

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	re: DNC 1995 Budget Report (14 pages)	06/08/1995	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 5954

FOLDER TITLE:

June 4-10, 1995 [1]

2018-0662-S

rs3129

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 3, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TSD*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

- OK 6/14/95
Shamansky
to discuss
with*
- (A) Stern memo summarizing various information items.
 - (B) Tyson memo on locating investors owed interest and dividends. This responds to your request to review a suggestion made by Robert Shamansky to require securities firms and transfer agents to make reasonable efforts to locate investors who are owed interest or dividends. Laura proposes an alternative to Shamansky's: namely, via the NPR, have undelivered payments tendered to a lead federal agency which would take responsibility for locating investors. She suggests that this could be done with no net cost to the federal government and that it could be viewed very positively by the public. If you approve, she will have the NEC staff work up a proposal.
 - (C) Castello/Krislov memo on Wall Street Journal EEOC article. This responds to your question about the April 27 op-ed ("The Latest EEOC Quota Madness") by James Bovard, which attacked the practices of the EEOC's Chicago office. The memo takes sharp issue with the Bovard article, defending the Chicago EEOC.
 - (D) Two clips from Gearan on civil discourse.
 - (E) An NSC review of the new James Adams book on Aldrich Ames. (Copy of book attached.)
 - (F) Stuart Taylor op-ed critical of independent counsel law. Forwarded by Mikva.
 - (G) Letter of Morton Bahr, CWA President, to membership. Forwarded by Ickes. Letter attacks Contract with America.
 - (H) Selected clips forwarded by Sosnik.
 - (I) Letter praising NTSB from young woman whose father was killed in Pittsburg US Air crash. Forwarded by Gearan.
 - (J) Letter from Jim Bacchus thanking you for nominating him to appellate body of WTO.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/5

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 26, 1995

95 MAY 31 P5:35

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LAURA TYSON *Laura D. Tyson*

SUBJECT: Proposal to Modify Securities Laws to Locate
Investors Who Are Owed Interest and Dividend
Payments

You asked that we review the attached proposal from Robert Shamansky. This proposal would modify securities regulation to require issuers of securities and their transfer agents to undertake reasonable efforts to locate investors who are owed dividends and interest payments. Our review indicates that the proposed changes to securities regulations may not be the most appropriate way to achieve the desired outcome. Rather, this problem may be better addressed through the Vice President's National Performance Review (NPR), with an emphasis placed on how the Federal Government can serve citizens who are owed funds. Details of how this might be accomplished are presented below. Please let me know if you would like to discuss this issue further.

Background. Under current practices, firms paying dividends and interest generally contract with agents (securities transfer firms) to remit the appropriate check to investors. These agents use the U.S. mail, but tend to undertake only limited follow-up - if the checks are returned as undeliverable. A Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) estimate puts the current amount of unclaimed funds at about \$10 billion. The burden of finding out about these unclaimed dividends and interest generally falls to the investor, who may be unaware that a check was not delivered. If investors do not present a claim for these funds within a period prescribed by State law, the funds escheat to the State of last known residence.

As a result of efforts by Mr. Shamansky and others such as Representative Wyden, stock transfer agents and corporations have drafted a set of procedures they promise to follow in this area. However, these procedures do not ensure that investors will actually receive more of the funds due them than current practice. Intervention by the government may be necessary to clarify the responsibilities of corporations and transfer agents.

Modifying SEC rules. The proposal made by Mr. Shamansky would require due diligence by corporations and transfer agents to ensure that dividend and interest payments are delivered to the investor. If checks are returned more than once, the corporation (or transfer agent) would be required to search data bases similar to those used by collection agencies and to enroll the unlocated investor on a register maintained by the SEC. All such dividends and interest payments would be placed into a trust where these funds would earn interest after a reasonable waiting period. The cost of these actions would be borne by the issuing corporation or the transfer agent.

Alternative proposal. The ongoing NPR process has emphasized that the Federal Government must provide customer service. In certain other policy initiatives, various agencies have been charged with maintaining data bases to ensure the collection of funds owed (e.g., delinquent student loans and child support payments) and the delivery of funds (e.g., the Pension Benefits Guarantee Corporation locates pensioners who are owed benefits). These existing data bases could be used to ensure that investors who are owed funds receive them. The response of citizens who are told that the Federal Government wants to locate them to give them money would certainly be incredibly positive.

Under this alternative proposal, NPR would be charged with developing a proposal whereby undelivered interest and dividend checks are tendered to a Federal lead agency that assumes responsibility for locating these investors. This service could be provided at no net cost to the Federal Government if: (1) the Federal Government was able to earn interest on the collected funds until the appropriate party was located; and/or (2) Federal income tax collections were increased as a result of this process. It should not take very long to draft a proposal along these lines, and such a proposal is likely to get a positive reception from individual investors (but probably not from security transfer firms). If you agree, the NEC staff could coordinate with NPR to bring this proposal to fruition.

Attachment

I agree - also
idea + more Shamansky
& let Shamansky follow
up with NPR + the SEC
on something in something

BENESCH
FRIEDLANDER
COPLAN
& ARONOFF
ATTORNEYS AT LAW

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

88 East Broad Street
Columbus, Ohio 43215-3506
(614) 223-9300
Fax (614) 223-9330

5/15/95

Writer's Direct Dial Number
(614) 223-9326

April 25, 1995

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500-2000

Dear Hillary:

President Clinton spoke in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of President Roosevelt's death at Warm Springs, Georgia. Thereafter, Dan Schorr commented on President Clinton's speech on NPR and reminded us of the important legacies which continue from the New Deal era, specifically mentioning the Securities and Exchange Commission ("SEC").

Upon hearing Dan's comment I resolved to bring to your attention the enclosed copy of the full page editorial from the January 1994 issue of Money magazine (Exhibit 1). The subject of that editorial is the abusive practices of the securities transfer industry, which harm countless thousands of securities owners who disproportionately are older persons. The abuse is that the issuers and their transfer agents hold billions in dividends and interest belonging to their share and bond holders because they refuse to use inexpensive and easily available databases to look for their securityholders. They deny that they have any obligation to locate their securityholders even when those securityholders were "lost" due to the negligence of the issuers or their transfer agents.

The public exposure of this \$10 billion (the SEC's figure) problem began at the celebration held in the New York Sheraton Ball Room after the Democratic Convention in 1992, where - shortly before you and the President arrived - I brought the matter to the attention of Ron Wyden, my Congressional "classmate", who was then Chairman of a Sub-committee of the House Committee on Small Business.

Ron started the ball rolling by writing in the early fall of 1993 to the then Chairman of the SEC, Richard Breeden, who simply brushed off \$10 billion of "lost" securities (See enclosed copy of February 22, 1993 letter from Chairman Breeden to Ron (Exhibit 2). Phil Lader was then at the OMB and was very helpful as was Chris Edley, who also is no longer at the OMB, I believe.

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
April 25, 1995
Page 2

After a meeting with OMB personnel in late fall of 1993 I walked over to Time Magazine and described what was happening to Mike Duffy, whom you may know as Time's White House correspondent. (I have represented his family since before he was born; I was one year behind his father in Junior and Senior High School.) Through Mike's introduction, the Money magazine full page editorial resulted.

While there are a number of lawyers knowledgeable about the law of unclaimed funds, e.g., property escheated to the states, I apparently am this country's sole expert on the negligent practices of the securities transfer industry, both issuers and transfer agents, which cause these billions to be lost in the first place. (Please see enclosed Exhibit 3: copies of pieces from Redemption Digest and Securities Industry Daily, which has been covering the ongoing struggle on behalf of the individual investors, i.e., shareholders [owners], and bondholders [lenders/creditors].) The cases upholding the Securities and Exchange Act unequivocally hold that the purpose of the Act is to encourage small investors to put their funds in the securities markets, which are the bases of our national economy. It is these individual investors who have lost billions cumulatively due to these practices.

In the meantime, I have spoken on the subject before the annual national meetings of NAUPA, the National Association of Unclaimed Property Administrators (the states) in 1993 and 1994, and the concurrently held annual national meetings of the Unclaimed Property Holders Liaison Council, which represents big issuers like Conoco, Phillips, and Chevron. In addition I addressed the North East Securities Transfer Association last September and the Annual Convention of the Securities Transfer Association in October, 1994 at the Ritz-Carlton at Laguna Niguel, California, which was somewhat like the chickens inviting a fox into the hen house to do a critique of the poultry farm operation. (I mention the preceding to establish that the industry has acknowledged that they have a big problem because it was prudent to invite me to address their conventions, but they steadfastly resist sensible changes even though all of the money involved belongs to the shareholders and bondholders and not to the issuers or their transfer agents.)

The subject of my talks has been the changes needed to stop these violations of law and equity that have evolved from a failure to change practices from thirty years ago. The issuers and their agents refuse to employ computers and databases to locate securities holders. That simply means that they won't employ the same technologies and practices to find those they owe money to that they use to find those who owe them money.

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
April 25, 1995
Page 3

No matter what law school a lawyer went to (Yale in your case, Harvard in mine,) or even if he or she did not go to any law school, we are dealing with black letter, first year law school principles, like simple contracts, third party beneficiary contracts, agency, trust, unjust enrichment, constructive trusts, due process, and equal protection. We are emphatically not dealing with the arcana of securities law; we are dealing with delivering money timely to the owners of that money.

This lawyer, to check himself on the points of law involved and the few needed changes, took advantage of an opportunity to bounce the proposed changes off of Senior Federal District Court Judge Tom Eisele of Little Rock, my HLS'50 classmate, whom you know, and who holds you and the President in high regard, while we were riding in a glass-domed car of the Alaska Railroad from Denali to Fairbanks last August. (Ted Stevens of Alaska, another of our classmates, organized a mini-reunion on an Inland Passage Cruise on the Nieuw Amsterdam, where Leon Lipson, whom you may have had at Yale, made a star appearance at his first class reunion in forty-four years!)

A further "check" for me was the response from Justice Breyer who sat through a presentation of this material and the proposed changes at the last Renaissance Weekend.

I believe that the most important contribution I can make to President Clinton's re-election is to present to him a campaign issue which affects everyone of the millions of securityholders in our country, especially the older ones who are hurt disproportionately. (I have met at the Federal Affairs Office of the AARP, who recognize their members' interest in this matter.) The law and the equities are clear especially to a good fair-minded CEO like Woody Morcutt, a copy whose note to me is also enclosed (Exhibit 4). The abuses continue right up to the present day. (See enclosed copies of current correspondence between Massachusetts Financial Services Company ["MFS"] and me. Exhibit 5) These practices are so pervasive that almost no one - until Ron Wyden and I came along - knew enough to question what was happening to them.

I "maxed out" when Susan Ness called in September, 1991 to help in starting the President's campaign; I "maxed out" in a contribution to the Presidential Legal Expense Trust Fund; and I did what was commensurate with my means during the campaign, but not even really large sums of money can - in my opinion - be more useful to the President than having him identified in the public's mind with making our national economy work better by assuring the millions of individual investors that they will be fairly treated when they put their hard-earned money in the national securities markets overseen by the SEC. This is only one of many issues the President will need, but I

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
April 25, 1995
Page 4

believe that this one is a win-win situation where he is championing the essential Federal role which is to protect the individual investor, who is the backbone of our national economy. (I can't imagine any of the Republican contenders for their presidential nomination initiating these changes, but I also cannot imagine how they could oppose shareholders getting their dividends and the interest earned by those dividends.)

I am pleased to report that I have made real progress in educating the staff of the SEC's Division of Market Regulation on the need and ease - with no expenditure of federal funds! - of implementing some simple changes in the Regulations and some minor legislative adjustments, which Ron Wyden is ready to introduce.

On May 3, I have successive meetings set up with Commissioners Roberts and Wallman at the SEC to discuss this matter. I am especially interested to learn their views. (Chairman Levitt wrote me a supportive letter some time ago, but there seems to be some hesitation still at the Commissioners' level.)

From the above I think you can understand why I believe that Ron Wyden and I have come a long way. There is still some distance to go, and it is my most fervent hope that you will be able to find the time to put your good lawyer's mind and sound political instincts to considering the benefits that the President can derive from becoming publicly identified with keeping our national securities markets sound by making them safe for the "small", individual investor. The President can make a difference here on behalf of the investor. (See enclosed copy of Op-EP page piece from the February 15, 1995 issue of the New York Times by Herbert Stein, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers under Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford. Exhibit 6)

Any notion that this is a matter for the states to handle a la former Chairman Breeden is refuted by the mess the states make of their unclaimed property laws. (See enclosed copy of article from the Columbus Dispatch - which has never endorsed a Democratic presidential candidate in my lifetime that I can remember - that shows that the State of Ohio cannot even find Bank One, Columbus, whose corporate headquarters is across the street from the Ohio Republican Governor's Office. Exhibit 7)

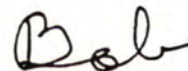
If you or any of your assistants need any further information on what is being proposed (See enclosed copy of the Five Proposals. Exhibit 8), please do not hesitate to call on me. I shall be happy to meet with anyone you wish in Washington, because I believe that the real protection of our country, its society and its economy, lies in President Clinton and not with any of his potential Republican opponents.

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
April 25, 1995
Page 5

The approach I have followed in making these five proposals to the SEC is that any proposal must (1) be grounded in good law, (2) be practical, i.e., based on readily available, inexpensive technologies, (3) not require large staffs either at the SEC or in the private sector, and (4) not require additional federal funds. I can assure you that this is exactly what these proposals do, because they are based on how the securities transfer industry really works, i.e., computers using software programs that send share and bondholders their dividends and interest.

With best wishes to the President and you, I am

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bob", written in a cursive style.

Robert N. Shamansky

RNS:gsm
Encls.

**FIVE PROPOSALS BY ROBERT N. SHAMANSKY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF
UNDELIVERED DIVIDENDS AND INTEREST FOR SECURITIES ISSUED
PURSUANT TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF
THE SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE ACT**

1. The issuers, which will hereafter include their agents, if they choose to use one, will meet the requirements of due diligence in delivering dividends and interest by employing the same technology and practices employed by collection agencies in locating debtors. (It is infinitely easier to locate a shareholder or a bondholder because they now must provide social security numbers to the issuers.) As the technology and practices for locating a person improves, so must the technology and the practices of the issuers and their agents without requiring the constant revision of detailed regulations promulgated by the SEC.
2. After the timely, i.e., immediately after a mailing has come back a second time, reference to a data base, the issuer or its agent will enroll the unlocated addressees on the expanded register maintained for the SEC and now containing only lost and stolen securities, which register is located in Wellesley, Massachusetts and operated by the Securities Information Center. This register will have the bare bones information now available in all fifty states for escheated property, but it will be easily accessible to the public, which can then cheaply and conveniently by telephone (1-900) or computer locate themselves if they are "lost". (Since no dollar amount will be mentioned, it is simply inefficient for unauthorized people to abuse this list although, ironically, the states now often make available the amounts of money owed.)

On an annual basis, each issuer/agent will report how many checks it sent out, and how many were returned as undeliverable. This will gauge lose the efficient as distinguished from the inefficient operators in this field.

3. When dividends are declared and interest allocated, they will be placed in trust accounts wherein shareholders' dividends will be earning interest for those shareholders after a reasonable waiting period, e.g., six months, thereby eliminating the current reward for not delivering these sums to their rightful owners. This is consistent with a long line of cases. This also has the additional advantage of eliminating culpability, i.e., fault, on the part of either the issuer/agent or the shareholder from being the determining factor. This properly shifts the focus to delivering the dividends by the most efficient means from the past practice of assuming the securityholder was always at fault and the issuer/agent was never at fault.
4. Some time prior to escheat as required by various state laws the issuer/agent will regularly offer blocks of unlocated accounts - large and small - for bidding from

members of the heir finding industry. Thus the market will determine the real cost of the locating services provided, and all accounts - both large and small - will receive appropriate attention. The heir finders will recover their real cost plus a profit and will do more business than ever while all "lost" parties will have a reasonable chance to be located. The payment of the heir finders will come from the issuer/agent and will represent a tiny fraction of one cent per share, just as general liability insurance does now to protect the issuer and thereby its shareholders.

5. The standing of share and bondholders to bring class action suits for negligence against issuer/agents for damages will be made explicit, and for gross negligence and wanton misconduct, there would be the right to claim triple damages. Experience shows that provisions like these provide the best incentives to comply, which means that every law and CPA firm would in effect prod issuers and their agents to comply with the law, obviating any need for the SEC to intervene or securityholders to bring suit.

What a Lobbyist Is

In Howard Kurtz's meditation on whether his husband should have stated in his column critical of the Clinton administration's tariffs on Japanese luxury cars that the Japan Automobile Manufacturers Association (JAMA) is among the clients of my firm ["A Conflict of Wills?" Style, May 23], he repeatedly identifies me as a "lobbyist." Someone like Mr. Kurtz, who makes his living being fastidious about other people's journalistic practices, should not be so careless.

The offices of the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the

Secretary of the Senate both define a lobbyist as someone who meets all three of the following criteria:

- (1) Someone who makes direct contact with a member of Congress or their staff.
- (2) Someone who receives, collects or solicits contributions, and
- (3) Someone whose purpose for receiving money is influencing legislation.

I am not now and never have been a lobbyist for JAMA or for any other client. When asked to correct his mistake, Mr. Kurtz replied that the word lobbyist denotes someone who

"tracks legislation." If so, then The Post's reporters are lobbyists. But it is not so. The noun "lobbyist," unlike, say, the noun "musician," denotes a legal status, and its misapplication can be injurious. If Mr. Kurtz is to present himself as the keeper of journalistic standards, he should abandon Humpty Dumpty's theory of meaning: "When I use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less."

MARI MASENG WILL
Washington

It's Not 'Luck'—It's Sacrifice

Liesl Schillinger, in "Where Have All The Mothers Gone?" [Outlook, May 14], suggests that our country cannot "afford to keep women at home." She refers to a former co-worker who left her office job to be a



BY JOHN OVERMYER

full-time mother as "lucky," saying that "most Americans cannot afford a house, a car and the upkeep of two children and two adults on one salary."

Like Ms. Schillinger's colleague, I left my office position to become a full-time mother a year ago, and I had many people telling me how "lucky" I was to do so. But luck has nothing to do with it. Our family income was cut almost in half, but we are able to survive on it because we had not allowed ourselves so much debt that we didn't have the option. In other words, it's not luck—it's sacrifice.

We sacrificed a newer, larger home and shiny new cars. We sacrificed luxurious cruises and trips to exotic places. Why? Because unlike Ms. Schillinger, who writes that children "take all you can give and never say thank you," my husband and I view children as a precious gift from God and being a mother as far more important than anything I could do outside the home. No matter how important a woman may feel at the office, she can easily be replaced. But when you are given the opportunity to be a mother, it is for keeps.

JANICE L. SCHELL
Sterling

The Administration's 'Superb Record' With Women

How ironic that Outlook should publish Nina Burleigh's "Clinton and the Venus Vote" on the same day [May 21] the Business section ran Clay Chandler's "Laura Tyson, Academic with an Attitude." Mr. Chandler accurately portrays the National Economic Council head as one of the president's most influential aides. Ms. Burleigh suggests there are no influential women in the White House. Her piece manages to malign not only the president but the numerous women in senior administration positions, Chief of Staff Leon Panetta and, for good measure, Mr. Panetta's wife, Sylvia.

