Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Erskine Bowles to POTUS re: Gov. Gaston Caperton [partial] (1 page)	11/23/1994	b(6)
002. form	re: [Performance Review] (3 pages)	11/00/1994	b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 4891

FOLDER TITLE:
November 20-26, 1994 [1]

2018-0662-S
rs3111

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]
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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.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 11/25/94

NOTE FOR: DeeDee:

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you for your:

Information ☐

Action ☒X

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

November 22, 1994

94 NOV 22 P3:10

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SUE SMITH SXS
Director of Agency Liaison

THROUGH: JAMES DORSKIND JHD
Special Assistant to the President
Director of Correspondence and
Presidential Messages

SUBJECT: SELECTED CASEWORK

put in local paper

1. Anna Benedick of Ohio: "SENIOR WRITES, 'DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,' GETS ACTION," headlined the September newsletter of Four Score, published by the Area Office on Aging of Northwestern Ohio. Mrs. Benedick, a 78-year-old widow, lives on an annual Social Security income of $8,000. Confronted with rising costs of supplemental health insurance, she was hopeful about health care reform. "What I would like to know if I will be able to get a little help when that insuance passed." [sic]

Helen Stefanopoulos of this office contacted the Area Office on Aging of Northwestern Ohio. Mrs. Benedick was provided counseling on supplemental insurance, assisted in applying for a federal program to pay heating costs, and put in contact with a Senior Center home repair program for making much needed repairs to her home.

The newsletter reports that Mrs. Benedick was "very surprised and very excited to know the President had received her letter. She wrote and . . . asked for information and received a great deal more."

I am enclosing copies of the newsletter and Mrs. Benedick's letter, with a suggested response.

2. Agnes R. Rochford of New York: Mrs. Rochford wrote to you asking for help on behalf of her husband Martin, a 76-year-old veteran of World War II. He "served in the European Theater and his war record was impressive . . . . He now . . . desires to have the campaign medals he earned."

After writing over a two-year period to her Representative, the Department of Defense, and Disabled American Veterans with no success, Mrs. Rochford turned to you. "This time I've gone all the way to the top. Would you please direct my request . . . ?"

We referred Mrs. Rochford's request for the two Purple Hearts to our contact at the Department of Defense. After review of her husband's military records, the Department of the Army confirmed that he had earned a Purple Heart with Oak Leaf Cluster and five other medals.

Mr. Rochford received his medals on September 27. Mrs. Rochford expressed her gratitude for "the expediency with which the medals were dispatched once your staff was involved. Thank you very much. An old Vet is very grateful."

Attached are Mrs. Rochford's initial letter, her thank you letter, and a suggested letter to Mr. Rochford.

3. Joy E. Librizzi Bonvino of New York: Fighting for the survival of her six-year-old son, Philip, Mrs. Bonvino turned to you for assistance. "I am writing to you today because I know that both you and Mrs. Clinton have dedicated yourselves to addressing the needs of people such as my son and myself." Philip was born with a rare disease, Nemaline Myopathy, and although mentally alert, he is physically reliant on life support.

Philip was scheduled for specialized surgery to relieve a lung ailment in mid-October in Boston when Mrs. Bonvino learned that Medicaid did not cover out-of-state transportation. The Bonvinos could not afford the cost of an ambulance or medical aircraft.

Helen Stefanopoulos contacted the Medicaid Bureau at the Health Care Financing Administration. HCFA officials, in turn, worked with local organizations in New York to provide the medical transportation for Philip and his mother.

The surgery went well, and Philip is home. Helen spoke to both parents, and a tearful Mrs. Bonvino said, "Thank the President for me. I had hit all of my resources and was at the end of my rope by the time I wrote."

I am attaching Mrs. Bonvino's letter, a suggested response to Mrs. Bonvino, and a photo for Philip.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 22, 1994

Mrs. Anna Benedick
209 Burger Street
Toledo, Ohio 43605

Dear Mrs. Benedick:

Thank you for your letter. I am pleased that the Area Agency on Aging was so helpful.

I understand your concerns about rising health care costs, and I want you to know that I remain committed to ensuring affordable health care for all Americans. I hope I can count on your support.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Area Office on Aging of Northwestern Ohio, Inc.

Executive Administrative Office Building
2155 Arlington Avenue
Toledo, Ohio 43609-1997
(419) 382-0624

September 7, 1994

Ms. Jennifer McCarthy, Director
Office of Agency Liaison
Room 6 OEOB
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. McCarthy:

We appreciated receiving President Clinton's request for Presidential case work and are please to report on our results.

Mrs. Billie Johnson, our Executive Director, received the Presidential request and asked that we respond to a letter written by Mrs. Anna Benedick, a senior citizen residing in Toledo, Ohio, who inquired about Health Care Reform and how it would help her situation.

When we met with Mrs. Benedick she was very surprised and very excited to know the President had received her letter. While we were unable to resolve her concerns about the cost of her health care co-insurance, we are pleased to report we did share information with her regarding Governor Voinovich's Ohio Senior Health Insurance Program (OSHIIP), and begin her application for the Home Energy Assistance Program (HEAP). We were also able to get her a discounted price on her home repairs she has needed through the East Toledo Senior Center.

Enclosed is a copy of the Area Office on Aging <u>Four Score</u> Newsletter featuring a story on Mrs. Benedick's letter to the President and her picture.

Please let me know if we can be of assistance in the future. We are delighted to help!

Sincerely,

Carol Pack

Carol Pack, Director
Community-Based Long-Term Care
Area Office on Aging of Northwest Ohio, Inc.

303250

April 4 - 93

Dear Mr. President ~~Clinton~~ :

I am trying to write this letter so you could understand because its hard for me to write a letter, because I did not have very good education I graduated from 8th grad than I had to to work it was Depression time, I come from a family seven Children.

Now I live alone I am a 78 yrs old Widow my Husband is Dead now for 14 yrs.

What I would like to know if I will be able to get a little Help when that Insurance passed, I worked for 26 yrs. at the Eletric Auto Lite Plant and they moved and Closed the plant And I was not old enough to Retire, so I get no benefits all I even Have to pay my own Health Insurance

Blue Cross & Blue Shield, I pay $206.00
Every 2 months they have been Raising
it every year, My Social Security is
$8,000 a yr. so if I take $400 for
my Insurance & Medication $100 Every
two month I can hardly make
so maybe I will be able for Help
Maybe you will answer this letter please

Thank You

Anna Benedick
209 Burger St.
Toledo, Ohio
43605

Four Score

August/ September 1994

The Newsletter of the Area Office on Aging of Northwestern Ohio, Inc.

PSA 4

Serving Defiance, Erie, Fulton, Henry, Lucas, Ottawa, Paulding, Sandusky, Williams & Wood Counties

INSIDE:

Henry County ______ 3
Special Aging Committee ______ 4
Signing Over Your House ______ 6
Out of Danger ______ 8

plus Social Security, Medical Topics, news on prescription drugs and more, more, more.

Remember that August is designated as National Catfish Month. . .

. . .and September is National Sign-up-for-a-Library Card Month!

Anna Benedick at East Toledo Senior Center with Dave Smith, Nancy Gernheuser

Senior Writes, "Dear Mr. President," Gets Action

Everyone has an opinion about public issues, but it's the rare person who actually puts pen to paper and writes to the person at the top. In the case of Anna Benedick, it was the constantly rising cost of health care that prompted the letter she wrote directly to President Bill Clinton. A 26-year veteran of the Toledo Auto-Lite company, Mrs. Benedick was too young for retirement when the plant closed. Her husband, who died 14 years ago, also lost his Auto-Lite job, leaving her with a small pension and no benefits. Her only choice was to buy her own medical supplement insurance. In a scenario that's familiar to many seniors, single-income living had become a necessity.

These were the facts she outlined for President Clinton, asking "Will I be able to get a little help [through the health-care reform bill]?" Then she went on with her life. As she explains, "I was mad every time I wrote out that check for the medical — so maybe I wrote the letter then. But after the check is in the mailbox, I forget about it."

All the more surprising, then, to receive a reply from the Executive Office of the President. However, the reply initially came to the Area Office on Aging. Director Billie Johnson received a copy of Mrs. Benedick's original letter, with a request for handling and for follow-up with the Washington office. From here, the Area Office on Aging's In-Home Services program director Carol Pack takes up the story.

"We were thrilled — and honored as well — when Mrs. Johnson notified us that not only had President Clinton's office sent us the information about Mrs. Benedick with a request that we contact her, but that

(continued on page 10)

Pets Available

Starting October 1, the Purina *Pets for People Program* will be gearing up once more. This program offers adoption of pets through local humane organizations at a special reduced fee. Participants go through the normal screening procedures of their local humane organization and are asked to attend a short orientation session that outlines the responsibilities and benefits of pet ownership. If the participant passes screening, he or she may choose a dog or cat from those available at the shelter. *Pets for People* is administered by local participating humane organizations and funded by the Ralston Purina Company.

The Toledo Humane Society has participated in this program before and is likely to do so again in October. For more information, call the society at 419/891-0705. Information on other participating shelters may be obtained by calling 1-800/345-5678.

TARTA BUS PASS

TARTA's bus pass for seniors and persons with disabilities makes it easy to travel around the Toledo area. By purchasing a reduced fare pass for $4.50 (price includes cost of transfers, you don't have to worry about having change. Qualified passengers can use the convenient 10-ride punch pass on any TARTA route. Call 243-7433 to find out where you can buy one.

LETTER (continued from page 1)

they wanted to hear back from us. Mrs. Benedick had not included her telephone number on the letter, so we wrote to her and outlined why we were contacting her. When she called back and agreed to meet with us, I went out to her house with Emilie Owens, an In-Home Services case manager.

"We knew from her letter that she was concerned about the high cost of health insurance, so we brought along information about Governor Voinovich's OSHIIP [Ohio Senior Health Insurance Information Program]. This is a program through the Ohio Dept. of Insurance that compares all the different Medicare supplemental insurances, and even gives prices. Although she didn't want to change her insurance coverage, we did determine that she was eligible for HEAP [Home Energy Assistance Program, available to seniors with modest incomes to help pay winter heating bills]. Also, she was interested in getting her front porch repaired, so we talked with her about getting help from the East Toledo Senior Center home repair program, which was able to get her a good price for this service."

Though Mrs. Benedick was initially reluctant to ask for this assistance, East Toledo Senior Center staffers Dave Smith and Nancy Gernheuser convinced her that it was help she was entitled to receive.

Even before she received the help, Mrs. Benedick had nothing but good words for the senior center, which she regularly attends. The dances, out-of-town excursions and other activities win her praise and her participation.

President Clinton's office will soon be receiving its report on the excellent rapport and progress that began when a senior asked for information and received a great deal more.

*Remember – you don't have to get a letter from the President to receive assistance from the In-Home Services program. The Area Office on Aging prides itself on being responsive to **all** seniors, no matter where the referral originates. The number for information is 419/382-0624.*

More on In-Home Services — see page 11

Clinton Presidential Records
Digital Records Marker

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This marker identifies the place of a publication.

Publications have not been scanned in their entirety for the purpose of digitization. To see the full publication please search online or visit the Clinton Presidential Library's Research Room.

Four Score

August/
September
1994

The Newsletter of the Area Office on Aging of Northwestern Ohio, Inc.
PSA 4

Serving Defiance, Erie, Fulton, Henry, Lucas, Ottawa, Paulding, Sandusky, Williams & Wood Counties

INSIDE:

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(continued on page 10)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 11/25/94

NOTE FOR: Erskine Bowles

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you for your:

Information ☐

Action ☒

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

Marcia Hale
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11/25/94

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

"Try To Work this out"

MEMORANDUM FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON

FROM: **ERSKINE BOWLES**

SUBJECT: **GOV. GASTON CAPERTON**

DATE: **NOVEMBER 23, 1994**

I had a long talk with an old friend and classmate of mine who is now the Governor of West Virginia, Gaston Caperton. You could not have a more devoted supporter than Gaston. Gaston reminded me of the numerous positive changes he made during the first two years of his governorship. The result of these changes gave him the lowest approval rating of any governor in memory at that time. However, two years later, he was re-elected, carrying 49 of the 50 counties in West Virginia. I think you can easily see his message to you.

As you know, Gaston is not a complainer. I had to make an effort to draw out his concerns. Gaston used the following example of the problems a governor has dealing with this Administration. [redacted] (b)(6)

An example Gaston used is that West Virginia has been working hard to attract a pulp plant to the state. That pulp plant operates at over ten times the EPA minimum standards for cleanliness. Gaston says that this plant will create 800 hard-earned jobs for West Virginia and this fellow [redacted] is going to screw it up. He went on to say that as another example, Senator Byrd has fought hard to create a new lake in West Virginia that will provide badly needed recreation facilities for West Virginia's citizens. This guy is going to screw this up, too. Gaston stressed that nobody believes more in environmental purity than he does; the EPA guy simply just doesn't understand his job.

Gaston concluded by reminding me that I asked him; he is truly not a complainer. I simply thought this was an example that you might want to hear. I am going to follow up with Carol Browner to hear the other side of the story.

cc NH

OR/ mm

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1994

Joe Purvis
3001 Ozark Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72205

Dear Joe:

Thanks for the great card you sent and for your note. I appreciate, too, your interesting perspective on the recent mid-term elections.

Your idea about Little Joe and the B.K.'s is a good one, and I hope we'll be able to do something like it. I could use it! Thanks, too, for suggesting that I stop by Gibbs Magnet School when I'm home next.

I hope you have a great Thanksgiving. Give Susan my best.

Sincerely,

Bill

Could invite more Arkansans to such a "gig."

again

November 15, 1994

Dear Mr. President

Well, the elections are over & there isn't much to say apart from the fact that Arkansas voted right for the most part. I'm very proud of you for taking the fight to them on the campaign trail. You said things that needed to be said. I do think it will be interesting holding them to their Contract on America. There are a number of deficit raisers that you'll have to veto but getting line item veto power will help.

There is no question but that the Nazis will try to make you irrelevant, so I think it's imperative to take the lead on welfare reform & some other matters. Remember "faint heart never fucked a bobcat." You must seize & make full use of the "bully pulpit" for the next ~~four~~ two years & remain "our leader" in the nation's eye.

The other thing that has occurred to us is the realization of how damn cold & long this winter will be. Martha Miller Harriman, Kay Fowler & Debby Arrivette

(2) have all thought that come January or February, you're gonna need a weekend of playing cutthroat hearts, followed by a dose of Arkansas 60's Rock & Roll with a little C&W thrown in. That's right, you need to simply invite Little Joe & the BK's to play on a Saturday night. Since we charge nothing to come, & since we've all got sleeping bags & are willing to double up on rooms, I figure we can bivouac on the 3rd floor on Saturday night. What's more, you could get in a couple of wicked hearts games with Martha & Morrell on Saturday & play for a one hellacious dance Saturday night. All we'd cost would be dinner Saturday night & Sunday morning breakfast & after some good visiting, we'd be gone Sunday.

Susan thinks I'm horrible for even suggesting that we stay with you for a night but there are only 14 folks & we'd be very easy to be with. Besides, we've got some folks who, unlike Ray Scott on drums, have never even seen the outside of the White House. This may sound funny, but I'm serious. Pick a date & we'll be there! →

Well, not much else to say for now except that the expression on JFK's face seems to say "no one ever said that it would be easy."

I love you

Joe Purvis

GRAPHIQUE®

DE FRANCE

P.S. I hope that when you come home for the dedication of your school that you can get by Gibbs International Magnet School. Susan & Vicky Gonterman & all of those kids feel that they are "yours". It would really mean a lot!

Thanks

Jacques Lowe JFK in his Campaign Plane, over West Virginia, 1960

Published by Graphique de France, Boston, USA
Printed in France LOW 10 150

Joe Purvis
3001 Ozark St.
Little Rock, ark
72205

President Bill Clinton
White House
1600 Pennsylvania ave.
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 11/23

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 22, 1994

94 NOV 22 P3:05

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JODIE TORKELSON
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Jodie Torkelson

SUBJECT: Evaluation Report on Major Leo A. Mercado, USMC

I. ACTION FORCING EVENT

Marine Corps regulations require officers to receive an annual evaluation report. This will be Major Mercado's first evaluation as your Marine Corps Aide.

II. ANALYSIS

Major Mercado has served as your Marine Corps Aide since June 1993. In that capacity he has demonstrated outstanding abilities and sound judgment. Leo is not only an outstanding representative of the Marine Corps and the White House, but most importantly, he represents you with distinction. I feel very confident Leo will continue to perform in this same manner and will be promoted ahead of his contemporaries.

III. RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached evaluation in "block 23" of the fitness report and "block 6" of the standard addendum page, as Major Mercado's reporting senior. Handwritten comments are welcome, if desired, in "block 5" of the standard addendum page.

IV. DECISION

✓ Approve

________ Approve as Amended

________ Disapproved

Attachment

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 11/23

M E M O R A N D U M

Leon / Hilda et al

Simon

Cejas

our friends - need to respond

TO: President Bill Clinton

FROM: Simon Ferro

RE: Cuba Policy and Other Matters

DATE: October 18, 1994

Mr. President, we are extremely appreciative that you have invited us to this meeting to discuss issues that are important to your presidency, to the Nation and to our community.

We value this opportunity to re-establish our lines of communication with you and to share our views on how we can better serve your Administration and play a positive role in your re-election. We are convinced that your re-election is crucial for there to be a peaceful transition to genuine democratic rule and pluralism in Cuba.

We have been your friends and supporters since even before that historic evening in 1992 when, in Victor's Cafe in Miami, you publicly announced your support for the struggling Cuban Democracy Act legislation (CDA). By so doing you gave each and everyone in this room the political and moral authority to promote a different kind of Democratic candidate and, after your election, a unique kind of President.

In the past 70 days two unusual events have developed in South Florida: a) what could have been a personal political victory for you over Fidel Castro has turned into quagmire within the Cuban American community and, b) the political and moral authority our core group had to defend Administration policy was expropriated by others. Without sounding presumptuous, we believe there is a correlation between the latter and the first.

For the sake of brevity and effectiveness we are limiting our comments to four areas of concern: **Guantanamo, General Cuba Policy, The Summit of the Americas and Your Re-election in 1996.** First, we would like to give you an **Initial Overview** which will include some recent historical perspective and analysis. We have no intention of dwelling on past problems except when needed for such historical perspective. There is obviously much overlap among the areas of concern and a common thread on cause and effect.

Initial Overview

Mr. President, you should have gotten a hero's welcome in Miami this past weekend. Prior to August 19th your approval ratings among Cuban Americans in South Florida were higher that in Little Rock. You had visibly rejected all pleas from Castro and foreign governments to lift the Cuban embargo and stood your ground against members of our own party. Numerous State Department envoys constantly passed through our city to clarify, reassure and re-affirm our policy, forcing even our detractors to grudgingly praise the Administration. Your May 20th speech to the Cuban people, broadcast over Radio Marti, was thoughtful and well-received.

Skepticism Among Cuban Americans However, in spite of broad support for your policies, the community was skeptical of your commitment to uphold them because of the limited exposure they had to your persona. Under such conditions many of us in this room advocated for greater personal contact between you and the Cuban American community to cement the relationship, so it could withstand a future crisis.

The actions taken on August 19th, and the way they were implemented, undermined much of the fledgling but nervous trust the community had begun to sense towards the Administration. Much of the blame goes to the haste in which everything was done and the lack of anticipation by the community of the actions taken. Haste prevented the community from visualizing the process that led to the interdiction of Cubans and their delivery to Guantanamo. Haste also precluded a balanced and broadbased delegation from meeting with you that Friday evening in Washington, setting into motion an unfortunate sequence of events that projected a confused and erroneous message as to how policy was being developed and who was helping develop that policy.(It is noteworthy to recall that Senator Bob Graham, probably the most enduring and popular political figure in Florida's history and a Democrat who attracts 75% of the Cuban American vote, was not included in the meeting. Neither was Congressman Bob Menendez, the only Cuban democrat in the House.)

In short, at least locally (and nationally to a lesser extent), the Administration became victim to several wildly contradictory perceptions: a) that it had acted impulsively and knee-jerked its way into the anti-immigrant issue to help Governor Chiles, b) that it had blown an immigration issue into a foreign policy crisis, c) that it had irreversibly altered not just its immigration policy, but also its Cuba policy, and d) that it was prisoner to the whims and tactics of the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF).

At this juncture, a note regarding the Foundation: The CANF is certainly entitled to be heard just like dozens of other serious organizations in Miami. However, their involvement must be measured and couched within a context that recognizes their chronic allegiance to the Republican Party and their own self-serving political agenda.

<u>A Shift in Support</u> Immediately after August 19th the community had still not shifted against the policy. The travel ban and prohibition against sending dollars to Cuba helped cushion the impact of the interdictions and a window still existed for mitigation. Public sentiment made its most dramatic swing after the signing of the immigration accord with Cuba, which convinced many people that side deals were made and that broader talks will follow at the conclusion of the Summit of the Americas.

Throughout this period a devastating process took place. The Administration failed to deliver on the one commodity the community longed for: **confidence in the President.** Notwithstanding the army of State Department, White House and DOD personnel that streamed through Miami, they could not vicariously convince people that the President could be trusted not to betray the policies that had kept their hopes alive for 34 years.

To compound the problem, the CANF, with its superior resources and political savvy, undertook a ferocious campaign to become the exclusive agents of the community vis-a-vis the White House and the rafters in Guantanamo, and vice-versa. They saturated the airwaves and the community with information, suggestions, proposals and activism, drowning out many and provoking others to challenge their leadership by challenging the President.

In the absence of a strong personal relationship between the President and the community (a la Reagan and Bush) and of anointed presidential confidants from whom accountability could be extracted the local opinionmaking network collapsed and became a free-for-all for political opportunists and agitators. Everyone takes credit for the President's popular decisions but puts the dagger in his heart on the tough ones. What is worse, the community is stuck in the rut of Guantanamo, and Castro is getting a free ride.

There is no doubt that you, Mr. President, have not been well served by those whose responsibility it is to promote you and your policies, and in including ourselves in this indictment, we apologize.

You deserve better and, with the help and cooperation of your staff, we will deliver for you.

<u>Guantanamo</u>

Guantanamo consumes almost every conversation, private or over the airwaves, of Cuban Americans in Miami. It is an issue which deserves concentrated attention and calibrated actions by the Administration. It will not go away until every person on the base has been released.

<u>A Firm Policy</u> Mr. President, you must firmly adhere to the broad principles of the policy you have chosen with regard to the interdictions. To completely reverse this policy would be hurt your credibility abroad and at home. There are no perfect solutions to any problem and the Cuban American community is willing to accept imperfections if a greater objective can be identified and the Cubans in Guantanamo are treated with respect, dignity and compassion.

On the other hand, your announcement releasing some of the children, the sick and elderly has been warmly received and accomplished without damage to the integrity of the policy or your credibility. It was properly cloaked with rationality and humanity.

Still, few people, including our own military, believe a population of 30,000 Cubans in Guantanamo is a sustainable enterprise. So how and when do we get them out, and to where?

Set Goals My personal emotional preference, as that of many Cuban Americans in Miami, would be to permit them all entry into the United States under programs similar to those in place during the 1960's Freedom Flights., which relocated Cubans throughout the country. Like many in Miami, I understand this may not be possible. It **is** possible however, to let **all** the children in, under reasonable rules and guidelines. We would request you consider the adopting following goals:

*** Release all the children, together with parents or custodians, as well as a broader category of elderly, sick or infirm, (or announce they will be released) by no later that December 1, 1994.** Not only do the children require special care, like schooling, but their plight truly deserves expeditious attention. The current cut-off age for the elderly evacuees is 70 years. It should be lowered to 60 or 65, depending on the numbers added and their burden to the U.S. If most have immediate family members in the U.S. they should be released to their custody. Neither the elderly, young or infirm should be issues to contend with during the Summit of the Americas.

*** Release or re-settle the rest of the Guantanamo and Panama inhabitants by no later than November, 1995.** To the extent possible, without violating the integrity of the accord, find reasonable, documentable humanitarian and rational exceptions to it. Most importantly, try to find ways not to continue placing new people in the camps. Through a piecemeal approach and by selected categories release as many people into the U.S. as have immediate relatives. Provide entry under strict conditions of re-settlement to different parts of the U.S. The Community Relations Board (CRS) is already empowered to re-settle Haitians and Cubans throughout the U.S. Identify felons, criminals and those who were deported from the U.S. after entry from Mariel. Demand that these people be re-admitted to Cuba. Mount a massive effort to convince third countries to accept the balance of the population and create credible programs, like ones currently in existence, to give them hope of future entry to the U.S. Cubans in third countries are a reality the community has lived with for many years.

*** Create a Presidential Advisory Task Force to advise the President on how to improve living conditions in the camps.** Under strict guidelines the task force would be precluded from advocating entry of any category into the U.S. (Those decisions are left to the President) It could, however, assist in advocating and negotiating entry into third countries. The task force should be limited to 10-12 **community and religious leaders** with no personal political agendas (People like Monsignor Roman, Eduardo Padron, Maria Dominguez are examples). A task force would shift attention away from the political opportunists and award the President the credit he deserves.

General Cuba Policy

Prior to August 19th your Cuba policy enjoyed widespread support in the Cuban American community. A real window of opportunity existed to achieve what democrats like Bob Graham, Dante Fascell, Claude Pepper, Larry Smith, Bob Torricelli, Carrie Meek and Bob Menendez have accomplished: a bonded relationship with the community resulting in broad cross-over voting. All these relationships were based on trust and confidence.

Re-focus on Castro Ironically, the Administration's Cuba policy today is firmer than **before** August 19th, but the President gets little or no recognition for it because the community focus is on Guantanamo.

The Administration must re-direct the community's attention and focus on its Cuba policy and on Castro.

To re-shift the focus some of the following ideas should be considered:

*** Take advantage of the Summit to underline Castro's absence.** Three weeks prior to the Summit unleash a communication offensive incorporating some Administration officials, democratic officeholders (Graham, Menendez, Torricelli etc.) and the President's friends in South Florida to underscore the importance of Castro's absence. Highlight the President's firm stand against Castro and all the pressures the Administration withstood from those who advocated an opening with Castro. Friendly foreign leaders like President Menem might play a positive role.

*** After the Summit name a Presidential Commission to highlight human rights abuses in Cuba within the international community.** A three-member presidential commission should be empaneled to bring attention to human rights abuses in Cuba, especially in those countries where much of Cuba's tourist trade originates. The commission should be balanced and include people like Amb. Jeanne Kirkpatrick, singer Gloria Estefan and a prominent African American. If we can't internationalize the embargo lets internationalize human rights.

*** The President must begin to communicate directly with the Cuban American community.** Within the next week the President should find a vehicle to "talk", face-to-face, with the community. No major national speech is needed nor desired. A 30-minute interview with the two major South Florida T.V. stations would probably break all local viewing records. From a comfortable chair in the White House the President would explain his policy, highlight the harsh measures imposed against Castro, note Castro's absence from the Summit, and express his concern and sympathy over the Cubans in the camps. He would promise that he will not forget those Cubans and will do everything in his power to deliver them to a free and democratic Cuba. The president will look the community in the eye and reassure them there were no side deals to the immigration accord and that he will not sell us out! As part of a longer term communication strategy with the Cuban American community I would suggest some polling and even some focus groups. How does the community really feel? What are the President's strengths and weaknesses? How do Cuban Americans feel about the different alternatives applicable to the camps? How do we "talk" to the community? How much flexibility does the policy have?

*** Empower more of the President's friends and trusted allies.** The community expects a new Administration to empower new people. It creates local accountability, which in turn strengthens the relationship between the President and the community. Establish a system whereby the President's friends can access information on a timely basis and be incorporated into the official decision-making and dissemination loop. When a friend of the President delivers good news the President gets the credit!

The Summit of the Americas

The President took a major political gamble by awarding the Summit to South Florida. There is no doubt that the status of the Cubans in the camps will impact the community's inclination to utilize the Summit as a forum for protest. That is why positive steps to diffuse the issue are essential. Without the Guantanamo as an explosive issue the community's desire to manifest itself could be turned against Castro, and not the President.

In addition to ideas already suggested above, the following should be considered:

*** The Administration should support some manifestations.** If properly organized, would the Administration send mid- or high-level representatives to support manifestations against human rights abuses?

*** Cuba should not become an agenda item for the Summit.** As much as one would like to see Cuba discussed in open debate at the Summit there is little to gain and much to lose in doing so. It is extremely doubtful we could achieve a consensus on condemning Cuba for human rights abuses and greater risk that our embargo policy will be slammed. Castro would surely gain a major political victory if the Summit deteriorates and collapses under the acrimony of a Cuba debate. It is far preferable to develop, aggressively promote and propose for acceptance, concepts that expand upon and define the principles of democratic conditionality necessary to gain acceptance within the community of free nations within this hemisphere. It will be obvious that Cuba wont meet the criteria.

1996

Much can be done to correct past or current problems. The Administration has been extremely generous to South Florida, both financially and politically. But many of the perks have gone unnoticed and unappreciated. Like a son or daughter showered with material things what we truly crave is personal attention.

President's Reagan and Bush were masters at stroking the Cuban American community. Their Cuba policy was never an issue with the community. In fact, in many respects, it was less defined and weaker that ours. Bush was forced into supporting the Cuban Democracy Act after Candidate Clinton upstaged him. Still, Cubans voted for Bush because they **trusted** him.

Reagan and Bush took time to dedicate **individual** attention to the community. They attended naturalization swear-ins, ate in our restaurants and clearly defined who their local representatives were. There was political order, and with stability there was confidence.

We can achieve major inroads into the Cuban American community if we maintain our current Cuba policy and aggressively promote human rights for Cuba around the world. And, of course, address the issue of Guantanamo and the other camps. But without a sustained, dedicated and committed relationship with Administration staff to implement a long term plan all the best of intentions will be useless and valuable resources and energy will be expended.

The President's core group of Cuban American friends is a loyal resource that has been under-utilized and at times ignored. A mechanism should be established by the President to crystalize functions and channels of communication with the core group. To avoid creating a bureaucracy the President may consider selecting two or three point-persons top regularly communicate and coordinate with the core group. At least one mid-level official and one high-level official should be requested to act as such liaisons between the core group and the President. Once this mechanism is in place we can begin to coordinate and develop the short and longer term policies that will benefit the President, and the community, in South Florida.

Thank you for this opportunity to meet with you.

CUBAN REFUGEE POLICY

A major public relations campaign by the Administration can turn an emotionally explosive issue and potential liability into a political asset by **harnessing the energy and resources of the Cuban American Community** and **giving hope to the refugees in Guantanamo and Panama.**

- **President Clinton** has taken a harder line against Castro and done more for Democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean than any president.

- President Clinton's efforts and **accomplishments merit more credit** and better perception. Anti-Kennedy/Carter sentiment remains a problem for Democrats.

- Like it or not, the **refugees became a U.S. problem** when our forces rescued them.

- The **plight of the refugees is becoming politically explosive** in the Miami Cuban American Community. Their plight is **overshadowing the President's victory** over Castro.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

I. **Involve the Cuban American Community** in a humanitarian effort to help their refugee brethren in Guantanamo and Panama by:

   A. **Financial**. Inviting the Cuban American Community to raise funds for food, clothing, medicine and transportation for sending relief to refugees in Guantanamo and Panama.

   B. **Medical**. Enabling Cuban American doctors and nurses to volunteer their services to the refugees at U.S. government hospital ships and field hospitals in Guantanamo and Panama.

   C. **Education.** Permitting qualified Cuban Americans to organize classes in Guantanamo and Panama to help refugees in learning English, the U.S. political system and the basics of free enterprise.

   D. **Religion.** Allowing Cuban American churches to send clergymen and counselors to Guantanamo and Panama to provide worship services and spiritual and emotional support.

II. **Give hope** to refugees in Guantanamo and Panama by:

   A. **Allowing those with special needs**, such as children, the sick and elderly, **to leave** the refugee camps.

   B. **Enhance** the compilation and **processing of personal data** to hasten eventual departure.

   C. Issue and repeat frequently a strongly worded **Presidential commitment** that the **refugees will not be abandoned** and that the U.S. Government will press the international community to achieve **Free World assimilation** of the refugees.

[redacted]

[redacted]

Governor's Commission on a Free Cuba
MDCC-Wolfson Campus
300 N.E. Second Avenue, Suite 1401
Miami, FL 33132

Honorable William Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20600

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11/23/94

Paul Cejas
&
Bruce Greer
B Graham to
RDL Lee Pierre
to Win

[redacted]

STATE OF FLORIDA
Governor's Commission on a Free Cuba
MDCC-Wolfson Campus
300 N.E. Second Avenue, Suite 1401
Miami, FL 33132
Phone: (305) 237-3713 Fax: (305) 237-3781

LAWTON CHILES
GOVERNOR

October 13, 1994

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 11/23/94

Honorable William Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20600

Dear Mr. President:

At its regular monthly meeting the Governor's Commission on a Free Cuba by unanimous vote approved a motion requesting that your administration take all necessary steps to improve the conditions in Guantánamo and other detention camps. We are very concerned over the reports of unfavorable conditions in the camps and the uncertain future for those who are held under "indefinite detention."

