

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/21/96

96 AUG 15 P6:43

15 August 1996

*Let's
write an answer
on an other*

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
THE VICE PRESIDENT

CC: Maggie Williams
Ron Klain
Doug Sosnik

From: Harold Ickes *VA*

Re: Governor Casey

In my earlier memo to the President, I stated that Bill Batoff, of Philadelphia had called me last week urging a private meeting between former Governor Casey and the President. He assured me that the Governor would talk very positively about the President after the meeting. (Bob Casey, Jr., the former Governors son, is a Democratic nominee for Auditor General in Pennsylvania.)

Marcia Hale, at my request, talked with Paul Begala, who is very close to Governor Casey. He does not think that Batoff is one of Casey's closest advisors. More importantly, he thinks Casey may well get booed were he to speak at the Convention, no matter what we did to try to prevent it. Paul is, however, willing to find out whether Batoff's is accurate in his assessment of Casey and he thinks he can do it quietly.

In terms of having pro-life people speak at our Convention, Paul's suggestions include David Bonior, John Breaux, Senator Ford and Congressman Tony Hall.

Paul thinks the best thing we could do is to offer a speaking slot to Bob Casey, Jr., who is also pro-life.

Let's discuss.

Casey
R. Breaux

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/23/96

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20, 1996

Does Character Count?

* * *
Robert A. Wilson is editor of "Character Above All" (Simon & Schuster, 1995):

On April 12, 1945, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the leader to whom our country owes a debt it can never repay, was pronounced dead at 3:35 p.m. Central War Time. The next morning Paul Buck's Harvard College class, "The Making of



Franklin D. Roosevelt

Modern America: 1865 to the Present," met as usual at 9 a.m. The class, which included veterans of World War II, heard Prof. Buck say, "The stature of a man is judged by what he does to build or destroy the faith by which men live. Mr. Roosevelt was great because

he, like Lincoln, restored men's faith."

That is the test—perhaps the only test—of presidential character that matters. Not whether a president is a good family man or loyal friend. Not whether he has always told the whole truth. Not whether his positions have always been consistent. The test should be: Can he inspire us and by so doing build our faith in this nation and all it should stand for?

Baer / Plum

DW /

Bog

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WJC HANDWRITING

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-6-96

July 31, 1996

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: The President
FROM: Nancy Hernreich
Mildred C. Alston
RE: Recent Correspondence

*See
her
du* Sarah McClendon sends her "Washington Report" in which she described you as a different type of President -- a people's President. She then summarizes your numerous accomplishments benefiting Americans.

*To Al Penn / GS / McCune / Quinn
putting this -
processing w/ Al Penn -
RC*

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Please give this to the President--I want him to see what I wrote about him. Thank you very much. *Sarah McLendon*
Sarah McLendon

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN
8-6-96

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SARAH McCLENDON'S WASHINGTON REPORT

3133 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 215
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008-5104
Tel. 202-483-3791, 483-7918, FAX 328-1818

Purpose: To inform the American people so that they may keep a citizen's watch on government.

Guidelines: The people have a right to know.

July 19, 1996

IN THIS ISSUE

- NO. 1. CLINTON A DIFFERENT TYPE OF PRESIDENT -- A PEOPLE'S PRESIDENT.
- NO. 2. BUYING VOTES OF CONGRESSMEN IS ALLOWED TO CONTINUE.
- NO. 3. CONGRESS PERMITS PENTAGON TO THROW AWAY MONEY.
- NO. 4. BEST KEPT SECRET FROM PEOPLE: U.S. CLOSE TIES TO SAUDI ARABIA.

-- 0 --

NO. 1. CLINTON A DIFFERENT TYPE OF PRESIDENT -- A PEOPLE'S PRESIDENT. Here is my analysis of President Clinton. The Presidency has been broadened by Mr. Clinton from the high summitry of war and peace, international trade, and foreign policy to include such matters as abuse of women, teen-aged pregnancy, youth gangs and even school construction. While these matters may seem local or personal, they require federal help through legislation and federal money, which justifies his interest. His actions extend a helping hand to those living with the problem in home, community and the jobs world. And as I see it, the people appreciate his help. If many of these issues can be solved, then the people would have more time to devote to simpler, better tax plans, inflation and scientific research for health and business.

Mr. Clinton has taken on a lot more than he had to. I think this is what he means when he says "we need change."

He is the first President I have seen to bring to the dignity of the White House East Room the actual abuse of women. He had two such programs. He included a wide assortment of bureaucrats who must deal with the problem.

Other problems he has worked on are: Family and Medical Leave Act which was not his solution alone but which could not have become true if not for his enthusiastic support. Tracing guns to keep them out of the hands of children. Improved child care. When one passes a federal building in Washington these days, one is likely to see a fenced-in area with playground equipment for the children of mothers who work in the building. Increasing the minimum wage to help poor families to buy a little more food for the table to stave off hunger.

THE PRESIDENT WAS SEEN
8/23/96

Hitcher
Nady to Decker

Suggested
list of
Speakers for
the Platform

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9/8/96
To: The President
F-17
Hand

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-12-96

New U.S. News poll finds tax cuts are a losing issue with women voters

By Joyce Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Dole-Kemp campaign had hoped its proposal for a 15 percent tax cut would bring more women into the Republican camp, but a new survey finds most women don't like the idea.

According to the survey for U.S. News & World Report, half of women voters interviewed rejected the tax-cut plan, and only 35 percent favored it.

The bipartisan poll, conducted by the Tarrance Group, Republican pollsters, and Lake Research, Democratic pollsters, found that the majority of opponents feared the sharp tax cut would add to the deficit and force budget cuts in programs such as education and Medicare.

Public opinion polls repeatedly have shown female backing for Republican presidential nominee Bob Dole lagging far behind male support.

The U.S. News poll, whose results are published in the Sept. 16 issue of the magazine, which hits newsstands tomorrow, found that men narrowly favored the Dole tax-cut plan.

Two women senators — Kay Bailey Hutchison, Texas Republican, and Dianne Feinstein, California Democrat — were asked about

Bob Dole's gender gap problems yesterday on CNN's "Inside Politics Weekend."

Mrs. Hutchison said it's largely a public relations problem. Republicans, she said, "have done a lot to address the concerns of women, but I don't think we've talked about it enough."

"I think it's clear that we haven't gotten the message out, but we do have a good record, and I think that we are addressing the concerns of women in Congress. And much of that was under the leadership of Bob Dole," the former Senate majority leader, the Texas senator said.

She cited Republican efforts to get a "strong economy and a balanced budget for our future," job security, retirement security and health care security as being "concerns of women" Republicans in Congress addressed.

But Mrs. Feinstein cited several factors she believes are responsible for Mr. Dole's poor showing with women, including the proposed 15 percent tax cut.

"I think that the huge Dole tax cut frightens women because they don't know how it's going to be paid for. Is it going to be paid for with education cuts? Is it going to be paid for with Medicare cuts, Medicaid cuts? This [economic] security issue runs very deep as far as

women are concerned."

Republicans insist Social Security and Medicare will not be on the table for possible cuts. In fact, they say Medicare spending would grow an average of 7 percent yearly under the plan Mr. Dole says will both cut taxes and balance the budget.

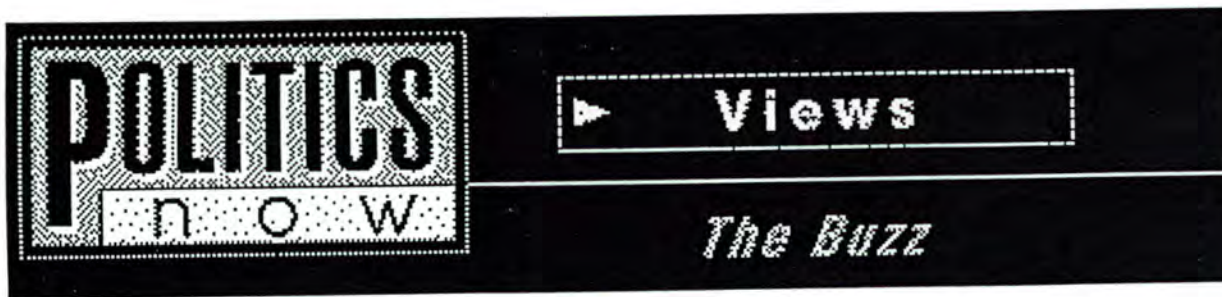
Mr. Dole has not yet been specific about the necessary cuts.

Mrs. Feinstein said she checked poll data by sexes before going on television yesterday. "The biggest turnaround on women in the internals of the polls I [have] looked at ... has been on the crime issue. And there's a big 9-point turnaround among women."

She said she believes "security, both personal and economic, are very important issues to women." She said women see Mr. Clinton as being strong on "protection for victims" and like his support for the Brady bill, the assault-weapons ban, and his efforts to put more police officers on neighborhood streets.

But Mr. Dole seems to have seized on at least one issue important to women. Pollsters say one of the reasons Mr. Dole is pounding Mr. Clinton on the 105 percent rise in teen drug abuse that's occurred during his administration is that campaign aides believe this is a keen concern of mothers.

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Simon



Hive -- The Buzz
Archives

Now That It Won't Be a "10"

By Bob Balkin, PoliticsNow



August 1, 1996 -- Last week, **Bob Dole** had to admit the obvious. In an interview with *Baltimore Sun* columnist Roger Simon, he pretty much stated that there were no "tens" to be had in his search for a running-mate. At least no conspicuous ones. His direct quote: "I wanted a 10. ... I haven't given up a on the goal. What I consider a 10, maybe you might not consider a 10." Since then, we've

tabulated nine individuals who have reportedly been asked to submit background information to the Dole campaign vetting operation. They are all white males; six are Catholic, eight are pro-life on abortion.

