2% of the NIS, of the U.S. assistance for NIS nations Ukraine received only 5.9% during fiscal years 1992-3, and

only 2.7% in fiscal year 1994. Ukraine's needs for technical and economic assistance are as severe as that of any other NIS nation. U.S. assistance to Ukraine should be expanded to, at least, 18% of total U.S. assistance for NIS nations. Specific areas of assistance include:

1. Development of alternative sources of oil and gas to reduce Ukraine's dependence on Russia including exploration of possible oil and gas fields in Ukraine;
2. Establishment of a Ukrainian Privatization Fund and expansion of privatization programs;
3. Creation and funding of a separate US-Ukraine Enterprise Fund;
4. Modernization of agriculture and agribusiness;
5. Technical assistance for management, law, accounting, and finance;
6. Nuclear reactor safety;
7. Environmental clean-up and planning;
8. Military conversion;
9. Infrastructure modernization including telecommunications and transportation;
10. Medical and health care;
11. Military housing;
12. Democratic institution building including the development of an independent media;
13. Development of financial institutions, particularly credit unions;
14. Increased exchange programs.

- B. The Ukrainian-American community is a well-organized community with financial institutions (over \$1 billion in assets), professional, cultural, women's, humanitarian, and youth organizations as well as a communications network. These institutions understand the political, economic, and cultural situation in Ukraine, have professionals with language abilities, and have a long-term commitment to Ukraine. Greater use of these institutions in the delivery of U.S. assistance to Ukraine would result in more effective and efficient use of limited resources. Efforts should be undertaken by USAID, USIA, and other agencies to initiate outreach programs to Ukrainian-American community organizations and procedures should be stream-lined to facilitate their participation.
- C. Many of USAID programs are NIS-wide assistance programs. The problems facing Ukraine differ dramatically from those facing Russia, Armenia, Uzbekistan, and others. Generic programs are ineffective and inefficient and leave the impression that the United States still considers the nations of the NIS as one entity. U.S. assistance programs should be country-specific, especially with regard to Ukraine.
- D. In light of Ukraine's commitment to dismantle the nuclear weapons on its territory, Ukraine should be provided additional assistance from the so-called Nunn-Lugar funds.

III. Increased assistance from financial institutions.

- A. The United States should use its position in international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to urge greater technical assistance for Ukraine.
- B. The United States should urge greater flexibility in the providing of loans and loan guarantees by financial institutions including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Export-Import Bank of the United States, and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.
- C. The United States should work with international financial institutions for the creation of a Currency Stabilization Fund for Ukraine in the nearest possible timeframe.

IV. Programs to encourage U.S. investment in Ukraine.

- A. The long-term development of Ukraine will be based not on U.S. foreign assistance but on foreign investment. The United States should develop programs to encourage the private sector in the United States to invest in Ukraine. Such programs are in the long-term political and economic interests of both the United States and Ukraine.

V. Increased cooperative programs with Ukraine.

- A. Much of the technical base of the former Soviet Union was located in Ukraine. However, many of the cooperative programs established by the United States have been solely with Russia. One such example is space and space technology. Efforts should be undertaken to explore areas of cooperation in those fields where Ukraine has the technological or resource base.

VI. Reorganization of the United States Government's structure for relations with Ukraine.

- A. Currently, the Department of State and other government departments and agencies work with Ukraine through offices designated as "Russia, Ukraine, and other Eurasian Nations" or "Russia, Ukraine, and other Newly Independent States." To continue to work with twelve of the nations that emerged from the Soviet Union as though they were still part of a larger entity, i.e. the Soviet Union, is ineffective and politically damaging. Relations with each of the twelve nations should be through offices that are based on geography. Ukraine should be within the Central/East European offices of the various departments and agencies.

Submitted 10 February 1994

**PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING**

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/17/94 cb

The White House

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release:

February 17, 1994

PRESIDENT ANNOUNCES WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON AGING

President Clinton announced today that he is formally calling for a White House Conference on Aging to be convened in May of 1995.

"I am pleased to resume the proud traditions of White House Conferences on Aging begun by President John F. Kennedy in 1961," said the President, noting that there has not been a White House Conference on Aging since 1981.

"The fact that this will be the last White House Conference on Aging of the twentieth century makes this one even more significant."

Under the terms of the Older Americans Act, which authorizes that such a Conference be held, a 25-member Policy Committee chosen jointly by the President and the Congress will be selected to work out the specifics of the Conference, including its agenda and the number of participants. Earlier in the fall, President Clinton announced his selection of Robert B. Blancato, formerly of the National Italian American Foundation and the former House Select Committee on Aging, to be the Executive Director of the White House Conference on Aging.

"An older America must soon face a new century," concluded the President. "A 1995 White House Conference on Aging allows us to plan for this challenge by working together to develop policy recommendations for the 21st century. We owe this to future generations."

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 2/7/94

TO: Mark Gearan

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

103-171 (203¹⁷¹)

**BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON AGING**

375-117 The White House Conference on Aging was initially authorized under the terms of PL ~~103-~~¹⁰²⁻ 375, The Older Americans Act Amendments of 1992. On December 3, 1993, President Clinton signed PL ~~203-375~~, The Older Americans Act Technical Amendments of 1993, which call for the convening of the Conference for not later than May 31, 1995.

In a May 25, 1993 speech during an Older Americans Month ceremony at the White House, the President referred to the White House Conference on Aging as a commitment to "keeping faith with the senior citizens of this country."

On October 22, 1993, the White House announced the appointment of an Executive Director for the White House Conference on Aging and in their press release described the White House Conference on Aging as "a focal point for the development of national policy on aging issues."

The Congress in the authorizing legislation identified the main purposes of a White House Conference to include increasing public awareness about the interdependence of generations; examine common problems between the generations; develop recommendations to improve coordination of Federal, State and local policies for the aging.

Eisenhower

The President in calling a White House Conference for 1995 will be restoring the tradition of such conferences which was first established in 1961 under President Kennedy. The tradition was continued with a 1971 conference. The conference in 1981 was considered too politicized and the Bush Administration failed to call the scheduled 1991 conference. [Dot on 6/3/91 announced that a conf. would be held in 1993.]

The White House Conference on Aging provides a special opportunity for the President to demonstrate his commitment to the present and future concerns of senior citizens. The mandate of the White House Conference on Aging is to produce recommendations for aging policy to span the next decade. The 1995 White House Conference on Aging therefore will not only be the final for the century, it will also be the first to focus on the explosive growth predicted for the aging population in the 21st century.

2/17/94

Note for the record:

Did someone suffering senile dementia write/approve this release?

Does anyone care? Does
no one check? Guess not.

S. Energy

The White House
Office of the Press Secretary

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February 17, 1994

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#

should be Dwight Eisenhower

double space