This president has a superb record of putting women in positions of power both in the White House and in the Cabinet: Attorney General Janet Reno, Office of Management and Budget Director Alice Rivlin, Domestic Policy Council head Carol Rasco, Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala, Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary, EPA Administrator Carol Browner and United Nations Ambassador Madeleine Albright. When the issue is reinventing government, Elaine Kamarck—a senior policy adviser to Vice President Al Gore—takes the lead.

In the White House, Marcia Hale is the president's connection to governors and mayors; Alexis Herman is his link to business, women, civil rights, veterans and other key constituencies; Katie McGinty directs the

Council on Environmental Quality; Nancy Soderberg coordinates the activities of the National Security Council; Maggie Williams is the First Lady's chief of staff, and I serve as secretary to the Cabinet.

I also disagree with Ms. Burleigh's contention that Leon Panetta "doesn't get it" when it comes to women as decision makers. She points to women who have left the White House. What about the men who have left? And what about the women who proudly continue to serve there or have joined the White House to serve in senior positions?

I worked on Capitol Hill most of the time Mr. Panetta served in Congress. Most of his senior staff members during those years were women. Among the women he has brought to the White House are his longtime legislative director and counsel and

the new director of White House Management and Administration.

Finally, Ms. Burleigh states that Mr. Panetta "seems more comfortable with the role his wife played for decades (as his personal secretary and coffee-maker in Congress)." I'll bet Sylvia Panetta has made her husband a lot of coffee over the years, but she never served as his secretary, in Congress or anywhere else. She was the chief of staff for his congressional district offices, she was his top political adviser in his district and she managed most of his reelection campaigns.

Leon Panetta "gets it," and so does this president. On the big decisions—the economy, crime, education, reforming government and more—the women are there.

KATHRYN HIGGINS
Assistant to the President
Secretary to the Cabinet
Washington

No Free Hand for the French President

Jim Hoagland argues that Jacques Chirac's "personal and unencumbered" victory in the French presidential race gave him the "freedom to take creative and unexpected steps in foreign policy" ["Chirac's Big Score," op-ed, May 14]. As much as I admire Mr. Hoagland's usually astute observation of French politics, I must disagree with such an assessment.

First, Jacques Chirac owes his victory to the incongruous alliance of the pro-European centrist party and the strongly anti-Maastricht fringe of his own political party, the Rally for the Republic (RPR). Making creative and clear-cut choices on European affairs will necessarily alienate one or the other of Mr. Chirac's constituencies and probably create difficulties with the dissatisfied party in Parliament. An easier path would simply be to delay hard choices as long as possible and to

keep European issues low-key. That is the path then-Prime Minister Jacques Chirac chose in 1986-1988, during negotiations for the creation of a passport-free zone in Western Europe.

Second, Mr. Chirac did not run his campaign on foreign policy. Like Bill Clinton in 1992, he ran and won on domestic issues. People expect results and will scrutinize his actions on these problems, not on defense and foreign policies, which (with the exception of European affairs) benefit from a large consensus in the French public.

The risk, then, of trying creativity in this field is to open yet another debate and source of controversy with little chance of political gain. Unlike Mr. Hoagland, I wonder where Mr. Chirac's incentive is for a new and creative foreign policy.

PASCALE COMBELLES-SIEGEL
Arlington

THE WASHINGTON POST
TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1995

Per Podesta 6/10 -
Original went to
Kathy, copy to RM
ASW

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/31

Kathy
Higgins
this is in the
Defense
Bin Laden

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 6/8/95

Donna

Fyl-RC

Vol. 2, No. 23

The Capitol Newspaper

The Hill

Price \$2.50

Wednesday, June 7, 1995



FROM JOURNALISTS TO LAWMAKERS



Sen. Rod Grams on the CBS set with anchor Dan Rather when the Republican lawmaker was a TV broadcaster.

More than a dozen members of Congress have gone from covering a beat as a reporter to writing bills on Capitol Hill.

"There are members of the United States Senate who just are frightened to talk to reporters," said Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.), a former newspaper editor. But the members who have worked in journalism aren't

afraid — and they say the lessons they learned as members of the press transfer to the Hill.

In both careers, "you have to be an instant expert and a very quick study," said Rep. Pat Roberts (R-Kan.). And for some members, reporting provided the impetus to get into politics.

■ STORY ON PAGES 20-21

GOP family groups lobby on Packwood

By Jamie Stiehm

Conservative and religious Republican groups are seeking to persuade Republican senators to be tough in their assessment of the sexual harassment charges that Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) will respond on June 27.

"We are an organization that talks about values," said Gary Bauer, head of the Family Research Council, which played an active role in raising questions about Dr. Henry Foster's suitability to be surgeon general. The council supports legalizing school prayer and opposes abortion in almost all cases.

Regarding the matter of the Packwood case, which involves charges of sexual misconduct, tampering with diary evidence and misusing influence to solicit

job offers for his ex-wife, Bauer commented, "I've urged my Republican friends that the party ought to err on the side of being aggressive and removing any cloud over it. The charges are serious enough to warrant a full hearing and investigation."

Bauer insisted that Packwood's pro-choice position on abortion was "irrelevant" and did not enter into his political calculus.

The Christian Coalition struck a similar note. "All three charges are very serious and very troubling," said Brian Lopina, director of governmental affairs for the organization, which recently issued a proposed Contract With the American Family. Still, he added, "We have not activated our grassroots on this issue."

Packwood, long a pro-choice

among more ideological conservatives who favor getting rid of federal financing for abortions. As chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, he has shown his willingness to hew to the most extreme welfare "block grant" proposals in the House Contract with America. But he has shown no sign of altering his view on abortion, which puts him squarely at odds with the religious right's social agenda.

Given this background, probably the best Packwood can hope for is that conservative Republicans remain silent while his case is heard before the Ethics Committee. If conservative networks start to speak out against him, that could change the delicate dynamics of his standing among Senate majority col-

Despite GOP rhetoric, few women on staffs

By Jennifer Senior

Though House Republicans have made concerted efforts to court the female vote, woo female candidates, and promote talented female lawmakers, powerful women are hard to come by in GOP freshman offices.

A look at the most recent House payroll records, combined with a survey of all 73 GOP freshman members, shows that more than three-quarters of their top paid Washington positions — press secretary, legislative director and administrative assistant — are collectively held by men.

Of the 72 GOP freshmen with chiefs of staff or administrative assistants, 78 percent are men. Of the 60 with legislative directors, 85 percent are men. And of the 61 with press secretaries, 66 percent are men.

"I've been on the Hill six years," said Kathleen Siedlecki, an executive board member of the bipartisan Capitol Hill Women's Political Caucus (CHWPC). "But when I run over to the Longworth cafeteria, I can't help but notice it. There's a lot of

young male staffers around here, much more so than two years ago when we also had a big freshman class."

The numbers do not sit well with many female employees on Capitol Hill. "Having only men on your staff reflects a narrow-minded philosophy, a parochial view of politics," said Stephanie Downey, the spokeswoman for the CHWPC. "It could result in legislation that doesn't apply to society as a whole."

By comparison, the Democratic freshmen have more balanced numbers. Men comprise 58 percent of the AAs, 50 percent of their LDs and 58 percent of their press secretaries. However, the 13-member class is so small it is hard to infer any hiring trends from them.

The last time the Democrats controlled Congress, women played a more significant role in House staffs. A pre-election study of 167 House Democratic and Republican offices in 1994 by the Congressional Management Foundation found that men comprised 66 percent of all House

■ CONTINUED ON PAGE 33



PHOTOS BY MAURA BORUCHOW

Lisa Piraneo, Marjorie Strayer, and Susan Hirschmann (from top) are among the few top female aides in GOP offices.

Ethics denies OK of Moynihan aide

By Jennifer Senior

In an unusual clarification, the Senate Ethics Committee issued a statement on Tuesday saying it had not approved a law student's employment arrangement with the Senate Finance Committee, then chaired by Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.).

The Hill reported on May 17 that last summer the Finance Committee hired Daniel J. French, then a student at Syracuse University, and paid him the salary of a top committee staffer. He remained on the payroll last fall, while attending law school.

Lawrence O'Donnell, minority chief of staff for the Finance Committee and a top aide to Moynihan, hired French to be his personal assistant. In a written statement, O'Donnell told The Hill that "Dan's enrollment at Syracuse Law School during the latter half of his employment at the (Finance) committee was approved in writing by the Ethics Committee."

But the Ethics Committee, re-

ferring to published reports that included O'Donnell's explanation, said yesterday that the committee had approved only French's receipt of a "graduate award" from Syracuse University while he worked for the committee last fall.

"Mr. French's letter to the Ethics Committee sought advice only on this point, and the Ethics Committee's letter to Mr. French was confined solely to that question," the Ethics Committee said.

The statement said that "possible questions related to rate of pay, services to be provided, location of duty station, and other terms and conditions of employment were not before the Ethics Committee."

"Thus, it would not be accurate to state that the Ethics Committee approved or cleared those arrangements," the committee added.

The statement came from Sens. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.), chairman of the Ethics Committee, and Richard M.

■ CONTINUED ON PAGE 37

Despite GOP rhetoric, few women on staffs

By Jennifer Senior

Though House Republicans have made concerted efforts to court the female vote, woo female candidates, and promote talented female lawmakers, powerful women are hard to come by in GOP freshman offices.

A look at the most recent House payroll records, combined with a survey of all 73 GOP freshman members, shows that more than three-quarters of their top paid Washington positions — press secretary, legislative director and administrative assistant — are collectively held by men.

Of the 72 GOP freshmen with chiefs of staff or administrative assistants, 78 percent are men. Of the 60 with legislative directors, 85 percent are men. And of the 61 with press secretaries, 66 percent are men.

"I've been on the Hill six years," said Kathleen Siedlecki, an executive board member of the bipartisan Capitol Hill Women's Political Caucus (CHWPC). "But when I run over to the Longworth cafeteria, I can't help but notice it. There's a lot of

young male staffers around here, much more so than two years ago when we also had a big freshman class."

The numbers do not sit well with many female employees on Capitol Hill. "Having only men on your staff reflects a narrow-minded philosophy, a parochial view of politics," said Stephanie Downey, the spokeswoman for the CHWPC. "It could result in legislation that doesn't apply to society as a whole."

By comparison, the Democratic freshmen have more balanced numbers. Men comprise 58 percent of the AAs, 50 percent of their LDs and 58 percent of their press secretaries. However, the 13-member class is so small it is hard to infer any hiring trends from them.

The last time the Democrats controlled Congress, women played a more significant role in House staffs. A pre-election study of 167 House Democratic and Republican offices in 1994 by the Congressional Management Foundation found that men comprised 66 percent of all House

■ CONTINUED ON PAGE 33



PHOTOS BY MAURA BORUCHOW

Lisa Piraneo, Marjorie Strayer, and Susan Hirschmann (from top) are among the few top female aides in GOP offices.

Ethics denies OK of Moynihan aide

By Jennifer Senior

In an unusual clarification, the Senate Ethics Committee issued a statement on Tuesday saying it had not approved a law student's employment arrangement with the Senate Finance Committee, then chaired by Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.).

The Hill reported on May 17 that last summer the Finance Committee hired Daniel J. French, then a student at Syracuse University, and paid him the salary of a top committee staffer. He remained on the payroll last fall, while attending law school.

Lawrence O'Donnell, minority chief of staff for the Finance Committee and a top aide to Moynihan, hired French to be his personal assistant. In a written statement, O'Donnell told The Hill that "Dan's enrollment at Syracuse Law School during the latter half of his employment at the (Finance) committee was approved in writing by the Ethics Committee."

But the Ethics Committee, re-

ferring to published reports that included O'Donnell's explanation, said yesterday that the committee had approved only French's receipt of a "graduate award" from Syracuse University while he worked for the committee last fall.

"Mr. French's letter to the Ethics Committee sought advice only on this point, and the Ethics Committee's letter to Mr. French was confined solely to that question," the Ethics Committee said.

The statement said that "possible questions related to rate of pay, services to be provided, location of duty station, and other terms and conditions of employment were not before the Ethics Committee."

"Thus, it would not be accurate to state that the Ethics Committee approved or cleared those arrangements," the committee added.

The statement came from Sens. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.), chairman of the Ethics Committee, and Richard M.

■ CONTINUED ON PAGE 37

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 6/8/95

20mm
Fyl-Be

Vol. 2, No. 23

The Capitol Newspaper

Price \$2.50

Wednesday, June 7, 1995

FROM JOURNALISTS TO LAWMAKERS



Sen. Rod Grams on the CBS set with anchor Dan Rather when the Republican lawmaker was a TV broadcaster.

More than a dozen members of Congress have gone from covering a beat as a reporter to writing bills on Capitol Hill.

"There are members of the United States Senate who just are frightened to talk to reporters," said Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.), a former newspaper editor. But the members who have worked in journalism aren't

afraid — and they say the lessons they learned as members of the press transfer to the Hill.

In both careers, "you have to be an instant expert and a very quick study," said Rep. Pat Roberts (R-Kan.). And for some members, reporting provided the impetus to get into politics.

■ STORY ON PAGES 20-21

GOP family groups lobby on Packwood

By Jamie Stiehm

Conservative and religious Republican groups are seeking to persuade Republican senators to be tough in their assessment of the sexual harassment charges that Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) will respond on June 27.

"We are an organization that talks about values," said Gary Bauer, head of the Family Research Council, which played an active role in raising questions about Dr. Henry Foster's suitability to be surgeon general. The council supports legalizing school prayer and opposes abortion in almost all cases.

Regarding the matter of the Packwood case, which involves charges of sexual misconduct, tampering with diary evidence and misusing influence to solicit

job offers for his ex-wife, Bauer commented, "I've urged my Republican friends that the party ought to err on the side of being aggressive and removing any cloud over it. The charges are serious enough to warrant a full hearing and investigation."

Bauer insisted that Packwood's pro-choice position on abortion was "irrelevant" and did not enter into his political calculus.

The Christian Coalition struck a similar note. "All three charges are very serious and very troubling," said Brian Lopina, director of governmental affairs for the organization, which recently issued a proposed Contract With the American Family. Still, he added, "We have not activated our grassroots on this issue."

Packwood, long a pro-choice proponent, has few friends

among more ideological conservatives who favor getting rid of federal financing for abortions. As chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, he has shown his willingness to hew to the most extreme welfare "block grant" proposals in the House Contract with America. But he has shown no sign of altering his view on abortion, which puts him squarely at odds with the religious right's social agenda.

Given this background, probably the best Packwood can hope for is that conservative Republicans remain silent while his case is heard before the Ethics Committee. If conservative networks start to speak out against him, that could change the delicate dynamics of his standing among Senate majority col-

■ CONTINUED ON PAGE 32

Somerville / ca. Boer - Be

6/18/96

WHAT THIS COUNTRY NEEDS IS
LESS VIOLENCE ON TV & IN
THE MOVIES...



...AND MORE ASSAULT
WEAPONS IN REAL LIFE!



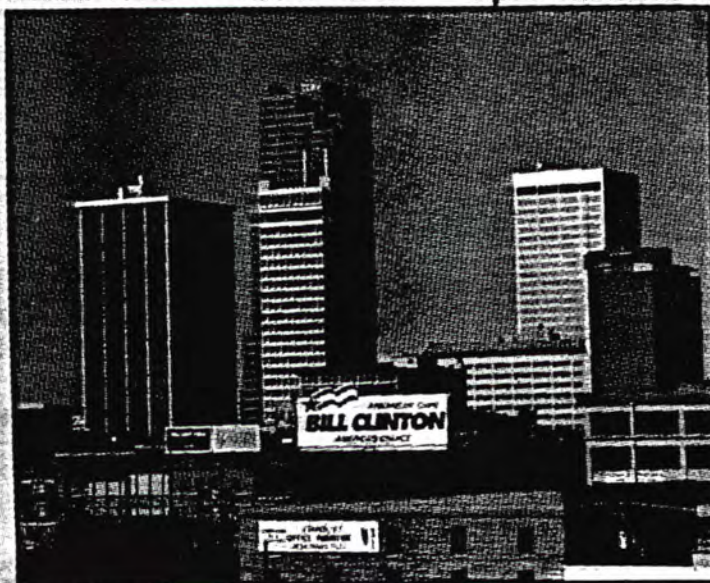
McMurry/Graham
WW Fyi — PSC
COUNSEL'S OFFICE
LT

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 6/8/95

Mr. President
Jzi
Bm

Branded, Besieged, and Battling Back

ARKANSAS' TIGHT-KNIT BAR IS
RUNNING OUT OF PATIENCE
WITH KENNETH STARR'S
WHITEWATER PROBE



BY DANIEL KLAIDMAN

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.—An outburst by Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker late last month got little play in the national media. But back home, where Tucker and many others feel besieged by the rambling Whitewater investigation, it was an emotional watershed.

The mounting frustration boiled over at a May 24 press conference where Tucker, himself a subject of the Whitewater probe, lashed out publicly at Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr. In a move that was as much staged political theater as legal maneuver, Tucker attacked Starr for exceeding his mandate by investigating Tucker's successful 1990 campaign for lieutenant governor—a line of inquiry whose connection to Whitewater was lost on Tucker.

"There comes a point when you really have to draw the line on this sort of thing," a feisty Tucker told reporters in announc-



Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr looms large in Little Rock (above left).

ing that he would not comply with a subpoena "for any and all records" relating to his campaign. "We may have reached the point of just saying, 'Wait a minute, what jurisdiction, what

SEE STARR, PAGE 18

PHOTOS BY AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Arkansas Bar Growing weary of Starr's scrutiny

STARR FROM PAGE 1

authority do you have to constantly seek new information?"

Tucker's gambit apparently worked: Shortly before the governor was scheduled to testify before a federal grand jury last week, Starr's office withdrew its subpoena. But Tucker's combative stance had a broader impact, giving voice to the shared sentiments of a large segment of Arkansas' legal community.

The state's close-knit bar, of which Tucker is a card-carrying member, has been forced to look on while the Whitewater probe has cut through Arkansas like a river overflowing its banks, leaving devastating wreckage in its path. The legal community's heroes have

been sullied, its leaders disgraced, as a team of investigators out of Washington has picked apart years of public and private affairs. As Tucker's remarks suggest, the pillars of Little Rock's legal establishment are beginning to resent it—and are increasingly targeting their resentment at Ken Starr.

"The governor expressed a feeling that is deeply felt down here," says Joseph Purvis, a partner in Little Rock's Dover & Dixon, which, with some 20 lawyers, is considered a mid-sized firm in Little Rock. "We've been taking jabs and hooks from this independent persecutor for so long now. Tucker's counterpunch was a cathartic blow for the whole state."

The festering resentment has taken a variety of forms.

Many lawyers here feel that Starr is on a witch hunt, more concerned with embarrassing the Democratic establishment of Arkansas than with assessing and punishing wrongdoing stemming from the property investment of President Bill Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and their ties to the head of a failed thrift. They claim that Starr and his crew frequently leak damaging details from the investigation. And some, groping for ways to respond after more than two years of searing scrutiny, have spun out conspiracy theories elaborate and improbable enough to rival anything cooked up by President Clinton's harshest critics.