As your administration revises the joint communique between the governments of Cuba and United States, signed in New York on September 9, 1994, we urge you to give serious consideration to the expedited release of the women, children, the elderly, and the sick held in Guantánamo and that special priority be given to the processing and awarding of exit visas to all eligible Cuban detainees held in this uncertain limbo.

Mr. President, we realize your administration has taken great steps to avoid a massive immigration exodus and the loss of life in the Florida Straits. In addition, you have strengthened the trade embargo against Cuba denying Fidel Castro the revenue he so desperately seeks. We applaud these actions, however, we ask you to direct your attention to our concerns over the conditions in the camps and the hopelessness of a policy of "indefinite detention."

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely,

Paul Cejas
Paul Cejas
Chairman

PC/JFP/mes

DEMOCRATIC ★ NATIONAL ★ COMMITTEE

David Wilhelm, Chairman

Dreyer copied

November 21, 1994

94 NOV 23 A 9 : 55

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

With this letter, I am formally informing you of my resignation as Chair of the Democratic National Committee.

Degee and I have already moved to Chicago where we're awaiting the birth of Luke, our first child, which should be any day now.

I'm proud to report that I have been named to a significant party position out here - Precinct Captain in the 44th Ward Regular Democratic Organization. When I'm not doing that important work, I'll be serving as the Senior Managing Director of Kemper Securities.

I wanted to let you know how much I appreciate the confidence and trust you and Hillary have placed in me since my first day down in Little Rock. Not every step along the way has been easy, but every step has been worthwhile. From you, I have learned lasting lessons about perseverance, courage, and the power of ideas in politics; I have learned that the thing that can get you through the tough times is an absolute dedication to public service, rather than a preoccupation with self-promotion.

I wish the election results had turned out differently, but it wasn't for lack of effort or resources. I'm proud of the record amount of money we were able to distribute to coordinated campaigns around the country, the advertising we placed in the key states, and the truly outstanding staff we pulled together at the DNC. I'm proud of the dramatic success of our Business Leadership Forum, the re-energized Labor Council, the growth of our Women's Leadership Forum, and the renewed commitment to the youth affiliates of the party.

But, having said all that, I'd rather win than lose. There is much work that needs to be done and I hope and intend to play a key role in bringing about a resurgence of the party, both here in Illinois and nationally.

I stand ready to serve you in any capacity I can.

Thank you for everything.

Sincerely,

David Wilhelm

David Wilhelm

Democratic Party Headquarters • 430 South Capitol Street, S.E. • Washington, D.C. 20003 • 202.863.8000 • FAX: 202.863.8091

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 11/23

GEORGE BUSH

cc NSC

November 17, 1994

Dear Bill,

Thanks for that letter about North Korea.

I appreciate very much your keeping me informed on this difficult situation.

Brent Scowcroft, in whom I have great confidence on these matters, recently put out a paper on the accord that your team worked out with the North Koreans. I will ask Brent to send a copy over to Tony Lake. It does raise a couple of questions about the agreement, while not attacking it.

I appreciate, once again, your sending me that Nov. 10 letter. Your staff has been very good about responding to the few inquires I have made and, in some instances, in taking the initiative to see that I am up to speed. I could ask no more of any of them.

Sincerely,

GB

10000 MEMORIAL DRIVE • HOUSTON, TEXAS 77024

[redacted]

Leon | Sushkin

This must be a part of our strategy - needs to be incorporated

B.

This must be a part of our strategy - needs to be incorporated

[redacted]

[redacted]

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 11/23/94

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY
Washington, D.C. 20500

November 9, 1994 94 NOV 9 P7:22

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LEE P. BROWN

SUBJECT: DRUG ABUSE POLICY

As requested during our conversation on Air Force One, I am outlining a number of steps the Administration needs to take to reinvigorate the public's attention on the drug abuse issue; to underscore the relationship between drugs, crime and violence; and to highlight the Administration's actions in the drug policy area.

The objective of this plan of action is not only to improve the implementation of the National Drug Control Strategy, but to place the Administration in a better position to respond to our critics on Capitol Hill - both Republicans and Democrats - that the Administration has not paid sufficient attention to the drug issue.

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

I have been advised by Republican Members of Congress that in the next Congress, our opposition will focus heavily on drug abuse as a wedge issue to attempt to draw distinctions between Democrats and Republicans as we go into 1996. The Heritage Foundation has published a document that purports to list the failures of the Clinton Administration in the anti-drug effort, and makes the assertion that we are "soft on drugs." The Heritage Report (attached) highlights the following:

- Statements by Surgeon-General Elders in support of studying drug legalization;

- Reductions in drug interdiction funds, and a emphasis in the National Drug Control Strategy on demand reduction activities;

- DoD's suspension of intelligence sharing with Peru and Colombia pending resolution of their policies permitting the force down of drug trafficking aircraft;

- Little Administration resistance to Congressional reductions in requested appropriations for drug control programs.

These actions or inactions have been pointed to by Republican critics as sending a "mixed message" out of the Administration on drugs; thereby contributing to the increase in drug use, particularly among young Americans.

Specifically, in both major surveys that inform us about adolescent drug use, the "National Household Survey on Drug Use" and the "Monitoring the Future (High School Senior) Survey," there are clear indications that casual drug use is on the rise and that the attitudes and beliefs of our youth are shifting in a direction more favorable to experimentation and casual drug use. These trends were first noted by surveys conducted during the last years of the previous administration. But, since these surveys are lagging indicators; that is, they generally take more than a year from the date of the survey to release the report -- our Republican critics use them as "proof" of the negative impact of this "mixed message."

Moreover, it is not only the Republicans in Congress and elsewhere that have been critical of our drug policies. Many of our Democratic allies have been equally outspoken about what they perceive as a lack of firm commitment by the Administration to the drug issue. These include Senator Joe Biden, and Representatives Charlie Rangel and John Conyers. By developing a consistent and stronger message about our drug program, we will enlist Democratic critics on our side and they will be able to better respond to partisan political attacks on our program in the Congress, the media, and elsewhere.

WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE

<u>We have a good strategy -- let's herald it!</u>

The <u>National Drug Control Strategy</u> issued by the Administration in February, 1994 contained three major priorities; reducing the number of chronic, hard-core drug abusers, enhancing drug abuse prevention activities at the community level, and undertaking a controlled shift of the focus of the international drug control program from the transit zones to the source nations.

To a large extent, the strategy was well received on Capitol Hill, in the media, and among drug abuse professionals. However, the Administration did not make it a consistent theme, as it did with health care or certain aspects of the crime bill. We need to talk up the strategy, the need for the appropriations requested to support it, and create the same kind of national debate that the Administration orchestrated on the crime bill, and link crime, drugs, and violence. The 1995 Strategy will reassert the approach of the 1994 version focusing on its implementation in America's communities.

We need to energize a national dialogue on drugs around the Administration's Strategy. The Administration needs to effectively use the moral authority of the Presidency to unequivocally state that **drug use is wrong, we will arrest and prosecute those who deal them, help those who become addicted, and prevent it before it starts. We have the best strategy to carry this out.** Use of the Presidential "bully pulpit" will go a long way to silencing our critics who claim that you have not strongly addressed the drug issue. The involvement of the President on this issue will lead to active engagement of other members of the Cabinet on the drug issue.

Engage the Senior White House Staff

I believe that the Senior White House Staff should be more fully informed about the current drug situation, the Administration's Drug Strategy, and the political context of the drug issue. I suggest that I conduct a briefing for Chief of Staff Leon Panetta and the senior White House staff on drug issues as soon as practical. In addition, the Presidential speech writing office should be more cognizant of drug issues and ONDCP activities, and give increased attention to drug abuse in Presidential addresses when appropriate.

Increase Public Attention to the Drug Issue

I suggest that in the near future, you undertake some public events/pronouncements that dramatize the Administration's commitment to the drug issue. Among those we discussed include:

- A Presidential letter to the Nation's Governors and Mayors expressing concern over the rise in drug use among America's youth has been sent.

- A public campaign to get out information, particularly to our youth, about the dangers of marijuana.

- A drug-related event during the Miami Summit on the Americas in December.

- Public service announcements for both television and radio.

- A White House meeting with media CEO's.

I look forward to discussing this issue with you further.

[redacted]

Leon / Eastern / Hitches

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Should ~~have~~
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Xmas Party +
should have a
debriefment when
they're here —

Should invite
all to Xmas
Party + should
have de-brief
meet when
they're here

[redacted]

[redacted]

CRAIG SMITH

LIST B

~~[illegible]~~ 11/23/94

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1992 Clinton/Gore For President

STATE	STATE DIRECTOR-GENERAL	PHONE
Alabama	Sarah Summerville	703-693-2886
Alaska	Bill Sheffield	907-243-1942
Arizona	Chris Phillips	~~[illegible]~~ 647-3666
Arkansas	Mary Anne Salmon	501-372-5500
California	John Emerson Marsha Scott	202-456-6676 202-456-
Colorado	Fred Duval	202-647-~~4072~~ 4120
Connecticutt	Kevin Smith	
Delaware	David Boundy	617/277-8638
District of Columbia	Sterling Henry	
Florida	Tim Phillips	908-777-9142
Georgia	Nancy Parrish	404-256-3742
Hawaii	Rick Egged	808-262-7029
Idaho	Jon Foster	202-~~624-2882~~ 366-9222 (w) 202-~~331-9510~~ 537-1434 (h)
Illinois	Eric Adelstein	312-443-6400
Indiana	Jim Blassingame	201-643-6641
Iowa	Dan Smith	202-224-3254
Kansas	Craig Hughes	202-~~863-7124~~ 463-5022
Kentucky	David Wofford Wofford campaign	202-401-0404
Lousiana	Carol Speer	504-922-5110
Maine	Bill Marshall	~~202-514-2061~~ 216/368-63
Maryland	Emily Smith ([illegible] campaign)	~~202-332-2115~~
Massachusetts	Elaine Guiney	617-265-0565

Michigan	Jill Alper Steve Weiss	202-219-5823
Minnesota	Mitchell Schwartz	202-647-8897
Mississippi	Lisa Walker	
Missouri	Julie Gibson	202-219-8271
Montana	Doug Mitchell	406-444-5369
Nebraska	Eric Dodds	202-501-1104
Nevada	Andres Gonzales	512-463-5256
New Hampshire	Ricia McMahon	202-467-9888
New Jersey	Rich Gannon	908-777-9142
New Mexico	Ray Martinez	202-690-6625
New York	Kevin Thurm	202-690-6133
North Carolina	Bob Geolas	919-733-2520
North Dakota	Martha Boekel	701-258-4648
Ohio	Greg Haas	614-221-6563(w) 614-983-9642(h)
	Mark Longabaugh	202-535-8159
Oklahoma	Bill McDonnell	202-272-2338(w) 703-527-2493(h)
Oregon	Amy Chapman	202-479-5179
Pennsylvania	Celia Fischer wofford campaign	202-606-3970
Rhode Island	Jeff Beatrice	202-514-3824
South Carolina	Heyward Bannister	202-535-8658
South Dakota	Matt O'Neil	617-241-9282
Tennessee	Jim Hall	202-224-4944
Texas	Robin Rorapaugh Fischer campaign	908-777-9142
Utah	Scott Matheson	801-583-1264

Vermont	Jennifer O'Connor	202-456-2421
Virginia	Joe Grapensperger	202-514-2141
Washington	Jay Pearson	206-583-0664
West Virginia	Jeff Forbes	202-~~863-7123~~ 488-5042
Wisconsin	Jon Kaplan will start at Treasury Dept	202-662-5401
Wyoming	Bryan Sharratt	~~307-322-9211~~ 703-647-6375

list as of 22 Dec 93
contact Pete Dagher (DNC) for any changes
202-863-8079

1992 Clinton For President

STATE	STATE DIRECTOR-PRIMARY	PHONE
Alabama	Jeff Deoren	502 267-1385 ~~205-326-3366~~
Alaska	Bill Sheffield	907-243-1942
Arizona	Marcy Sandoval	202-863-8169
Arkansas	Mary Anne Salmon	501-372-5500
California	Geoff Gibbs Jadine Nielson	202-224-3475 213-485-5185
Colorado	Mary Alice Mandarich	303-861-5508
Connecticutt	Debbie Willhite	703-683-6612
Delaware	Jim Farrell	
District of Columbia	Alvin Brown	202-456-7847
Florida	Jeff Eller	202-456-7150
Georgia	Bernard Craighead	202-863-7178
Hawaii	Mike Shea	808-547-5600
Idaho	Josh Drew	202-208-2554
Illinois	Chuck Richards	202-219-6045
Indiana	Jeff Watson	202-456-6785
Iowa	Dan Smith	202-224-3254
Kansas	Bill McDonnell	202-272-2338(w) 703-527-2493(h)
	Jeff Forbes	202-863-7123
Kentucky	Bill McDonnell	202-272-2338(w) 703-527-2493(h)
Lousiana	Hal Kilshaw	504-343-4045
Maine	Joel Berg	202-483-8513(h)
Maryland	Jay Rouse	202-205-6808
Massachusetts	Elaine Guiney	617-265-0565

Michigan	Simon Rosenberg	202-546-0007(w)
Minnesota	Ron Griggs	
Mississippi	Oleta Garrett	202-720-6643
Missouri	Katie Steele	314-751-6636
Montana	Craig Hughes	202-863-7124
Nebraska	Shelly Loos	908-777-9142
Nevada	Josh Drew	202-208-2554
New Hampshire	Mitchell Schwartz	202-647-8897
New Jersey	Kevin Thurm	202-690-6133
New Mexico	Ray Martinez	202-690-6625
New York	Kevin Thurm	202-690-6133
North Carolina	David Wofford	202-401-0404
North Dakota		
Ohio	Greg Haas	614-221-6563(w) 614-983-9642(h)
Oklahoma	Bill McDonnell	202-272-2338(w) 703-527-2493(h)
Oregon	Paddy McGuire	202-208-3477
Pennsylvania	Celia Fischer	202-863-7183
Rhode Island	David Cruise	202-482-3281
South Carolina	Heyward Bannister	202-535-8658
South Dakota	Kris Swedin	202-
Tennessee	David Wofford	202-401-0404
Texas	Robin Rorapaugh	908-777-9142
Utah	Scott Matheson	801-583-1264
Vermont	Dave Katz	202-638-5616

Virginia	Kris Swedin	202-
Washington	Josh Drew	202-208-2554
West Virginia	Jeff Forbes	202-863-7123
Wisconsin	David Wofford	202-401-0404
Wyoming	Kathy Karpan	307-777-5333

list as of 12 Oct 93
contact Pete Dagher (DNC) for any changes
202-863-8079

[redacted]

Leon | Eastin | Hitches

Should ~~have~~
invite all to
Xmas Party +
should have a
De-brief meet when
they're here

[redacted]

Should invite
all to Xmas
Party + should
have de-brief
meet when
they're here

[redacted]

CRAIG SMITH

LIST B

~~[illegible]~~ 11/23/94

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1992 Clinton/Gore For President

STATE	STATE DIRECTOR-GENERAL	PHONE
Alabama	Sarah Summerville	703-693-2886
Alaska	Bill Sheffield	907-243-1942
Arizona	Chris Phillips	~~[illegible]~~ 647-3660
Arkansas	Mary Anne Salmon	501-372-5500
California	John Emerson Marsha Scott	202-456-6676 202-456-
Colorado	Fred Duval	202-647-~~4072~~ 4120
Connecticutt	Kevin Smith	
Delaware	David Boundy	617/277-8638
District of Columbia	Sterling Henry	
Florida	Tim Phillips	908-777-9142
Georgia	Nancy Parrish	404-256-3742
Hawaii	Rick Egged	808-262-7029
Idaho	Jon Foster	202-~~624-2882~~ 366-9222 (w) 202-~~331-9510~~ 537-1434 (h)
Illinois	Eric Adelstein	312-443-6400
Indiana	Jim Blassingame	201-643-6641
Iowa	Dan Smith	202-224-3254
Kansas	Craig Hughes	202-~~863-7124~~ 408-5022
Kentucky	David Wofford wofford campaign	202-401-0404
Lousiana	Carol Speer	504-922-5110
Maine	Bill Marshall	~~202-514-2061~~ 216/368-63
Maryland	Emily Smith ([illegible] campaign	~~202-332-2115~~
Massachusetts	Elaine Guiney	617-265-0565