Those formally contacted by the Dole campaign:

GOVERNORS

Jim Edgar (IL) -- American Baptist, pro-choice
John Engler (MI) -- Catholic, pro-life
Tom Ridge (PA) -- Catholic, pro-choice (w/restrictions)
Tommy Thompson (WI) -- Catholic, pro-life
George Voinovich (OH) -- Catholic, pro-life

SENATORS

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-6-96

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Connie Mack (FL) -- Catholic, pro-life
John McCain (AZ) -- Episcopalian, pro-life
Don Nickles (OK) -- Catholic, pro-life

OTHERS

Ex-Gov. Carroll Campbell (SC) -- Episcopalian, pro-life

Other names have been mentioned, like **Bill Bennett**, who got the royal run-up-the-flagpole by CNN the other day, but there is no report that he has been asked for background documents from the veep-vetters.

The percentages say that Dole will most likely pick a governor. Let's look at them. Avid Buzzheads know that, beginning last March, we have believed that **George Voinovich** would be Dole's best choice because of his ability to put Ohio into the Dole column. Now, because of a slowly-developing and hard-to-contain story involving alleged kickbacks to his now-former chief of staff, Paul Mifsud, and the awarding of no-bid state contracts to campaign donors, we think Voinovich's chances have been crippled. There just is not enough time to conclusively resolve these allegations before Labor Day. They would cause too much of a headache and distraction for the Dole team.

We put **Tom Ridge** in the second position last March, and we keep him there due to his state's 23 electoral votes. His biggest wart: He has a mixed record on abortion -- pro-choice but with significant restrictions. While it is unsavory to most GOP convention-goers, Ridge's abortion position is probably closest to the general electorate at large. His chief problem remains that recent polling data in his home state shows he may not be able to turn the state toward Dole.

The other governor being given considerable consideration is **John Engler**. His warts: Even more so than Ridge, Engler is viewed as unable to pull Michigan into the Dole camp on his own. Also, most think he wants it too badly. While his record, particularly on welfare reform has been considered an asset, it may actually do him in. As is well-known, Engler avoided being drafted for service in Vietnam because he was two pounds overweight. Not fully considered are some of his votes in the legislature. Engler's staff confirms to The Buzz that Engler, first elected to the Michigan legislature while still in undergrad in 1970, was quite the libertarian, having voted for the legalization of marijuana. Engler maintains he never smoked pot -- that he has never smoked anything. But an Engler spokesman said the pot vote was in accord with "the mood" of the state in the early '70s. At about the same time, Engler also voted in favor of the legalization of prostitution. To this one, Engler is stumped. His spokesperson said Engler "can't remember why" he voted for it. The spokesperson refused to admit that Engler "regretted" those votes, because "at the time, he voted the way he felt." But, Engler would, of course,

not vote the same way today since we "know a lot more today" about the effects of drugs. These two votes were dug up by oppo researchers during Engler's '94 re-election campaign. The effect: Michiganders didn't care. He won with 61 percent of the vote.

Long-shot governors: **Jim Edgar** gets along great with Dole, but he's not happening. Edgar's pro-choice stance cannot likely be mitigated by pulling in his home state as Illinois remains the most difficult Midwest state for Dole to capture. Also: Edgar has had disqualifying heart trouble. As for **Tommy Thompson**, his best issue, welfare reform, has just been swept under the election-year rug by President Clinton. His state is too small and he lacks charisma. See ya.

The Curse of the Appointed Senators

In next week's Kansas primary, newly-appointed Sen. **Sheila Frahm** (R), who succeeded Bob Dole, has little momentum in an uphill battle in a primary against an aggressive freshman Rep. **Sam Brownback**. Although her own campaign's poll shows her still in the lead, even Frahm supporters note she has little wind behind her. She is pro-choice and comes from the state's Dole-Kassebaum wing, but this may be of little help in a low-turnout primary. Brownback, who put his own TV ads on the air before Frahm was even sworn in, has the support of Christian and pro-life activists and his folks will likely come out.

Brownback has been so aggressive that Dems do not know what to make of the situation. Initially, they wanted Brownback to win the primary, because their candidate would contrast much better against him than against Frahm, a pro-choice woman with the endorsement of the popular Nancy Kassebaum. Brownback's explosive bid has changed that calculation. The likely Dem nominee is **Jill Docking**, a stockbroker and wife of Tom, a former lieutenant governor. (Tom's father and grandfather were both governors of Kansas.) In the Dem primary, Docking is expected to blow past aging ex-Gov. **Joan Finney**, who is not making public appearances. Even though local Dems caution us that Finney "has never won a poll or lost an election," we still think Finney's time has passed. Her bid is, in fact, kind of sad.

But Frahm's biggest enemy may be history. It is unusual for appointed senators to come through in elections. Here's a quick chart of appointed senators who stood for election:

1996 -- Sheila Frahm (R-Kan.)

1994 -- Harris Wofford (D-Penn.), appointed to succeed late-Sen. John Heinz (R) in '91, won a special election in '91, but lost bid for full term in '94.

1993 -- Bob Krueger (D-Texas), appointed to succeed new Treasury Sec. Lloyd Bentsen in '93, lost to Kay Bailey Hutchison (R) in a '93 special election.

1992 -- John Seymour (R-Calif.), appointed to succeed Gov.- elect Pete Wilson in '91, lost a special election to Dianne Feinstein (D) in '92.

1990 -- Daniel Akaka (D-Hawaii), appointed to succeed late- Sen. Spark Matsunaga (D), is the exception to the rule. He is still in the Senate, having won the special in '90 and a full term in '94.

1986 -- James Broyhill (R-N.C.), appointed to succeed late-Sen. John East (R), lost to Terry Sanford (D) in '86.

1983 -- Dan Evans (R-Wash.), appointed to succeed late-Sen. Scoop Jackson (D), won the special election in '83 and retired in '88. He is another exception to the rule.

1982 -- George Mitchell (D-Maine), appointed to succeed new-Secretary of State Ed Muskie (D) in '80, won every subsequent election until his retirement in '94. He is the third and last exception to the rule.

1978 -- Wendell Anderson (D-Minn.), as governor, appointed himself to succeed late-Sen. Hubert Humphrey, but he lost to David Durenberger in '78.

Did We Miss Any?

Going back further in time will make us dizzy. Are there any other appointed senators in recent years whom we've missed? Send news, tips, comments or questions to buzz@politicsnow.com. As always, please indicate if you want to be off the record.

Not Buzzed enough? Check out [The Hive](#) (archive of *The Buzz*)



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Stanley K. Sheinbaum

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-6-96

FAX TRANSMITTAL

DATE: 8/2/96

TO:

NANCY HEINRICH

FIRM:

FROM:

Stanley

COMMENTS:

For the President

"FYI In case you haven't seen this."

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Stanley K. Sheinbaum

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-6-96

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DATE: 8/2/96

TO: NANCY HEINRICH

FIRM:

FROM: Stanley

COMMENTS: For the President

"FYI In case you haven't seen this."

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Anything Goes

Partners in Power: The Clintons and Their America

by Roger Morris.

Henry Holt, 526 pp., \$27.50

Gene Lyons

"Most of the rewards of the Presidency, in these days, have come to be very trashy. The President continues, of course, to be an eminent man, but only in the sense that Jack Dempsey, Lindbergh, Babe Ruth, and Henry Ford have been eminent men."

—H. L. Mencken,

"Imperial Purple" (August 17, 1931)

Every bit as much as Texas and Manhattan, Arkansas is a world unto itself. For decades schoolchildren here have been taught the myth that Arkansas alone among the states has the natural resources—water, timber, some oil, plentiful natural gas, and vast stretches of fertile alluvial soil—to build a wall around itself and nevertheless thrive. Prosperity eludes many, yet local patriotism runs very strong.

In the fourth year of the presidency of native son Bill Clinton, a great many Arkansians would be very happy to build that wall. Greeted by euphoric throngs in downtown Little Rock on November 2, 1992, Clinton's election seemed to many the state's best chance to put behind it a heritage of scorn and derision dating back to territorial days. Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* satirized the state's backwoods squalor mercilessly. Mencken joked that he knew New Yorkers who had visited "Cochin China, Kafiristan, Paraguay, Somaliland, and West Virginia, but no one who has ever penetrated the miasmatic jungles of Arkansas."¹ But mostly, local patriots hoped Clinton's victory would mitigate the memory of the 1957 Central High integration crisis—when Governor Orval Faubus's futile and shameful resistance fixed Arkansas's image as a bigot's paradise for a generation.

The state, alas, is now seen as a paradise for political and personal crookedness of all sorts; and this is so in large part because the Clinton presidency has coincided with a near total breakdown of the already shaky standards of evidence used by American news organizations. Driven by talk radio, by "trash for cash" tabloids, by ideologically motivated writers for journals like *The American Spectator* and the London *Sunday Telegraph*, by Internet conspiracy theorists, and not least by publishers competing for lucrative book-length "revelations" about the intimate lives of the famous, a puritanical credulousness appears to have replaced skepticism among many contemporary journalists. Many Arkansians have been stunned by the calculated viciousness displayed by the press toward those whom they view as powerless to respond.

The breakdown, of course, didn't begin with the Clintons. Joe McGinnis's infamous book on Senator Ted Kennedy is only one of many that also

¹Mencken was writing in mock astonishment at the founding of a literary journal he admired in the college town of Fayetteville. His words stung anyway.

come to mind. But Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton have been treated with a kind of gleeful malice formerly reserved for Donald Trump and Marla Maples, Bruce Willis and Demi Moore.