Starr in some ways seems an unlikely target for acrimonious attacks. The 48-year-old former D.C. Circuit judge and solicitor general is a patrician Washington lawyer who has spent years carefully cultivating a reputation for probity and congeniality—a man who, like the president he is investigating, wants to be liked by everyone. But in the bare-knuckled world of Arkansas politics, he has become a juicy target.

Starr declined to be interviewed for this article. But associates in his office defend the integrity of the probe.

"Ken is quite confident that anyone in Arkansas who is following the investigation closely must surely recognize that he is focusing on the issues that pertain to the subject of his investigation," says a source close to Starr.

Members of the Whitewater independent counsel team also insist that Starr has taken pains to be sensitive to the Arkansas bar, which they acknowledge has been through a traumatic period.

"We operate with no stereotypical notions," says Mark Tuohy III, a former president of the D.C. Bar and Starr's deputy in the independent counsel's Washington office.

"Little Rock is a large community, and, like a number of cities around the country, it has a terrific bar," adds Tuohy, a partner in the D.C. office of Reed Smith Shaw & McClay. "There are no presumptions, though we obviously have to pursue those matters we are investigating, which I hope the Little Rock community would—and I think they do—understand."

NOT MAKING FRIENDS

Still, Starr clearly has been stung by the criticism. In an unusual move for a sitting independent counsel, Starr publicly defended the integrity of his investigation last month in a commencement address at the Duke University School of Law.

"Not a day goes by that we do not seek



Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker objected strongly to a subpoena related to the Whitewater probe.

to discuss and judge what we are doing, why we are doing it, and the impact of what we are doing on others." Starr said in his May 13 speech.

And in an apparent effort to humanize his probe and soften his image in Little Rock, Starr has made some limited, carefully selected forays into the community. In April, for instance, he solicited an invitation to speak to sixth-graders at the Martin Luther King Jr. Elementary School about the American justice system.

But even Starr's attempt to reach out locally was met with cynicism and scorn in some quarters.

"He's supposed to be a prosecutor, not a politician," says a partner at a large Little Rock firm. "It was a slick publicity stunt."

EVERY NOOK AND CRANNY

Whitewater is hardly the first independent counsel investigation that has generated accusations of political vendettas, leaks, and prosecutorial overreaching. Such charges seem to go with the territory. But in the Whitewater case, several factors have come together, intensifying the psychological impact of the probe.

Never before has such a high-profile, politically sensitive investigation been trained on such a small and insular community.

The Whitewater team, with 18 prosecutors plus an unspecified number of agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Internal Revenue Service, is one of the largest independent counsel probes since the procedure was established under the Government Ethics Act of 1978. (Starr's office declined to disclose the number of agents involved.) Only the Iran-Contra investigation had a larger team. Starr's office has projected its budget to be \$6.3 million for this fiscal year.

Generally, independent counsel probes have been confined to circumscribed areas of inquiry—the Department of Housing and Urban Development, for example, or a particular operation such as Iran-Contra. And probes have almost always centered on conduct in Washington. But the Whitewater investigation has meandered far and wide through Little Rock's business, political, and legal communities, which are concentrated in an area no bigger than a Manhattan police district.

"There have been independent counsel investigations that have examined a slice of life, like the lobbying culture of Washington," says Katy Harmer, an associate professor of politics at Wake Forest University in North Carolina.

"But never before has an independent



Echoing the sentiment of many other Little Rock lawyers, Joseph Purvis (above) derides Whitewater investigator Kenneth Starr as an independent "persecutor."

DANIEL K. KRAMER



"There are better ways to impress your clients!"

We Can Serve All Of Your Firm's Needs!

- Full-Service Wine & Spirits
- Seasonal Wine Seminars
- Call For Special Business Accounts
- Gift Packaging
- Competitive Prices
- Delivery Available



THE WINE SPECIALIST
PURVEYOR OF FINE WINES AND SPIRITS

Downtown Washington's Number-One Best Cellar!

National Underwriter, McCarter & English & Business Strategy Network present

The Second Annual Conference On
**SUCCESSFULLY DEALING
WITH THE VALUATION &
FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE OF
ENVIRONMENTAL LIABILITIES**

- Practical techniques for measuring environmental liabilities • The latest financial accounting approaches • The status of Superfund

PLUS...on June 29, 1995
Optional One Day Conference
**THE NEW ENVIRONMENTAL ROLE
FOR RISK MANAGERS**

- The changing role of the risk manager
- Risk financing alternatives • Pollution product panel session • "Whither Superfund?"

For brochure/further information, call or fax

27 & 28, 1995 • The Marriott, Washington, DC

Meanwhile, Back at the Firm

Kirkland Cuts Starr's Pay But Sees Him as Asset

BY ROBERT SCHMIDT

While Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr's Whitewater probe is sending shock waves through the Arkansas bar, his investigation has caused a few ripples at his law firm, Chicago-based Kirkland & Ellis.

Starr's partnership draw, totaling nearly \$1.6 million in 1993 and 1994, was reduced in February after the firm's biennial review of partners' share allocations, according to one former and two current Kirkland & Ellis lawyers. The firm felt Starr's compensation should reflect the reduction in his practice since being appointed as an independent counsel in August, the three sources say.

According to the lawyers, Starr's big salary, compounded with his lack of face time in the office, has been the subject of some grumbling in the hallways. But the high-profile independent counsel role is generally thought to be good for business.

"Obviously there are going to be people who say, 'Gee, we're paying Ken Starr a lot of money, and he's off doing civil service,'" says the former Kirkland & Ellis lawyer, who overlapped with Starr at the firm. "However, if there is such a thing as the collective mind of the firm, people do think he is still an asset to the firm, and that [Starr's position] is consistent with the firm's continuing interest."

Starr, a partner in the D.C. office, did not comment for this article. Kirkland & Ellis associate Jay Lefkowitz, who acts as Starr's spokesman, also declined comment on Starr's compensation.

Kirkland & Ellis' management paid top dollar to lure Starr to the 417-lawyer firm in February 1993. His salary is not out of line with other senior partners at the firm, but for a part-time attorney, his draw was astronomical.

According to his most recent financial disclosure report, filed in November 1994 in compliance with the independent counsel statute, Starr was paid \$1,566,823 by Kirkland & Ellis in 1993 and 1994. During the same time period, he also drew \$50,000 in salary as an adjunct professor at New York University School of Law. It is unclear exactly how much Kirkland & Ellis is paying Starr after the February cutback.

As an independent counsel, Starr bills the government on an hourly basis and is paid at a rate equal to that of the U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia, says Mark Tuohy III, deputy independent counsel working for Starr. Currently, the U.S. attorney here is paid \$115,000 annually.

Firm leaders decline to comment on Starr's compensation, but express strong support for the job he is doing at Kirkland & Ellis.

"Ken Starr is the first of our partners who is serving as

an independent counsel, and we were proud of that," explains Jack Levin, a senior partner and a member of the firm's management committee in Chicago.

Levin, who says there has been no controversy over Starr's pay, says that the firm recognizes the Whitewater

And that's just the work he gets paid for.

According to his 1994 disclosure statement, Starr sits on the boards of 10 different organizations, ranging from the Supreme Court Historical Society and the American University to the conservative Washington Legal Foundation.

He also serves as president of three groups: the D.C.-based Council for Court Excellence, a non-profit civic group; the Barristers, a Duke Law School alumni association; and the Institute of Judicial Administration Inc. at NYU School of Law, according to the statement.

"Ken is keeping up a great deal of his outside activities," Lefkowitz says.

Although Starr has had to turn down some work since becoming independent counsel, he has not shied away from the courtroom. Last month, he argued before the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit on behalf of tobacco giant Brown & Williamson Co., which was battling members of Congress over documents that could hurt the company in anti-smoking suits around the country.

He also recently argued an appeal before the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 2nd Circuit on behalf of Nathan Lewin of D.C.'s Miller, Cassidy, Larroca & Lewin, who is challenging a \$50,000 federal court sanction for "abusive litigation" stemming from a suit Lewin filed against the Israeli government. And looming on Starr's schedule is an appeal in the 8th Circuit on behalf of General Motors in a product liability case.

"We use him in strategic roles to argue cases in courts of appeals," says Kirkland & Ellis D.C. partner Paul Cappuccio, who works closely with Starr. "He's been spending the bulk of his time at the IC's office, but we nevertheless have been able to use him effectively."

Whether he is in Little Rock or Washington, Starr takes care not to mix his private practice with his independent counsel duties, Cappuccio says. He never does Kirkland & Ellis work from the independent counsel offices, Cappuccio says.

In his role on Kirkland & Ellis' management committee, which meets eight to 10 times a year, Starr has also had to make some adjustments. He has been forced to participate in some meetings by telephone, and skip others altogether.

"No partner at Kirkland & Ellis knows what Ken's independent counsel plans are," says Levin, who admits that Starr's Whitewater job can be both a blessing and a curse. The firm is pleased Starr has such a high-profile endeavor, Levin says, but losing a full-time senior partner is never good for business.

"Do we wish we had more of Ken Starr's time practicing law for Kirkland & Ellis?" asks Levin. "You bet we do."



Kenneth Starr of Kirkland & Ellis gives priority to Whitewater duties.

matter is his top priority. Starr usually puts in two days a week at Kirkland & Ellis' 74-lawyer Washington office, according to Levin and a partner who works with Starr in the District.

IC JOB TAKES PRIORITY

"I know he's very hard-working, and he puts in significant time at both tasks," says Levin. "When he is able to participate in the practice of law or the functioning of our firm management committee without interrupting his independent counsel duties he does so, but his independent counsel duties come first."

But investigating the president and first lady hasn't forced Starr to put the rest of his life on hold.

Since taking on the Whitewater probe, Starr has handled some big matters for Kirkland clients, retained his seat on the firm's 15-lawyer management committee, and even managed to moonlight at NYU.

Tucker's University of Arkansas School of Law transcript, according to his lawyers.

"This is wrong," Tucker said late last week after Starr withdrew subpoenas aimed at Tucker and his lawyer—John Haley of Little Rock's Arnold, Grobmyer & Haley—but compelled Tucker's wife's testimony. "It is wrong to do this to people, to wives, to families, and I'm not going to knuckle under to them."

In recent months, FBI agents even

fanned out across east Arkansas' rural delta region, knocking on the doors of dozens of black preachers to interrogate them about get-out-the-vote money they received during Clinton's 1990 gubernatorial campaign.

"It seems like every aspect of the business, legal, and political community has been under scrutiny for so long here," says James Hathaway III, a partner in Little

SEE STARR, PAGE 20

STARR FROM PAGE 18

counsel scrutinized so closely a whole way of life and the way business is conducted in a state," adds Harriger, author of *Independent Justice*, a 1992 book on federal special prosecutors.

While the focus of the Whitewater investigation remains the Clintons' real estate venture with the head of the failed Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan—and alleged

diversions of money from the thrift or the real estate investment to the Clinton presidential campaign—the probe seems to have veered far afield of those questions, and has reached back decades.

In the case of Gov. Tucker, who is under investigation for, among other things, obtaining questionable Small Business Administration-backed loans, Starr subpoenaed between 100,000 and 150,000 documents dating back to 1965—including

Hate To Shave?

Try the total elimination of razor irritation

ABOUT-FACE™ is the first dual-control shave cream. In just

ÀU REVOIR
TO ORDINAIRE.

Rock's Williams & Anderson—which, like virtually every other major firm in the city, has had some contact with Starr's team, because either clients or firm members are being investigated.

"It's a weird situation to have happen to such a little state, and people are very defensive," Hathaway adds.

Not everyone in Little Rock's 1,000-plus legal community thinks ill of Starr, of course. "He's a good man. He's doing his job," says David Hargis, a partner with Hargis, Wood & Lockhart. Hargis represents minor White-water player Robert Palmer, an unemployed accountant who pleaded guilty to conspiring to mislead bank examiners.

(Hargis is a walking example of how tightly woven the Little Rock legal community is. Though he says he's no fan of President Clinton's, he helped out the then-governor by obtaining a court seal in a 1990 suit alleging that Clinton had used state funds on illicit liaisons with women. Hargis also played college football with Webster Hubbell, the former state Supreme Court justice and Justice Department official who pleaded guilty to bilking his Rose Law

Firm partners and clients of hundreds of thousands of dollars.)

And some Republican lawyers who have chafed under years of Clinton's control of the state doubtless are enjoying seeing someone make the former governor squirm.

The siege mentality that has gripped many in Arkansas' bar did not begin with Starr. It has been building since the president and first lady went to Washington. Hundreds of reporters from around the globe, congressional investigators, and conspiracy theorists of various stripes have combed the state for evidence of the sinister and sordid. In the process, the worst stereotypes of Arkansas as a backwater of corruption and cronyism have seeped into the popular imagination—through low-brow humor on late-night television and high-brow essays in magazines like *The New Yorker*.

The presence of such a high-profile investigation has fed into the state's visceral resentment of such stereotypes. In addition, Arkansas has the dubious distinction of being the only state to have had two separate independent counsel investigations going on simultaneously. Los Angeles lawyer Donald Smaltz is probing gifts

received by then Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy from companies regulated by the Agriculture Department—especially Tyson Foods Inc., the Arkansas-based poultry giant. Smaltz's digging into the cozy relationships between Espy, Tyson Foods, and Clinton has further reinforced the cultural caricatures.

"I think the sense of siege in Arkansas has to do with the sensitivity to the Bubba criticism, the portrayal of Arkansas as a corrupt backwater," says Harriger, the Wake Forest professor. "Bringing these outsiders in to scrutinize the way business is done in Little Rock exacerbates that."

WOUNDED PRIDE

The stereotypes are especially stinging in Little Rock's silk-stocking law firms, where lawyers complain that they have been unfairly tainted by association. Firms like Friday, Eldredge & Clark and Wright, Lindsey & Jennings harken back to a period when the practice of law was more genteel and relations between opposing lawyers were marked by a certain civility. "Your word is your bond" is a maxim Little Rock lawyers are fond of invoking.

"There is resentment about being marked

for something that you didn't have anything to do with," says William "Buddy" Sutton, managing partner of Friday, Eldredge, which, despite the Rose firm's higher profile, is generally considered by Arkansans to be the state's most powerful law firm.

"What happened here does not merit a branding of the entire legal community," adds Sutton, a courtly, gravelly voiced trial lawyer who favors quail hunting.

Starr trod on the bar's sense of tradition when he targeted senior Clinton aide Bruce Lindsey for possible indictment earlier this year. Lindsey's father, Robert, was one of Little Rock's legal eminences, a figure of towering respect. Until he died in 1991, Robert Lindsey was one of the senior partners at Wright, Lindsey, one of Little Rock's three most powerful law firms (and Bill Clinton's perch for a short time when he was out of office). Bruce Lindsey was a partner there until he moved to Washington to work in the Clinton administration as a senior adviser to the president, serving most recently as deputy White House counsel.

Starr was looking into allegations that Lindsey had directed a banker to conceal large financial withdrawals, paid out to Clinton's 1990 gubernatorial campaign, from a bank in Perryville, Ark., in order to circumvent requirements that withdrawals of \$10,000 or more be reported to the IRS. Lindsey denied any wrongdoing, contending that the transactions were noted in campaign finance reports. While the probe has no immediately apparent connection to Whitewater or Madison Guaranty, prosecutors working for Starr were apparently eager to win Lindsey's cooperation in the broader investigation.

Many here were relieved late last month when Starr announced in a cryptically worded press release that he would not indict Lindsey by a May 25 deadline, as many press accounts had reported.

LINES DRAWN

Another episode that irked many members of the state's legal community involved Frank Newell, now an associate at Little Rock's Laser, Wilson, Bufford & Watts. Newell made a single phone call to Madison Guaranty chief James McDougal in 1986, asking McDougal to make a speech. Newell's name was recorded on the carbon copy of a phone message slip in bank records subpoenaed by Starr. Earlier this year, an FBI agent called to ask Newell about the conversation with McDougal—evidence, many Little Rock lawyers say, of how little it takes to attract the attention of Starr's team.

For his part, Newell has no complaints about his brief brush with the independent counsel's shop.

"I didn't have gumshoes come by and threaten me," says Newell. "I just got a call from a very nice guy who was very polite."

In one of the most oft-repeated criticisms heard from lawyers here, Starr has been slammed for continuing to probe the death of another local figure, Vincent Foster Jr., the former deputy White House counsel. Although the U.S. Park Police, the FBI, and then Special Counsel Robert Fiske Jr. all concluded that Foster, a former law partner of Hillary Clinton's at the Rose Law Firm, committed suicide during a bout of depression, Starr has gone over the same ground again during the nine months he has been in office. In March, Starr had Foster's wife, Lisa, and her children travel to Washington to be interviewed again by investigators.

"Picking over the corpse of the late Vince Foster" was how the liberal-leaning *Arkansas Times* characterized Starr's conduct.

"For the love of God, let these people get on with their healing," says Purvis, the Dover & Dixon partner and a childhood friend of Foster's from Hope, Ark. "Politics be damned, human decency comes into play."

Tuohey, Starr's Washington deputy, says that it was Starr's job to review the Foster matter and that the team has "tried to be very sensitive to the family."

LOOK WHO'S JUST ARRIVED AT THE OLD GREYHOUND BUS TERMINAL.



Ad-van-tage STAFFING SERVICES Legal Group

ADVANTAGE STAFFING SERVICES LEGAL GROUP. NOW IN A LANDMARK LOCATION IN THE HEART OF THE LEGAL COMMUNITY.

FOR OVER A DECADE, OUR STAFFING CONSULTANTS HAVE WORKED WITH THE AREA'S MOST PRESTIGIOUS LAW FIRMS TO PROVIDE COST-EFFECTIVE SOLUTIONS TO STAFFING

NEEDS. IF YOU DEMAND NOTHING SHORT OF PERFECTION, WE INVITE YOU TO GIVE US A CALL. OUR EXCELLENCE IS UNDERSCORED BY AN INTERNAL STAFF

WITH OVER THIRTY-TWO YEARS OF LEGAL EXPERIENCE AND A TRADITION OF PROVIDING HIGHLY QUALIFIED LEGAL ASSISTANTS, LEGAL SECRETARIES, RECEPTIONISTS, AND OTHER

ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL TO THE WASHINGTON LEGAL COMMUNITY. WE LOOK FORWARD TO SERVING YOU IN OUR NEW LOCATION.

For all the fuss about Starr, the independent counsel is actually not seen much around Little Rock. Though he has made a few public appearances, he rarely goes to the U.S. Courthouse here, dispatching his deputies instead. He and his staff have occasionally been spotted lunching at the Macaroni Grill, an Italian restaurant near his office. And he once left his briefcase at the Capital Hotel Bar, the grand old watering hole frequented by the city's pols, reporters, and lawyers.

Starr and his staff work out of a bland office building known as Financial Center 2, located some 10 miles west of downtown Little Rock. The offices are secure, with electronic combination locks, video cameras that monitor visitors, and drawn shades. Some Little Rock lawyers refer to Starr's quarters as the "bat cave."

But if Starr and his team are a discreet physical presence, they occupy a far more disturbing place in the minds of many people here.

One clear sign of that is the conspiracy theories taking root about Starr. Many have picked up and run with criticisms of the way he was appointed in the first place.