Michigan	Jill Alper Steve Weiss	202-219-5823
Minnesota	Mitchell Schwartz	202-647-8897
Mississippi	Lisa Walker	
Missouri	Julie Gibson	202-219-8271
Montana	Doug Mitchell	406-444-5369
Nebraska	Eric Dodds	202-501-1104
Nevada	Andres Gonzales	512-463-5256
New Hampshire	Ricia McMahon	202-467-9888
New Jersey	Rich Gannon	908-777-9142
New Mexico	Ray Martinez	202-690-6625
New York	Kevin Thurm	202-690-6133
North Carolina	Bob Geolas	919-733-2520
North Dakota	Martha Boekel	701-258-4648
Ohio	Greg Haas	614-221-6563(w) 614-983-9642(h)
	Mark Longabaugh	202-535-8159
Oklahoma	Bill McDonnell	202-272-2338(w) 703-527-2493(h)
Oregon	Amy Chapman	202-479-5179
Pennsylvania	Celia Fischer Wofford campaign	202-606-3970
Rhode Island	Jeff Beatrice	202-514-3824
South Carolina	Heyward Bannister	202-535-8658
South Dakota	Matt O'Neil	617-241-9282
Tennessee	Jim Hall	202-224-4944
Texas	Robin Rorapaugh Fischer campaign	908-777-9142
Utah	Scott Matheson	801-583-1264

Vermont	Jennifer O'Connor	202-456-2421
Virginia	Joe Grapensperger	202-514-2141
Washington	Jay Pearson	206-583-0664
West Virginia	Jeff Forbes	202-~~863-7123~~ 488-5042
Wisconsin	Jon Kaplan will start at Treasury Dept	202-662-5401
Wyoming	Bryan Sharratt	~~307-322-9211~~ 703-697-6375

list as of 22 Dec 93
contact Pete Dagher (DNC) for any changes
202-863-8079

1992 Clinton For President

STATE	STATE DIRECTOR-PRIMARY	PHONE
Alabama	Jeff Deoren	502/267-1385 ~~205-326-3366~~
Alaska	Bill Sheffield	907-243-1942
Arizona	Marcy Sandoval	202-863-8169
Arkansas	Mary Anne Salmon	501-372-5500
California	Geoff Gibbs Jadine Nielson	202-224-3475 213-485-5185
Colorado	Mary Alice Mandarich	303-861-5508
Connecticutt	Debbie Willhite	703-683-6612
Delaware	Jim Farrell	
District of Columbia	Alvin Brown	202-456-7847
Florida	Jeff Eller	202-456-7150
Georgia	Bernard Craighead	202-863-7178
Hawaii	Mike Shea	808-547-5600
Idaho	Josh Drew	202-208-2554
Illinois	Chuck Richards	202-219-6045
Indiana	Jeff Watson	202-456-6785
Iowa	Dan Smith	202-224-3254
Kansas	Bill McDonnell	202-272-2338(w) 703-527-2493(h)
	Jeff Forbes	202-863-7123
Kentucky	Bill McDonnell	202-272-2338(w) 703-527-2493(h)
Lousiana	Hal Kilshaw	504-343-4045
Maine	Joel Berg	202-483-8513(h)
Maryland	Jay Rouse	202-205-6808
Massachusetts	Elaine Guiney	617-265-0565

Michigan	Simon Rosenberg	202-546-0007(w)
Minnesota	Ron Griggs	
Mississippi	Oleta Garrett	202-720-6643
Missouri	Katie Steele	314-751-6636
Montana	Craig Hughes	202-863-7124
Nebraska	Shelly Loos	908-777-9142
Nevada	Josh Drew	202-208-2554
New Hampshire	Mitchell Schwartz	202-647-8897
New Jersey	Kevin Thurm	202-690-6133
New Mexico	Ray Martinez	202-690-6625
New York	Kevin Thurm	202-690-6133
North Carolina	David Wofford	202-401-0404
North Dakota		
Ohio	Greg Haas	614-221-6563(w) 614-983-9642(h)
Oklahoma	Bill McDonnell	202-272-2338(w) 703-527-2493(h)
Oregon	Paddy McGuire	202-208-3477
Pennsylvania	Celia Fischer	202-863-7183
Rhode Island	David Cruise	202-482-3281
South Carolina	Heyward Bannister	202-535-8658
South Dakota	Kris Swedin	202-
Tennessee	David Wofford	202-401-0404
Texas	Robin Rorapaugh	908-777-9142
Utah	Scott Matheson	801-583-1264
Vermont	Dave Katz	202-638-5616

Virginia	Kris Swedin	202-
Washington	Josh Drew	202-208-2554
West Virginia	Jeff Forbes	202-863-7123
Wisconsin	David Wofford	202-401-0404
Wyoming	Kathy Karpan	307-777-5333

list as of 12 Oct 93
contact Pete Dagher (DNC) for any changes
202-863-8079

[redacted]

Hitchey

Can we invite
to Xmas pty,
Then have
WHouse meet
in the Day? —
B.

[redacted]

Can we invite
to Xmas Pty,
Then have
WHouse meet
in the day? —

[redacted]

RCV BY: 10-12-94 11:54AM ; 202 863 8174→ SOCIAL OFFICE# 4

DEMOCRATIC ★ NATIONAL ★ COMMITTEE

David Wilhelm, Chairman

LIST A

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 11/23/94

Kathy Vick
Secretary

9/28/94

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Compiled by the Office of the Secretary
Kathy Vick, Secretary
* Indicates CHAIR or PRESIDENT
# Indicates Member of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OFFICERS

Chairman			
*#David Wilhelm	430 South Capitol Street, SE	Washington, DC 20003	(W) (202)863-800[illegible]
Vice Chair			
#Debra DeLee	430 South Capitol Street, SE	Washington, DC 20003	(W) (202)863-816[illegible]
Vice Chair			
#Martha Love	1846 West Cherry Street	Milwaukee, WI 53205	(H) (414)344-842[illegible]
Vice Chair			
#Hon. Bill Richardson	204 Cannon House Office Bldg.	Washington, DC 20515	(W) (202)225-619[illegible]
Vice Chair			
#Lottie H. Shackelford	1720 Abigail Street	Little Rock, AR 72204	(H) (501)663-388[illegible]
Vice Chair, President, ASDC			
#James J. Brady	263 Riverside Mall, Ste. 102	Baton Rouge, LA 70801	(W) (504)336-4155
Treasurer			
#Hon. Robert Matsui	2311 Rayburn House Office Bldg	Washington, DC 20215	(W) (202)225-7163
Secretary			
#Kathleen M. Vick	430 South Capitol Street, SE	Washington, DC 20003	(W) (202)863-8073
National Finance Chair			
#Terence McAuliffe	430 South Capitol Street, SE	Washington, DC 20003	(W) (202)863-7144

ALABAMA

early supporters

* William B. Blount	PO Box 5212	Montgomery, AL 36103	(W) (205)264-841[illegible]
Amy Burke	1719 Camellia Drive, SW	Decatur, AL 35601	(H) (205)353-0283
Dr. Natalie Davis	Box A-52-Birmingham S. College	Birmingham, AL 35254	(W) (205)226-4841
Joe Reed	PO Box 4177	Montgomery, AL 36103	(W) (205)834-979[illegible]
Frankye H. Underwood	PO Box 2144	Jasper, AL 35502	(H) (205)221-2204

CONTINUED...

ALASKA

• Greg Wakefield	PO Box 10-4199	Anchorage, AK 99510	(W) (907) 276-7330
Catherine Reardon	PO Box 84428	Fairbanks, AK 99708	(H) (907) 661-5957
John H. Creed	PO Box 240088	Douglas, AK 99824	(W) (907) 364-3722
Virgie M. King	4010 Dunlap Avenue	Fairbanks, AK 99709	(H) (907) 479-3977

AMERICAN SAMOA

• Moa'ali'itele Tu'ufuli	PO Box 4591	Pago Pago, AS 96799	(H) (684) 733-1592
Siniira T. Fuimaono	PO Box 856	Pago Pago, AS 96799	(H) (684) 633-5764
Pagafaga D. Langkilde	PO Box 356	Pago Pago, AS 96799	(W) (684) 633-5320
Molia Tu'ufuli	PO Box 426	Pago Pago, AS 96799	(H) (684) 633-5975

ARIZONA

• Steve Owens	PO Box 400	Phoenix, AZ 85001	(W) (602) 351-8065
Alison Hughes	2223 East Edison Street	Tucson, AZ 85719	(W) (602) 626-7946
Martin Bacal	PO Box 12459	Tucson, AZ 85732	(H) (602) 298-1776
#Lorraine W. Frank	5829 East Arcadia Lane	Phoenix, AZ 85018	(H) (602) 945-5973

ARKANSAS

• Hon. Bynum Gibson	1300 West Capitol	Little Rock, AR 72201	(W) (501) 376-4660
Julia Peck Mobley	PO Box 1998	Texarkana, AR 75504	(W) (501) 773-4561
#Jean Hervey	8211 Geyer Springs Road, #8	Little Rock, AR 72209	(W) (501) 562-2907
J. T. Rose	7 Halsted Circle	Rogers, AR 72756	(W) (501) 636-5716

CALIFORNIA

• Bill Press	2424 K Street, Suite 100	Sacramento, CA 95816	(W) (916) 442-5707
Arlene Holt	3460 Wilshire Blvd, Ste 1102	Los Angeles, CA 90010	(W) (213) 385-7467
Steven K. Alari	20 Falcon Avenue	Long Beach, CA 90802	(H) (310) 435-0969
Rachel Binah	PO Box 134	Mendocino, CA 95460	(H) (707) 937-0088
Hon. Willie L. Brown, Jr.	State Capitol, #219	Sacramento, CA 95814	(W) (916) 445-8077
Mary Ellen Early	14843 Huston Street	Sherman Oaks, CA 91403	(H) (818) 990-7037
Alice A. Huffman	1118 10th Street	Sacramento, CA 95814	(W) (916) 442-5895
Agar Jaicks	62 Woodland Avenue	San Francisco, CA 94117	(H) (415) 681-0289
Hon. Carole Migden	City Hall, Room 235	San Francisco, CA 94102	(W) (415) 554-4033
Bob Mulholland	10 Adlar Court	Chico, CA 95926	(W) (916) 442-5707
#Justin Ostro	PO Box 1400	Oakland, CA 94604	(W) (510) 451-1300
Madge Overhouse	1243 Pollard Road	Los Gatos, CA 95030	(H) (408) 378-8271
Hon. Nancy Pelosi	450 Golden Gate Ave., #145378	San Francisco, CA 94102	(W) (415) 556-4862
James C. Rowen	986 Camino Drive	Santa Clara, CA 95050	(W) (408) 241-8367
Garry S. Shay	6748 Hillpark Drive, Apt. 507	Los Angeles, CA 90068	(W) (818) 788-5555
Keith Umemoto	6456 South Land Park Drive	Sacramento, CA 95831	(W) (916) 445-5202
Alicia Wang	140 Valparaiso Street	San Francisco, CA 94133	(H) (415) 776-3201

CONTINUED...

CALIFORNIA
....

#Hon. Maxine Waters	10124 South Broadway, #1	Los Angeles, CA 90003	(W) (213) 757-8900
Steve Westly	2120 Camino De Los Robles	Menlo Park, CA 94025	(H) (415) 854-2504
#Rosalind Wyman	10430 Bellagio Road	Los Angeles, CA 90077	(H) (310) 476-2185

COLORADO
....

Neutral

• Howard B. Gelt	633 17th Street, Suite 3000	Denver, CO 80202	(W) (303) 297-2900
Jan Gehlhausen	312 West Olive Street	Lamar, CO 81052	(W) (719) 336-2633
Christopher T. Gates	1614 Steele Street	Denver, CO 80206	(W) (303) 571-4343
Sharrie Wolff	2900 Juilliard Street	Boulder, CO 80303	(H) (303) 494-2191

CONNECTICUT
....

• Edward Marcus	111 Whitney Avenue	New Haven, CT 06510	(W) (203) 787-5885
Patricia Paniccia	25 Easton Road	Monroe, CT 06468	(W) (203) 374-0363
Anthony Avallone	PO Box 1872	New Haven, CT 06508	(W) (203) 777-7744
Ellen Camhi	50 Arnold Drive	Stamford, CT 06905	(H) (203) 322-5956
William J. O'Brien	36 Overbrook Road	W Hartford, CT 06107	(H) (203) 521-4805

DELAWARE
....

• Gary Hindes Neutral	200 Campbell Road	Wilmington, DE 19807	(W) (212) 332-1935
Leah Betts	113 Magnolia Street	Milton, DE 19968	(H) (302) 684-4774
Richard Bayard	1300 Delaware Trust Building	Wilmington, DE 19899	(W) (302) 655-5000
Ruth Ann Minner	RR 3 Box 694	Milford, DE 19963	(W) (302) 739-4151

DEMOCRATS ABROAD
....

• Peter C. Alegi	Via Venti Settembre 1	Rome, Italy	(W) (396) 482-0147
Sally McNulty	50 Springfield Road	London N. W. 8, England	(W) (71) 624-2865
Mike Carroll	246/4 SOI Pibeunwattana 2 Rama 6 Road	Bangkok, Thailand	(H) (622) 278-0890
Wini Lou Cox	20 Boulevard General Wahis	Brussels, Belgium	(H) (322) 215-6356
Dean Ferrier	3, Route De Chaufour, 78270	Cravent Yvelines, France	(H) (331) 347-1875
Carolyn Hansen	6th Floor 242 Lung Chiang Road	Taipei. R.O.C., Taiwan	(H) (862) 507-7338
Richard M. Koster	PSC #2, Box 1873	APO AA, FL 34002	(H) (507) 649-075
Marc Leventhal	51 Ibn Gvirol Street	Tel Aviv, Israel	(W) (972) 691-0613

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
....

• Eric Washington	555 13th St., NW, 10 West 202	Washington, DC 20004	(W) (202) 637-5666
Donna Scheeder	312 North Carolina Avenue, SE	Washington, DC 20003	(W) (202) 707-8939
Hon. Sharon Pratt Kelly	1350 Penn. Avenue, NW, 5th Fl.	Washington, DC 20004	(W) (202) 727-6263
William H. Simons	1917 Randolph Street, NE	Washington, DC 20018	(H) (202) 526-4869

CONTINUED...

FLORIDA
....

• Terrie Brady GD AFT organise	2736 Lydia Street	Jacksonville, FL 32205	(H) (904) 388-6026
Jon Ausman	PO Box 1751	Tallahassee, FL 32302	(W) (904) 385-4488
Russ Barakat	2810 SW 87th Avenue, Ste. 908	Davie, FL 33328	(W) (305) 739-1114
Jim Cobb	RR 3 Box 1032-L6	Williston, FL 32696	(H) (904) 528-5949
#Carol Cycmanick	3430 Golfview Boulevard	Orlando, FL 32804	(H) (407) 425-6349
Nancy M. Dick	1072 Magnolia Lane	Wauchula, FL 33873	(H) (813) 773-9561
Simon Ferro	6161 Blue Lagoon Dr., Ste. 250	Miami, FL 33126	(W) (305) 262-4433
Diane Glasser	9507 NW 72nd Court	Tamarac, FL 33321	(H) (305) 721-1124
Alzo J. Reddick	725 South Goldwyn Avenue	Orlando, FL 32805	(W) (407) 293-5188
Myrtle Smith-Carroll	330 Belleair Drive NE	St. Petersburg, FL 33704	(H) (813) 898-7336

GEORGIA
....

• Ed Sims	1 Peachtree Center	Atlanta, GA 30303	(W) (404) 527-8555
	303 Peachtree St., Suite 5300		
Pauline Woods	505 East 51st Street	Savannah, GA 31405	(W) (912) 356-6361
Carole Dabbs	2755 Timberline Road	Marietta, GA 30062	(W) (404) 656-2869
Herb Mabry	501 Pulliam St., SW, Suite 549	Atlanta, GA 30312	(W) (404) 525-2793
Tommie W. Race	617 Dellwood Avenue	Saint Simons Island, GA 31522	(H) (912) 638-2697
Hon. Calvin Smyre	1 Arsenal Pl., Box 120, #310	Columbus, GA 31902	(W) (706) 649-2243

GUAM
....

• Michael F. Phillips	410 West O'Brien Drive, #102	Agana, GU 96910	(W) (671) 477-222[illegible]
Candalaria Rios	PO Box 655	Agana, GU 96910	(H) (671) 472-824[illegible]
Madeleine Z. Bordallo	PO Box 1458	Agana, GU 96910	(W) (671) 472-342[illegible]
David L. Shimizu	PO Box 6375	Inarajan, GU 96917	(W) (671) 472-354[illegible]

HAWAII
......