Gossip, rumors, and unattributed slanders that would until recently have been confined to the fringe press—if published at all—appear today in the news columns of *The New York Times*. Consider the front page treatment that paper recently gave charges by an embittered former FBI agent, Gary Aldrich, that President Clinton—perhaps disguised in Groucho Marx glasses, nose, and mustache—has taken to slipping out of the White

tons personally," and an expose of "a world where corrupting money and favors flow freely and the tyranny of wealthy interests and their captive politicians mock democracy."

This "world" is not Washington but Arkansas, a dark, blighted land whose bankers are money launderers and worse, whose judges and lawyers are whores, whose journalists are mostly deaf and blind, and where only courageous state troopers ever tell the truth. Thus the stubborn persistence of rural poverty in the Arkansas Delta counties along the Mississippi becomes, for Morris, a repudiation not merely of Clinton himself—who, after all, failed in six terms as governor to eradicate it—but of just about everybody in



House for post-midnight nookie at the Washington Marriott.

No doubt the prominence *The New York Times* gave to Aldrich's *Unlimited Access* was influenced by the President's own public comments about the book, and the *Times*'s editors made the right decision in describing and exposing the book. The absurdity of Aldrich's allegations, their immediate repudiation by the Secret Service, and the author's sheepish admission that he was passing on second- and third-hand gossip allowed *Times* readers to judge the book's shabbiness for themselves. In a political atmosphere in which anything goes, that may be the only answer. It is a good question why any number of similarly improbable tales told about the Clintons' days in Arkansas were not given similar skeptical examination.

Had that been done, we might not today be faced with as slipshod and manifestly fraudulent a piece of work as Roger Morris's *Partners in Power*. Making much of its author's Harvard Ph.D. and Guggenheim fellowship and his resignation from the Nixon White House, the dust jacket calls it the definitive account of "the parallel lives and tortured relationships of the Clin-

sight. Morris writes rhetorically, in a sweeping, hyperbolic, radical-sounding prose. "The state's farmers, found one study," he writes, "were 'the nearest approach to medieval serfdom ever achieved on the North American continent.'" An Arkansas "oligarchy," he adds, "its paternalism...now cruel and crude, now mincing and discreet, though above all constant," keeps the beaten-down peasantry in check.

Meanwhile, "the state's newspapers and broadcast stations were in the hands of ruling interests, their editors and reporters cowed or bought off." Journalists and oligarchs alike, we're told, dwell in colonialist splendor in Little Rock's luxurious "White Heights." There they "controlled it, held it at bay—in part, as always, by

laughing contemptuously at what surrounded them. 'How do you measure the wealth of the average Arkansas household?' went a familiar joke. 'By the number of dogs killed when the front porch collapses.'"

So how did the likes of Bill Clinton keep getting elected? Arkansas voters just don't know any better, what with their "weary acceptance of their lot" and their

grateful credulity toward politicians earnestly promising to

August 8, 1996

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

①

a change it. As in the old Communist
d tyrannies of the Soviet Union and
of Eastern Europe, there was often
c only resentment toward outsiders
it pointing out the enduring disgrace,
c a native refusal to face reality that
d further fortified the system.

e Speaking of facing reality, you might
y want to know that the passage about
- "medieval serfdom" Morris quotes
i from Leland Duvall's *Arkansas: Col-
l ony and State* refers to the post-Civil
- War institution of sharecropping—a
f practice that vanished around the time
i Bill Clinton was born. There is, in fact,
- no such place as Little Rock's
- "White Heights." It's a pure invention,
i alluded to repeatedly throughout
i *Partners in Power*. Readers who are
Southerners, meanwhile, surely recog-
nize the joke about the collapsing porch.
It's taken straight from the popular
comic Jeff Foxworthy's little book *You
Might Be a Redneck If...* ("If you had a
toothpick in your mouth when your
wedding pictures were taken," "If your
brother-in-law is also your uncle," etc.).

Morris's prosecutorial style ignores
the fact that Bill Clinton's native state
has always been his single greatest
political liability. Arkansas's six paltry
electoral votes are virtually meaning-
less to Republican strategists. Even
when he attacks Clinton's actual
record as governor, the gritty realities
of Arkansas politics elude Morris's
understanding at every turn. Take, for
example, his criticism of Clinton's
educational reforms of 1983. In push-
ing through a substantial tax increase
for Arkansas schools, did Clinton also
arrange that the passing score on a
controversial, one-time teacher com-
petency test be set at an embarrass-
ingly low level? Indeed he did. Even
so, upward of 30 to 50 percent of black
teachers in a few of the state's poorest
rural districts failed the first time they
took it. Had they been fired, who would
have replaced them? At what cost?

As it was, Clinton's reform program
brought millions in badly needed funds
into the school system. It mandated
smaller class sizes and required school
districts to offer previously unavailable
courses in science, mathematics, foreign
languages, etc. Many schools here still
have large defects but Morris has not
the slightest idea what goes on in them.

Would efficiency be served if, as
Morris writes, Arkansas had far fewer
school districts? It would. But today's
champion of consolidation, as Arkan-
sas voters have made clear, will be
tomorrow's former governor. Is it
really scandalous, as Morris claims,
that higher education got some of the
money simply because Hillary's com-
modities trading pal Jim Blair lobbied
for it? Who's going to train better-
qualified Arkansas teachers if not
Arkansas colleges?

The same ignorance is evident in
Morris's account of the state's regres-
sive tax structure. He mentions in
passing that Arkansas's antiquated
constitution requires a 75 percent vote
to approve any tax increases other
than the general sales tax. He never al-
ludes to the many times Clinton tried
and failed to coax three fourths of the
legislature to increase Arkansas's vir-
tually non-existent taxes on natural
gas, oil, and timber. Nor does he seem
aware of the persistent and unsuccess-
ful efforts of Arkansas progressives to

win a new constitution. Earlier this
year, Arkansas voters rejected a refer-
endum for a constitutional convention
by 80 to 20 percent.

"There is no party machine in pre-
dominantly Democratic Arkansas,"
the state's two US Senators pointed
out in a 1994 letter to *The New York
Times*. Dale Bumpers and David
Pryor wrote in response to a critical
article by Michael Kelly portraying the
Clinton years, as they put it, "as a kind
of wasteland, during which a hollow
man played it slick and safe to insure a
certain path to the Presidency"—a
view Morris embellishes in his own
florid way.

"The political scientist V.O. Key
long ago observed that a one-party
state is a no-party state," the Senators,
both former governors, continued.

The governor of Arkansas must
form a new coalition on each
issue. The resulting bartering and
negotiations may look slick to the
unpracticed eye, but the novice
should try it before judging.... In
his twelve years as governor, the
President alienated every large in-
terest group in the state at one
time or another: utilities, timber,
building contractors, the Cham-
ber of Commerce, the Arkansas
Medical Society, the Education
Association, the poultry industry,
the Farm Bureau, the National
Rifle Association....

No doubt Clinton's Democratic col-
leagues laid it on a bit thick. With vir-
tually the entire spectrum of Arkansas
political opinion represented within
the Democratic Party, Clinton wanted
no permanent enemies if he could help
it. Was the Arkansas Education Asso-
ciation infuriated by Clinton's teacher
competency test? Repeated pay raises
eased the sting. Were poultry and
trucking interests angered by a "ton-
mile" tax on eighteen-wheelers? Clin-
ton's corporate tax investment credits
lifted some of the burden. Did the
National Rifle Association resent the
governor's veto of a bill forbid-
ding Arkansas municipalities from
passing gun-control ordinances? Well-
publicized duck hunting trips—hardly,
one suspects, a Clinton pastime, re-
quiring, as it does, rising before dawn
and sitting silent and still for extended
periods—reassured sportsmen.

Bill Clinton's idea of leadership has
always been a perpetual balancing act.
Political allies who fell over the side
often found themselves treading water
as the good ship Bill and Hillary sailed
out of sight. All things considered,
however, Bumpers, Pryor, and Clinton
must have done something right.
When Dale Bumpers became Arkan-
sas's first post-Faubus Democratic
governor in 1970, the state's per capita
income was roughly 43 percent of that
of the United States; by 1990, it had
grown to 63 percent. Roger Morris to
the contrary, Don Tyson (Tyson Foods),
Sam Walton (Wal-Mart), and Jack
Stephens (Stephens, Inc.)—all of whom
opposed Clinton a lot more than they
supported him—didn't get to keep it all.

But the actual world of Arkansas
politics doesn't really interest Roger
Morris very much. Rather, most of
the energy in *Partners in Power* is
reserved for the so-called "character
issues"—what House Speaker Newt
Gingrich calls "the Clinton Scandals."

And oddly enough, given his ostensibly leftist views, most of Morris's sources, which he presents with all the trappings of scholarly paraphernalia, turn out to be right-wing periodicals like the aforementioned *American Spectator* and London *Sunday Telegraph*, as well as the *Washington Times*, the *New York Post*, and the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page. In fact, although Morris does not mention it, many of the most extreme charges of moral turpitude Morris lodges against the President and his wife are identical to those first made in a scurrilous videotape, *The Clinton Chronicles*.

Marketed nationwide by the Reverend Jerry Falwell and the Reverend Pat Robertson since 1992, *The Clinton Chronicles* are primarily the work of two people: a former public relations man for the Arkansas Development Finance Administration (ADFA) named Larry Nichols, and "Justice Jim" Johnson. Nichols was fired by Clinton in 1988 after it was discovered that he had used his office phone to make 640 long-distance calls at state expense on behalf of the Nicaraguan Contras. Considered absolutely unreliable by Arkansas reporters, who have long ignored him, he has conducted a one-man slander campaign against Clinton ever since.² Johnson was the founder of Arkansas's long-defunct White Citizen's Council, and the state's last (1966 and 1968) unabashedly segregationist Democratic gubernatorial candidate.