Starr, a Republican, was named in August by a panel of federal judges to replace Fiske, the New York lawyer tapped by Attorney General Janet Reno as special counsel to investigate Whitewater. The panel that picked Starr was headed by David Sentelle, a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit and a North Carolina Republican.

A controversy erupted after it was revealed that Sentelle had lunch with North Carolina Sens. Lauch Faircloth and Jesse Helms—both conservative Republicans on the Whitewater warpath—a week before the appointment. The controversy thickened when it was reported in April that Starr planned to argue an appeal on behalf of the Brown & Williamson Co., a Kentucky-based tobacco company, before

a panel of D.C. Circuit judges that included Sentelle. Sentelle ultimately recused himself from the case, but not before many Arkansians latched onto the episode as evidence that Starr was biased.

"We're gonna appoint the former Bush SG [Starr was solicitor general under President George Bush], a good card-carrying Republican, . . . and then it comes to light that this guy who made the appointment is not only good buddies with Starr, but he's good buddies with Jesse Helms (wink, wink) and he and his other Republican buddy [Faircloth] have lunch with this guy," says Purvis, the Dover & Dixon attorney.

"Isn't it strange, isn't it odd? And isn't it odd that one of the private matters that our boy Starr continues to work on while he's special prosecutor is some action on behalf of the tobacco companies," continues Purvis. "Gee, do they grow tobacco in Carolina? Is that a substantial part of that state's income? Does Jesse Helms have a vested interest in seeing the success of the tobacco companies? Is my head up my yaya? I don't think so."

Some of Starr's targets have even tried turning the tables, arguing that it's the independent counsel, not Arkansas' good old boys, who is insensitive to conflicts of interest.

In announcing his refusal to comply with Starr's subpoena last month, Gov. Tucker distributed a letter from his lawyers written to Hickman Ewing Jr., one of Starr's deputies in Arkansas. The letter accused Starr of

doing the bidding of his law firm clients—clients who have clashed with Gov. Tucker.

Starr, the theory goes, has had business referred to him at the D.C. office of Chicago's Kirkland & Ellis, where he is a partner, by Atlanta's King & Spalding. The Atlanta firm represents the Coca-Cola Co., which has clashed with Tucker over the governor's imposition of a tax on soft-drink syrup. King & Spalding also

referred Brown & Williamson to Starr.

"Starr has maintained a law practice in which he achieves significant financial gain representing entities and law firms which represent entities which may well consider themselves harmed by actions of Mr. Tucker," the letter says.

"We mention specifically his representation of a tobacco company on reference from the principal law firm for a major soft drink company," the letter continues. "Tobacco companies and soft drink companies do not, and could not, want Mr. Tucker to continue to operate his office."

Such theories may be well-founded, or they may represent a desperate attempt to scapegoat Starr by a weary bar. Whatever the case, it is clear that Starr's presence has altered Arkansas' landscape in ways that once might have seemed unimaginable.

Take, for example, the case of two old rivals in Fayetteville, who crossed paths at a law firm Christmas party last December.

Trial lawyer James Lingle and his old nemesis, Archie Schaffer III, a senior executive for Tyson Foods, might normally have exchanged icy stares from across the room. After all, Lingle, a partner with Rogers, Ark.'s Lingle & Corley, had squared off with the agribusiness giant many times over the years in contentious workers' compensation and environmental cases.

But this occasion was different. Lingle, who represents a client in the Whitewater investigation, walked over and offered a few words of solace to Schaffer, whose company is chafing under the white-hot scrutiny of Smaltz's independent counsel inquiry. Lingle even offered a little legal advice to his adversary.

"It tells you something about the way people feel down here about the scrutiny," says Schaffer.

Editor's note: The letter to Hickman Ewing Jr. from Gov. Jim Guy Tucker's attorneys can be accessed electronically over Lexis Counsel Connect. See Page 34 for instructions.



Professor Katy Harriger: Never before has an independent counsel so closely probed "a whole way of life."

PAUL GRIFFIN

I should have rented from Rent-A-Computer.

Then I wouldn't have crashed the network trying to install that stupid machine.

Quick, professional installation. Laptops, desktops, printers and peripherals from IBM, Hewlett-Packard, AST, Toshiba, Compaq and Apple, delivered in a blink. Don't get caught with your system down. Call Rent-A-Computer.

©1994 RAC

ISN'T GETTING BACK FROM VACATION BAD ENOUGH?

There's nothing worse than coming home from vacation. Except coming home to a house that's been burglarized.

To help protect your home while you're away, call ADT Security Systems—the world's number one security company. And for just \$199* you can have our Safewatch Plus security system installed in your home. With Safewatch Plus, your home can be linked to the ADT 24 Hour Customer Monitoring Center, which can notify the police even when you're not home.

CALL TODAY AND GET TWO MONTHS OF MONITORING FREE.

CALL 1-800-ADT-7143
for your FREE SECURITY REVIEW

ADT: THERE'S NO SAFER PLACE TO BE.™



\$199
INSTALLED
(A \$399 VALUE)

*The training agreement requires a 12-month monitoring fee of \$24.95. Credit card payment accepted. Telephone reservation required.

\$25 OFF

All Window Contacts*

Just install the ADT Safewatch Plus system and mention this coupon when you call. Present it at installation. One coupon per installation. Valid on new systems only.

Security Systems

Takumi Fukui
Founder of T&C

Toyota Auto Osaka Corp
1176 Nishimurashigashi Naniwa-ku
(Osaka 556 Japan)



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6.8.95

original
to Donskind

Mr. Fukui -
New Nice
Second Largest
Toyota Dealer in the
world - extends
invite to play golf
while in Japan. -
also stay @ his
Residence.

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House

Dear Mr. President,

On May 1st, 1995, my family and I were invited to the ceremony for the winners of the Armed Forces Football Competition held at the White House. We had the honor of being able to attend the ceremony and got the chance to see you, the President of the United States, make a speech right in front of us. (In January, 1993, we attended your Inauguration and were able to see you with our binoculars and have also seen you many times on the TV news in Japan.) Yet, what an honor to be able to actually meet you and listen to your speech!! When the ceremony was over, you came walking straight toward me. I stood up to shake hands with you. Your face was smiling and you were looking right at me, eye to eye. I was trembling with joy. I felt the warmth of your hands and your smile when we shook hands. My excitement reached the highest point at that moment.

It was the most memorable and honorable experience that has ever happened in my life. I must thank Billy Webster IV for arranging this meeting with you. He has been a dear friend of mine and my family's for over ten years and it was he who arranged this most precious event for us.

cc. Billy
Webster

I heard that you have a plan to visit Osaka this November. If it is at all possible, I would like to invite you to stay at my guesthouse which is located about forty minutes by car from downtown Osaka. It stands at the foot of beautiful Mt. Rokko. Mr. Richard Riley, when he was the Governor of South Carolina, visited us and stayed at our guesthouse and the Websters have also stayed there. We only make it available to our very special guests and we hope the security would pass. It would be our pleasure if you could experience the life of the Japanese for one day.

In addition, if it is possible, I would like to take this opportunity to invite you for a game of golf at one of our most prestigious golf courses in the area, the Naruo Golf Club. It is one of the best of all the golf clubs at which I have membership. The big three, Arnold Palmer, Jack Nicklaus, and Gary Player have all played there.

Again, Mr. President, words cannot describe how deeply moved we were to have the chance to meet you in person and how fortunate we were being able to feel your warmth so closely. Thank you very much for your time, courtesy and consideration. We send our best wishes to you, your family and to your great country, the United States of America.

See you this November in Osaka.

With sincere gratitude,

福井 巧
Takumi Fukui

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-8-95

From Eskimo

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

To Don Baer

Fyl - Bc

The best talk I ever heard was delivered at Dartmouth by President John Kemeny, when he gave his last valedictory to the graduating class in 1981.

The dean of the college asked the seniors to rise, and in his Hungarian accent Kemeny said to them: "The most dangerous voice you'll ever hear is the evil voice of prejudice that divides black from white, man from woman, Jew from gentile. Listen to the voice that says man can live in harmony. Use your very considerable talents to make the world better."

President Kemeny ended with the words he used at the conclusion of every commencement: "Women and men of Dartmouth, all mankind is your brother - and you are your brother's keeper."

There's a message students can latch onto.

Nardi Reeder Campton is a writer in Hanover, N.H.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6.8.95

Powerful
stuff

5/30/95

Dear Bill —

Please quote
the above in your
Dartmouth speech. It
says it all.

Yr fan —

Nardi

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	re: DNC 1995 Budget Report (14 pages)	06/08/1995	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 5954

FOLDER TITLE:

June 4-10, 1995 [1]

2018-0662-S

rs3129

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ~~cc~~ 6/8/95

Tony Lake
Felt

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY

Memo to: The President

From: Madeleine M. Kunin

Re: Visit with Eduard Shevardnadze, Chairman (Parliament),
Republic of Georgia, accompanied by Ambassador Kent Brown

Date: June 6, 1995

I was recently in the Republic of Georgia to visit my son who is working in Tblisi for the National Democratic Institute. On May 30 I met with Mr. Shevardnadze who wished to relay to you his gratitude for United States assistance.

The country continues to have severe economic problems which impede its progress towards democracy. There are, however, 26 political parties, and they are working on a Constitution. He indicated he believed in a strong Parliament, a President, and the judiciary, similar to our balance of powers.

I indicated to him that some of the opposition to foreign aid for the former Soviet Union was based on two concerns: progress towards building democratic institutions and human rights abuses. He addressed both issues and stated that progress is being made.

He affirmed that elections would be held before the end of the year, but in sequence--first the president, then the Parliament and local elections may be postponed for four or five years.

"Humanitarian assistance from the Clinton Administration is crucial. Without it, reform is impossible," he said.

"We have only the right to ask, not insist, but it is a matter of security versus chaos. By ending the cold war, actual threat of violence is not ended. The result may be worse."

In response to a question from Ambassador Kent Brown regarding a recent CIS meeting, he said that Yeltsin had assured him that "the conflicts within Georgia should be settled with the Georgians."

If you or your staff have any further questions, I would be pleased to respond.



THE PRESIDENT

6-8-95

Dear Madeleine —

Thanks for the Memo on
Georgia — It was true and will
be helpful, I hope, in our debate
over foreign assistance

Barack

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/8/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 JUN 6 P9:28

April 6, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BEN AUSTIN, POLITICAL AFFAIRS
SUBJECT: DENVER MAYORAL CALL SHEETS

Attached are call sheets for a Mayor Wellington Webb win or loss, as well as for a Mary DeGroot Win. Doug Sosnik will call you with results and advise you on which call sheets are applicable. The Polls close at 9:00 EDT and significant results will likely be forthcoming around 11:00.

*I made the call
to [unclear]
LA I need to report
RSC*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 JUN 6 09:28

June 6, 1995

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: WELLINGTON WEBB
DENVER MAYOR

DATE/TIME: 6/6, 10:00pm EDT: (303) 436-1144 (Croc's restaurant)
Cellular: (303) 478-8272 (Mike Dino, Campaign Manager)
Cellular (303) 478-8272 (Mayor's phone)
6/7, 11:00am EDT: (303) 329-8190 (Mayor's home)
6/7, 11:00am EDT: (303) 455-7714 (Dino's home)
Pager: (303) 310-7497 (C.L. Harmer, Campaign Press Sec.)

RECOMMENDED BY: DOUG SOSNIK

PURPOSE: Congratulations on reelection

BACKGROUND:

Denver Mayor Wellington Webb battled back in the run-off following City Councilwoman Mary DeGroot's narrow upset in the general election. Although DeGroot managed to focus much of the campaign's debate on Webb's foibles, she never gave voters an affirmative reason to vote for her. Webb won with what many considered to be a lackluster message focused largely on his incumbency. Governor Romer made a lukewarm endorsement of Webb last fall but had been invisible throughout the campaign until he appeared with Webb last weekend. Webb endorsed you early in the 1992 cycle. The Administration remained neutral in this contest despite pressure from Webb to endorse him. The divisive run-off broke down partially on racial lines, and it is critical that competing constituencies are brought into the fold immediately for the reelection effort.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION:

1. Congratulations on your victory
2. Look forward to working with you in the future

CONTACT PERSON &

Doug Sosnik, x61125

SUBMISSION DATE:

June 6, 1995

ACTION:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 JUN 6 09:28

June 6, 1995

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: WELLINGTON WEBB
DENVER MAYOR

DATE/TIME: 6/6, 9:30pm EDT: (303) 436-1144 (Croc's restaurant)
Cellular: (303) 478-8272 (Mike Dino, Campaign Manager)
Cellular (303) 478-8272 (Mayor's phone)
6/7, 11:00am EDT: (303) 329-8190 (Mayor's home)
6/7, 11:00am EDT: (303) 455-7714 (Dino's home)
Pager: (303) 310-7497 (C.L. Harmer, Campaign Press Sec.)

RECOMMENDED BY: DOUG SOSNIK

PURPOSE: Condolences on his election defeat

BACKGROUND: Denver Mayor Wellington Webb lost the run-off following City Councilwoman Mary DeGroot's narrow upset in the general election. DeGroot's entire message focused on Webb's record, particularly on the airport and cronyism. Webb delivered a lackluster message focused largely on his incumbency and never really defined his opponent. Governor Romer made a lukewarm endorsement of Webb last fall but had been invisible throughout the campaign until he appeared with Webb last weekend. Webb endorsed you early in the 1992 cycle. The Administration remained neutral in this contest despite Webb's pressure for an endorsement. The divisive run-off broke down partially on racial lines, and it is critical that Webb and his constituency are brought into the fold immediately for the reelection effort.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION: 1. Condolences on your defeat.
2. Look forward to working with you in the future
3. Happy to help with his future endeavors

CONTACT PERSON & Doug Sosnik, x61125

SUBMISSION DATE: June 6, 1995

ACTION:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 6, 1995

95 JUN 6 P 9: 28

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: MARY DEGROOT
DENVER MAYOR-ELECT

DATE/TIME: 6/6, 9:30pm EDT: (303) 572-9100, room 1502 (Westin Ballroom)
6/7, 11:00am EDT: (303) 722-8835 (Candidate's home)
6/7, 11:00am EDT: (303) 331-0102 (Campaign HQ)
Cellular: (303) 324-6850 (Joe Cachey, Campaign Manager)
Cellular: (303) 478-9439 (Eric Saunderman, Media Consultant)
Cellular: (303) 324-6851

RECOMMENDED BY: DOUG SOSNIK

PURPOSE: Congratulations on election as Mayor of Denver.

BACKGROUND: City Councilwoman Mary DeGroot built on the momentum generated by her narrow upset victory in the general election, and hung on to defeat Mayor Wellington Webb in the run-off. Although DeGroot managed to focus much of the campaign's debate on Webb's foibles, she never appeared to give voters an affirmative reason to vote for her. On the other hand, Webb delivered a lackluster message focused largely on his incumbency. During her eight years on the city council, DeGroot focused on controlling growth, maintaining abortion clinic access, and has been critical of the mayor's handling of the Denver International Airport. She positioned herself as a moderate during the campaign, appealing to the business community and promising to revamp the city's affirmative action programs. She was strongly supported by south Denver's predominantly Caucasian neighborhoods. Despite pressure from Webb, the Administration remained neutral in this contest and must work with her to rebuild relations with the city's minority communities. It is imperative in the wake of this divisive run-off that competing constituencies are brought into the fold immediately for the reelection effort.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION: 1. Congratulations on your victory
2. Look forward to working with you in the future

CONTACT PERSON & Doug Sosnik, x61125

SUBMISSION DATE: June 6, 1995

ACTION:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/8/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 7, 1995

95 JUN 17 P2:58

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DOUG SOSNIK

SUBJECT: YESTERDAY'S ELECTIONS

Denver. Mayor Wellington Webb overcame accusations of cronyism and mismanagement regarding the Denver International Airport, and a stinging upset in the first round of balloting, to defeat City Councilwoman Mary DeGroot 54% to 46% in yesterday's run-off. Although DeGroot focused much of the campaign's debate on Webb's foibles, she never shifted to an affirmative message. She was running negative television ads up until election day and was largely seen as the instigator for the campaign's nasty tenor. Webb won, however, with what many considered to be a lackluster message focused largely on his incumbency. Yesterday's good weather augmented a well-executed GOTV program for Webb. Partially as a result of DeGroot's opposition to the city's affirmative action programs, the divisive run-off broke down on racial lines. It is critical that the divided electorate be reunited immediately for the reelection effort. Although the Webb camp has expressed dismay that the administration failed to endorse the mayor in the race, it is our understanding that you and Webb had a good conversation last night.

*Do
Cory
to
the*

Reno. Republican businessman Jeff Griffin defeated Martha Gould, Democrat and former Library Director for Washoe County (Reno), in yesterday's general mayoral election. Griffin came from behind with a heavy late media buy to defeat Gould by 644 votes. Griffin is a moderate with strong ties to the local chamber of commerce. While this election represents a net loss for Democrats, the office is not traditionally a springboard for higher office and has played a minimal role in influencing statewide elections. Republicans hold a slight voter registration edge in the city.

*Do Congrat
Letson to women*

Los Angeles. Zev Yaroslavsky's former district strongly rebuked his wife Barbara's bid to succeed him on the city council, electing Jewish activist Michael Feuer by a margin of 69% to 31%. Iconoclastic Incumbent City Councilman Nate Holden edged attorney Stan Sanders 54% to 46% in an African-American district. All candidates are Democrats.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/8/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 JUN 6 P2:22

June 6, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DOUG SOSNIK
SUBJECT: TODAY'S ELECTIONS

Called
Denver. A low turnout is expected in today's run-off election between Mayor Wellington Webb and City Councilwoman Mary DeGroot. Webb has managed to keep the race close despite DeGroot's momentum following her 61 vote upset in the general election. Although DeGroot has managed to focus much of the campaign's debate on Webb's foibles, she has yet to give voters an affirmative reason to vote for her. On the other hand, Webb has delivered a lackluster message focused largely on his incumbency. Governor Romer made a lukewarm endorsement of Webb last fall but had been invisible throughout the campaign until he appeared with Webb last weekend. Public polls show Webb in the lead, but sophisticated observers feel the sampling over represents low-turnout Webb voters. The Denver Post released a poll last weekend showing Webb ahead 50% to 38%, with 12% undecided. Despite the passionless nature of the race, a projected sunny day may help Webb boost turnout among his critical African-American and Hispanic constituencies. Webb and DeGroot have remained about even in fundraising during the run-off, although Webb has outspent her by about 2-1 for the cycle. The Administration is neutral in this contest.

*Is more
can't
win*
Reno. Martha Gould, Democrat and former Library Director for Washoe County (Reno), faces Republican businessman Jeff Griffin in today's general mayoral election. Griffin is active in the local chamber of commerce and Gould derives her support from women's groups and liberal activist constituencies. Gould led Griffin by 4 points in a poll taken early last week following her endorsement by the local paper, but Griffin will outspend her significantly and has unleashed a large paid television buy. Gould and Griffin were the top two vote-getters in the May 2 primary. Democratic Mayor Peter Sferrazza is not seeking reelection and has refused to endorse Gould. Republicans hold a slight voter registration edge in the city.