• ~~Richard Port~~ not friend	1600 Ala Moana Blvd., #3100	Honolulu, HI 96815	(H) (808) 941-9624
Betty Jo Harris	45-170 Ohaha Place	Kaneohe, HI 96744	(H) (808) 235-4450
Hon. George R. Ariyoshi	745 Fort Street Mall, Ste. 500	Honolulu, HI 96813	(W) (808) 544-8300
Linda Rosehill	1001 Bishop, Pawahi Tower, 950	Honolulu, HI 96813	(W) (808) 539-340

IDAHO
.....

• Bill Mauk ??	PO Box 445	Boise, ID 83701	(W) (208) 345-265
Anna Wilson	PO Box 228	Wallace, ID 83873	(H) (208) 752-672
John F. Greenfield	PO Box 854	Boise, ID 83701	(W) (208) 345-038
Diane Josephy-Peavey	PO Box 88	Carey, ID 83320	(W) (208) 334-211

ILLINOIS
....

•#Hon. Gary J. LaPaille	13126 Merchandise Mart	Chicago, IL 60654	(W) (312) 464-19C

tail to Wilhelm

CONTINUED...

ILLINOIS
....

Iola McGowan	5839 West Midway Park	Chicago, IL 60644	(M) (312) 261-8426
Marjorie Benton	581 Ingleside Park	Evanston, IL 60201	(H) (708) 328-4196
Thomas A. Dunn	15 West Jefferson Street, #300	Joliet, IL 60431	(W) (815) 722-4200
Hon. Wilson Frost	10816 South Parnell Avenue	Chicago, IL 60628	(W) (312) 443-8910
Hon. Irene Hernandez	County Avenue Bldg., Room 567	Chicago, IL 60602	(H) (312) 769-3988
#Hon. Thomas Hynes	118 North Clark Street, #314	Chicago, IL 60602	(W) (312) 443-5300
Thomas Lakin	251 North Old Saint Louis Road	Wood River, IL 62095	(W) (618) 254-1127
Hon. Cora McGruder	11207 South King Drive	Chicago, IL 60628	(W) (312) 468-8304
John Rednour	PO Box 428	Du Quoin, IL 62832	(W) (618) 542-2111
VACANCY			

INDIANA
....

* Ann M. DeLaney Support	1 North Capitol Avenue, #1100	Indianapolis, IN 46204	(W) (317) 231-7100
A.J. Manley	780 Union Street	Hobart, IN 46342	(H) (219) 464-4164
Hon. Billie Breaux	4123 East 35th Street	Indianapolis, IN 46218	(H) (317) 546-5136
Dorathea MacGregor	641 Jefferson Avenue	Evansville, IN 47713	(W) (812) 426-5395
William E. Osos	21 Timberbrook	Danville, IN 46122	(W) (317) 247-5515
Hon. Robert Pastrick	4527 Indianapolis Boulevard	East Chicago, IN 46312	(W) (219) 391-8200

target
Get on Board

IOWA
....

* Eric Tabor	3675 67th Street	Baldwin, IA 52207	(W) (515) 244-729
Doris Taylor New	135 1st Street	Manning, IA 51455	(W) (712) 792-219
Paulee Lipsman	2880 Grand Avenue, Apt. 106	Des Moines, IA 50312	(H) (515) 284-575
Pat Marshall	3020 Circle Drive, NE	Cedar Rapids, IA 52402	(H) (319) 363-976
James J. Wengert	4024 42nd Street	Des Moines, IA 50310	(W) (515) 262-957

KANSAS
......

* Dennis Langley	PO Box 728	Hutchinson, KS 67504	(W) (316) 662-6445
Velda Duette	3733 SE Evans Drive	Topeka, KS 66609	(H) (913) 266-7176
Marvin Barkis	RR 2 Box 150	Louisburg, KS 66053	(W) (913) 837-5353
Shirley Jacques	509 West Republic Avenue	Salina, KS 67401	(W) (913) 826-655

KENTUCKY
....

* Dr. Grady Stumbo Early Supporter	PO Box 694	Frankfort, KY 40602	(W) (502) 695-482
Gayle R. Rogers	PO Box 82	Princeton, KY 42445	(W) (502) 365-672
Wanda Clay	PO Box 515	South Shore, KY 41175	(H) (606) 932-412
Bob Jackson	2109 Brookhaven Drive	Murray, KY 42071	(H) (502) 753-646
Robert Slaton	3017 Beals Branch Drive	Louisville, KY 40206	(W) (502) 588-095

CONTINUED...

LOUISIANA

----

*#James J. Brady	263 Riverside Mall, Ste. 102	Baton Rouge, LA 70801	(W) (504) 336-4155
Mary Lou Winters	PO Box 1860	Columbia, LA 71418	(W) (318) 649-6157
Hon. Sherman Copelin	107 Harbor circle	New Orleans, LA 70126	(W) (504) 246-1166
Theodore L. Jones	18009 East Augusta Drive	Baton Rouge, LA 70810	(W) (504) 925-1115
Doris Reggie	400 West Northern Avenue	Crowley, LA 70526	(H) (318) 783-1406

MAINE

-----

* Victoria Murphy Good	148 Middle Street	Portland, ME 04101	(W) (207) 871-8622
Hon. James S. Bowers	RRI Box 306	Washington, ME 04574	(W) (207) 845-2815
Deirdre Nice	4 Glen Road	Falmouth, ME 04105	(H) (207) 781-2783
Joseph A. Perry	PO Box 353	Searsport, ME 04974	(H) (207) 548-6194

MARYLAND

----

*#Hon. Vera P. Hall	2819 Hillsdale Road	Baltimore, MD 21207	(W) (410) 396-4832
Hon. Michael D. Barnes	3948 Baltimore Street	Kensington, MD 20895	(W) (202) 637-5695
Hon. Clarence W. Blount	3410 Copley Road, 2nd Floor	Baltimore, MD 21215	(W) (410) 783-7932
Hon. Beatrice Tignor	11411 Lake Harbor Way, #203	Mitchellville, MD 20721	(H) (301) 808-3851
Susan Turnbull	16 Royal Dominion Court	Bethesda, MD 20817	(W) (301) 469-7811

MASSACHUSETTS

----

* Joan Menard	45 Bromfield Street	Boston, MA 02108	(W) (617) 722-2470
Hon. Raymond Jordan	11 Ingersoll Grove	Springfield, MA 01109	(H) (617) 834-8663
Norma J. Fenochietti	PO Box 44	Marshfield, MA 02050	(W) (617) 722-1222
Hon. William Keating	111 Bay Road	Sharon, MA 02067	(W) (617) 227-5020
James Roosevelt, Jr.	53 State Street, 36th Floor	Boston, MA 02109	(W) (617) 287-5550
Betty Taymor	14 Eliot Memorial Road	Newton, MA 02158	(W) (508) 993-9924
Margaret D. Xifaras	115 Orchard Street	New Bedford, MA 02740	

MICHIGAN

----

* Gary G. Corbin → UAW	1465 Kings Pointe Road	Grand Blanc, MI 48439	(W) (517) 371-5410
Carol Kooistra	2946 Cascade Road, SE	Grand Rapids, MI 49506	(W) (616) 942-8651
Mary L. Bethany	419 South Washington	Lansing, MI 48933	(W) (517) 487-5966
Bill Casstevens	8000 East Jefferson Avenue	Detroit, MI 48214	(W) (313) 926-5401
Debbie Dingell	GM, 1660 L Street, NW, #401	Washington, DC 20036	(W) (202) 775-5068
#Frank Garrison	419 South Washington Square	Lansing, MI 48933	(W) (517) 487-5966
Mildred Stallings	19390 Klinger Street	Detroit, MI 48234	(W) (313) 876-0727
Richard N. Wiener	127 East Washtenaw Street	Lansing, MI 48933	(W) (517) 487-8232
Hon. Coleman Young	1126 City/County Building	Detroit, MI 48226	(W) (313) 224-6340

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 11/23/94

EDITORIALS

Clinton's shifting beliefs

Given President Clinton's history of vacillation, no one should be surprised that he is trying to shuffle to the right in the wake of the Republican takeover of Congress. But who would have thought that less than a week after the election the president would be bonding with Newt Gingrich on the school prayer issue?

Speaking to reporters in Jakarta, Indonesia, where he attended an Asian-Pacific economic summit this week, Clinton mentioned several issues on which he is willing to seek common ground with Republican congressional leaders — line-item veto, welfare reform, shrinking the size of government and school prayer.

To the astonishment of some of his own advisers, the president said he would consider supporting a constitutional amendment to restore "voluntary" prayer in public schools. Clinton did express concern that voluntary prayer might "become coercive to people who have different religious views from those that are in the majority in any particular classroom." But he went on to say he sees no problem with prayer at a school sporting event or graduation ceremony. The president said he would have to see the details of any constitutional amendment that passes Congress before he could make a final decision, but he added, "I certainly wouldn't rule it out."

A day later, after religious and civil liberties groups protested, aides were scrambling to explain that Clinton really hadn't meant it. What he really meant to say, they insisted, was that he would consider legislation to permit a "moment of reflection," not a constitutional amendment.

Funny, that's not what Clinton said. The problem is not his command of the English language. In fact, he's one of those rare presidents who speaks in complete sentences. The problem is that Bill Clinton too often doesn't mean what he says or doesn't know what he believes.

The president indicated in post-election comments that he has no intention of letting Republicans shut him out of the "values" debate. That's fine. He should use the bully pulpit of the presidency to try to keep the Republican right from defining values on their terms. He will be at a disadvantage, however, as long as his own convictions are in question. Gingrich has never left any doubt about where he stands on any issue. About the best that can be said about Clinton is that he is loyal to constantly changing principles.

School prayer is one of those cultural issues the Republicans captured long ago. It is a loser for the president either way. If Congress passes a school prayer amendment, Clinton can be sure of two things: The Republicans will get the political credit, and he will get the political blame.

Gingrich isn't about to settle for a moment of silence. He wants prayer in the schools. It's not as easy to figure out what Bill Clinton wants — or believes.

St. Petersburg Times
11/18/94

GS
Susan
McTier
B.

FROM WOODY BROCK

FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 11/23

THE COMING ENTITLEMENTS CRISIS

– A Case for Divine Intervention –

by Professor B. Douglas Bernheim
Stanford University

Edited by Horace W. Brock
President

Bob Rubin
Pls have this analyzed - do me a brief report -
BC

As Presented at S.E.D.'s Client Conference
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THE COMING ENTITLEMENTS CRISIS

– A Case for Divine Intervention –

Editor's Note: In my own view, the coming entitlements crisis poses by far the most important economic and political challenge we have confronted since the Great Depression, if not the Civil War. Most investors think of this as just another problem which will be "dealt with" in due course. And so it will. But what exactly does this mean? What are the options?

In preparation for S.E.D.'s Client Conference in New York this past May, I asked Doug Bernheim at Princeton to prepare a candid and far-reaching appraisal of these issues. [He has recently moved from Princeton to Stanford, his new base.] Along with John Shoven at Stanford, Doug is the most interesting and knowledgeable pension-and-entitlements thinker I know.

Conference attendees particularly enjoyed his talk, so he has kindly edited it for purposes of publication. The result is important if disturbing food for thought, especially for investors charged with longer-run strategic planning for their institutions *and* their families.

While Doug focuses on the situation in the US, his remarks apply to other G-7 countries all of whom confront the common problem of a collapsing "dependency ratio". At the end of the paper, I have appended a couple of personal comments extending Doug's reasoning via game theoretical arguments.

– H. W. Brock

I was recently involved in designing and implementing a survey of baby boomers that was sponsored by Merrill Lynch. One of the topics that we looked at in this survey was the sources of information and advice on financial matters that are used by members of the baby boom generation. We listed a number of choices, including financial professionals, relatives, employers, the government, and so forth.

One of the most striking and surprising findings of this study, in my view, was that more of the baby boomers rely for financial information and advice on *prayer* than on the government and employers combined! We did not offer "prayer" as an option in the survey. This was a write-in campaign for prayer. If we had actually listed it as an option, it might have shown up as the number one source.
Anyone who has gazed into the next century and looked carefully at the economic trends should understand why so many of the baby boomers are seeking divine intervention: their prospects are not particularly good. This country stands at the threshold of an unprecedented demographic transition. Today the elderly make up about 12% of the U.S. population. By the year 2029, which is the year in which the oldest baby boomers reach age 65, that figure will have risen to about 20%.

Plummeting Dependency Ratio: Today we have 3.2 workers for each Social Security beneficiary – this is known as the "dependency ratio". In the year 2029 that figure probably will have declined by almost a third, to 2.1 workers for each Social Security beneficiary. And these figures only become worse with the progressive graying of America as the baby boom generation moves further and further into retirement. It is probably not news when I say that the potential economic implications of this transition are dire, and deserve our serious consideration.

I. Fiscal Implications

In order to have the full picture before us, let us begin by elaborating on some of the major economic implications of the demographic transition. First I will discuss the fiscal implications of this transition. It has been known for some time that the impending retirement of the baby boom generation poses, to put it mildly, a challenge for financing the Social Security system. During the early 1980s this problem was obvious and the government set out to do something about it.

In particular, the Reagan administration ordered a thorough review of the finances of the Social Security system, and this culminated in the Social Security Amendments of 1983. Through a combination of measures, most notably a delayed, phased-in increase of the ordinary retirement age from age 65 to age 67, fiscal balance was *purportedly* restored to the Old Age Survivor and Disability, or OASDI, portion of the Social Security system. Victory was proclaimed, and the American public was told, "Don't worry, once again you can have full confidence in this system because in the long run it's in quite good shape."

Smoke and Mirrors: Perhaps it is the fourth corollary of Murphy's Law which states that things always turn out to be worse than expected. Eleven years after the 1983 Amendments, it appears that the government achieved fiscal balance largely through smoke and mirrors. Currently the Social Security Administration is projecting a huge shortfall in the OASDI system. They are also downplaying this shortfall, which is somewhat disturbing. We are told that the shortfall only amounts to a 1.5 percentage point increase in the payroll tax. If we wanted to cover this shortfall, we could simply increase payroll taxes by 1.5% right away.

The Social Security Administration puts that in perspective by saying that we have just gone through a successful deficit reduction effort, and while it was very difficult to achieve a political consensus, we accomplished a tax increase of roughly this order of magnitude. Therefore, a 1.5 percentage point increase in the payroll tax is presumably not going to be the end of the American system. However, this reasoning is not particularly reassuring .

Public Policy Myopia: The fiscal crisis is barely on the political horizon. We do not run into real difficulty with paying for Social Security until well into the next century. That means that the problem is not going to be addressed right away. And the nature of this problem is that, the longer we wait without doing anything, the more drastic the response has to be when we get around to doing something. In particular, if we wait until closer to the retirement of the baby boom generation, a one-and-a-half percentage point increase in the payroll tax isn't going to do it. It's going to require more like a four or a five percentage point increase in the payroll tax to put OASDI back on track.

Inclusion of Medicare Shortfall: Now we still may not be panicked by this alone. After all, cumulative increases in taxation have, in the past, totaled more than 4 percentage points. Again, perhaps the American system is not going to collapse. But wait: that's just OASDI. What about the other unfunded promises and obligations of the federal government? The most significant of those obligations is of course Medicare. The Social Security Administration is conspicuously silent, for the most part, on the topic of Medicare. Back in 1983 when the Social Security task force set about formulating the 1983 Amendments, they were specifically instructed by the Administration to focus exclusively on OASDI and to ignore health insurance entirely. This was despite the fact that, even at that point in time, it was evident from the forecasts that the potential unfunded liabilities of Medicare were roughly three times the liabilities of OASDI.

Greenspan Commission's Omission: Why was the 1982 Greenspan Commission Social Security task force instructed to ignore this problem? I suppose we will never know the true answer to that question. The cynical answer has to do with timing. At that point in time, Health Insurance was forecasted to be in pretty good shape through the end of the century, and certainly well beyond the horizon of the then-current Administration. Consequently, when the 1983 amendments were formulated, the much bigger and more serious health insurance problem was left as a problem for the future. When victory was proclaimed and the financial security of the Social Security system announced, the larger problem was never mentioned.

What is the current magnitude of the fiscal problem associated with Medicare and the other government liabilities not included in OASDI? Recently, Professor Alan Auerbach of the University of Pennsylvania and Laurence Kotlikoff of Boston University released a major study concerning the long-run fiscal outlook for this country.[1] This study paints a comprehensive picture of the unfunded obligations of the federal government. Those obligations of course include the federal debt, which is the obligation that seems to get the most attention in the popular press. But the debt isn't the most important item in quantitative terms. The

[1] Alan J. Auerbach and Laurence J. Kotlikoff, "The United States' Fiscal and Saving Crises and their Implications for the Baby Boom Generation", Special Report to Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc., February 1994.

government's obligations also include Social Security, Medicare, welfare, unemployment benefits, education, and so forth. The basic conclusion of this study is that this country is on an unsustainable fiscal path.