Several of the lurid charges in *The Clinton Chronicles* which resurface in *Partners in Power* were comprehensively refuted in an article by Carrie Rengers in the Republican *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette* on October 30, 1994. Morris seems unaware of it, but Rengers showed there was no substance to the charge, as Morris puts it, that "Clinton himself... personally approved every [ADFA] bond issue and major transaction," and that the agency was "being used to launder millions in drug money" (according, as Morris characteristically puts it, to "suspicions and even published accounts"). Other claims made by Morris, including his almost phantasmagoric account of Bill Clinton's alleged cocaine use and his participation in a CIA-sponsored drug-smuggling plot, were also made in *The Clinton Chron-*

icles, and were previously subjected to withering analysis by none other than David Brock, the author of *The Real Anita Hill* and "Troopergate," in the Winter 1995 issue of the *Forbes Media Critic*.

It's possible, of course, to suspect Brock of discrediting the manifest absurdities of *The Clinton Chronicles* to enhance his own suspect credibility; but an obvious point still stands. If there were any credible evidence linking Clinton to Iran-Contra—as Morris claims—what prevented independent counsel Lawrence Walsh from uncovering it long ago? Walsh indicted the secretaries of state and defense. Arc we to believe he skipped over the Democratic governor of Arkansas? To believe much of *Partners in Power*, it is also necessary to believe exactly that.

Whitewater is another subject on which Morris's accusations merge



with, indeed go far beyond, those of the President's Republican attackers. In their original investment in 200 acres of woodland along the White River in Marion County, Arkansas, Morris contends, the Clintons put nothing at risk. "Susan and Jim McDougal," we are told, "would manage the business and bear most of the risk and liability, personally guaranteeing nearly \$200,000 of the total loans, while Bill and Hillary... would still enjoy a full 50 percent ownership."

This is false. According to the Pillsbury Report, the \$3.6 million study done by the Republican law firm of Pillsbury Madison & Sutro for the Resolution Trust Corporation, the partners bore absolutely equal risk.

reality, despite being urged on by Clinton's Republican enemies—specifically Sheffield Nelson, his opponent in the 1990 election for governor—the Arkansas reporters who tried to investigate the claims about Clinton couldn't verify a single instance of hanky-panky. That Clinton has sinned in committing adultery, he has more or less admitted. I know of no Arkansas reporter who claims to know any particulars of his behavior from a reliable source—or, for that matter, any reporter who took at face value the accusations made by the troopers. Morris's second- and third-hand rumors about Clinton openly cavorting with bimbos are absurd. There may well be an interesting story that would explain how and why some Arkansas state troopers came to despise Clinton so vehemently. (Other troopers insist they've been blowing smoke all along.) But so many of their claims have turned out to be fantasies that anyone who relies on them completely, as Morris does, is not to be trusted.

Morris simply ignores the report's findings, which reveal that all four parties to the company were jointly and severally responsible for the entirety of the debt—meaning that if Bill Clinton and the McDougals had perished together in an airplane crash, Hillary alone would have been responsible for paying the loan.

Almost every sentence regarding Whitewater in *Partners in Power* is similarly irresponsible. "Afterward," Morris writes, "there could be no doubt how much and how currently the Clintons knew the business habits of their intimates, knew the essence of what was happening at Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan." But the Clintons swore under oath to their ignorance of McDougal's machinations and the Pillsbury Report supported them 100 percent. The Clintons, it concluded, were passive investors, and were not informed about the affairs of the Whitewater Development Corporation, and were even deceived about them. "There is no basis to assert," the investigators concluded,

that the Clintons knew anything of substance about the McDougals' advances to Whitewater, the source of the funds used to make those advances, or the source of the funds used to make payments on bank debt.... There is no basis to charge the Clintons with any kind of primary liability for fraud or intentional misconduct.

As for Hillary Rodham Clinton's legal representation of Madison Guaranty, that, Morris claims, was more on the order of a bribe, paid to her by Madison in order to get favorable treatment from Clinton. The Rose Law Firm's \$2000 a month retainer, he says, was paid to her personally. "Being on the Madison payroll was no mere whimsy for the First Couple," he writes. "The governor was there at the Quapaw office on his morning jog regularly each month to pick up the check, and on occasion Hillary herself came for the money."

According to anonymous quotes Morris attributes to Hillary's Rose Law Firm colleagues, Mrs. Clinton saw these payments as her due for the enormous sacrifice she was making by living in Arkansas. (A place she despised, *Partners in Power* assures us.) "No one thought of this as something to be covered up or worried about," said an aide. "This was money they were supposed to get, as everybody saw it."

Once again, Morris's account has been shown to be false by the Pillsbury Report. Madison Guaranty's \$2000 a month retainer was never once picked up in person by either of the Clintons. Payable to the Rose Law Firm, the money was deposited into an escrow account as an advance against billing. "There are a number of reasons," the Pillsbury, Madison & Sutro investigators concluded, "to disbelieve McDougal's story" that he was in effect bribing Mrs. Clinton. Mrs. Clinton's "alleged economic motivation makes no sense."

Part of the retainer was never earned and was returned to the client. Also, a law firm's revenues never go straight to the bottom line.... Even if all the retainer had been earned in fees, Mrs.

²During the 1990 Arkansas gubernatorial campaign, Nichols filed a lawsuit charging Governor Clinton with using public money to support five mistresses. Among them was Gennifer Flowers, who not only denied the charge—like all the others questioned by Little Rock reporters—but formally threatened a libel suit. In January 1992, Nichols released a letter to the press apologizing to the women he'd named—wholly on the basis, he admitted, of rumor passed to him by unspecified persons. "I want to tell everyone what I did to try to destroy Governor Clinton," he admitted, out of anger over his firing. After Clinton became President, like Gennifer Flowers before him, Nichols changed his story. The women he'd named, it bears mentioning, also made the list put forward by state troopers Larry Patterson and Roger Perry four years later.

"The indolence of the Arkansas press toward their prowling governor might be difficult for those outside the culture to fathom," Morris charges. In

Clinton's share would have been less than \$20 a month.³

Even after state and federal regulators forced McDougal out of Madison Guaranty, Morris charges, the greedy, reckless Clintons joined him in yet another wildly speculative venture called Lorraine Heights, an 800-acre tract purchased from International Paper in October 1986.

But the Pillsbury Report establishes conclusively that McDougal used the shell of the all-but-defunct Whitewater Development Corporation to buy the property without the Clintons' knowledge or permission, and then surreptitiously transferred it to yet another of his real estate companies, leaving Whitewater stuck with the debt. The Clintons knew nothing about the International Paper deal. "Their signatures," notes the Pillsbury Report,

do not appear on the relevant documents. McDougal's letters to them do not mention the transaction. The transaction did not benefit Whitewater or the Clintons; in fact, it left Whitewater with a large mortgage but no corresponding asset, and eventually it led to litigation and the entry of a judgment against Whitewater.

Indeed, at McDougal's trial for bank fraud in Little Rock last spring, the prosecutor, Ray Jahn, shrewdly cross-examined Clinton about this very transaction, clearly hoping to persuade the jury that McDougal was a shady manipulator who lied when it suited him. The national press, preoccupied with its own quest for Whitewater gossip, failed to get the point. The jury did.

What should have become clear to the publishers of Morris's book, then, is that there is scarcely a statement of fact anywhere in *Partners in Power* that can be taken at face value. Particularly about state troopers, sex, and drugs. The real shocker in *Partners in Power* is supposed to be Clinton's involvement through a one-time supporter named Danny Ray Lasater—a millionaire restaurateur and bond dealer who did time in a federal prison for giving away cocaine to his friends—in a multi-million-dollar CIA drug-smuggling ring run through an airport in Mena, Arkansas.

We know all this not only from the "confidential sources" Morris says he relied on, but because an Arkansas state trooper named L.D. Brown, a friend of Roger Perry and Larry Patterson of "Troopergate" fame, told Morris a story about flying down to Nicaragua with a convicted drug smuggler named Barry Seal. He even gave Morris a specific date: October 23, 1984. When he told Bill Clinton about it, the governor supposedly told him to forget about it, it was "Lasater's deal." Seal, a DEA informant, was later assassinated by Colombian hit men in Baton Rouge. An imaginative rogue with a flair for publicity, Seal did for a time keep a C-123 cargo plane at the airport in Mena, Arkansas. He was the subject of

at least two federal grand jury investigations—neither ending in an indictment—but his name is kept alive as the source of the most lurid of all Arkansas conspiracy stories. By the reckoning of most Arkansas journalists, Morris's claim that Clinton had some involvement with Seal and Lasater in smuggling drugs is either the fourth or fifth version of the Mena airport tale. (In fact, there's no reason to believe Seal and Lasater ever met.)

The Lasater charges have to be assessed along with the other accounts from state policemen who have made trouble for Clinton. If "Troopergate," so-called, had been greeted with anything like the detailed skepticism accorded FBI agent Gary Aldrich's recent book-length "revelations," we wouldn't be talking about the Mena airport and much else today. In effect, however, the national press and television, specifically *The Los Angeles Times* and CNN, filtered out the obvious absurdities in Perry and Patterson's accounts, concentrating on what they thought they could prove, which turned out to be almost nothing.