*Should
write
Candace*
Los Angeles. Two city council seats are up for grabs in close run-off elections. Jewish activist Michael Feuer, buoyed by a series of strong Los Angeles Times endorsements, faces County Supervisor Zev Yaroslavsky's wife Barbara in the race for Zev's former westside seat. Incumbent Nate Holden faces a serious challenge from attorney Stan Sanders in an African-American district.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

95 JUN 7 10:24

FAX COVER SHEET☒ Urgent

Number of pages 2
(excluding cover sheet)

Date 6/7/95

Time 9:30 am / pm

From: OMB Legislative Affairs
Phone: 395-4790

To: SAP DISTRIBUTION LIST

SUBJECT OF SAP: S. 652, Telecommunications

URGENT

ERSKINE
Hil
Rohester
6-7-95



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

June 7, 1995
(Senate)

STATEMENT OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY

(THIS STATEMENT HAS BEEN COORDINATED BY OMB WITH THE CONCERNED AGENCIES.)

S. 652 - Telecommunications Competition and
Deregulation Act of 1995
(Pressler (R) South Dakota)

The Administration strongly opposes S. 652, as reported by the Senate Commerce Committee.

The Administration is committed to the enactment of telecommunications reform legislation that would provide benefits to consumers, promote competition, spur economic growth and innovation, promote private sector investment in advanced telecommunications infrastructure and create jobs. The Administration is ready to work with Congress on legislation to accomplish these goals.

S. 652, as reported, will not achieve these goals. Therefore, the Administration will evaluate its position on the legislation based on how the following concerns are addressed. Specifically, the Administration is concerned that S. 652 would:

- Permit the Bell Operating Companies to offer long distance service before competition is established in local service and without requiring a determination by the Department of Justice that entry will not impede competition.
- Allow cable operators to raise rates for as many as 90 percent of cable subscribers. Except for the few consumers who order the most limited package of cable programs, all subscribers would be vulnerable to unchecked rate increases. The bill would also deregulate cable markets upon the mere presence of telephone companies providing video programming services in those markets, without regard to actual competition.
- Permit local telephone companies to merge with local cable systems in their service area, leaving antitrust litigation as the only means to impede anti-competitive behavior. This would significantly limit the possibility of competition and the potential benefits to consumers of improved service and lower cost. The bill also fails to require telephone companies who offer video programming services to provide common carrier transmission facilities to other, unaffiliated programmers.

- Impair the Administration's ability to negotiate with other governments to open their telecommunications markets to U.S. investment because the bill would undercut the important role of the Executive branch in determining when and how U.S. markets are opened to foreign investment. In addition, S. 652 would not provide authority to grant most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status for telecommunications which is essential to success in ongoing multilateral negotiations.
- Preempt the States from applying certain rate regulation schemes, thereby limiting State flexibility.
- Prevent the States from enhancing competition prior to the Bell Operating Companies entering the long-distance market, by preempting the States from -- (1) opening the short-haul long distance markets (intra-LATA toll markets) to competition by requiring comparable dialing patterns; and (2) allowing competitors of the Bell Operating Companies to jointly market local service with long distance service (i.e. re-selling Bell services in order to offer packages of local & long distance service).
- Allow greater concentration in the broadcast industry by weakening rigorous and timely oversight of broadcast licensees by the FCC. These provisions could impede competition and reduce diversity and "localism" in broadcasting.
- Impose content standards on electronic communications in a way that would raise serious First Amendment concerns, unnecessarily hinder the development of the National Information Infrastructure, and potentially hinder enforcement of existing obscenity laws.

The Administration supports the goal of provisions in S. 652 which seek to provide universal service, including access for classrooms, libraries, hospitals and clinics.

Pay-As-You-Go Scoring

S. 652 would affect direct spending and receipts; therefore, it would be subject to the pay-as-you-go (PAYGO) requirements of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990. OMB's preliminary PAYGO estimate is zero. Final scoring of this legislation may differ from this estimate.

* * * * *

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 7, 1995

Dear Mr. Speaker:

I am deeply alarmed by today's press report that some Republicans in the House and Senate want to continue to hold back the line-item veto so that I don't have it during this year's budget process. The line-item veto is a vital tool to cut pork from the budget. If this Congress is serious about deficit reduction, it must pass the strongest possible line-item veto immediately, and send it to my desk so I can sign it right away.

This is not a partisan issue. Presidents Reagan and Bush asked Congress for it time and again, and so have I. It was part of the Republican Contract with America. It has strong support from members of Congress in both parties and both houses. No matter what party the President belongs to or what party has a majority in Congress, the line-item veto would be good for America.

If Congress will send me the line-item veto immediately, I am willing to pledge that this year, I will use it only to cut spending, not on tax expenditures in this year's budget. I have already put you on notice that I will veto any budget that is loaded with excessive tax breaks for the wealthy. But I need the line-item veto now to hold the line against pork in every bill the Congress sends me.

The American people have waited long enough. Congress should give them and the Presidency the line-item veto without further delay.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
Speaker of the
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 7, 1995

Dear Mr. Leader:

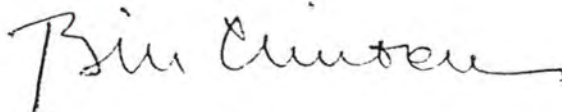
I am deeply alarmed by today's press report that some Republicans in the House and Senate want to continue to hold back the line-item veto so that I don't have it during this year's budget process. The line-item veto is a vital tool to cut pork from the budget. If this Congress is serious about deficit reduction, it must pass the strongest possible line-item veto immediately, and send it to my desk so I can sign it right away.

This is not a partisan issue. Presidents Reagan and Bush asked Congress for it time and again, and so have I. It was part of the Republican Contract with America. It has strong support from members of Congress in both parties and both houses. No matter what party the President belongs to or what party has a majority in Congress, the line-item veto would be good for America.

If Congress will send me the line-item veto immediately, I am willing to pledge that this year, I will use it only to cut spending, not on tax expenditures in this year's budget. I have already put you on notice that I will veto any budget that is loaded with excessive tax breaks for the wealthy. But I need the line-item veto now to hold the line against pork in every bill the Congress sends me.

The American people have waited long enough. Congress should give them and the Presidency the line-item veto without further delay.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Clinton".

The Honorable Robert Dole
Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Hier

Su nu n: Tân

Bx

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-6-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 23, 1995

95 MAY 23 P 3 : 32

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Doug Sosnik

SUBJECT: Representative Stockman

Per your request, attached is the article that Congressman Steve Stockman (R-TX) wrote for Guns and Ammunition magazine.

VIC FAZIO

Head Director
California

DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS—CHAIRMAN

DEMOCRATIC STEERING
COMMITTEE

HOUSE OVERSIGHT

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

SUBCOMMITTEES

ENERGY AND WATER DEVELOPMENT
LEGISLATIVE

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-0503

PLEASE RESPOND TO:

2112 PARKMAN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-0503
202 225-57161228 MAIN STREET
WOODLAND, CA 95695-3407
916 668-5521332 PINE STREET, #F
RED BLUFF, CA 96080-3312
916 529-5529

May 16, 1995

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
Speaker
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. Speaker:

I am writing to appeal to you to renounce Congressman Steve Stockman's recent article in the June issue of Guns and Ammunition. While Congressman Stockman was within his rights to make the inaccurate and inflammatory comments contained in the article, he has a higher responsibility as an elected leader in this country to refrain from doing so. In his article, he brings disrepute upon the Congress as a whole by acting as an agent of extremism. His comments are so beyond reason that you should feel compelled, as Speaker, to break this unusual silence you are maintaining about a Member of your Conference.

In the past, you have spoken with some eloquence and conviction about comments made by individuals that you found harmful and reckless. To you as much as anyone, words matter: they have consequences. And so how can you be silent in the face of suggestions by Steve Stockman that the tragedy of Waco was a premeditated act of murder on the part of Attorney General Janet Reno, born of an agreement between her and President Clinton?

Had Mr. Stockman's words been uttered on the Floor of the House of Representatives by Congressman Stockman they would have violated the rules and been taken down. We expect that the simple fact that they were published in a magazine, instead of the Congressional Record, will not stop you from doing what is right. Politics has been, and always will be, a rough business, but there is a qualitative difference between even strident political discourse and Mr. Stockman's extremist, uncivil, and inflammatory comments.

Sincerely,

VIC FAZIO

2nd Amendment

Congressman Stockman Assaults the 'Assault Weapons' Ban

A new Texas representative vows to fight for the Second Amendment

by Hon. Steve Stockman

Waco made all the difference for me. Why did so many people who ordinarily weep for murderers take such joy in the fiery death of David Koresh and the Branch Davidians? Former Congressman Jack Brooks, who used to represent my district, offered but one hard-hearted comment: "Burning was too good for them."

The Branch Davidians had committed no crime prior to the arrival of an army on their doorstep. And the Branch Davidians were executed in a particularly gruesome way: gassed, choked and then incinerated. What had these people done to provoke the government to do this?

The answer to that question is a frightening one indeed. These men, women and children were burned to death because they owned guns that the government did not wish them to have. Waco was supposed to be a way for the

Brady's bidding if he became president. During the Bush Administration, Handgun Control Inc. had proven unable to provoke Congress into banning rifles

and shotguns legally owned and lawfully used by many Americans. The U.S. House of Representatives flatly refused to pass a ban on an entire class of semi-automatic firearms. The evidence showed that hands and feet killed more people than the firearms that so upset HCI. So an incident had to be encouraged to happen. While we may never know who fired the

first shot, we will never forget the final result of the BATF's unjustified raid on the Branch Davidians.

Waco Fire Meant to Intimidate us

Had Bill Clinton really been unhappy with what Attorney General Janet Reno ordered, he would not only have fired her, he would have had Reno indicted for premeditated murder. But Bill Clinton and the gun-control lobby were not unhappy with the fiery end of the siege at Waco. Waco was to be a lesson to gun owners all over America: Don't own firearms that the government does not like.

The average Texan in my district owns more firearms than did the average Branch Davidian. Many of us own rifles that have detachable ammunition maga-

zines or folding stocks. We use them to hunt, shoot targets or to protect ourselves and our families from hostile people.

In fact, it is essential that even if, for



Steve Stockman now represents the ninth Texas congressional district, replacing turncoat Jack Brooks.

the sake of argument, one may not choose to hunt with an AR-15, law-abiding Americans should still be allowed to own these firearms. The Second Amendment was passed specifically to protect firearms that the government does not like.

It was Robert Sherrill, an anti-gun writer, who identified this tactic of the government and its agents back in 1976: For the police, any handgun that gives them trouble is a "Saturday Night Special." Now any firearm the government objects to is called an "assault weapon." Both of these terms are meaningless but have the advantage of sounding ominous to the general public. It was another anti-gun advocate, Josh Sugarmann, who stated in 1988 that the public could not tell the difference between machine guns and firearms that

**"The assault weapons ban
was conceived as a means
of disarming honest
American citizens."**

Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) and the Clinton Administration to prove the need for a ban on so-called "assault weapons."

It was no coincidence that Waco happened at the beginning of Bill Clinton's term. Bill Clinton had agreed to do Sarah

U.S. State Department Attempting to Stifle Gun Exports

By Robert Hausman

■ The far-reaching anti-gun tentacles of the Clinton Administration were amply illustrated during a recent firearms industry meeting in Washington, D.C. Although not authorized by law, the federal government is attempting to halt the exportation of firearms that were banned from domestic sale by the Democrats' 1994 Crime Law. Terry Hunter, Munition Control Specialist, Office of Defense Trade Controls, U.S. State Department told a surprised audience at the third-annual American Shooting Sports Council "Fly-in" held February 5-9. Although the Crime Law is silent on exports, Hunter disclosed that her department (which reviews arms-export license applications) has been directing U.S. Embassies in foreign countries to ask foreign officials if they "really want" to have guns that are banned from sale in the U.S. to be sold in their countries.

The annual ASSC event has CEOs and other top management personnel representing gun manufacturers, distributors, retailers and others (including GEA's Publisher) spending three days directly lobbying Congress to change perceptions of restrictive gun legislation that puts the focus on predatory criminals.

ASSC members heard from several other notable speakers. Eighth-term Congressman Bill McCollum (R-IL) was presented with ASSC's Congressional Leader of the Year award during a traditional wild game dinner. McCollum, who is Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Crime, announced that as long as he holds this position, "There will be no laws that infringe on the rights of firearms owners in this nation to bear arms." Congressman John Dingell (D-MI) received ASSC's Connecticut Valley Firearms Freedom Award. Dingell, one of the key founders of the NRA's Institute for Legislative Action back in 1975, called the gun-ban provisions of the 1994 Crime law "extremely repugnant" and a "direct attack" on firearms ownership. He said an indirect attack on gun ownership is constituted by the search and seizure provisions of the new Crime Bill that would allow police to make so-called "good faith" searches of homes and businesses.

Freshman Congressman Bob Barr (R-GA), chairman of the new House Republican Firearms Legislation Task Force, pledged to re-examine the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to see if "perhaps they have outlived their usefulness." Other speakers addressed such topics as product liability law reform, firearms import and transportation regulations. The ASSC was formed in 1989, shortly after then-President George Bush imposed an import ban on certain firearms.

The assault weapons ban was conceived as a means of disarming honest American citizens. The ban also had the advantage of making certain that a potentially tyrannical government would have less to fear from an aroused and angry American citizenry.

Despite the best efforts of groups like Gun Owners of America, Bill Clinton finally got his gun ban passed. He convinced enough of his fellow Democrats that the fate of his presidency rested on his Crime Bill. He told them to ignore all the telephone calls, faxes, telegrams and rallies. He told them that most Americans supported him. The ban was passed.

Pro-Gun Voters Changed Congress

I was a candidate for Congress at the time. I knew better. I have never seen people so angry. A staff of 2,000 volunteers working out of my garage heard from many folks who were disgusted with my opponent, Jack Brooks, and his vote for the gun ban. Gun owners from all over the district flocked to my banner. I

was awed and humbled by the faith these men and women had placed in me. They wanted to send me to Washington to get them back their Second Amendment rights. They didn't want to have to fear their own government anymore.

My congressional district, the ninth of Texas, stretches from the Houston suburbs to the Louisiana border and includes the cities of Beaumont, Port Arthur and Galveston. Registered Democrats outnumber registered Republicans by four to one. For me to win, many of these lifelong Democrats had to have a powerful reason to vote Republican. That reason was the Second Amendment.

I made certain that gun owners knew the difference between me and Congressman Jack Brooks. I sent an audio tape of my endorsement by Gun Owners of America Political Victory Fund to every gun dealer in the district. And I made sure that the voters heard Jack Brooks' callous dismissal of the Waco dead many times. The gun stores in the district became volunteer Stockman campaign centers.

(continued on page 97)

2nd Amendment

(continued from page 27)

Pro-gun voters not only made it possible for me to win, they helped me to get more votes than now-Governor George Bush, Jr. Listen to the American people. Bill Clinton thinks it is the government's job to decide what guns you and I should own. Perhaps when he was in Moscow, Bill Clinton might have heard of the Soviet practice of registering and licensing all hunters. His ability to hunt ducks today proves nothing about the right any of us may have to own any firearm tomorrow. It has been well said that once the Second Amendment is gone, it is gone for good.

It is for all these reasons that I chose to join Congressman Roscoe Bartlett (R-MD) in introducing legislation ending the Clinton gun ban, H.R. 464. This gun ban is not just bad policy. The Clinton gun ban is bad precedent. And the Clinton gun ban reveals a dangerous attitude

**"I believe that the votes and
hard work of pro-gun
Americans made the
Republican victory possible..."**

toward the rights of all Americans.

As I write this, Bill Clinton has just finished his State of the Union message. For the first time in his political career, Bill Clinton faces a legislature controlled by the opposition party. I believe that the votes and hard work of pro-gun Americans made the Republican victory possible last November. And I am not alone.

Bill Clinton just finished telling us: "I don't think it's a secret to anybody in this room that several members of the last Congress who voted for it [gun control] aren't here tonight because they voted for it." For once, Bill Clinton told the truth. *Campaigns & Elections Magazine* counted 55 House seats that changed hands because of the votes of gun owners.

Bill Clinton urged us to break faith with those who sent us to Washington by keeping his gun ban on the books. I have news for him: Campaign promises may mean nothing to Bill Clinton but they mean everything to me. I will keep my word. I will do what I was sent to Washington to do: fight with every bit of energy I have to eliminate Bill Clinton's gun-control laws. I think that would be the proper memorial to the men, women and children killed at Waco: a government reminded that there, sir, the people rule."



National Rifle Association

Wayne LaPierre
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Dear Fellow American:

I've worn out a lot of shoe leather walking the halls of Congress. I've met key leaders. I've talked with old allies. I've met with the new Congressmen and many staff members.

What I'm hearing and seeing concerns me.

Many of our new Congressmen are ignoring America's 30 million gun owners. Some have forgotten what we did to elect them. Others say our demands to restore our Constitutional freedoms are "politically out of line."

Don't get me wrong, not all of them are like this. Senator Phil Gramm, House Speaker Newt Gingrich, and Congressmen Bill McCollum, Bill Brewster and Harold Volkmer are all coming to our aid. But too many others are not.

And without a major show of force by America's 80 million gun owners, America will resume its long march down the road to gun bans, destruction of the Constitution and loss of every sacred freedom.

I want you to know I'm not looking for a fight.

But when you consider the facts of our current situation, you too, will see we have no other choice.

FACT #1: The Congress' leading anti-gunners, Senators Dianne Feinstein, Ted Kennedy and Congressmen Charles Schumer and Major Owens all survived their last elections.

They've pledged to fight to the bitter end for Brady II and its ammo taxes, licensing and registration schemes, gun rationing, bureaucrats with the power to determine if you "need" a gun and yes, the repeal of the Second Amendment.

It doesn't matter to them that the Brady Law is a failure.

It doesn't matter to them that the Brady law has become one more tool that government agents are using to deny the Constitutional rights of law abiding citizens.

It doesn't matter to them that the semi-auto ban gives jack-booted government thugs more power to take away our Constitutional rights, break in our doors, seize our guns, destroy our property, and even injure or kill us.

Schumer, Feinstein, Kennedy, Owens and the rest of the anti-gunners want more and more gun control.

It can be something small and subtle like a regulation expanding the disqualification criteria for the Brady Law. They're fighting for anything that makes it harder for you to own a gun.

The gun bannors simply don't like you. They don't trust you. They don't want you to own a gun. And they'll stop at nothing until they've forced you to turn over your guns to the government.

FACT #2: If the anti-gunners fail to achieve their goals in Congress, they have a fall-back position in Bill Clinton, the most anti-gun President in American history.

In two short years, Bill Clinton launched two successful attacks on the Constitution. He signed two gun control bills into law. He has sworn to veto any repeal of the semi-auto ban and any restoration of our Constitutional rights.

* His Interior and Agriculture Departments have set their sights on closing hunting lands.

* And his Environmental Protection Agency is attempting to take jurisdiction over existing uses of lead. This, of course, includes gun ranges and spent shot.

* What's more, gun owners aren't the only ones Clinton's EPA has set its sights on. They're after fishermen, too. They want to BAN the use of small lead fishing sinkers and, of gravest concern, they want to stop the home casting of these sinkers.

If fishing sinkers are on the Clinton bureaucrat's list, you know what's next: lead shot, lead bullets, bullet casting and reloading.