Future Tax Rates - The Shocking Truth: During the next century, the government is scheduled to spend trillions of dollars more than it expects to bring in as revenues. The actions that are required to restore balance are quite drastic. For example, we could attempt to restore fiscal balance by increasing taxes. To do so would require a permanent 32% increase in all income taxes effective immediately. And the situation becomes much worse if we wait. If we delay 15 years before taking action, it will take a 63% permanent increase in all income taxes to achieve fiscal balance.

We can also address the problem by adjusting OASDI benefits. If we took immediate action, this would require a 70% permanent reduction in benefits. And once again, if we wait, the problem becomes much worse. If we delay 15 years before doing anything, it will be impossible to achieve fiscal balance for this country by adjusting OASDI, even through the complete elimination of benefits. We can, of course, go after health benefits as well as OASDI. That possibility seems remote, given the objectives of the current Administration.

However, even if we were willing to reduce health benefits in addition to OASDI, it would require a 29% permanent decrease in all of these benefits to restore fiscal balance. Once again, the situation is much worse if we wait. A 15-year delay would essentially require us to cut all of these benefits in half.

> ***And finally, if we fail to take any action, the requirement of fiscal balance would necessitate tax rates in excess of 80% for future generations of Americans.***

This 80% is not a forecast. Long before we reach average tax rates in excess of 80%, there would presumably be some kind of revolution. Properly interpreted, these calculations are simply telling us that we are on an unsustainable path, and that something must give. Tax rates won't necessarily rise above 80%; OASDI may not be eliminated; but something has to give, and that something has to be big.

II. Today's Bromides from Washington

What is the Social Security Administration response? What do they say in particular about the Medicare liabilities, of which they are most certainly aware? Basically, they say two things.

Mirage of Medical Cost Containment: The first thing they say is, "Don't worry too much because medical cost containment is on its way. That's a priority of the Administration – we're overhauling the health care delivery system." Once again this observation is not reassuring. The effects of cost containment are still largely speculative; they have not been proven, certainly not on a national scale. We are not certain we can control medical cost inflation in this country. But even if we could, it is important to realize that the projected increased program costs for Medicare are driven largely by demographics, independent of any health care cost inflation.

Even with no real increases in the prices of medical services, there will still be a huge increase in Medicare program costs during the next century, due to the fact that the baby boomers are aging. As the baby boomers – this very large generation of Americans – move into retirement and become elderly, they will also become more intense consumers of medical care. So short of a Logan's Run solution in which we terminate everyone over 30, the increase in medical care program costs is, to a large extent, out of our hands.

This is particularly frightening because the baby boomers may live significantly longer than the Social Security Administration expects. There are a number of demographers who believe that we have significantly underestimated likely increases in life expectancy for the next century. By some forecasts, the Social Security Administration has understated the number of octogenarians in the next century by a factor of four. Obviously, octogenarians are rather intensive users of medical care.

Mirage of Better-Future Growth: The Social Security Administration's second response is, "We make these long-run fiscal projections because we're required to make them. We don't think they are very precise. We're talking about a very long time horizon. Our forecasts depend on a large number of parameters, and there is a tremendous amount of uncertainty. So one shouldn't worry too much. After all, we may witness a return to a period of relatively high real wage growth. Real wages have been stagnant for the last 20 years, but that may turn around. If it does, the forecasts change dramatically, and the future looks much more rosy. So perhaps, instead of panicking, we should wait and see."

Yet again this is not overly reassuring. For one thing, if we delay action, and if nothing unusually fortuitous happens, the crisis will only become more severe. In addition, the prospects for a return to sustained long-run real wage growth are slim. I will explain my reasons for this pessimism shortly. We may be able to address real wage growth effectively through policy, but in the absence of rather drastic action, the prospects are not great.

III. Other Macroeconomic Implications – Savings and Interest Rates

We have seen the fiscal implications of the demographic transition. Now some macroeconomic implications will be unveiled. For context, let us start by addressing the current state of our economy, focusing in particular on national saving. As we all know, Americans do not save very much. During the last few years, national saving has averaged around 2% of GNP. Government deficits are often blamed for low rates of national saving. That is not entirely fair. In fact, private saving, and personal saving in particular, have dropped sharply. The decline in personal saving accounts for a large fraction of the decline in national saving. Low rates of personal saving – and not government deficits – also account for the very large differences between rates of national saving in the U.S. and other developed countries.

Lower National Savings Rates: Low rates of saving create serious concerns about the health of the macroeconomy. Saving finances capital accumulation. Capital accumulation is absolutely essential for growth. With low rates of capital accumulation we can expect very little growth, and stagnant standards of living. In the short run our failure to save can be redressed to some extent through international capital flows. Those international capital flows, though, have their own macroeconomic implications. When there is net foreign investment in the U.S., the value of the dollar becomes inflated. This creates a balance of trade deficit, and causes domestic manufacturers to complain about a loss of competitiveness. It is also the case that most countries are intolerant of imbalances in international capital and current accounts, and generally take steps to reduce these imbalances over reasonably short periods of time.

If these are the consequences of our low rate of saving today, imagine what will happen when the baby boomers retire. It is hard to think meaningfully about national saving after the baby boomers retire, because there will not be much of it. To put things in perspective, in recent years pension funds have accounted for most of the accumulation of personal wealth in this country. In fact, the National Balance Sheets produced by the Federal Reserve Board show that between 1980 and 1990 the real change in assets held by pension funds was roughly equal to the real change in national wealth. By that measure, pension funds accounted for essentially all of national wealth accumulation.

As Go Pensions, So Goes Saving: We have already seen ample evidence of this truth. In 1987, the government attempted to raise additional revenue by limiting the circumstances under which corporations could make deductible contributions to defined benefit pension plans. As a result, contributions to defined benefit plans dropped steeply. So far, the early 1990s have been a period of extraordinarily low saving, even by the standards of recent history.

What will happen to pension funds during the retirement of the baby boom generation? A recent study by Syl Schieber and John Shoven demonstrates that there will be enormous net outflows from pension funds as the baby boomers begin to retire.[1] If indeed pension funds dictate the rate of private saving, then we may observe negative rates of national saving. Can we rely on capital inflows to finance investment in the U.S. during the retirement of the baby boomers? Will foreign investors bail us out as they did in the 1980s? Probably not. The important thing to remember is that almost all of the developed world is facing a similar demographic transition. Other developed countries will find themselves in a similar situation during the first half of the next century. As a result, there will not be a natural source of funds for capital investment in the U.S., even if we are willing to accept the consequences of widespread foreign ownership of American assets.

Thus there is a serious risk that it will not be possible to finance significant new capital investment during the retirement of the baby boomers. Will the American economy simply grind to a halt due to the lack of capital formation? And what are the implications for asset markets as we move into this period? What will be the effect of liquidating the enormous stock of assets that is going to pay for the retirement of the baby boom generation?

Sharply Rising Interest Rates: The dynamics of the Social Security system are such that, during the first half of the next century, there should be an enormous increase in the net supply of government bonds to the market. That will occur regardless of what happens to the Social Security trust fund. One view is that, over the next 40 years or so, we will accumulate a huge trust fund and then use that trust fund to pay for the retirement of the baby boomers. That would require the government to buy up government securities – they cannot buy other securities – and then sell government securities once the baby boomers retire.

Another view is that the government will succumb to short-run political pressures and fail to accumulate a large trust fund. In that case, it will still have to make good on at least some of its promises to the baby boomers, and that will require it to finance much larger deficits. In either case, the large increase in the net supply of bonds will have the effect of driving bond prices down and raising rates of return. If investors are reasonably forward-looking, that effect will propagate back through time.

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[1] Sylvester J. Schieber and John Shoven, "The Consequences of Population Aging on Private Pension Fund Saving and Asset Markets", Center for Economic Policy Research, Stanford University, September 1993.

Heavy Hit to Bonds: The impending liquidation of the baby boomers' retirement assets should have a similar effect on all asset prices. However, it is worth noting that these retirement assets are tilted more heavily towards bonds than towards equities and other investments. Certainly, Social Security is completely bond-financed. Private pension assets are also tilted heavily towards bonds. It is increasingly common for baby boomers to be covered by defined contribution plans, which provide them with significant control over the retirement investments. They typically exercise this control by investing very conservatively – that is, in bonds, rather than stocks.

Therefore it is quite possible that the liquidation of the baby boomers' retirement assets will have a disproportionate effect on the bond market. In effect, retirement saving by and for baby boomers currently stimulates the demand for bonds relative to other assets, and this pattern may reverse as the boomers retire.

IV. Three Strategies for "Containment"

Throughout this address I have been discussing projections rather than predictions. There is an important difference. The scenarios that have been described are not particularly plausible or sustainable. Something has to give. What radical development might the future hold?

IV.A. Benefit Reductions?

It is possible that we might go the route of reducing Social Security benefits. Cutting Social Security has always been a tough sell politically. Although there have been effective benefit reductions in the past, they have always encountered determined opposition. It will become especially difficult to reduce benefits once the baby boomers retire, because the baby boomers constitute an extremely large segment of the population. If you think that the elderly are a powerful lobby today, just wait until this enormous group of baby boomers reaches retirement age. In addition the baby boomers are not saving very much for their own retirements. As a result, the boomers will be highly dependent on Social Security benefits. If they reach retirement without significant assets of their own, they will certainly use their political power to protect their financial interests in the Social Security system.

A Divide-and-Conquer Strategy: There is, of course, a possibility that we might reduce Social Security benefits prior to the retirement of the baby boomers. If this occurs, it will most likely be the result of a divide-and-conquer strategy. We observed the divide-and-conquer strategy in action when Social Security benefits were last reduced. The essence of this strategy is to identify a subgroup of the population for whom a reduction in benefits is politically feasible. This subgroup tends to be higher income individuals, although the definition of "higher income" has crept steadily towards the middle class. For the future, the most likely mechanism for reducing Social Security benefits is means testing. At some point it may well become politically feasible to single out higher income individuals and to say, "Let's wipe out their benefits because, after all, they don't really need it as much."

Mailed Promises to Pay: I would also point to another development that affects the likelihood of further cuts in Social Security. I consider this to be a rather insidious development because on its surface it seems quite innocent. Beginning in 1995 the Social Security Administration will begin sending unsolicited benefit statements to every wage earner in the country, beginning with older workers. These statements will resemble the statements that you probably receive from your private pension plans. Before too long you will also receive statements from the Social Security Administration that project your benefits after retirement. This policy is not completely new, in that you can currently request the Social Security Administration to prepare a benefit statement for you. But as of 1995 these statements will be mailed out automatically, regardless of whether or not you request them.

This is a disturbing development. In the first place, it is disturbing because it is potentially misleading. These statements will contain benefit projections based on current statutes. Naturally the fine print will contain disclaimers to the effect that the benefits projections are based on current statutes and that they are not guaranteed. But the Social Security Administration is not going to proclaim in large print that "This is not fiscally sustainable and you probably should not count on receiving this much."

Misleading the Populace: So why is the government going to do something that has the potential so fundamentally to mislead the American working population? My understanding is that the benefit statement policy has emerged largely from the efforts of Senator Moynihan. Moynihan believes that by distributing these statements we will stimulate confidence in the Social Security system. We will encourage people to expect their benefits, thereby creating the political clientele necessary to combat efforts to reduce benefits. In other words, Moynihan's objective is to create a self-fulfilling prophesy that protects Social Security benefits from future budget cutters.

IV.B. Tax Increases?

If the prospects for reducing Social Security benefits are slim, what about the possibility of increasing taxes? The simulations and projections that I've talked about don't really capture what would happen if we tried to achieve fiscal balance by increasing taxes. Specifically, the projections do not make any allowance for the fact that higher taxes would depress the level of economic activity. In effect, these calculations hold activity constant, and mechanically calculate the rate of taxation that would be required to balance the government's finances.

Self-Defeating Increases: If we actually increased taxes by the prescribed amounts, economic activity would decline, and we would once again find ourselves short of revenue and in need of still higher taxes. When one is discussing fiscal shortfalls of such enormous magnitude, attempts to achieve balance through increases in taxation may simply send the economy into a death spiral. I'm not at all convinced that it is even feasible to balance the government's budget in the long run through taxes. In all likelihood, something else must give.

IV.C. Autonomous Solutions?

There are several paths that the economy could take to achieve long-run fiscal balance and to address some of the other problems that will arise as a result of the demographic transition. I want to mention some of these paths and say a few words about their likelihood and their desirability. The first solution is to achieve more rapid growth of real wages. That sounds great – all we have to do is grab the wage-growth knob and crank it to the right. Obviously the question is: how do we accomplish this?

In an ideal world the economy would be at least somewhat self-correcting. If the baby boomers thought hard about the issues that have been presented, and if they realized that our fiscal path is unsustainable, they might well conclude that they are not going to receive sufficient income from Social Security, and that they will, for the most part, have to rely on themselves during retirement. They might respond to this realization by increasing their own saving, perhaps substantially.

This in turn would increase capital accumulation, and the resulting capital deepening would promote wage growth. Higher saving would alleviate the impending crisis in another respect: if the baby boomers achieve financial independence by making adequate preparation for themselves, they will be less resistant to measures that would achieve fiscal balance through the reduction of Social Security benefits.

Low Baby-Boomer Savings: How likely is this scenario? Will we achieve significant capital deepening and higher real-wage growth as a result of a surge in saving by the baby boomers? Probably not. Most baby boomers simply are not savers. Obviously some are; I don't mean to suggest that none of them save anything. But for the most part baby boomers do not save large fractions of their incomes.

A couple of years ago I undertook a major study of saving by members of the baby boom generation. To conduct this study, I developed an elaborate computer simulation model, which calculated the amounts that baby boomers need to save in order to be prepared adequately for retirement. These prescriptions were then compared with actual saving, which was inferred from a survey of baby boomers conducted in 1992.

The bottom line from this study was that the typical baby boomer is saving at <u>one-third</u> the rate required to sustain a standard of living after retirement comparable to that enjoyed before retirement. Unless baby boomers triple their rate of saving, they will face precipitous declines in standard of living after retirement. And that's an optimistic calculation, because the simulation model assumes that there will be no reductions in Social Security benefits or Medicare benefits, and no increases in taxes, despite the fact that the status quo is unsustainable.

Even under this unsustainable scenario – a scenario that the baby boomers may be counting on – they are falling far short of what they need to save in order to accumulate sufficient wealth by retirement.

We cannot grow our way out of these problems unless we have a significant increase in saving. And we cannot have a large increase in saving unless the baby boomers significantly alter their behavior. Perhaps the baby boomers will simply start saving on their own at some point in the future. Perhaps as they age and move past the child-rearing years, they will begin to save at higher rates. Then again, perhaps not. I do not have much hope that they will become savers on their own. After all, their parents did not. It is a common myth in this country that the baby boomers are the first generation of big spenders. That simply is not true. The typical parent of a baby boomer didn't save very much for retirement either. Some did, but most did not.

Today's Retirees Got Lucky: The parents of the baby boomers are, by and large, reasonably well prepared for retirement because as a generation they got lucky. They benefited from a huge increase in Social Security benefits, a significant expansion of the private retirement benefit system, and an extended period of high inflation that nearly wiped out the real value of their biggest liabilities, in the form of fixed rate mortgages. They also experienced a huge run up in real housing prices that created huge windfalls for many of them.

So the baby boomer's parents have generally been reasonably well prepared for retirement. But this isn't because they saved a lot. Most importantly, there was no real acceleration in their rates of saving once they completed child-rearing and reached the second half of their working lives. Similarly, any significant acceleration in savings goes detectable among baby boomers as they move into their mid 40s.

A Collective State of Denial: Perhaps baby boomers will be different. Maybe they will eventually wake up, notice the crisis, realize what the future holds in store for them, and start saving. Then again, maybe not. Unfortunately, the baby boomers tend not to personalize the crisis. Baby boomers are collectively in a state of denial. When contemplating their future financial prospects, they tend to exercise cognitive dissonance. Eighty-six percent of baby boomers say that they believe future retirees will face financial crises. But less than a half say that they personally expect to face a financial crisis. *Baby boomers are failing to internalize these issues.* They have not yet recognized that the demographic transition and the associated long-run fiscal crisis have very important implications for their own lives.