That's what makes David Brock's more comprehensive account in *The American Spectator* indispensable to the student of Arkansas political mischief. By laying out all the fantasized details of the troopers' tales, Brock made their full absurdity evident. Do you believe that Hillary Rodham Clinton purred like a cat in heat while Vince Foster publicly caressed her breasts at a Rose Law Firm party in a Little Rock restaurant? David Brock did. In fact, the restaurant in which this incident allegedly happened denied to the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette* that any such party ever took place there. So did the Rose Law Firm. The idea that Foster, whose reticence and sense of propriety were well-known, would have done anything of the kind is almost as grotesque to his friends as the notion of Mrs. Clinton's permitting it.

Were you aware, moreover, that since their moment in the spotlight back in December 1993 Perry and Patterson had joined the Vince Foster conspiracy industry? Perry and Patterson told the London *Sunday Telegraph* that a White House aide named Helen Dickey phoned the Arkansas Governor's Mansion hours before Foster's body was discovered in a Washington park. Supposedly Dickey told them Foster had shot himself that afternoon in a White House parking lot, which could only mean—so deduced the *Telegraph* reporter, Ambrose Evans-Pritchard—that Foster's body had been moved and a White House cover-up had begun.

Why, then, are you very likely reading about this for the first time? Because when Perry and Patterson were subpoenaed to appear before Senator Alfonse D'Amato's Whitewater committee on February 16, 1996, they suddenly decided they didn't want to repeat that story under oath. D'Amato even apologized to Ms. Dickey for the pain and embarrassment his own credulousness on the subject had caused her. Within thirty-six hours, trooper Perry was regaling a shocked Pat Robertson and his 700 Club audience with the tale. There are, of course, no perjury penalties for what one says on an evangelical talk show.

It's the timing that's significant here. Because if such a phone call had, indeed, come from the White House on July 20, 1993—the day Foster died—then you'd think the troopers would have mentioned it to Brock and the others who reported the "Troopergate" stories five months later. But either they kept it to themselves, or the reporters did. Take your pick. Either way, it gives the troopers something of a credibility problem.

And it's through the same group of troopers that we know about Dan Lasater's intimate friendship with Bill Clinton—how he was constantly slipping in the back door of the Governor's Mansion. "Day and night, weekends, all day," one told Morris, "he just came when he wanted to." But Lasater recently testified under oath to the Senate Whitewater committee that he'd visited the Mansion exactly twice—both times on public occasions, one with Bob Hope. If D'Amato's Senate investigators knew differently, they kept it to themselves.

Like his pals, trooper L.D. Brown has been milking the Clinton presidency for all the attention he can get. He's turned himself into a kind of Arkansas Everyman, willing to confirm to reporters hostile to Clinton almost every aspect of "the Clinton Scandals." During one week in October 1994, Brown was quoted in the *Washington Times* confirming one of the convicted embezzler David Hale's accusations against President Clinton. Then apparently he took it all back. The result was that on one memorable day the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette* ran two stories side-by-side: "Arkansas Trooper Said He Saw Clinton Pressure Judge for Money," and "Trooper Denies Story on SBA Loan." If independent counsel Kenneth Starr thought L.D. Brown had any credibility, he'd presumably have used him to back up Hale's story about Clinton's "pressure" at last spring's trial. He didn't.

But there's an even more elementary problem with L.D. Brown's story about flying in Barry Seal's C-123 from Mena, Arkansas, to Managua, Nicaragua, and back on October 23, 1984. This trip provides the basis for Roger Morris's thunderous conclusion that Bill Clinton and Dan Lasater were involved in a CIA-sponsored cocaine-smuggling ring. Seal's airplane did in fact make a flight that day, one of the two days it left the ground that year—as Arkansas State Police files no doubt revealed to the troopers who looked into them. But it turns out Seal had a different passenger: a TV newsman, John Camp, of WBRZ in Baton Rouge, was making a film on Seal's activities as a smuggler-turned-DEA informant. This program was shown in November 1984. Camp, now a correspondent with CNN "Special Reports," had flown up from Baton Rouge with Seal before dawn that morning, spent the entire day with him, and returned with him to Louisiana late that night.

This will probably not discourage either L.D. Brown or Roger Morris from making up more stories; but the publishers, editors, and reporters who have been taking them seriously should be asking themselves why they have been had. □

—July 11, 1996

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

³A Supplemental Report on the Representation of Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan by the Rose Law Firm. Prepared for Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation by Pillsbury Madison & Sutro LLP, February 25, 1996, pp. 24–25.

U.N. force in Bosnia linked to smugglers

Foreign fighters run illegal trade

By Philip Smucker
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A1

BOSNIA

From page A1

BUGOJNO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — The United Nations is probing complaints that members of its police force in Bosnia are working with members of an Islamic crime group trafficking in guns, drugs and other contraband, U.N. Deputy Police Commissioner Robert Wasserman said.

U.S. and Bosnian officials suspect that high-ranking U.N. officers from Jordan based in the central Bosnian towns of Bugojno and Travnik have routinely provided U.N. vehicles to help smugglers get contraband past checkpoints.

The officers appear to have received money and the services of prostitutes from the smugglers, led by Islamic foreigners who entered Bosnia with U.S. approval to defend the Muslim government.

Bosnian police also are deeply involved in the smuggling ring, said a senior Bosnian police officer investigating the group.

"The issue of organized crime is not something the U.N.'s police task force is, itself, able to address, but we are very concerned about the involvement of our own people," said Mr. Wasserman, who served as chief of staff in the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy until early this year.

Mr. Wasserman, a former Boston and Houston policeman, said organized crime in Bosnia is a growing problem that will have to be tackled with the help of international law enforcement agencies, including the FBI.

He said the Bugojno-based contraband ring is part of a pattern of

see BOSNIA, page A14

crime with "replication and linkages" across Bosnia, but he expressed confidence that his investigation into the group will bear fruit within a month.

Other police officials are less confident.

Some U.S. officers said senior officials have not done enough to weed out the miscreants, leaving them in the awkward and dangerous position of snooping on their U.N. colleagues.

"These activities have been reported for four months, and we've been cross-checking information with Western intelligence agen-

cies," said Capt. Ron Stubblefield, a former Miami police officer who arrived in Bosnia in March.

"As far as I can see, the deputy commissioner in charge of the investigation basically ignores it."

Capt. Stubblefield said the smugglers gained an economic foothold in the country by dealing in arms and stolen vehicles and now are dealing drugs such as cocaine and marijuana.

He and others said the contraband operation is directed by two Jordanians who arrived as "freedom fighters" during the four-year Bosnian war.

The Bosnian police officer, who asked not to be identified, said these activities are facilitated by local law officials and at least two

Jordanian U.N. officers.

The U.N. officers have been seen meeting the contraband dealers at a casino and bar in Zenica called the Cafe Al Hayat, where young female escorts are brought to their table.

"The contraband that they are moving involves guns but mostly drugs from Croatia and the Croatian port of Split," the Bosnian police official said.

Both U.S. officials and Bosnian police suspect that U.N. vehicles, which are exempt from border searches, are used to transport contraband from Croatia through a black-market kingpin, Branko Saric, in the Bosnian town of Gornji Vakuf.

From there the goods move

through the Jordanian connection and an Iraqi mujahideen middleman to Zenica before finding their way to consumers in Sarajevo and other cities.

Several American police officers in central Bosnia have monitored the illegal use of U.N. vehicles and shadowy liaisons with former Islamic fighters.

"I think the foreign mujahideen is using the Jordanians for their benefit as the Jordanians are using them," Capt. Stubblefield said. "This is certainly not being done for the love of Allah."

Bosnian sources identified the U.N. officers' Iraqi contact as Abdullah Mektauf, a leading financier of the foreign Islamic fighters.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 9, 1996

Tucker may testify against Clintons

Said to be seeking
pre-sentence deal

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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Former Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker, who resigned after his conviction in the first Whitewater trial, could become an important player in independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr's investigation of the Clintons' ties to a failed Arkansas thrift.

Facing up to 10 years in prison and \$500,000 in fines from his May 28 conviction on two felony counts, Tucker was an attorney for and a borrower at Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association. He could offer testimony helpful to Mr. Starr's inquiry, sources close to the investigation said.

Madison was owned by the Clintons' former Whitewater Development Corp. business partners, James and Susan McDougal, both of whom were also convicted of fraud and conspiracy in the first Whitewater trial.

Since June, Tucker has been seeking a possible deal with Mr. Starr's office before his scheduled Aug. 19 sentencing, the sources

said. The former governor has publicly denied making any offer to testify against President Clinton or first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

But sources close to the investigation said Tucker could offer testimony on Gov. Bill Clinton's 1987 decision to call a special session of the Arkansas General Assembly to pass a law deregulating rates for utility companies — a law he had vetoed just days before.

The legislation had been proposed by Tucker and one of his business partners, R.D. Randolph, after their purchase — with a \$1.05 million Madison loan — of Castle Sewer & Water Corp., a utility located south of Little Rock.

Investigators want to know whether Mr. Clinton's sudden about-face had anything to do with a memo dated April 14, 1987. The

see TUCKER, page A14

TUCKER

From page A1

memo suggested that, if the veto stood, Mr. Randolph would expose questionable circumstances surrounding a 1985 Clinton fundraiser.

The memo, written by Clinton aide Nancy Hernreich, described an angry telephone call from Mr. Randolph saying he wanted Mr. Clinton to talk with Tucker about the veto. Mr. Randolph also reminded Mr. Clinton of "a meeting between you, Tucker and McDougal a couple of years ago which involved \$33,000. This was pretty cryptic. He seemed angry. Someone, I think he prefers you, needs to call Tucker," according to the memo.