(2) Clinton's State Department is also adding to the attacks on gun owners and our Constitutional freedoms. In December, he signed the Summit of the Americas agreements which pledges that the U.S. Government will push for additional gun control.

Over in the Justice Department, Clinton's Attorney General Janet Reno has signaled her intent to "squash" the states' rights movement and deny states their Constitutional power.

And worst of all,

* **FACT #3:** President Clinton's army of anti-gun government agents continues to intimidate and harass law-abiding citizens.

In Clinton's administration, if you have a badge, you have the government's go-ahead to harass, intimidate, even murder law-abiding citizens.

Randy Weaver at Ruby Ridge... Waco and the Branch Davidians... Not too long ago, it was unthinkable for Federal agents wearing nazi bucket helmets and black storm trooper uniforms to attack law-abiding citizens.

Not today. Not with Clinton.

Our calls to investigate these outrageous assaults on our Constitutional freedoms are routinely silenced by the anti-gun media. But that's no surprise.

FACT #4: They've launched a new wave of brainwashing propaganda aimed at further destroying our Constitutional

CBS, ABC, NBC, USA TODAY, TIME, NEWSWEEK and The New York Times have launched another round of phony polls and slanted stories to help the anti-gunners achieve their goals.

Their latest phony poll shows 70% of America support the "semi-auto" assault weapon ban.

That's simply not true. When it's explained that "semi-autos" are used in less than a fraction of one percent of crimes; that the ban only affects the law-abiding; and, that the ban is only one more way to deny Constitutional rights to the law-abiding, support for the ban drops to 30%.

But the media still uses this 70% statistic to trumpet the call for gun control.

What scares me the most about this 70% number is that the media has brainwashed 70% of Americans into believing that the government -- and not each individual -- is responsible for their personal protection.

Even worse, this 70% number means that there are enough people who can be brainwashed by the media to vote for a repeal of the Second Amendment if it were put to a vote.

The media, Clinton, the anti-gunners in Congress... This combination is a powder keg that could blow at any moment and it's set squarely underneath the Constitution.

And what this means is:

FACT #5: Congress must be forced to restore the Constitution, repeal the gun bans, investigate abuse by government agents and focus the public debate on criminal control, not gun control...

...Or what we're seeing now will only be a momentary patch of sunshine on the road to doom for the Second Amendment and our Constitution.

There is hope, though. Despite the current situation, I'm encouraged by you and your fellow NRA members.

Everywhere I go, to every gun show, every NRA-ILA grassroots operation, every Friends of NRA Dinner, even in cabs and airports around the country, I run into NRA members who understand the stakes and stand ready to fight.

The question I hear from almost every one of these NRA members is the same: "What can I do next?"

If you're one of those members, I want to thank you for your courage, your conviction and your spirit. You keep me going. You keep me on the road. You give me strength to lead the battle.

And if you want to join me in taking the next step, I need you to do these two things today.

First, I need you to sign the enclosed Petitions to the United States Congress.

These petitions are addressed to the leaders of the U. S. Congress, Senator Robert Dole and Speaker Newt Gingrich, and your U. S. Senators Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Alfonse M. D'Amato and Congresswoman Sue Kelly.

Please be sure to sign all five petitions, then fold them and place them in the enclosed, postage-paid envelope addressed to me at NRA Headquarters.

These petitions spell out, in black and white, our agenda of REPEAL, reform, investigate and limit government power.

In the first amendment of the Bill of Rights, we are guaranteed the right to "petition our Government for a redress of grievances."

And that's exactly what we're going to do: redress our grievances in the biggest and most powerful display of political clout and commitment to the Constitution.

I want to personally deliver your five petitions, and the petitions of all 3.5 million of your fellow NRA members -- 17.5 million petitions in all -- to Congress.

And I want to show the leadership in Congress, and your Senators and Congressman from New York, that the number one priority in their Contract with America must be defending and restoring our Constitutional freedoms.

17.5 million Petitions to Congress is the largest "redress of grievances" since the Constitution and the Bill of Rights were written.

So I KNOW Congress will get the message. And I know they'll act on our agenda of REPEAL, REFORM and INVESTIGATE if only you and I speak out.

Your Petitions to Congress also sends another message -- a message not spelled out on the Petitions themselves.

Each Congressman, on the average, will receive 8,000 Petitions from NRA members demanding action. 8,000 messages from angry voters sounds an alarm in every Congressman's head.

You see, most Congressional elections were won or lost by 5,000 votes or less. So, they'll realize that failing to defend the Second Amendment, and failing to retake the Constitutional freedoms lost to the anti-gunners, could result in big losses at the next election!

That's why it's critical you take a few minutes to sign your Petitions to Congress and return them to me as soon as possible.

These petitions are our D-Day.

Armed with these petitions and our First Amendment rights, we are going to storm Congress, knock out anti-gunner strongholds and recapture every bit of ground we lost since Bill Clinton took office.

And if we're successful, these petitions will be the turning point in the history of the Constitution... A day when our sacred right to keep and bear arms will be secure for the next generation of law-abiding Americans.

Second, when you return your signed Petitions to Congress, I need you to make a special contribution to the NRA, of \$15, \$20, \$25, \$35, \$50 or the most generous amount you can afford.

Most Americans don't realize that our freedoms are slowly slipping away.

They don't understand that politicians and bureaucrats are chipping away at the American way of life.

They're destroying business, destroying our economy, destroying property rights, destroying our moral foundation, destroying our schools, destroying our culture...

...Destroying our Constitution.

And the attack, either through legislation or regulation, on the Second Amendment is only the first in a long campaign to destroy the freedoms at the core of American life.

You can see it in the gun bans, certainly. But you can also see it in closed ranges, closed hunting lands, confiscated collectors' firearms, banned magazines and ammunition taxes.

You can see it when jack-booted government thugs, wearing black, armed to the teeth, break down a door, open fire with an automatic weapon, and kill or maim law-abiding citizens.

America's gun owners will only be the first to lose their freedoms.

If we lose the right to keep and bear arms, then the right to free speech, free practice of religion, and every other freedom in the Bill of Rights are sure to follow.

I am one American who is not going to sit on the sidelines and watch this happen.

And if you want to help me stop this destruction of the Constitution, then I hope you can make that special contribution of \$15, \$20, \$25, \$35 or \$50 to the NRA today.

With your special contribution, I'll have the financial ammo I need to keep Congress focused on the mission we've assigned them.

First, with your help, I will expand our petition campaign to involve as many of America's 80 million gun owners as possible.

If we can double the number of Petitions flooding Congress, we'll double the speed Congress deals with our demands to REPEAL, REFORM AND INVESTIGATE. And with double the show of clout, we'll wipe out anti-gunner opposition.

Second, with your special contribution, I can increase the NRA's public exposure on talk shows, at rallies and shows, in radio and T.V. advertising and through broadcasts like the NRA's Town Meeting that first sounded our alarm in 16 million households, last summer.

Part of our problem is that far too few Americans understand what's at stake in these battles.

My ultimate goal is to educate the American people that this issue is not just about guns, not just about hunting, not just about personal protection; this issue is about freedom -- YOUR FREEDOM.

I want to use the power of T.V. and radio to show the American people that, if the NRA fails to restore our Second Amendment freedoms, the attacks will begin on freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom from unreasonable search and seizure...

...And that unless we take action today, the long slide down the slippery slope will only continue until there's no freedom left in America at all.

I know you see it. The elbow room you have to hunt, shoot and live life the way you see fit is slowly disappearing.

And the truth is, NRA members have been hardened by legislative battles. And only NRA members have the courage, the conviction to draw the line in the sand.

That's why I'm hoping you can take a few moments to sign and date the enclosed Petitions and return them to me with your special contribution of \$15, \$20, \$25, \$35, \$50 or more in the enclosed postage-paid envelope today. Or, you can charge by phone by calling 800-547-4NRA today.

You know, besides going shooting, I love to go to football games. And every time I go, I always hear my fellow fans talk about the impact of "the 12th man."

The 11 players calling the plays and doing the hitting get a lot of their motivation from the 12th man in the stands. I'm talking about the crowd who cheers wildly when our team is on the offense, and throws out the signals of the opposing team when they're on the defense.

I need you to be that 12th man.

I need you to sign your Petitions to Congress and return them to me today. That simple act will give our allies the political courage to do what's right, to push ahead with our agenda of REPEAL, REFORM AND INVESTIGATE.

Likewise, your signed Petitions to Congress will confuse and demoralize the anti-gun team and their agenda of bans, taxes, intimidation, harassment and destruction of the Constitution.

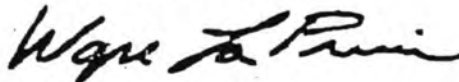
I know I've said what I'm about to say before. But this is a message that resonates with NRA members across the land. It's something I hope you, too, will say whenever you have the occasion to defend our Constitutional freedoms.

This, the battle we're fighting today, is a battle to retake the most precious, most sacred ground on earth. This is a battle for freedom.

Please tell me you're ready to take the next step by returning your signed Petitions to Congress and special gift to me in the enclosed postage-paid envelope today.

Thank you. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours in Freedom,



Wayne LaPierre
Executive Vice President

P.S. As a special thank you for making a special contribution of \$25 or more, I'd like to send you a copy of my national best-selling book, *Guns, Crime, and Freedom*. *Guns, Crime, and Freedom* is 263 pages of truth about guns, gun control, gun owners, the anti gun media and what's happening to our freedoms.

I hope you'll read it and use it in your own personal campaign in New York to defend the Constitution. Use GUNS, CRIME, AND FREEDOM to help you keep the pressure on Congress, write letters to the editor and teach other Americans about the battle we're fighting today. Thanks again for your support and friendship.

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

GERALD R. FORD
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

Dear Friend:

The enclosed tape is another in the regular series of GOPAC audio cassettes. But it is more than just another tape. This is a special lecture I delivered just a few days ago, on August 22, 1990, to the Third Generation group at the Heritage Foundation.

I am sending you this tape in the belief that it contains a timely and extraordinary message that could be of help to you the coming months.

While most activists and legislative candidates are not asked to give your views on Iraq, the mid-east crisis, the budget conferences and the state of the economy, it is critical that you have the tools available that will help you take the offensive and define the agenda of the campaign based on our values, rather than fall into the trap of merely answering the news releases of the Democrats.

This tape lays out, in five specific points, what I believe is the direction we must take to meet these crisis head on, defend human rights against international thugs and preserve our economic integrity. It puts the battles we face in a different context.

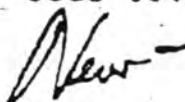
Use any of this that you wish. Write letters to the editor or Opinion/Editorials about our position on these issues. Give a speech to the civic club using these ideas. We mail these tapes in the hope that you will find courage in the ideas and help in finding language that you can use in you campaign messages.

I have also included a new document entitled "Language, a Key Mechanism of Control" drafted by GOPAC political director Tom Morgan. The words in that paper are tested language from a recent series of focus groups where we actually tested ideas and language. I hope this proves useful in writing speeches and other campaign communications.

My personal wishes for the best of luck in your campaign. You are fighting in the most direct manner possible for the future of your community and this nation. Too few are willing to make the sacrifices of time, family, privacy and personal fortune that you so willingly give each day.

Thank you.

Your friend,


Newt

GOPAC

LANGUAGE:

A KEY MECHANISM OF CONTROL

As you know, one of the key points in the **GOPAC** tapes is that "language matters." In the video "We are a Majority," Language is listed as a key mechanism of control used by a majority party, along with Agenda, Rules, Attitude and Learning. As the tapes have been used in training sessions across the country and mailed to candidates we have heard a plaintive plea: "I wish I could speak like Newt."

That takes years of practice. But, we believe that you could have a significant impact on your campaign and the way you communicate if we help a little. That is why we have created this list of words and phrases.

This list is prepared so that you might have a directory of words to use in writing literature and mail, in preparing speeches, and in producing electronic media. The words and phrases are powerful. Read them. Memorize as many as possible. And remember that like any tool, these words will not help if they are not used.

While the list could be the size of the latest "College Edition" dictionary, we have attempted to keep it small enough to be readily useful yet large enough to be broadly functional. The list is divided into two sections: Optimistic Positive Governing words and phrases to help describe your vision for the future of your community (your message) and Contrasting words to help you clearly define the policies and record of your opponent and the Democratic party.

Please let us know if you have any other suggestions or additions. We would also like to know how you use the list. Call us at **GOPAC** or write with your suggestions and comments. We may include them in the next tape mailing so that others can benefit from your knowledge and experience.

Contrasting Words

Often we search hard for words to define our opponents. Sometimes we are hesitant to use contrast. Remember that creating a difference helps you. These are powerful words that can create a clear and easily understood contrast. Apply these to the opponent, their record, proposals and their party.

decay	endanger	stagnation
failure (fail)	coercion	welfare
collapse (ing)	hypocrisy	corrupt
deeper	radical	selfish
crisis	threaten	insensitive
urgent (cy)	devour	status quo
destructive	waste	mandate (s)
destroy	corruption	taxes
sick	incompetent	spend (ing)
pathetic	permissive	shame
lie	attitude	disgrace
liberal	destructive	punish (poor...)
they / them	impose	bizarre
unionized	self-serving	cynicism
bureaucracy	greed	cheat
"compassion" is	ideological	steal
not enough	insecure	abuse of power
betray	anti - (issue)	machine
consequences	flag, family,	bosses
limit (s)	child, jobs	obsolete
shallow	pessimistic	criminal rights
traitors	excuses	red tape
sensationalists	intolerant	patronage

Sep. 9 '90 0:53

3000 10:00 PM: 110

Optimistic Positive Governing Words

Use the list below to help define your campaign and your vision of public service. These words can help give extra power to your message. In addition, these words help develop the positive side of the contrast you should create with your opponent, giving your community something to vote for!

share	liberty	peace
change	commitment	rights
opportunity	principle (d)	pioneer
legacy	unique	proud / pride
challenge	duty	building
control	precious	preserve
truth	premise	pro- (issue)
moral	care (ing)	flag, children
courage	tough	environment
reform	listen	reform
prosperity	learn	workfare
crusade	help	eliminate good-
movement	lead	time in prison
children	vision	strength
family	success	choice / choose
debate	empower (ment)	fair
compete	citizen	protect
active (ly)	activist	confident
we / us / our	mobilize	incentive
candid (ly)	conflict	hard work
humane	light	initiative
pristine	dream	common sense
provide	freedom	

USE THIS LIST

IN WRITING

- Speeches
- Direct mail
- Brochures
- Flyers
- Newspaper ads
- Electronic advertising
- News releases
- Door to door campaigning

... Anywhere you need to talk about your campaign, your vision for a better community, and the new ideas and approaches you represent!

It has been widely reported that former President George Bush recently resigned his Life Membership in the National Rifle Association of America.

Virtually ignored by the media, this response from NRA President Tom Washington is worthy of review by all concerned citizens.

May 10, 1995

Dear President Bush:

I was surprised and saddened to see your letter of May 3, 1995. I can understand and sympathize with the deeply emotional consequences you are enduring as a result of losing a close friend in the Oklahoma City tragedy. We, too, have NRA members who were victims and rescuers that were scarred by that most horrendous crime.

I'm sorry that you have chosen to unequivocally condemn NRA's words without first seeking an explanation. Surely, a private exchange between us might persuade you to at least reserve a final opinion until all the facts are examined. Such a course of action, I believe, would have better served the country than what now will become a public disagreement that can only lead to more polarization in these troubled times.

Within hours of the bombing, NRA issued a statement declaring that *"The National Rifle Association of America has nothing but contempt for terrorists or hate groups that attempt to disguise themselves as patriots."* Deploing the monstrous act, we called for the death penalty for those found responsible, praised federal, state and local authorities and declared that law enforcement has *"... no stronger ally than the NRA."*

Following the President's call on Sunday, April 23 for a *"lowering of voices,"* NRA began the week of April 24 with no intention of seeking political advantage from such a calamity. By nightfall, Mr. Clinton, Congressman Schumer, anti-gun groups and members of the media had begun a full frontal assault on so-called *"hate-speech."* Our offices in Washington were immediately flooded with press inquiries demanding that we defend numerous statements we had made in recent months with regard to the conduct of the BATF. Each day continued to bring new participants in the NRA-bashing frenzy that today grips the national media. NRA has been accused of contributing to an atmosphere that encourages unstable people to commit violent acts. Our words have been characterized as grievous, defamatory, insensitive distortions of truth. In return and with respect for the heartbreaking aftermath the nation has witnessed, we have tried to respond with a measured tone. We have argued calmly and responsibly that our position has merit and that a fair, unbiased analysis is the *only way* to address these issues. After exhaustive interviews with The New York Times, The Washington Post, NBC, CBS, ABC, Time and dozens of others, it is disheartening to see such enthusiasm for stories on NRA rhetoric and so much reluctance to balance those presentations with fact. As someone who has been victimized yourself by

such media tactics, I would have expected you to allow us to offer information that was not being provided by the press.

On January 10, 1994, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the NRA and other organizations appealed to President Clinton for the appointment of a national commission to *"... investigate serious allegations of abuse by federal law enforcement agencies and to recommend steps that must be taken to reduce constitutional and human rights violations by federal law enforcement personnel."* Citing *"... serious allegations of abuse, including the improper use of deadly force ...,"* our letter offered specific examples of black-suited, masked, massively armed mobs screaming, swearing agents invading the homes of innocents:

DONALD CARLSON

On August 25, 1992 at about 10:30 PM, Donald Carlson returned to his home in Poway, California, opened his garage door with a remote control device, simultaneously illuminating the garage so that Drug Enforcement Administration agents conducting surveillance from nearby could see inside. Just after midnight, while Carlson was asleep, a group of 10 agents burst into his house. Thinking they were robbers, Carlson grabbed his pistol to defend himself. He dialed 911 for help. The agents shot Carlson three times, twice after he was down and clearly disabled. Carlson spent seven weeks in intensive care, fighting for his life. No drugs were found on the premises.

It was later learned that the Federal Customs Service, the DEA and the Attorney's Office in San Diego had relied on an informant who was known to be untrustworthy and claimed Carlson's garage contained 2,500 kilograms of cocaine (a large amount which would have taken most of the garage) and four armed guards. The agents conducted the search in spite of the fact they could see the informant's information was error.

As of this writing, none of the federal agents involved in the incident have been sanctioned nor has Mr. Carlson been compensated for his injuries.

SINA BRUSH

Just after dawn on September 5, 1991, some sixty agents from the DEA, U.S. Forest Service, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF), and National Guard, complete with painted faces and camouflage and accompanied by another twenty or more National Guard troops with a light armored vehicle, raided the homes of Sina Brush and two of her neighbors near Mountainair, New Mexico. Brush and her daughter were still asleep. Hearing noises outside, Ms. Brush got up and was only halfway across the room, when the door was kicked in by the agents. Clad only in their underwear, Ms. Brush and her daughter were handcuffed and forced to kneel in the middle of the room while the agents searched the house. No drugs were found. Just as in the Carlson case, the police had obtained a warrant using information furnished by an unreliable informant and had entered Brush's home without knocking first.