V. Preventive Medicine

We could, of course, take active steps to stimulate saving and encourage baby boomers to achieve financial independence before retirement. This would spur capital accumulation, and could well usher in a new period of high real wage growth. One way to encourage saving is, of course, through tax incentives. There are a wide variety of options ranging from narrowly-focused tax-favored accounts, such as Individual Retirement Accounts, to broad-based capital gains tax relief, or even the elimination of capital income taxation through the implementation of a consumption tax. There is also an intense debate over the effectiveness of saving incentives.

My views on this topic are somewhat unorthodox because I do not fall squarely into either of the two well-defined camps. The evidence on the effectiveness of tax incentives is mixed. Moreover, it is mixed for very good reasons. Once we understand these reasons, we can design more effective tax incentives.

V.A. Effectiveness of Tax Incentives

For the minority of Americans who are financially sophisticated and who understand concepts like compound interest, tax incentives are quite effective. It is important to recall that this minority is quantitatively important because they do the bulk of saving. Of course, this is precisely the group of Americans that was deprived of the tax incentives for saving in the 1986 tax reforms.

The majority of Americans, however, are not financially sophisticated. It is important to keep in mind, for example, that the vast majority of Americans cannot correctly calculate the change that they are due on a two-item restaurant meal. More than one-third of Americans believe that if you take a thousand dollars and invest it in the bank for thirty years at eight percent, you'll have less than five thousand dollars. In fact, the correct answer is more than ten thousand dollars. The average American just doesn't understand the power of compound interest.

Reasons for Skepticism: For these individuals, I am skeptical of the claim that tax incentives in isolation – and I emphasize that I am only referring to the use of these incentives in isolation – will have a significant effect on behavior. These individuals already have a compelling reason to save more. They are saving at one-third the rate required to make adequate preparations for retirement. If they do not change their behavior, their standard of living will decrease drastically after retirement. That is a powerful incentive to save more, and it exists today. How much will tax breaks enhance that incentive? If someone does not understand compound interest, the answer is, "Not very much." Suppose he is trying to decide whether to put one thousand dollars in the bank or spend it this year. If he does not understand compound interest, how will he think about the benefits of receiving, say, an 8 percent return on those funds tax-free? If he just calculate the tax that he saves on the 8 percent return during the first year, it comes out to about two bucks a month. If he is inclined to spend the thousand dollars today, he is not very likely to put it in the bank for an extra two dollars a month, unless of course he understands the long-run advantages of pursuing this kind of an investment strategy.

Need for Promotional Savings Strategies: Nevertheless, there is some evidence that tax incentives do work for the majority of people when they are combined with appropriate promotional strategies. In this country we have seen this principle demonstrated in the context of the IRA program. There is, of course, no consensus about the effectiveness of IRAs. My own view is that the IRA program was successful, in large part because it was a high-profile program that focused attention on the need to save for retirement. In a sense, it raised consciousness on retirement issues. It also provided Americans with a target: two thousand dollars a year. Most Americans who contributed to the program tried to reach that target – in effect, the government gave an official endorsement to the practice of putting away two thousand dollars per year for retirement.

In addition, the IRA program also provided the financial services sector with something to market. That was extremely beneficial because the financial services sector essentially undertook the provision of financial education. IRA accumulation scenarios were regularly tabulated in promotional materials, and the public actually learned something about compound interest.

Experience in Other Countries: There is, in addition, evidence that the combination of tax incentives and non-tax promotional activity has worked in other countries. The most notable precedent is the post-war experience of the Japanese. We sometimes forget that prior to World War II the Japanese actually saved less than Americans. The notion that saving is inherently cultural, and that Asians have deeply rooted proclivities to save, is nothing more than a myth. Japan, Taiwan, and many other Asian countries have experienced dramatic increases in rates of saving during the post-war period.

What happened in Japan? After World War II the Japanese government resolved to shape directly cultural attitudes about saving. They did this through a program that combined powerful tax incentives with aggressive non-tax promotions, including activities like workers' seminars, children's savings banks, and the general distribution of all sorts of promotional materials. The savings rate in Japan increased sharply during the 1960s, despite the fact that this was a decade of Westernization, in which traditional Japanese values were deemphasized. Thus we see that high rates of saving in Japan are not the result of culture. Rather, they are the result of effective policy and conscious choice. In this country we have made the opposite choices.

The fiscal crisis is only one problematic consequence of the demographic transition. It is not clear that the macroeconomic problems associated with the retirement of the baby boom generation will be addressed by encouraging them to save more. After all, for every additional dollar that they put away today, there will be another dollar of dissaving after they retire.

V.B. Raising the Retirement Age

A second strategy for coping with the economic effects of the demographic transition is to raise the average age of retirement. Projections and simulations show that a relatively small change in the average retirement age – by perhaps two or three years – makes an enormous difference in terms of the long-run fiscal outlook. Delayed retirement enhances revenues: people work longer and pay more taxes. It also reduces liabilities because individuals collect benefits for shorter periods of time.

Controlling the Dependency Ratio: If we were free to select the average retirement age, then, in effect, we could control the dependency ratio. Right now the dependency ratio is about three-to-one. Through a gradual increase in the retirement age, we could keep the dependency ratio at three-to-one. Ideally the system would, once again, be self-correcting. Baby boomers should realize that if they are not saving very much, then they won't be able to afford to retire as early as their parents.

Increasing the retirement age is an attractive alternative for a variety of reasons. We have come to think of 65 as the "normal" retirement age, and we rarely stop to think about whether people ought to stop working at age 65. Perhaps it is appropriate to recall that this "normal" retirement age was established by Otto von Bismark, who set up the first Social Security system during the 1800s. Back in the 1800s, those who made it to age 65 were usually not capable of doing much more work. In contrast, the typical 65-year-old today is quite capable of continuing to work for quite a few years. So it is not obvious that the historical reasons for a 65-year-old retirement age are still relevant.

Limitations of Postponed Retirement: The strategy of coping with the economic consequences of the demographic transition by pushing up the retirement age is not without limitations. One problem is that this strategy probably would not affect the overall outlook for health care expenditures. Medical costs would still be problematic because they are driven by the number of elderly people. Late retirement does not do anything to change the number of elderly people, unless we work them to death.

A second problem is that it is difficult to fine-tune the retirement age. Remember that the baby boomers are going to have a lot of political power as retirees. If they do not want to retire later, they will use their political power to resist an increase in the age of eligibility for retirement benefits. The existence of disability insurance also makes it difficult to control the retirement age. It is very hard to detect the difference between an inability to work and an unwillingness to work. If we try to push up the normal retirement age, what we are likely to see is more and more people claiming disability as they hit age 63 or 65.

Jobs Adequacy Issue: Another concern associated with the strategy of coping with the demographic transition by raising the retirement age is that if the elderly do not retire, there will not be enough jobs to go around. The significance of this concern has been overstated. It is important to keep in mind the nature of the demographic transition. We will not have to deal with a huge expansion of the labor force. On the contrary, as the baby boomers move into retirement, the labor force will actually shrink. So it will not be necessary to create new jobs to accommodate the working elderly, as long as the adjustment of the retirement age is gradual.

V.C. Increased Immigration

The third, and certainly most daring strategy for coping with the economic implications of the demographic transition concerns immigration policy. Why is immigration policy relevant? The key observation is that the demographic transition is confined to the developed countries. Throughout the developed world, a huge bulge in the population-age distribution is moving steadily towards retirement. In contrast, the developing world has exactly the opposite problem: a huge bulge in the population-age distribution at the very young ages.

When you look at these two distributions on a diagram, they resemble matching pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. *They fit together.* And that phenomenon naturally suggests a strategy for managing the demographic transition. An economist might describe it in blunt terms as follows: "Either we've got to export the old folks or import young folks." Since no one is likely to want our old folks, importing young folks is more feasible. And this is accomplished through immigration policy.

Profound Ethnic Transition: The system may be at least somewhat self-correcting, in the sense that there will probably be increasing economic pressures to liberalize immigration policy, and to allow an influx of foreign workers, as the baby boomers begin to retire and the labor force contracts. But it must also be acknowledged that this strategy would require a major shift in U.S. policy. We would in effect be inviting a major influx of immigrants that would rival the immigration waves that took place in the 1800s and at the turn of the century.

Moreover, these immigrants would come from non-traditional sources. Historically, most immigrants to the U.S. have been European. But Europe is also experiencing the same demographic transition as we are. Future immigration would come from the third world, especially India, China, and Africa. And this implies, perhaps, a profound ethnic transition for this country.

Coping with the demographic transition through immigration is certainly an unconventional solution, and I will stop short of actually endorsing it. But nevertheless it may be one of our best hopes for long-run economic prosperity. In the past, immigration waves have fueled American economic growth. Immigrants tend to be special in the sense that they are more motivated and ambitious – historically they have been the cream of the crop. The U.S. has, throughout its history, benefited from the special characteristics and dispositions of immigrants.

Cultural Assimilation Problem: The problem with immigration, of course, is assuring cultural assimilation. While the U.S. has had great success assimilating immigrants from Europe, it remains to be seen whether cultural assimilation will be as effective for other groups. It is also important to remember that the other major developed countries also face the challenges associated with the demographic transition. The United States stands out as the developed country with the greatest potential for effective assimilation of large immigrant populations. Most of our current economic competitors cannot use immigration policy to cope with the demographic transition because they have so little potential for cultural assimilation.

Consider Japan, for example. Japan is a closed society. The Japanese economy cannot be refreshed by new infusions of talent from other cultures. Germany also has limited potential for effective cultural assimilation. We have already seen the kinds of problems that have arisen in Germany with immigration from Eastern Europe, even though Eastern Europeans are far more culturally similar to Germans than third-worlders. The U.S. is unique in the sense that we are a nation of immigrants with a history of assimilation. And therefore there is a possibility that through a strategy of managed immigration and assimilation, the U.S. may remain a vital and preeminent economic power while other current economic powers stagger under the weight of falling dependency ratios.

VI. Conclusion

In conclusion, it is important to keep in mind that historically, cataclysmic predictions rarely come true. Something usually – but obviously not always – happens to avert the most dire consequences of social change. In the 1960s and 1970s people were making all sorts of cataclysmic predictions about the kinds of conditions we would be facing by the mid 90s, concerning, for example, population growth, the depletion of energy resources, and so forth. I do not mean to suggest that population and energy are not still problems – they are. But the forecasts that were made by organizations like the Club of Rome have proven wildly inaccurate. Why? Because things have changed, because social and economic systems have been, at least to some extent, self-correcting.

With respect to the time bomb of pension and medical liabilities associated with the demographic transition, we can count on the fact that there will be many adjustments. We could just wait and allow the adjustments to take place in response to various crises as they emerge. But this would be unwise. There are many possible paths of adjustment for this country. Rather than simply trusting to fate, it is time to take the bull by the horns, and choose some path.

APPENDIX: EDITOR's COMMENTS

Four points can be made which extend Professor Bernheim's comments.

1. Procrastination: The prospects are poor that the U.S. and other G-7 countries will act sooner rather than later in redressing the retirement crisis. The reason is game theoretical in nature: it is *rational* for leaders in both political parties to continue to ignore this problem. For as we demonstrated in our September 1992 essay "Save Us From Ourselves", the games of Presidential and Congressional Election are Prisoner's Dilemma type games.

Their equilibrium points (solutions) are strategies whereby each candidate chooses to avoid a discussion of the entitlements problem or its three possible solutions: large tax hikes, benefit reductions, or postponement of the retirement age. This is true partly because voters do not want to hear the truth, and partly because of the ever-growing proportion of politically organized elderly groups such as the AARP.

2. Baby Boomer Under-Saving: Whereas Bernheim claims Baby Boomers are saving at *one-third* the neccessary rate, we compute that they are saving *one-fifth* what they ought to. The reason lies in the significant hike in marginal tax rates that will be neccessitated by the very crisis Bernherim describes – a point he concedes.

3. Disarmament: In the longer run, the growth of entitlements spending will necessitate a drastic cutback in military preparedness tantamount to disarmament. This will embolden future Saddam Husseins to act much more aggressively than would otherwise be the case. In our view, it is all but certain that this situation will precipitate sporadic wars.

4. "Fairness": Note, finally, that the legislation that has created this unprecedented and inequitable redistribution of opportunity away from the young to the elderly was wrought in the name of "fairness". This all-too-seductive concept has emerged as the intellectual Venus fly trap of the twentieth century. Enter therein and thou shalt not exit.

1118

John

Do you want me
to send to
Pres. Msg?

TO Dorskind
call me Podesta

National Association of Manufacturers

94 NOV 8 P5:41

November 8, 1994

Ground Floor, West Wing
Washington, DC 20500

Dear John:

Thanks for being persistent in returning my telephone calls during the past few weeks. I also appreciate your guidance on how to get a "Presidential Message" on the subject of the 100 years of excellence of manufacturing in the U.S.

In 1995, the NAM will be celebrating its "Centennial" and we wish to exploit this year-long event by calling to the public's attention the essential role manufacturing plays in the economic well-being of this country, not only in the past but also now and in the future.

Having President Clinton deliver a "Presidential Message" on the 100 years of manufacturing excellence would be a strong signal on the importance the President gives to this critical sector. I also know that our members would be thrilled and appreciative of the recognition.

Per your request, I am enclosing our newsletter that includes a number of articles on our celebration and a calendar of major centennial events scheduled for 1995.

We would hope that the message could be delivered around the time of our winter Board meeting February 9-11 or another suitable time period.

John, once you have had time to review this piece, I will give you a call on what we need to do to make this wish a reality.

Sincerely,

enclosure

Manufacturing Makes America Strong

1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 1500 - North Tower, Washington, DC 20004 - 1790 • (202) 637-3047 • Fax: (202) 637-3182

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: November 18, 1994

94 NOV 22 A11:31

Date of Request:	9/21/1994
Request for:	POTUS
Type of Request:	Award Nominee
Requestor Name:	Ms. Linda J. Collier
Title:	GAIN Representative
Organization:	Self-Esteem Committee Department of Human Services - GAIN Division P.O. Box 511 2001 28th Street Suite C Bakersfield, California 93302
Contact Tel. #:	805/631-6868
Event Date:	n/a
Event Description:	no event
Notes:	The Committee would like a staff member to nominate POTUS for a Self-Esteem Award.

Recommendations:

JP NO EB ______

94 NOV 10 P1:03

November 7, 1994

John D. Podesta
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear John:

I understand that Harold Ickes is already in the process of building a team for the re-election campaign. I would deeply appreciate an opportunity to talk to him (or to whoever is appropriate) about the possibility of joining the re-elect staff at the very beginning.

I believe that I am qualified for any number of positions on the campaign. I am a veteran of two presidential cycles, and I have worked on the campaigns from almost all perspectives -- headquarters, field staff, advance, etc... While I remain deeply interested in a position with the White House, I am prepared to join the campaign effort immediately.

A copy of my resume is enclosed. Please let me know if you need anything else. Thanks in advance for your help.

Sincerely,

Matthew L. Bennett

Matthew L. Bennett

Enclosure

Harold

Matt is a good guy - well regarded by advance types

John

MATTHEW L. BENNETT
1449 Corcoran Street, N.W. (Apt. 3)
Washington, D.C. 20009
Telephone: (202) 667-4256

EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA SCHOOL OF LAW, Charlottesville, Virginia
J.D.: May, 1993
Journal of Law and Politics, Research and Projects Editor
Note Published: "Time for a New Battle Plan: HUD and the Drug War in Public Housing"
Action for Better Living (Volunteer Network), Founding Member

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
B.A. in History: May, 1987
Graduated cum laude; Highest departmental honors; Mortar Board Senior Honor Society
University City Hospitality Coalition (Meals for the homeless)
Penn Singers (Light Opera Company).

EMPLOYMENT

King and Spalding, Washington, D.C. — September 1993-Present
Litigation Associate: Research and prepare motions, appellate briefs, client letters and intra-office memoranda on general civil litigation and white-collar crime.

Presidential Transition Office, Washington, D.C. — November 1992-January 1993
Research Assistant, Justice Cluster: Researched and prepared background memoranda for Justice Cluster team members. Topics included: the (former) Office for the Administration of Justice; redistribution of jurisdiction between the Inspector General and the Office of Professional Responsibility; selection of federal judges. Responsibilities also included editing team reports for briefing book for Attorney General-designate.

Office of Presidential Advance, Washington, D.C. — May-August 1993
Clinton/Gore '92 Committee, Little Rock, Arkansas — July-November 1992
Lead Advance (President Bill Clinton): Directed advance teams of up to twenty-two staffers in preparation for presidential and campaign events. Picked event sites, coordinated President Clinton's schedule with White House and national campaign office, negotiated political issues with elected officials and state campaign directors, hired vendors and arranged logistics with the United States Secret Service.