Investigators say the comment about the \$33,000 refers to an April 1985 fund-raiser for Mr. Clinton hosted by McDougal in Little Rock. The event raised \$33,000 to retire the governor's campaign debts. Records show McDougal contributed \$3,000, Mr. Randolph gave \$2,000 and Tucker donated \$1,000.

The ex-governor, who left office July 15 after attempting to reverse his resignation decision, has not been available for comment. His attorney, George B. Collins, did not return calls to his Chicago office.

The sources said that Tucker, who is on the national liver registry because of continual health problems, might want to avoid a lengthy prison sentence as well as a trial in a second indictment on charges that he illegally obtained \$300,000 in Small Business Administration loans. If convicted in the second trial, which has not

been scheduled, Tucker could face an additional 12 years in prison.

Madison, whose failure cost taxpayers \$50 million, has been key to the Whitewater probe.

Resolution Trust Corp. investigators, in criminal referrals after their look into Madison's 1989 failure, said at least \$12,000 of the thrift's contributions were diverted from Madison's federally insured deposits. Investigators also say many contributors were promised reimbursements.

Ten days after Mr. Randolph's call to the governor's office, Tucker wrote a letter to Mr. Clinton expressing his concern about the veto. Three days later, on April 30, 1987, Tucker wrote to Jeffrey Stern, another Madison lawyer, saying Mr. Clinton had assured Mr. Randolph that "the veto was an error he will correct." Investigators suspect the revised bill was drafted in the governor's office.

The special legislative session occurred in June 1987, producing a revised bill that Mr. Clinton signed. That bill gave Castle Sewer & Water the right to operate without state regulation. It also eliminated a cap on the amount that the company could charge for services.

The sources also said Tucker may testify about a lawsuit he threatened to file unless the new legislation was passed and signed. That suit would have centered on the legitimacy of legal advice by Mrs. Clinton — a partner at Little Rock's Rose Law Firm — as one of Madison's lawyers. His testimony could directly challenge Mrs. Clinton's sworn statements to government regulators that she had little or nothing to do with Madison's legal representation.

Records show that Mrs. Clinton — hired by James McDougal in 1985 on a \$2,000-a-month retainer — advised Madison on the acquisition and development of the Castle Grande project, a Madison-financed real estate venture south of Little Rock. The project was tied to Castle Sewer & Water.

Mrs. Clinton's work included the preparation of legal documents for the sale of Castle Grande property and for a review of "dry" township laws that were threatening the construction of a planned brewery at the site.

After Mr. Clinton said he would call a special session to pass the new utilities law, Tucker and Mr. Randolph sought a meeting with the governor to discuss their concerns about Madison's failure to register with the State Public Services Commission (PSC) before it deeded utility property to Castle Sewer & Water. They were fearful that failure to do so had rendered the entire transaction invalid.

A May 19, 1987, memo to Mr. Clinton said Tucker threatened litigation unless the new legislation exempted Castle Sewer & Water from PSC regulations. A Clinton aide, Sam Brattan, wrote, "I assume the litigation would result because of the question of the validity of the mortgage." Madison's decision to forgo PSC regulations appears to have been based on advice from the Rose Law Firm.

Lawyers familiar with the Starr investigation said a successful challenge to the mortgage's validity could have led to a malpractice claim against the Rose firm. The claim would have exposed any work Mrs. Clinton performed for the thrift — work she has since claimed she didn't do.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 9, 1996

JOE CONASON

Unlimited Access: Quick, Get Molière

For me, the crowning moment of Gay Pride Sunday came when Gary Aldrich, author of *Unlimited Access: An F.B.I. Agent Inside the Clinton White House* told the whole world that the source for his book's ludicrous tale about Presidential trysts at the Marriott Hotel was David



Brock of *The American Spectator*—who happens to be openly gay. For a man as obsessively as Mr. Aldrich, it took courage to admit television that his informant was Mr. Brock. According to both men, they did lunch several times in recent months. Sounds like, doesn't it? Or at least it would if they were doing it. In any case, one can't help wondering exactly how the agent became acquainted with the *Spectator* writer. Regrettably, these days anyone can say anything and get it broadcasted. Some "confidential source" could mischievously this delightful pair realized how much they had in common, a corrosive hatred of the Clintons—not over sandwiching a tête-à-tête on the P Street Beach or over a nightcap at a place saloon, where members of Washington's same-sex society make new friends.

Of course, no one could truly suspect that the bond between Aldrich and Mr. Brock was anything more than the mutual character assassins. A colleague gutsy enough to bash Clinton, as Mr. Aldrich does, was bound to win Mr. Brock's admiration. In his memoir, the uptight F.B.I. agent repeatedly contempt for the horde of gays he imagined was inhabiting the White House.

Yet the book contains certain rather unsettling passages, as when Mr. Aldrich mocks the "pear-shaped, bowling pin men" waddling in and out of the Oval Office, while proclaiming his own affinity for "athletic types, physically fit persons who took pride in body image and good health." A similar esthetic was quite evident among the exceptionally buff marchers in New York's Gay Pride parade, where the pear-shaped wisely made themselves scarce.

At another point, Mr. Aldrich fumes about gay Clintonites "flaunting rather than hiding" their sexual preference, a brand of bold self-expression that naturally affronted the sensibilities of a 30-year F.B.I. veteran who was more accustomed to the discretion of J. Edgar Hoover and Clyde Tolson. In such matters Mr. Aldrich is by training a Hoover Republican, although his televised acknowledgment of Mr. Brock's assistance might still qualify him for honorary membership in the courageous Log Cabin Republican club.

Unfortunately, Mr. Brock and Mr. Aldrich have had a little spat



BILL CLINTON

over who said what to whom. According to Mr. Brock, the Marriott fantasy was just a bit of fourth-hand gossip picked up and repeated in print by Mr. Aldrich without further confirmation. Queried about their quarrel on *This Week With David Brinkley*, Mr. Aldrich sounded hurt and confused. Let's hope they patch things up. Maybe the Bob Dole operatives behind this propaganda exercise can help.

Meanwhile, there's additional amusement in the circumstances under which Mr. Aldrich's book is achieving best-seller status. Until Mr. Brock poked an inglorious hole in *Unlimited Access*, its bad-porn version of life in the White House was being eagerly promoted by editors and producers who regurgitate any slur against the Clintons, no matter how absurd or poorly sourced. Mr. Aldrich's "revelations" have pro-

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Someone gutsy enough to bash Alsea Clinton, Gary Aldrich does, was bound to win David Brock's admiration, at least initially.

sure in the Reagan Justice, now president of the, was appointed in 1983 as director of the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention. He received a salary of \$734,000 on the basis of his work on the House and Hustler by a court of an antipornography. Around the same time, a law suit was set up with a

utes of America vs. Sex, a crusade against smut in 1985, when Penthouse was earlier, while Mr. Madison, Wisc., the poem complaint apparently in the bedroom, the and catalogues for sex

toys, and, according to the police report, "a book with numerous color photos of various sexual gratification [sic]," printed in German.

In May 1986, only weeks before Murray Waas published an article in *The New Republic* detailing these and other embarrassing facts, Mr. Regnery resigned. Eventually, he returned to the family firm—where, it is now clear, he has found other ways to get his kicks.

Question Time

Did *Unlimited Access* have an uncredited ghostwriter?

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Copies sent to
Ann Lewis
Stephanopoulos
Baer
McCurry

To Kulevich / GS / Mason / T. G. The President
New York Observer
8-15 July 1986

JOE CONASON

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For me, the crowning moment of Gay Pride Sunday came when Gary Aldrich, author of *Unlimited Access: An F.B.I. Agent Inside the Clinton White House* told the whole world that the source for his book's ludicrous tale about Presidential trysts at the Marriott Hotel was David



Brock of *The American Spectator*—who happens to be openly gay. For a man as obsessively homophobic as Mr. Aldrich, it took courage to admit on national television that his informant was Mr. Brock.

According to both men, they did lunch together several times in recent months. Sounds kind of intimate, doesn't it? Or at least it would if they were doing the reporting. In any case, one can't help wondering exactly how the retired F.B.I. agent became acquainted with the *Spectator* writer. Regardless of the truth, these days anyone can say anything and get it broadcast somewhere. Some "confidential source" could mischievously suggest that this delightful pair realized how much they had in common—namely, a corrosive hatred of the Clintons—not over sandwiches, but during a tête-à-tête on the P Street Beach or over a nightcap at the Fireplace saloon, where members of Washington's same-sex community make new friends.

Of course, no one could truly suspect that the bond between Mr. Aldrich and Mr. Brock was anything more than the mutual respect of character assassins. A colleague gutsy enough to bash Chelsea Clinton, as Mr. Aldrich does, was bound to win Mr. Brock's admiration. Besides, Mr. Aldrich has taken pains to make sure everyone knows he's no sissy. In his memoir, the uptight F.B.I. agent repeatedly avows his contempt for the horde of gays he imagined was inhabiting Bill Clinton's White House.

Yet the book contains certain rather unsettling passages, as when Mr. Aldrich mocks the "pear-shaped, bowling pin men" waddling in and out of the Oval Office, while proclaiming his own affinity for "athletic types, physically fit persons who took pride in body image and good health." A similar esthetic was quite evident among the exceptionally buff marchers in New York's Gay Pride parade, where the pear-shaped wisely made themselves scarce.

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BILL CLINTON

over who said what to whom. According to Mr. Brock, the Marriott fantasy was just a bit of fourth-hand gossip picked up and repeated in print by Mr. Aldrich without further confirmation. Queried about their quarrel on *This Week With David Brinkley*, Mr. Aldrich sounded hurt and confused. Let's hope they patch things up. Maybe the Bob Dole operatives behind this propaganda exercise can help.