WACO

This most notorious case has stunned the sensibilities of millions of Americans. According to The Wall Street Journal, "... the BATF showed up at the Davidian compound with two cattle trucks full of agents in battle gear and a plan for 'dynamic entry.'" The siege that followed the initial assault included terrifying, psychological warfare tactics and ended when a second attack, utilizing tanks and gas, led to conflagration. "Weird cultists?" (your words) Some of the adults, but certainly not the children.

For two years now, thousands of calls and letters of outrage have been received by government, the media and yes, the NRA. The cries of "thugs,"



"Nazi" and "storm trooper" came first, not from the NRA, but from the minds and mouths of Americans describing what they had seen on television.

RANDY WEAVER

This debacle at Ruby Ridge continues to fan a seething backlash in the country. A fourteen-year-old boy was shot in the back and killed. A mother was shot by a sniper in the head and killed while holding a baby. A jury found BATF guilty of entrapment and the defendant was acquitted. How does it all add up to justifiable behavior by, once again, black-shrouded forces with armored personnel carriers, helicopters and snipers all arrayed against a family in a cabin? Hundreds of good people have told me that scene reminds them of what this country once fought against and should never stand for.

Mr. President, there are more names and more abuse:

JANICE HART PORTLAND, OREGON FEBRUARY 1993

Janice Hart pulled up to her house from grocery shopping with her daughters to find her house being ransacked by ATF agents who had kicked in the door. Agents searched her home, throwing dishes, pulling clothing from hangers and emptying drawers on the floor (she photographed the damage). Some eight ATF agents interrogated her in the basement for an hour before reading her her rights. She asked to call an attorney and the agents refused. When they finally asked her if she was Janice Marie Harrell, she

told them no, that she was Janice Hart. ATF agents mocked her, accused her of selling firearms and cocaine, then arrested her. The Portland police, who she commended for their professional demeanor, took her downtown for booking and, within thirty seconds of fingerprinting her, realized ATF had the wrong person.

LOUIS KATONA BUCYRUS, OHIO

Louis Katona is a police officer in Bucyrus, Ohio. When shouting and cursing BATF agents rushed into his home to seize his firearms collection, they grabbed his pregnant wife, Kim, and shoved her into a wall. Within days, she suffered a miscarriage. A federal judge threw the government's case out of court and ordered BATF to immediately return Mr. Katona's guns or face jail themselves. The Katonas are presently pressing civil charges against BATF.

I could go on to tell you about Harry and Teresa Lamplugh, Ron and Elaine Miller, Howard and Sandy Wittenberg and many others. All victims of forceful, abusive and often vicious assaults on their homes and businesses by BATF agents who turned out not to have a case. You would hear about cancer medicines thrown all over the floor, family pets stomped to death, terrified children separated from their parents, tires slashed, threatening and hang-up telephone calls and other such behavior that has nothing to do with the America I grew up in.

If all the above is not bad enough, just 62 days ago, on Wednesday, March 18, 1995, USA Today reported that "... a group of black agents has sued the 4,200-employee agency (BATF), charging widespread discrimination." The special agent in charge of ATF's Houston office, Donnie Carter, said, "There's institutional racism ..." inside BATF. The article continues: "The suit charges ATF officials have routinely ignored racial abuses while funneling blacks into low-paying, but dangerous street assignments with little career potential. The black agents' legal documents cite numerous racial problems, including

how: White agents in Oklahoma City in 1991 plastered their walls with a Confederate flag, a 'State of Oklahoma Nigger-Hunting License,' and a Ku Klux Klan business card. Black agents at the ATF office in Chicago in 1991 went to the photocopier and found a picture of civil rights activist Jesse Jackson with the words 'jungle bunny' scrawled on it."

Mr. President, if you watched any of NRA's recent appearances on national television, you know that we did not use this article to deflect criticism of our own language. Nor did we refer to the "60 Minutes" report that appeared on Sunday, January 12, 1993 in which female BATF agents themselves described a sickening pattern of sexual harassment, intimidation and retaliation in their own ranks. One agent reported, "I was held against the hood of my car and my clothes ripped off by two agents." Another said a male agent had "... repeatedly left dildoes on my desk." She then reported that, "... he trapped me in a room and told me he would screw me in a New York minute."

A male BATF agent who had come forward to support the charges of the female agents summed it up this way: "They violate the basic principles and tenets of the Constitution and the laws and simple ethics of morality. That's what disgusts me."

Just last Thursday, May 4, The New York Times, in an editorial stated that BATF "... has had its share of problems, including inexcusable errors leading up to the tragedy at Waco." The editorial went on to say that BATF "... is badly in need of internal reform. Waco was merely the most spectacular in a series of lapses in which the BATF became too aggressive. ..." They referred to BATF's "... woeful record of sex and racial discrimination." They said, "BATF is struggling with a legacy of mismanagement and large, visible mistakes that have undermined the public's confidence in its ability to do its job." And finally, the editorial declared that, "... if the agency is to survive, it must face its demons." Toward that end, the editorial concluded that

congressional hearings "... can serve a useful purpose." That is exactly what NRA, ACLU, BATF's victims and millions of concerned citizens have been demanding for the last two years.

The same editorial reminded its readers that "Representative John Dingell has called its agents 'jack-booted American fascists' and Representative Harold Volkmer has called BATF 'one of the most Rambo-rogue law enforcement agencies in the United States.'"

Let me also call to your attention that the last time BATF abuses were investigated was in hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office and General Appropriations of the Senate Appropriations Committee in July 1979 and April 1980, and before the Subcommittee on the Constitution of the Senate Judiciary Committee in October 1980. They concluded, "Based upon these hearings it is apparent that enforcement tactics made possible by current federal firearms laws are constitutionally, legally, and practically reprehensible. ... These practices, amply documented in hearings before this Subcommittee, leave little doubt that the Bureau has disregarded rights guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States. ... It has trampled upon the Second Amendment by chilling exercise of the right to keep and bear arms by law-abiding citizens. ... It has offended the Fourth Amendment by unreasonably searching and seizing private property. ... It has ignored the Fifth Amendment by taking private property without just compensation and by entrapping honest citizens without regard for their right to due process of law. ... The rebuttal presented to the

Subcommittee by the Bureau was utterly unconvincing. ... Evidence was submitted establishing that approximately 75 percent of BATF gun prosecutions were aimed at ordinary citizens who had neither criminal intent nor knowledge. ..."

Following the lead of the Senate, it was the Reagan-Bush Administration that cracked down on BATF and cleaned up the way they conducted themselves throughout the ensuing decade. Have you forgotten, President Bush, your previous passion for justice and fairness for all law-abiding citizens?

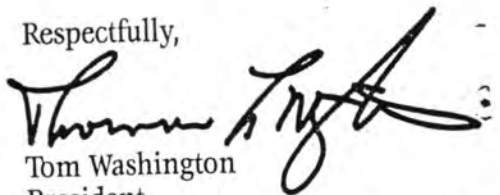
The facts are there, Mr. President. No American citizen can be proud of the agency's record in the last four years. Certainly, there are many fine, professional and heroic BATF agents who have served our nation with great distinction during this period, but their professionalism and honor are being overwhelmed by an increasingly angry and outraged American public that will not tolerate fear of their own government. That's why The Wall Street Journal, in an editorial last Tuesday, May 2, 1995 said "... recent history suggests that the people in charge of this country's system of law, order and justice had better get their acts together pretty darn quick." And, in a little-noted and largely ignored Time/CNN poll conducted eight days after the bombing in Oklahoma City, fifty-two percent of those questioned agreed that "... the federal government has become so powerful that it poses a threat to the rights and freedoms of citizens." That so many Americans actually fear their own government is a storm cloud over so many Americans actually fear their own government is a storm cloud over this country's horizon of unimaginable proportions.

Are the NRA's words to blame? Are John Dingell's? Is it the rhetoric of Rush Limbaugh or Bill Clinton or David Letterman? I don't think so. I believe more and more Americans see an emerging double standard that disgusts them. Again, I quote from The Wall Street Journal editorial of May 2, 1995, "Allowing for the dilemma of the real world, we seem to have a double standard today: It says that law enforcement officials can do what they want with unpopular defendants like religious fanatics and white supremacists. But in dealing with suspects who might charge racial prejudice, they have to be careful indeed. Even in the wake of

Oklahoma City, we are about to have the release of a Mario Van Peebles film making the Black Panthers into entertainment, guns and all."

President Bush, NRA never intended for its words to offend your sense of decency and honor or your concept of service to country. I firmly believe that after a thorough congressional examination of BATF, you will agree that our words have been more truth than slander. I believe you will judge too much of what BATF has done to be inexcusable and deserving of your personal repudiation. Therefore, I respectfully ask you to reconsider your resignation as a Life Member of the National Rifle Association until all the facts are known. Then, if you still feel that NRA has been wrong in the way it has confronted this issue, NRA will deserve your resignation. Until then, I believe we and the American people deserve your help in getting to the truth.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Tom Washington". The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping "T" and a long, horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Tom Washington
President
National Rifle Association of America

It has been widely reported that former President George Bush recently resigned his Life Membership in the National Rifle Association of America.

Virtually ignored by the media, this response from NRA President Tom Washington is worthy of review by all concerned citizens.

May 10, 1995

Dear President Bush:

I was surprised and saddened to see your letter of May 3, 1995. I can understand and sympathize with the deeply emotional consequences you are enduring as a result of losing a close friend in the Oklahoma City tragedy. We, too, have NRA members who were victims and rescuers that were scarred by that most horrendous crime.

I'm sorry that you have chosen to unequivocally condemn NRA's words without first seeking an explanation. Surely, a private exchange between us might persuade you to at least reserve a final opinion until all the facts are examined. Such a course of action, I believe, would have better served the country than what now will become a public disagreement that can only lead to more polarization in these troubled times.

Within hours of the bombing, NRA issued a statement declaring that "The National Rifle Association of America has nothing but contempt for terrorists or hate groups that attempt to disguise themselves as patriots." Deploring the monstrous act, we called for the death penalty for those found responsible, praised federal, state and local authorities and declared that law enforcement has "... no stronger ally than the NRA."

Following the President's call on Sunday, April 23 for a "lowering of voices," NRA began the week of April 24 with no intention of seeking political advantage from such a calamity. By nightfall, Mr. Clinton, Congressman Schumer, anti-gun groups and members of the media had begun a full frontal assault on so-called "hate-speech." Our offices in Washington were immediately flooded with press inquiries demanding that we defend numerous statements we had made in recent months with regard to the conduct of the BATF. Each day continued to bring new participants in the NRA-bashing frenzy that today grips the national media. NRA has been accused of contributing to an atmosphere that encourages unstable people to commit violent acts. Our words have been characterized as grievous, defamatory, insensitive distortions of truth. In return and with respect for the heartbreaking aftermath the nation has witnessed, we have tried to respond with a measured tone. We have argued calmly and responsibly that our position has merit and that a fair, unbiased analysis is the *only way* to address these issues. After exhaustive interviews with The New York Times, The Washington Post, NBC, CBS, ABC, Time and dozens of others, it is disheartening to see such enthusiasm for stories on NRA rhetoric and so much reluctance to balance those presentations with fact. As someone who has been victimized yourself by

such media tactics, I would have expected you to allow us to offer information that was not being provided by the press.

On January 10, 1994, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the NRA and other organizations appealed to President Clinton for the appointment of a national commission to "... investigate serious allegations of abuse by federal law enforcement agencies and to recommend steps that must be taken to reduce constitutional and human rights violations by federal law enforcement personnel." Citing "... serious allegations of abuse, including the improper use of deadly force ...," our letter offered specific examples of black-suited, masked, massively armed mobs of screaming, swearing agents invading the homes of innocents:

DONALD CARLSON

On August 25, 1992 at about 10:30 p.m., Donald Carlson returned to his home in Poway, California, opened his garage door with a remote control device, simultaneously illuminating the garage so that Drug Enforcement Administration agents conducting surveillance from nearby could see inside. Just after midnight, when Carlson was asleep, a group of DEA agents burst into his house. Thinking they were robbers, Carlson grabbed his pistol to defend himself. He also dialed 911 for help. The agents shot Carlson three times, twice after he was down and clearly disabled. Carlson spent seven weeks in intensive care, fighting for his life. No drugs were found on the premises.

It was later learned that the Federal Customs Service, the DEA and the U.S. Attorney's Office in San Diego had relied on an informant who was known to be untrustworthy and who claimed Carlson's garage contained 2,500 kilograms of cocaine (a large amount which would have taken up most of the garage) and four armed guards. The agents conducted the raid in spite of the fact they could see the informant's information was erroneous.

As of this writing, none of the federal agents involved in the incident have been sanctioned nor has Mr. Carlson been compensated for his injuries.

SINA BRUSH

Just after dawn on September 5, 1991, some sixty agents from the DEA, U.S. Forest Service, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF), and National Guard, complete with painted faces and camouflage and accompanied by another twenty or more National Guard troops with a light armored vehicle, raided the homes of Sina Brush and two of her neighbors near Mountainair, New Mexico. Brush and her daughter were still asleep. Hearing noises outside, Ms. Brush got up and was only halfway across the room, when the door was kicked in by the agents. Clad only in their underwear, Ms. Brush and her daughter were handcuffed and forced to kneel in the middle of the room while the agents searched the house. No drugs were found. Just as in the Carlson case, the police had obtained a warrant using information furnished by an unreliable informant and had entered Brush's home without knocking first.

WACO

This most notorious case has stunned the sensibilities of millions of Americans. According to The Wall Street Journal, "... the BATF showed up at the Davidian compound with two cattle trucks full of agents in battle gear and a plan for 'dynamic entry.'" The siege that followed the initial assault included terrifying, psychological warfare tactics and ended when a second attack, utilizing tanks and gas, led to conflagration. "Weird cultists?" (your words) Some of the adults, but certainly not the children.

For two years now, thousands of calls and letters of outrage have been received by government, the media and yes, the NRA. The cries of "thugs,"



"Nazi" and "storm trooper" came first, not from the NRA, but from the minds and mouths of Americans describing what they had seen on television.

RANDY WEAVER

This debacle at Ruby Ridge continues to fan a seething backlash in the country. A fourteen-year-old boy was shot in the back and killed. A mother was shot by a sniper in the head and killed while holding a baby. A jury found BATF guilty of entrapment and the defendant was acquitted. How does it all add up to justifiable behavior by, once again, black-shrouded forces with armored personnel carriers, helicopters and snipers all arrayed against a family in a cabin? Hundreds of good people have told me that scene reminds them of what this country once fought against and should never stand for.

Mr. President, there are more names and more abuse:

JANICE HART PORTLAND, OREGON FEBRUARY 1993

Janice Hart pulled up to her house from grocery shopping with her daughters to find her house being ransacked by ATF agents who had kicked in the door. Agents searched her home, throwing dishes, pulling clothing from hangers and emptying drawers on the floor (she photographed the damage). Some eight ATF agents interrogated her in the basement for an hour before reading her her rights. She asked to call an attorney and the agents refused. When they finally asked her if she was Janice Marie Harrell, she

told them no, that she was Janice Hart. ATF agents mocked her, accused her of selling firearms and cocaine, then arrested her. The Portland police, who she commended for their professional demeanor, took her downtown for booking and, within thirty seconds of fingerprinting her, realized ATF had the wrong person.

LOUIS KATONA BUCYRUS, OHIO

Louis Katona is a police officer in Bucyrus, Ohio. When shouting and cursing BATF agents rushed into his home to seize his firearms collection, they grabbed his pregnant wife, Kim, and shoved her into a wall. Within days, she suffered a miscarriage. A federal judge threw the government's case out of court and ordered BATF to immediately return Mr. Katona's guns or face jail themselves. The Katonas are presently pressing civil charges against BATF.

I could go on to tell you about Harry and Teresa Lamplugh, Ron and Elaine Miller, Howard and Sandy Wittenberg and many others. All victims of forceful, abusive and often vicious assaults on their homes and businesses by BATF agents who turned out not to have a case. You would hear about cancer medicines thrown all over the floor, family pets stomped to death, terrified children separated from their parents, tires slashed, threatening and hang-up telephone calls and other such behavior that has nothing to do with the America I grew up in.

If all the above is not bad enough, just 62 days ago, on Wednesday, March 18, 1995, USA Today reported that "... a group of black agents has sued the 4,200-employee agency (BATF), charging widespread discrimination." The special agent in charge of ATF's Houston office, Donnie Carter, said, "There's institutional racism ..." inside BATF. The article continues: "The suit charges ATF officials have routinely ignored racial abuses while funneling blacks into low-paying, but dangerous street assignments with little career potential. The black agents' legal documents cite numerous racial problems, including

how: White agents in Oklahoma City in 1991 plastered their walls with a Confederate flag, a 'State of Oklahoma Nigger-Hunting License,' and a Ku Klux Klan business card. Black agents at the ATF office in Chicago in 1991 went to the photocopier and found a picture of civil rights activist Jesse Jackson with the words 'jungle bunny' scrawled on it."

Mr. President, if you watched any of NRA's recent appearances on national television, you know that we did not use this article to deflect criticism of our own language. Nor did we refer to the "60 Minutes" report that appeared on Sunday, January 12, 1993 in which female BATF agents themselves described a sickening pattern of sexual harassment, intimidation and retaliation in their own ranks. One agent reported, "I was held against the hood of my car and my clothes ripped off by two agents." Another said a male agent had "... repeatedly left dildoes on my desk." She then reported that, "... he trapped me in a room and told me he would screw me in a New York minute."

A male BATF agent who had come forward to support the charges of the female agents summed it up this way: "They violate the basic principles and tenets of the Constitution and the laws and simple ethics of morality. That's what disgusts me."

Just last Thursday, May 4, The New York Times, in an editorial stated that BATF "... has had its share of problems, including inexcusable errors leading up to the tragedy at Waco." The editorial went on to say that BATF "... is badly in need of internal reform. Waco was merely the most spectacular in a series of lapses in which the BATF became too aggressive. ..." They referred to BATF's "... woeful record of sex and racial discrimination." They said, "BATF is struggling with a legacy of mismanagement and large, visible mistakes that have undermined the public's confidence in its ability to do its job." And finally, the editorial declared that, "... if the agency is to survive, it must face its demons." Toward that end, the editorial concluded that,

congressional hearings "... can serve a useful purpose." That is exactly what NRA, ACLU, BATF's victims and millions of concerned citizens have been demanding for the last two years.

The same editorial reminded its readers that "Representative John Dingell has called its agents 'jack-booted American fascists' and Representative Harold Volkmer has called BATF 'one of the most Rambo-rogue law enforcement agencies in the United States.'"

Let me also call to your attention that the last time BATF abuses were investigated was in hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office and General Appropriations of the Senate Appropriations Committee in July 1979 and April 1980, and before the Subcommittee on the Constitution of the Senate Judiciary Committee in October 1980. They concluded, "Based upon these hearings it is apparent that enforcement tactics made possible by current federal firearms laws are constitutionally, legally, and practically reprehensible. ... These practices, amply documented in hearings before this Subcommittee, leave little doubt that the Bureau has disregarded rights guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States. ... It has trampled upon the Second Amendment by chilling exercise of the right to keep and bear arms by law-abiding citizens. ... It has offended the Fourth Amendment by unreasonably searching and seizing private property. ... It has ignored the Fifth Amendment by taking private property without just compensation and by entrapping honest citizens without regard for their right to due process of law. ... The rebuttal presented to the

Subcommittee by the Bureau was utterly unconvincing. ... Evidence was submitted establishing that approximately 75 percent of BATF gun prosecutions were aimed at ordinary citizens who had neither criminal intent nor knowledge. ..."