Howrey and Simon, Washington, D.C. — Summer 1991
King and Spalding, Washington, D.C.
Summer Associate: Researched and prepared intra-office memoranda and client letters on a wide range of topics for the white-collar crime, litigation and environmental departments.

Onondaga County District Attorney, Syracuse, NY — Summer 1990
Law Clerk: Researched and prepared appellate briefs for the New York State Appellate Division. Authored eleven briefs on cases involving murder, rape, child abuse and drug trafficking. Prepared memoranda for the Drug Unit and Felony Trial Unit and assisted in witness and victim interviews for the Sexual Abuse Unit.

Dukakis For President Campaign, Inc., Boston, MA — August 1987-November 1988
National Advance Staffperson (Eleven months): Organized candidate events and logistics.

Research Assistant, Issues Department (Five months): Drafted candidate position papers; assisted speechwriter with research; wrote papers for candidate briefing book; conducted opposition research.

Other experience includes: Congressional internship (Representative Lee Hamilton); travel around the world; ski area guide; waiter; bartender; cook.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11.22.94

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 22, 1994

94 NOV 22 P 1 : 49

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: JOHN PODESTA JDP
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CHERYL MILLS CDM
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Granting of Pardons and a Commutation

On Wednesday, November 23, 1994, we will forward to the Justice Department your decision to grant pardon petitions for 41 individuals. We also will transmit your decision to commute the sentence of Ernest Krikava, the hog farmer from Oklahoma.

Upon receiving our memoranda, the Justice Department will prepare two warrants -- one for the 41 individuals to whom you have granted pardons and one for Mr. Krikava. These warrants will be forwarded to the White House on Wednesday; once they are signed and returned to the Justice Department, the Pardon Attorney will communicate your clemency decisions to the respective applicants.

You had requested additional information on Mr. Eugene Dishman, whose clemency application was among the 41 pardon petitions. Mr. Dishman was convicted in 1983 of conspiracy to defraud the United States and several Oklahoma counties under 18 U.S.C. § 371. At the time of his crime, Mr. Dishman was a salesman for an Oklahoma City equipment company. With the knowledge, consent and encouragement of his employer, he conspired with other employees in the company and nine Oklahoma county commissioners to pay them kickbacks in exchange for equipment purchases for the counties from the company.

Bruce Lindsey spoke with Steve Patterson, Congressman McCurdy's Chief of Staff, about Mr. Dishman. While he was unfamiliar with Mr. Dishman, he did state that granting the pardon would not create a problem in Oklahoma. To date, we have not received any communications from any Oklahoma politicians either in support of, or in opposition to, Mr. Dishman's clemency petition.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 21, 1994

John E. Fiorini, III
2281 Marginella Drive
Reston, Virginia 22091

Dear John:

Thanks for your letter of November 5. I really appreciate your uplifting words of encouragement. You're right that the political climate in recent weeks has been difficult.

Thanks, too, for what you said about the young boy I recently visited with in California who is autistic. He and Michael and others who are disadvantaged all have a part to play in our nation. We must not leave anybody out.

I appreciate your interest in serving in some sort of advisory position in the telecommunications field. I know you would have a lot to offer, and I've shared your letter with Veronica Biggins, my Director of Presidential Personnel, for her consideration.

I hope you and Gail are well, and I look forward to seeing you during the holidays.

Sincerely,

Bill Thanks His strong

cc V Biggins
cc NHS for cert review
Ann Stock

JOHN E. FIORINI, III
2281 MARGINELLA DRIVE
RESTON, VIRGINIA 22091

November 5, 1994

Dear Mr. President,

A recent visit with the Hoepers in California (they're doing fine) reminded me that I've been remiss in not writing to commend you for maintaining your equilibrium in a truly insane political climate. You must sometimes find yourself wondering why you worked so hard to get a job for which you receive so little public gratitude. At least you can be confident that those who know you appreciate your commitment to fundamental change in the face of entrenched interests, which seems to me the most difficult thing any political leader can take on.

I read that during your recent California trip, you took the time to talk with a young boy who is a high-function autistic, as is our nine-year-old. I can tell you that our experience with Michael has given us a very personal appreciation of political leadership that believes the disadvantaged have a rightful place in American society. I fear for the future of the Michaels of our country if the likes of a Gramm or a Gingrich are ever in a position to control social policy.

On to more upbeat matters. I spoke a few days ago with Jeff Smulyan, a client of mine, who told me that accompanying you to the Middle East and witnessing the Israel/Jordan signing were among the most moving experiences of his life. Jeff, by the way, did a terrific job heading the U.S. delegation to the ITU conference in Japan in September, and you can be proud of him.

I have two favors to ask. First, if there were a way to include Gail and me on the guest list for one of your holiday affairs, Gail would be thrilled. Second, I'd consider it a great privilege to be of help to your administration in the telecommunications area, where I've concentrated my practice ever since law school. I'm not looking for employment, but rather an advisory position of some sort.

However things go on Tuesday, don't let the bastards wear you down.

Best,

John

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

cc HRC
her letter —

November 21, 1994

Deane Shatz
4243 Lenore Lane, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

[redacted]

Dear Deane:

Thanks for the quarter and for your letter of November 11. I appreciate your insight into the mid-term elections. I think we have to remind ourselves that this is no ordinary time. The American people are obviously frustrated with the pace of change and with the way Washington goes about its business. We have a lot of work to do in the months to come.

Thanks, too, for your suggestions and your support.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

I agree with almost everything you said —

Deane Shatz

4243 Lenore Lane NW
Washington, DC 20008

November 10, 1994

Dear President Clinton,

I lost the quarter - the Senate and House results are a clarion call to YOU Less government, less interference into the lives of people, and less money spent for Congress. Don't be misled into thinking your program was not at fault - Health Care was an anithma to many because of its large scale and more government.

The people are saying - the end of liberalism more conservative agenda. Incremental advances in education, health care, and heavy duty changes in welfare. (Vouchers for education belong to State governments not U.S.) The Congress should only set up National Standards for Education.

We need to publicize and talk about programs that work in education, crime prevention, and vocational schooling. Hillary would be a wonderful promoter in this endeavor. She would only threaten the NEA not the American male.

That male and this female want a smaller government, less money spent on welfare and farm subsidies, campaign finance reform. You have everything to gain by taking a turn to the right. Mr. Stephanopoulos, Mr Sperling and Secretary Reich are off in Jesse Jacksons land. Again you need to delegate responsibilities and stop micromanaging - Remember President Carter.

I think you are a good President, but if you want the job after 1996 you need to become an excellent President in todays environment, by listening to the middle class revolution that says I want more for my tax-dollar ~~and~~ and less taxe.

Your devoted admirer,

Diane Shatz

P.S. Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky would be a great replacement for Dee Dee Myers.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

a kind letter to Hope, NP!

OK PM

November 21, 1994

Peter W. May
President
Chief Operating Officer
Triarc Companies, Inc.
900 Third Avenue
New York, New York 10022

[redacted]

Dear Peter:

Thanks for your letter of November 9 and for your insight into the mid-term elections. I think we have to remind ourselves that this is no ordinary time. The American people are obviously frustrated with the pace of change and with the way Washington goes about its business. We have a lot of work to do in the months to come, and I really appreciate your thoughtful suggestions of things we should change.

Thanks, as always, for your support, your encouragement, and your friendship. I hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill

I agree with your analysis and will try to do what you suggest but they have to try too

TRIARC

Triarc Companies, Inc.
900 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10022
Tel 212 230 3200
Fax 212 230 3024

Peter W. May
President
Chief Operating Officer

November 9, 1994

William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

I know you must be quite disappointed with the outcome of yesterday's elections, and certainly it was not a good day for the Democratic Party. However, I really believe that if we use this outcome as a true message of what the people and, particularly your supporters, want, it can turn out to be constructive rather than devastating.

Most of us who supported you from the beginning were excited and captured by your vision as a New Democrat that was primarily centrist in orientation, based on the principles of the Democratic Leadership Council of fiscal responsibility with a strong social conscience and the use of less government and more creative ways of solving our problems.

If anything, the message of this election is that the public does not view your administration as being true to those promises, but being more responsive to the liberal influences of the Democratic Party, particularly in the way health care and taxes were approached.

As a strong supporter, I am very aware of all of your accomplishments in your first two years, particularly NAFTA, the Crime Bill, and the peace initiatives. Yesterday's election certainly ignores these accomplishments and reflects a lack of confidence in the White House process as much as in your agenda. But I do think that health care, which became the centerfold of your agenda, was presented in a relatively dogmatic way, without listening to offers for compromise and in a way that the public felt was basically the government imposing something and creating a bureaucratic nightmare.

President Clinton
November 9, 1994

Frankly, if the Democrats had to lose seats, I believe it is better that the outcome of this election went as far as it did, because I was concerned that if only a few seats in both the House and Senate changed hands, it would not be a strong enough message to the White House, nor would it put any sense of responsibility on the Republican party and we would have ended up with another 2 years of gridlock. Instead, the Republicans are now in a position where they must bear the responsibility of their actions and cannot simply be obstructionists.

I hope that you will respond to this challenge and not simply decide to veto all Republican proposals. In an effort to get the politicians of this country to work together, this would be a great opportunity to try to get some of your programs accomplished in the original vision of the New Democratic center. If you are able to do this, then you probably have a better chance at reelection than if we just had 2 more years of the same gridlock and anger.

I also hope that the Republicans become responsible, propose legislation that is sensible and realistic, and that the White House response in openminded and conciliatory wherever possible, so that we don't shift the gridlock from Congress to the White House, which would clearly be used by the Republicans negatively in 1996.

Please don't think it's impertinent of me to make these comments. I am one of your strongest supporters and have been from the time you announced your candidacy, and once we met, I became a true believer in your greatness. I look at the current election results as an opportunity to prove that to the people of this country, so that we can have another 6 years of President Clinton.

Lots of good luck. Please do not be disheartened. I will continue to be your strong supporter.

Sincerely,

PWM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 21, 1994

Kerry Kirschner
The Argus Foundation
Post Office Box 49361
Sarasota, Florida 34230

[redacted]

Dear Kerry:

Thanks for your letter of November 9 and for what you said about my news conference. You're right that I need more Republican friends!

We do need to do a better job of communicating, and I appreciate your following up on your earlier suggestion of a surrogate speaker program. It's a good idea.

Thanks, as always, for your encouragement. I look forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill

Cc: Alexis
Billy W.
Erskine —
This guy is good and a good friend — we should follow up

ARGUS

THE ARGUS FOUNDATION

November 9, 1994

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Bill:

First you did a great job at the press conference today. You do have the pulse of the people. Now you need just two things–better communications outside Washington, and more Republican friends than just me!

When I was in Washington working with the Florida delegation on NAFTA, I mentioned to you the need for a strong surrogate program and followed up my suggestion with a plan. I subsequently met with Alexis who immediately afterward had her many unfortunate personal injuries, and it went no further. Now as ~~you face the insurmountable~~ opportunity of dealing with a Republican Congress, ~~you need, more~~ than ever, an approach of communicating with the folks outside the Beltway, so that Presidential pressure comes from the constituency in the district not from your end of Pennsylvania Avenue. Be it by briefings at the Old Executive Office Building or the coordinated efforts of administration surrogates taking the messages to the grass roots of America, I can't encourage you enough to develop a structured program of communication.

There are a lot of us who still believe in you Bill, and as John Paul Jones said, we know that "you have just begun to fight."

Best Regards,

Kerry Kirschner

1800 Second St., Suite 808 • P.O. Box 49361, Sarasota, Florida 34230-6361
Telephone: (813) 365-4886 • FAX: (813) 955-2015

Sec
Get a few
& let them bring
kids to a rodeo
show

cc: Kelly C.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 21, 1994

Vincent J. Convery, Jr.
1624 Golden Court
McLean, Virginia 22101

Dear Vinnie:

Thanks for your really thoughtful letter of November 10. Your friendship means a lot to me, and I appreciate what you said about the election. You're right that we need to get it behind us and get on with the work we face. There's a lot to be done.

Thanks, too, for the invitation to Thanksgiving dinner. I think we'll probably spend it at Camp David with our family, but I do appreciate your thinking of us.

Again, thanks for your encouragement. I look forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill

VINCENT J. CONVERY, JR.
1624 GOLDEN COURT
McLEAN, VIRGINIA 22101

November 10, 1994

Dear Mr. President,

In baseball, the manager is viewed as a genius when his team is winning, but then takes a disproportionate share of the blame when they go into a tailspin. In neither case does he deserve all the praise, or all the abuse, he gets. But that's what happens when you're the guy out front, and it's nothing you didn't already know going into the job.

Still, I feel that after last Tuesday night, you could use a few kind words. I wholeheartedly believe that you are not getting nearly the credit you deserve for your accomplishments - the Middle East peace, North Korea, Northern Ireland, Haiti, family leave, the deficit, unemployment to name just a few. Volumes can be written on each of these and others. Yet, we don't hear about it. It's not fair, but it's life.

You've been down before, you've come back before. There are millions of us who have faith in you and know that you will do it again. We elected you to do a job. Granted, it's the toughest job ever created, but it's one we know that you are approaching with every ounce of strength you have. You are making a difference in the lives of everyday Americans. We need for you to persevere.

The next two years will present enormous hurdles, but not insurmountable ones. I truly believe that with the challenges posed by the new Congress, you will be given numerous opportunities to succeed, and will in fact do so.

I have been touched that a man with your commitments and responsibilities has taken the time to respond on those occasions I've written you. Please know, though, that that is not necessary - I'm pleased to know that these notes get through to you.

So, from a non-political friend, a little advice. Try to forget about the events of the past week for just a few days. Then come back fighting.

Unlike some we've seen recently, I'd still be honored to jog with you and to have my kids' picture taken with you.

As always, our door is open to you should you want to get away for a few minutes or for dinner. In fact, we've got space at Thanksgiving if your card is not already full.

Sincerely,
Vinnie

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

[illegible]

November 21, 1994

Jack W. Theimer
Suite 1108
601 California Street
San Francisco, California 94108

[redacted]

Dear Jack:

Thanks for your letter of November 7. I'm delighted you and Kaye were able to join us for dinner last Saturday in San Francisco. It was good to see you and to have a chance to visit.

I appreciate your following up on our conversation about the media and for sharing the information about Frank Magid. I know we could all learn something from him.

Hillary sends her best regards. We hope to see you and Kaye soon.

Sincerely,

Bill

JACK THEIMER

November 7, 1994

President W. J. Clinton
The White House
East Wing, Room 214
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for including Kaye and me last Saturday evening for dinner in San Francisco. We enjoyed seeing you and sharing your enthusiasm for the many candidates we all support.

I wanted to follow up on our discussion regarding the media and your message by enclosing the information on my friend Frank Magid. Frank founded Magid Research in 1953 and originated opinion research in the media. Frank would be very willing to meet with you and your advisors at your request to share his thoughts on ways to project your message. I know you would gain valuable insights in half an hour with Frank.

The relevant information is:

Mr. Frank Magid
Magid & Associates
1 Research Center
Marion, IA 52302
Phone: (319) 377-7345 (office)
Phone: (805) 969-6542 (home in California)
Fax: (319) 377-5861

Frank travels constantly, but spends lots of time in New York and Washington. He serves on the board of the Smithsonian Institution and has clients in the Washington market

Give our best to Hillary and Carolyn Huber!

Sincerely,

Jack W. Theimer

THE INTERNATIONAL BUILDING • 601 CALIFORNIA ST, SUITE 1108, SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94108
(415) 834-0685 (415) 834-0689 (FACSIMILE)

THE WHITE H

WASHINGTO

UG / Sue poss

OK / Bm

November 22, 1994

Bart R. Lindsey
Post Office Box 160
Helena, Arkansas 72342

Dear Bart:

Thanks for your really thoughtful note of November 14. Your friendship means a lot to me, and I appreciate what you said about the election. You're right that in many ways it's an advantage. In any event, there's a lot of work to be done.

Thanks, too, for sending the Razorback poster. I appreciate your thinking of me.

Hillary sends her best to you and Sarah Jean, and we hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill

BART R. LINDSEY
P. O. BOX 160 • HELENA, AR 72342-0160

11-14-94

Dear Mr. President,

OK, you've got 'em where you want 'em!!!

I hate that we lost control of the House and Senate but I think it may work to your advantage. Now the opposition must turn in a positive direction and can't have the luxury of trying to block all of your shots. Sarah Jean and I hope that now that "new rules" are in effect, you'll use them to your advantage. Show 'em a real comeback!

over

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

I've enclosed a Razorback Poster for you - If any of your Arkansas staff wants one, let me know and I'll see that they get one -

Best regards to Hillary. Have a happy Thanksgiving!

Sincerely
Bart

[redacted]

[redacted]