Meanwhile, there's additional amusement in the circumstances under which Mr. Aldrich's book is achieving best-seller status. Until Mr. Brock poked an inglorious hole in *Unlimited Access*, its bad-porn version of life in the White House was being eagerly promoted by editors and producers who regurgitate any slur against the Clintons, no matter how absurd or poorly sourced. Mr. Aldrich's "revelations" have provided still another occasion for speculating and pontificating by people whose own personal behavior behooves them to shut up. Here, amid the leering, multiply divorced coterie that serves up the "news," is hypocrisy that demands the likes of a Twain or Molière.

But let's be specific. This affair's most comical figure by far is ensconced in the Washington offices of Regnery Publishing, the company churning out copies of *Unlimited Access* and publicity about "pornographic ornaments" on the White House Christmas tree. While memories tend to be short in the news business, somebody must recall Alfred Regnery's tumultuous tenure in the Reagan Justice Department. The high-minded Mr. Regnery, now president of the publishing house founded by his late father Henry, was appointed in 1983 to head the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. His most notable act in that post was the expenditure of \$734,000 on an analysis of the cartoons in *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and *Hustler* by a former songwriter for Captain Kangaroo, as part of an antipornography campaign by then-Attorney General Edwin Meese. Around the same time, a Presidential commission on pornography was set up with a grant of \$125,000 from Mr. Regnery's budget.

As colorfully recounted in the book *United States of America vs. Sex*, by Philip Nobile and Eric Nadler, Mr. Regnery's crusade against smut was proceeding brilliantly until December 1985, when *Penthouse* published an unflattering profile of him. Ten years earlier, while Mr. Regnery was running for district attorney in Madison, Wisc., the police searched his home while investigating a rape complaint apparently fabricated by his wife as a publicity stunt. In the Regnery bedroom, the cops uncovered "a stash of hard-core magazines and catalogues for sex toys," and, according to the police report, "a book with numerous color photos of various sexual gratification [sic]," printed in German.

In May 1986, only weeks before Murray Waas published an article in *The New Republic* detailing these and other embarrassing facts, Mr. Regnery resigned. Eventually, he returned to the family firm—where, it is now clear, he has found other ways to get his kicks.

Question Time

Did *Unlimited Access* have an uncredited ghostwriter?

Someone gutsy
enough to bash
Chelsea Clinton,
as Gary Aldrich
does, was
bound to win
David Brock's
admiration, at
least initially.

Duplicate —

included in

9/21 701 Report

Files



TO: : The President
: The Vice President
CC: Gen. Panetta
Ron K. Levin
96 SEP 24 P 6: 06

received 9/17/96

To: Joan Reiss
California Ancient Forest Alliance

From: The Mellman Group, Inc.

Date: September 5, 1996

Re: California Attitudes Toward Canceling Sensitive Timber Sales

This memorandum is based on a survey of 600 likely general election voters in California. Telephonic interviewing was conducted from August 22-25, 1996. The statistical margin of error for the sample as a whole is plus or minus 4.0 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. The margin of error for subgroups is larger.

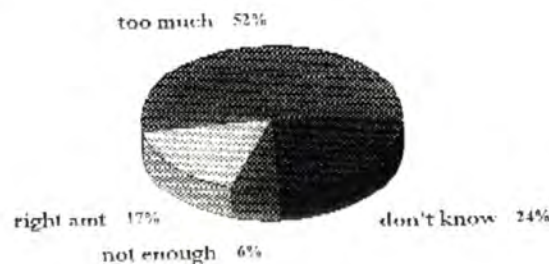
The results of our recently completed survey show that Californians strongly support President Clinton canceling the 28 most ecologically harmful timber sales out of the more than 300 now scheduled. Not only do voters in California want to see our old growth forests protected, the issue is politically potent, and could mean real votes.

Californians Are Concerned About Our Old Growth Forests

Over half (52%) of the electorate believes we are cutting too many trees from California's old growth forests. Only 17%

Californian's Think We Are Cutting Too Many Trees From Our Old Growth Forests

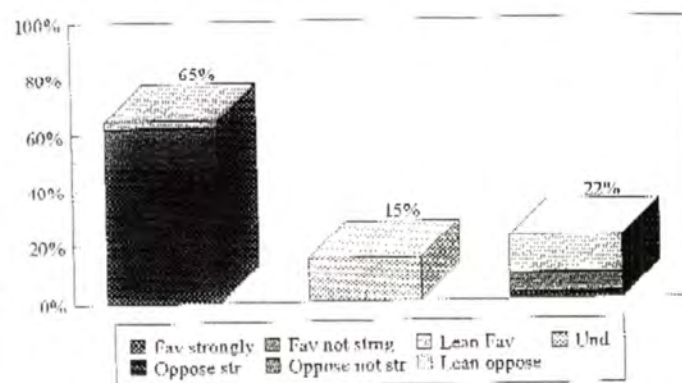
Do you think we are cutting too many trees from California's ancient, old growth forest, the right amount of trees, or not enough trees from our old growth forests?



think we are cutting the right amount of trees, and a mere 6% say we are not cutting enough. Younger women (67% too much), college educated women (63%), Democrats (63%), and people from Los Angeles (59%), and the Bay area (57%) are the most inclined to feel too many trees are being cut. Even among Republicans, 42% say we are cutting too many trees.

Support For Canceling The Worst Timber Sales Is Widespread

Two-Thirds Favor Having The President Cancel The 28 Worst Timber Sales



Californians overwhelmingly support cancellation of the worst 28 timber sales in California's national forests. About two-thirds (65%) say they favor canceling the sales, with almost half (47%) saying they strongly favor President Clinton canceling these sales. Only 22% oppose cancellation, with 13% stating their opinion strongly. Three-quarters (76%) of Clinton voters favor the President canceling the sales, along with college graduates (68% favor), residents of the Bay Area (74%), and weak Democrats (81%). Forty-seven percent (47%) of undecided Presidential voters favor canceling

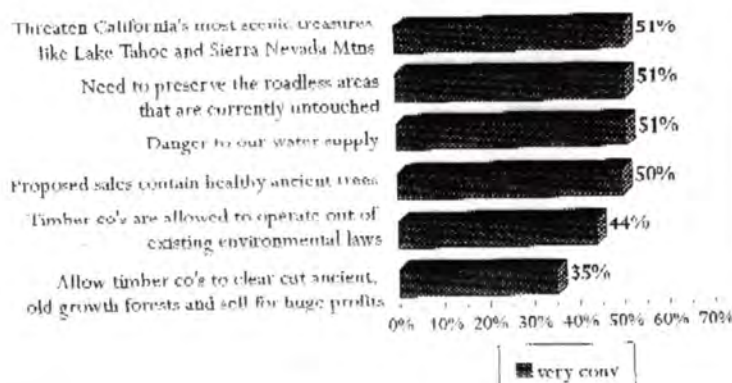
the sales while 23% oppose cancellation. Among Dole voters, 48% favor cancellation, whereas 34% oppose such an approach. Republican men (34% oppose) and Republicans in general (31%) oppose cancellation of the sales more than the total population. But even in these groups, more people want to cancel the sales than oppose cancellation.

There Is A Compelling Rationale For Canceling These Timber Sales

Californians find the arguments against the sales quite compelling. Of the six arguments we tested, four were found to be very convincing reasons to cancel the sales by half the California electorate.

Threats to our drinking water supply, and preserving California's natural wonders like Lake Tahoe and the Sierra Nevada Mountains, are the most convincing arguments to support cancellation of the sales. Half of voters (51%) said that each of these reasons were "very" convincing.

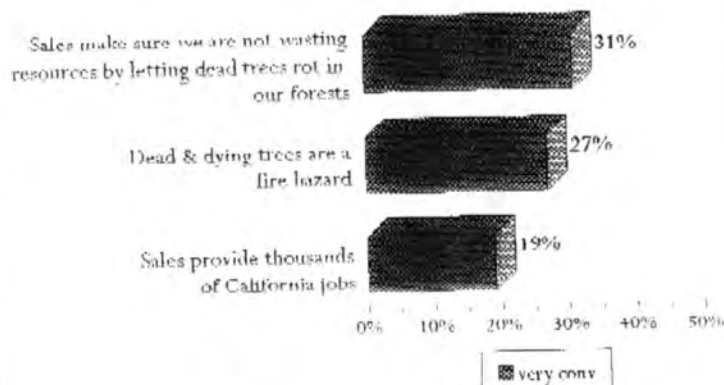
Californians Find Threats To Our Natural Treasures, Pristine Areas, And Drinking Water Very Convincing Reasons To Support President Clinton Cancelling The Worst Timber Sales



The reasons to oppose the cancellation of the timber sales were not nearly as compelling to Californians. Fewer than one-third (31%) found the argument that these sales make sure we

are not wasting precious resources by letting dead trees rot in our forests to be a very convincing reason to oppose canceling the sales. The argument that dead and dying trees are a fire hazard was even less persuasive (27% saying "very" convincing), and the jobs argument does worst, with only 19% saying it is "very" convincing.

Californians Are Not Compelled By The Arguments Against Canceling The Timber Sales

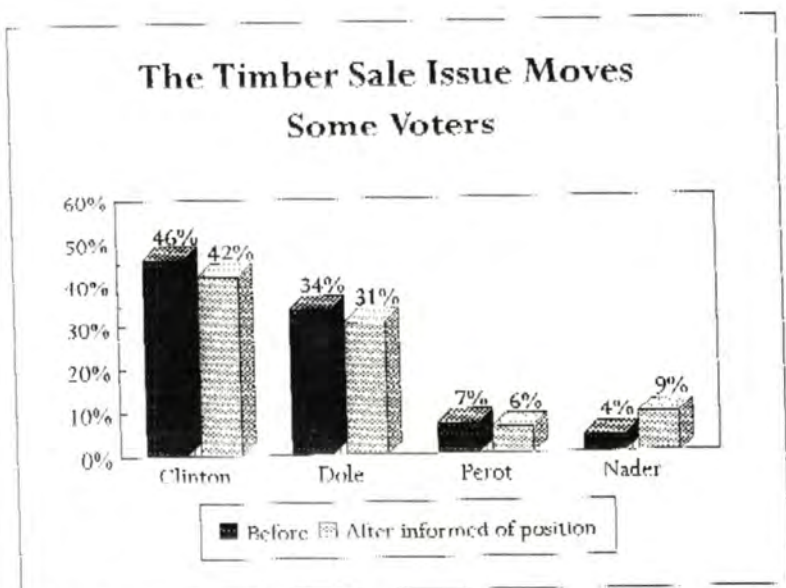


While This Issue Is Unlikely To Affect The Outcome Of The Presidential Race, It Could Reduce Support For Both Clinton And Dole

President Clinton remains a fairly popular political figure in California. Over half (52%) have a favorable opinion of the President, with 39% giving him an unfavorable rating. He is the only political figure we tested whose favorable rating is higher than his unfavorable rating. Bob Dole receives favorable ratings from 42%, but unfavorables from 44%; Ross Perot is rated favorably by 21%, and unfavorably by 61%. Ralph Nader, the only candidate who has supported the cancellation of the timber sales, is also not in good standing with the electorate, as his favorables (31%) are lower than his unfavorables (36%).

In our four-way Presidential match-up, Clinton maintains a double-digit lead over Dole.¹ The President garners 46% of the vote, with Dole receiving 34%, Perot 7% and Nader 4%.

The issue of canceling the timber sales, does move some voters. After respondents are told that Clinton and Dole are against canceling the sales, and Nader supports the idea, Nader gains 5 percentage points, taken equally from Clinton and Dole. College educated women (12%), and younger voters (11%) are more likely to shift to vote for Nader after hearing his position on the timber sale issue. However these groups are still solid bases for Clinton (college women 45%, younger voters 44%).



There is however, a constituency of "single issue" voters who would consider voting against a candidate with whom they disagreed on this issue. About one-quarter (23%) of voters say they would be inclined to vote against a candidate they agreed with on most issues if they disagreed with that candidate on the timber sales issue. Democrats (29%), Clinton voters (29%), residents of San Diego (29%), and the Coast Valley (29%) are among those groups who would be more inclined to cast their vote against a candidate who disagreed with their position on the timber sale issue.

¹After the Republican convention, but before the Democratic convention.

The California environmental community has widespread public support behind their efforts to encourage President Clinton to cancel the 28 most ecologically harmful timber sales. Voters overwhelmingly favor this action, especially Clinton's core supporters.

5/24/48

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

In 1948 personal tax
exemptions averaged over
48% of family income.

Today, it averages a
little over 11%.

If it had been indexed
to inflation ^{b2:38} it would be
\$8,600 per child instead of
\$2,450. O'Connell

94 FEB 2 P5:39

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2.2.94

DB Bruce Reed
Ex - G.C. Campy

Note on 10/24 fall

10/21/93

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Summary:

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- ② contact on Chin Pin
and in GS-
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at person

- ③ No Chin but
to send Brady

④ what vs testimony

175502

TR001

C O P Y
from ORM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 26, 1996

Ms. Kelly McMahon
Trippi, McMahon, and Squier
Suite 350
1029 North Royal Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Kelly:

Thank you so much for your help during
my trip to Georgetown University.

I know how much work it takes to
coordinate a Presidential visit, and I
appreciate all you did to ensure that this
one went smoothly.

I send my best wishes.

Sincerely,

^A
BILL CLINTON

960709

Letter sent to all on attached list.

for E. House

(3)

^D ~~6/4/96~~ 6/26/96

OB

2~

Dear 1~:

Thank you so much for your help during my trip to Georgetown University.

I know how much work it takes to coordinate a Presidential visit, and I appreciate all you did to ensure that this one went smoothly.

I send my best wishes.

Sincerely,

BC/ADVANCE/emu (6TRIP)
(geovip.pf)

cc: Advance Office

AMS

Dear Kelly:

Ms. Kelly McMahon
Trippi, McMahon, and Squier
Suite 350
1029 North Royal Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Gloria:

Ms. Gloria M. Lacap
Manager, Events and Information
Georgetown University
Office of Communications
Healy Hall
37th and O Streets, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20057

Dear Sandra:

Ms. Sandra Hvidsten
Executive Director
Georgetown University
Office of Communications
Healy Hall
37th and O Streets, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20057

8/23/96

JOE CONASON

Deadbeat Dad Dole's Real Family Values

If voters trust Bob Dole more than Bill Clinton, maybe it's because they haven't become acquainted yet with the first Mrs. Dole. Not the budding talk-show hostess, glamorous charity mogul and millionaire investor Elizabeth, his second wife, but the decidedly less slick Phyllis Holden Dole Masey, who has remarried since her abrupt divorce from the Senator in 1972. For Mr. Dole and others who consider "character" a virtue to which he has exclusive claim, it is fortunate that so few Americans have ever heard of the woman he left behind in Kansas.



In its struggle to woo the moderate suburban women who have been deserting the Republican Party, the Dole campaign has lately taken pains to portray its candidate as an advocate of female empowerment (despite his history of hostility to abortion rights). The Susan Molinari gambit was only the most publicized aspect of a public relations effort that has included photo ops with female entrepreneurs and articles extolling the high-profile women on Mr. Dole's staff.

But all of this pseudofeminist spin may ring hollow to women who have read Gail Sheehy's profile of Bob and Liddy Dole in the September issue of *Vanity Fair*, especially the part about his first marriage. Given the current climate of political moralizing, this is more than gossip. It is an exposé of hypocrisy in the slick, unrelenting attack on the Clinton family that has been carried out in the name of family values, and it is an object lesson about the slippery nature of the character issue as a campaign device.

According to Ms. Sheehy, the taciturn Senator ended his 23-year union in December 1970 with Phyllis Dole, who had devoted herself to his recovery from his war wounds, by coming up from the basement of their Kansas City residence to announce: "I want out." The "traumatized" Phyllis, who was wondering what had gone wrong with their once happy marriage and why Bob only showed up for dinner with her and their daughter Robin on Christmas and Easter, told Ms. Sheehy that she "had no clue."

Up to this point, the story is familiar if not well known. But the *Vanity Fair* reporter discovered a suggestive clue that until now seems to have eluded not only Phyllis but every other journalist who has covered Mr. Dole. Apparently there was another woman, in the traditional sense: a "glamorous" blonde model and stewardess decked out in fur, who soon showed up on the pay-



BOB DOLE

roll of Mr. Dole's Kansas City office. Perhaps it is needless to add that although she was being paid a nice salary, she couldn't type.

The other women in the office were surprised by the arrival of this person, whose name was Phyllis Wells but who somehow became known as "Sam" in order to avoid confusion. "We never really knew what she did, but she had a confidence about her that none of the rest of us had," a former Dole staff member named Ana Riojas told Ms. Sheehy. At some point, the source of her confidence became more obvious. Evidently she was sleeping with the boss, who would stay over at the blonde divorcee's home. (What effect this nonfamily liaison had on her teenaged son is not explored in Ms. Sheehy's account.)

At this point, we hear from David Owen, a former Dole aide: "She was his girlfriend before he hired her. She was just absolutely gorgeous, and much younger. There's no question that he was seeing her prior to being divorced." The actual divorce was not made final until more than a year after the Senator announced that he wanted out, and was handled in an unusual manner. Under Kansas law, a judge could grant an "emergency divorce," setting aside the normal 60-day waiting period on grounds of stress and publicity. For the Senator, this was an easy favor to arrange.

As Ms. Sheehy tells it, Phyllis Dole was "summoned to the office of Judge Adrian Allen" for that purpose on Jan. 11, 1972, when she found the bleak terms of her future had already been decided. "It was like a snap of the finger," she recalled. In addition to her furniture—he took the house—she would be getting meager alimony and, incredibly, no child support. (How does Deadbeat Dad Dole sound?) Having left her career as an occupational therapist many years earlier, Phyllis Dole suddenly had to fend for herself and her 17-year-old daughter. "I survived. I had to get a job and go off and leave Robin and move to Topeka." Tough love, indeed.

Meanwhile, the Senator, who by then was serving as chairman of the Republican National Committee, was escorting his new trophy around on the pro-family circuit, including the inaugural ball celebrating Richard Nixon's second term in 1973. According to Phyllis Dole, that didn't leave much time for Robin in her dad's busy schedule. The ex-wife told Ms. Sheehy that she couldn't remember any conversations with Bob Dole about their daughter's welfare after the quickie divorce became final.

Whatever Bill Clinton may have done in his 20 years of marriage to Hillary Rodham, he didn't dump her for a younger stewardess, and by all accounts he has a warm, strong relationship with his daughter. If we are to judge a politician by his personal relationships, isn't greater character displayed by overcoming marital problems and keeping a family together? Or is that too archaic a standard by which to judge old-fashioned Bob Dole?

Maybe we should ask Jerry Falwell or Ralph Reed.

The glamorous blonde showed up on still-married Bob Dole's payroll, and, no, she couldn't type.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Barker to GS