Following the lead of the Senate, it was the Reagan-Bush Administration that cracked down on BATF and cleaned up the way they conducted themselves throughout the ensuing decade. Have you forgotten, President Bush, your previous passion for justice and fairness for all law-abiding citizens?

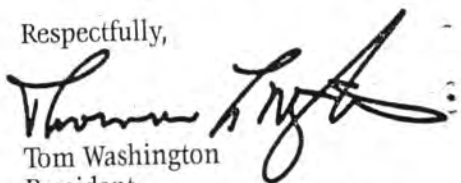
The facts are there, Mr. President. No American citizen can be proud of this agency's record in the last four years. Certainly, there are many fine, professional and heroic BATF agents who have served our nation with great distinction during this period, but their professionalism and honor are being overwhelmed by an increasingly angry and outraged American public that will not tolerate fear of their own government. That's why The Wall Street Journal, in an editorial last Tuesday, May 2, 1995 said "... recent history suggests that the people in charge of this country's system of law, order and justice had better get their acts together pretty darn quick." And, in a little-noted and largely ignored Time/CNN poll conducted eight days after the bombing in Oklahoma City, fifty-two percent of those questioned agreed that "... the federal government has become so powerful that it poses a threat to the rights and freedoms of citizens." That so many Americans actually fear their own government is a storm cloud on so many Americans actually fear their own government is a storm cloud on this country's horizon of unimaginable proportions.

Are the NRA's words to blame? Are John Dingell's? Is it the rhetoric of Rush Limbaugh or Bill Clinton or David Letterman? I don't think so. I believe more and more Americans see an emerging double standard that disgusts them. Again, I quote from The Wall Street Journal editorial of May 2, 1995, "Allowing for the dilemmas of the real world, we seem to have a double standard today: It says that law enforcement officials can do what they want with unpopular defendants like religious fanatics and white supremacists. But in dealing with suspects who might charge racial prejudice, they have to be careful indeed. Even in the wake of

Oklahoma City, we are about to have the release of a Mario Van Peebles film making the Black Panthers into entertainment, guns and all."

President Bush, NRA never intended for its words to offend your sense of decency and honor or your concept of service to country. I firmly believe that after a thorough congressional examination of BATF, you will agree that our words have been more truth than slander. I believe you will judge too much of what BATF has done to be inexcusable and deserving of your personal repudiation. Therefore, I respectfully ask you to reconsider your resignation as a Life Member of the National Rifle Association until all the facts are known. Then, if you still feel that NRA has been wrong in the way it has confronted this issue, NRA will deserve your resignation. Until then, I believe we and the American people deserve your help in getting to the truth.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Tom Washington", with a stylized flourish extending to the right.

Tom Washington
President
National Rifle Association of America

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-6-95

95 MAY 16 P12 : 45

16 May 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
FROM HAROLD ICKES (HIC)
RE NRA

Enclosed are the materials and information regarding the NRA which we discussed earlier.

May 3, 1995

Dear Mr. Washington,

I was outraged when, even in the wake of the Oklahoma City tragedy, Mr. Wayne La Pierre, Executive Vice President of NRA, defended his attack on federal agents as "jack-booted thugs." To attack Secret Service Agents or ATF people or any government law enforcement people as "wearing Nazi bucket helmets and black storm trooper uniforms" wanting to "attack law abiding citizens" is a vicious slander on good people.

Al Whicher, who served on my USSS detail when I was Vice President and President, was killed in Oklahoma City. He was no Nazi. He was a kind man, a loving parent, a man dedicated to serving his country- and serve it well he did.

In 1993, I attended the wake for ATF agent Steve Willis, another dedicated officer who did his duty. I can assure you that this honorable man, killed by weird cultists, was no Nazi.

John Magaw, who used to head the USSS and now heads ATF, is one of the most principled, decent men I have ever known. He would be the last to condone the kind of illegal behavior your ugly letter charges. The same is true for the FBI's able Director Louis Freeh. I appointed Mr. Freeh to the Federal Bench. His integrity and honor are beyond question.

Both John Magaw and Judge Freeh were in office when I was President. They both now serve in the current administration. They both have badges. Neither of them would ever give the government's "go ahead to harass, intimidate, even murder law abiding citizens." (Your words)

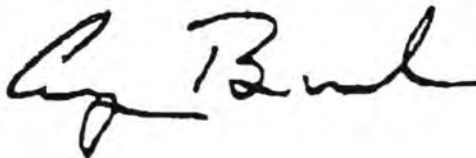
GEORGE BUSH

I am a gun owner and an avid hunter. Over the years I have agreed with most of NRA's objectives, particularly your educational and training efforts, and your fundamental stance in favor of owning guns.

However, your broadside against Federal agents deeply offends my own sense of decency and honor, and it offends my concept of service to country. It indirectly slanders a wide array of government law enforcement officials, who are out there, day and night, laying their lives on the line for all of us.

You have not repudiated Mr. La Pierre's unwarranted attack. Therefore, I resign as a Life Member of NRA, said resignation to be effective upon your receipt of this letter. Please remove my name from your membership list.

Sincerely,



**CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED**

ICE BUSH

Mr. Thomas L. Washington
President
National Rifle Association
11250 Waples Mill Road
Fairfax, Virginia 22036

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

NRA rank and file are put on the defensive

Embattled members fight 'social bigotry'

By Mimi Hall
and Robert Davis
USA TODAY

PHOENIX — Daryl Klein, National Rifle Association member, has a question: "Why do you keep calling us nuts?"

Like many here at the NRA's annual convention, he has the angry tone of someone who feels backed against the wall in a fight for his right to own guns. It's a fight he fears is being lost because of misunderstanding about the NRA.

"We've got gobs and gobs of award-winning programs" on gun safety, says the Durango, Iowa, farmer, 36. "But do you ever hear about that? I don't think so."

What people have been hearing instead for two decades has been political talk on gun control.

In 1994, the NRA's lobbying arm had a \$34.8 million budget and spent \$3.3 million on congressional campaigns, most revolving around opposition to limits on gun ownership.

But that same year, the parent group spent \$150 million — more than four times as much — on other programs, including the "Eddie Eagle" gun safety program for kids, hunting classes, police training and gun safety classes for women.

Chat with the farmers, lawyers, bankers and schoolteachers who boast "We are the NRA" and it becomes clear there is more to their story than legal battles.

They're here to learn how to handle firearms, or to have their kids learn. They're shopping for hunting jackets. They're in seminars on the Second Amendment, the one about the right to bear arms.

But now, after the Oklahoma bombing put a spotlight on anti-

government paramilitary groups, the 3.5-million-member NRA is on the defensive.

A tough-talking leadership, which refused until last week to back down from a letter calling U.S. agents "jackbooted thugs," is partly the cause.

On the eve of this year's convention, former president George Bush resigned his life membership over the fundraising letter from NRA Executive Vice President Wayne LaPierre. On Sunday, former House speaker Thomas Foley,

D-Wash., said he'd follow Bush's lead. Neither had been an NRA favorite while in office.

At first, LaPierre defended the letter as an attack on what he calls "rogue" agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms who raided the Branch Davidian compound

near Waco, Texas, in 1993.

But he apologized last week, and Saturday said here that "there is not, nor has there ever been, room for anyone who supports or even fantasizes about terrorism... or any other unlawful activity. Period. End of story."

LaPierre's apology wasn't because of Bush or other critics, says spokesman Bill Powers. LaPierre was talking to an old friend, a former Secret Service agent, who said, "Wayne, you're talking about me."

But there are few apologies from the 20,000 members here, who say strong language is necessary when fighting to protect the Second Amendment.

"I fully support Wayne LaPierre and the statements he's made," says Rowan Kloppe, a lifetime member and corrections officer from High Ridge, Mo. "The NRA is going in the right direction."

"We're portrayed as often ig-

norant, often arrogant, rather un-intellectual rednecks, and that to me amounts to social bigotry," says Dave Workman, board member from North Bend, Wash., who writes for *Fishing and Hunting News*.

The frustration with their image courses all the way to the top, where NRA President Thomas Washington says he sometimes finds it difficult to get his message across.

The attacks on the NRA, Washington says in an interview, "puzzle me, really. I'm a good citizen, I've never been arrested, and yet I'm somehow depicted as a weirdo, a wacko, a thug. So are my brother and sister NRA members."

Washington says he wonders if the sparring can be reduced.

"Maybe we all need to tone down the rhetoric," he says. "But we will not shirk our responsibility to the American public to defend the Constitution under any circumstances."

Many members look forward to the day when the NRA can focus more of its resources

on its original mission of promoting firearm sports.

"It sure wears me out, fighting this battle all the time," says Harry Thomas, an NRA board member and retired police lieutenant from Cincinnati.

"If we no longer had to expend our money and resources on the gun-control issues, we would go back to being a sport shooting organization."

"But we have to respond to the pressures put upon us."

Frank "Buster" Bachhuber, 54, a lawyer from Wausau, Wis., agrees. "It's not supposed to be a political organization," says Bachhuber, who failed this year in his second attempt to join the NRA board. "But without the politics, there would be no shooting sports."

For the most part, the members here are easygoing, as interested in the exhibits as they are in politics.

Joe Andrews, 55, is aiming a real assault rifle used by police SWAT teams at a video booth simulating a drug raid.

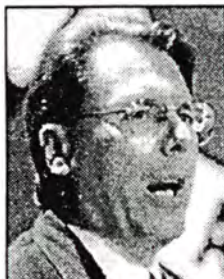
"This is as realistic as you can get without actually drawing blood," says Andrews, who just went through similar "shoot-don't-shoot" training to

get an Arizona concealed-weapon permit.

He says he feels safer now that he has a permit to carry his Smith & Wesson .357-caliber Magnum wherever he goes. Moved by horror stories of innocent people slain — on a commuter train on Long Island or in a cafeteria in Killeen,

Texas — Andrews wants to be ready to defend himself and others.

"We're not nuts," he says. "We just believe in protecting our lives and loved ones and the public. If I'm going into some cafeteria, I know there's not going to be a repeat of the Luby's Cafeteria in Texas."



By Jeff Topping, Reuters
LaPIERRE: No room for terrorism. Period.

June 5, 95

MR. PRESIDENT

- ① SECRETARY PERRY WOULD LIKE TO TALK WITH YOU
VIA TELEPHONE TODAY RE. HIS TRIP TO PARIS.
- ② RICK KAPLAN RETURNED YOUR CALL. HE WILL BE LANDING
BETWEEN 1:30 AND 2:30.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-6-95

~~Stanley Berger~~
Lanham, Md.
FBI (2)

News: Analysis & Commentary

BUSINESS WEEK/HARRIS EXECUTIVE POLL

Sobered

A BALANCED BUDGET OR BUST

American business has spoken: Balance the federal budget, even if it means giving up corporate subsidies. That's the message in a new BUSINESS WEEK/Harris Executive Poll of 408 senior executives. A decisive 57% of corporate leaders said balancing the budget was a "top priority" that will only happen by setting a



strict deadline. Only 23% felt such a step might harm the economy.

Given a choice between balancing the government's books or slashing taxes, 79% of executives opted for budget balance. Yet few thought it would actually happen: Asked if Uncle Sam's ledgers would be balanced by 2002, 86% said no.

FULL STEAM AHEAD

Republicans and Democrats are arguing over how to balance the federal budget. Which of the following statements comes closest to your point of view?

- a. Balancing the budget is a top priority that will only happen by setting a strict deadline. 57%
- b. Balancing the budget is a worthwhile goal, but drastic cuts in federal spending could jeopardize the economy. 23%
- c. The most important goal should not be balancing the budget, but rather setting different spending priorities. 20%
- d. Not sure/don't know. 0%

SAYING YES TO SACRIFICE

Some Republicans say that the drive to balance the budget by 2002 will require most, if not all, business subsidies to be eliminated. Considering your specific industry, are you willing to forgo special tax incentives or spending programs for the sake of budgetary discipline, or not?

- a. Willing to forgo tax incentives. 57%
- b. Willing to forgo spending programs. 56%
- c. Not willing to forgo anything. 10%
- d. Depends on the circumstances. 7%
- e. Not sure/don't know. 6%

NO SACRED COWS

I'm going to read you a list of business subsidies or incentives that might be eliminated in order to balance the budget. Should each of the following be eliminated or not in order to help balance the federal budget?

- | | SHOULD | NOT | NOT SURE/ |
|---|--------|-----|------------|
| | SHOULD | NOT | DON'T KNOW |
| 1. Farm subsidies. | 83% | 13% | 4% |
| 2. Incentives for energy development and efficiency. | 68% | 27% | 5% |
| 3. Federal loan guarantees. | 65% | 29% | 6% |
| 4. Export-promotion programs. | 59% | 34% | 7% |
| 5. Research and development support for emerging high-tech industries. | 51% | 45% | 4% |
| 6. Small-business grants and loans. | 49% | 47% | 4% |

AXING AGENCIES

Supporters of a balanced budget are proposing to eliminate some federal agencies. Do you favor or oppose eliminating:

- | | FAVOR | OPPOSE | NOT SURE/ |
|---|-------|--------|------------|
| | FAVOR | OPPOSE | DON'T KNOW |
| 1. Energy Dept. | 71% | 24% | 5% |
| 2. Housing & Urban Development Dept. | 69% | 27% | 4% |

* Respondents could pick more than one answer

3. Commerce Dept. 63%

4. Education Dept. 52% ... 46% ... 2%

READ OUR LIPS

Separately, GOP spending proposals would balance the budget by relying exclusively on spending reductions. As a last resort, would you favor or oppose modest tax increases to help balance the budget by 2002?

- a. Favor modest tax increases. 39%
- b. Oppose modest tax increases. 57%
- c. Not sure/don't know. 4%

TOP OF THE AGENDA

Which of these issues is THE most important to American business?

- 1. Balancing the federal budget. 31%
- 2. Improving the U.S. educational system. 28%
- 3. Helping to make U.S. companies more competitive globally. 17%
- 4. Cutting taxes. 9%
- 5. Fighting crime and drugs. 6%
- 6. Reforming the welfare system. 5%
- 7. Providing guaranteed health care for all Americans. 1%
- 8. Reforming campaign finance laws. 0%
- 9. Not sure/don't know. 3%

NO TIME FOR TAX CUTS

Which do you think is more important—balancing the federal budget or cutting taxes for business and individuals?

- a. Balancing the federal budget. 79%
- b. Cutting taxes for business and individuals. 19%
- c. Not sure/don't know. 2%

YE OF LITTLE FAITH

All in all, do you think the federal budget will be balanced by 2002 or not?

- a. Will be balanced. 11%
- b. Will not be balanced. 86%
- c. Not sure/don't know. 3%

Edited by Michele Galen

Survey of 408 senior executives at corporations drawn from the BUSINESS WEEK 1000. Interviews were conducted May 19-23, 1995, for BUSINESS WEEK by Louis Harris & Associates. Results should be accurate to within 4.9 percentage points.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 1, 1995

The Honorable Marion Barry, Jr.
Mayor of the District of Columbia
One Judiciary Square
441 Fourth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

*mailed
6/6/95*

Dear Mr. Mayor:

This is in response to your letter to the President concerning the recent closure of Pennsylvania Avenue to vehicular traffic. I appreciate your gesture of assistance to ensure the smoothest of transitions resulting from this action.

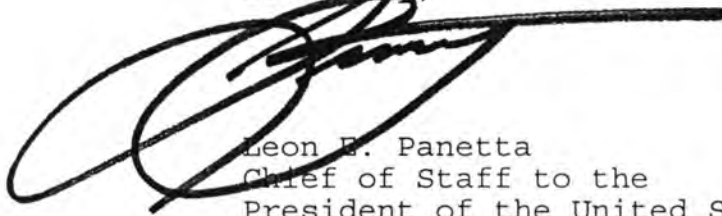
After reviewing the recommendations issued by the White House Security Review, Secretary of the Treasury Robert Rubin was convinced that there was no other alternative to prohibiting vehicular traffic on these streets that would ensure the protection of the President and others in the White House Complex. By law, the Secretary has broad authority to protect the President, and Secretary Rubin believed that the prompt and immediate closing of these streets was essential to provide the necessary protection. I understand that you were briefed by Treasury officials on these issues Wednesday. The Secretary's authority in this regard is further enhanced by the fact that these streets are included in the Federal enclave known as the National Capital Service Area.

Despite our need to have closed the streets on an urgent basis, I am sensitive to the practical problems that the city faces as a result of the closures. The Administrator of the Federal Highway Administration, with whom you also met, has indicated that his agency would pay for certain traffic-related costs, such as traffic lights, signs and other improvements. Treasury and Secret Service officials also plan to participate to the extent senior officials are available in future

D.C. Council hearings on this matter in order to explore options to improve the area. These are just several examples of our commitment to work with you and the D.C. Government to remedy some of the short term problems that understandably arose from this necessary action.

I appreciate your input into this vitally important Federal and local matter.

Sincerely,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, likely belonging to Leon E. Panetta, is written over the typed name and title.

Leon E. Panetta
Chief of Staff to the
President of the United States



MARION BARRY, JR.
Mayor

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001

95 MAY 23 8:58

May 23, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

I, as well as the residents of the District of Columbia, am extremely sensitive to the security needs of you and your family---your safety and well-being; and, share every American's concern that you are fully protected. We, here in the District Government, have and will be willing to assist in this effort.

However, I have been besieged with calls and visits from the people that I serve, who have raised numerous questions regarding the closing of main thoroughfares this past weekend, including, the role played by their local government in the decision-making process. I have talked with City Council members and representatives of the District's business community, and they have expressed concern regarding procedural decisions and the financial consequences to the District resulting from these street closings.

The streets ordered closed, Pennsylvania Avenue and "E" Street, are owned by the District Government, not the Federal Government, and were closed without consultation with District Government officials, who have the responsibility to manage traffic and all other matters relative to the efficient and effective management of this City. Furthermore, a Traffic study should have been conducted by the Federal government, through the Department of Transportation, prior to any street closings, outlining the best alternative routes for traffic. This would have eliminated the mass chaos, confusion and frustration which ultimately resulted. Motorists, were not given any advance notice, which would have allowed them the opportunity to plan for this drastic change; rather, we were all caught off guard. Unless there was an absolute necessity, based on an immediate security need, and it was determined that you and your family were in imminent danger this past weekend, the security interest should have been balanced with the interests of the District Government, it's residents, and the thousands of motorists who drive on those streets, daily.

-more-

A Traffic study is still absolutely necessary and I believe that you should direct the Federal Department of Transportation to pay the District Government, to immediately begin conducting a Traffic study, which is essential in determining the best traffic alternatives for now and the future.

In addition, I must express concern regarding the cost of these closings, for which funds have not been appropriated in either of our total budgets for FY '95 or FY '96 or included as part of the Federal payment.

The District Government has already had to expend monies for this operation and it has been projected that the District will lose a minimum of \$752,000, in revenue generated from parking meters. As a result of this, I have asked my financial management team, budget staff and economic forecasters to identify immediate and on-going factors which will determine the magnitude of additional costs to the D.C. Government.

I know that you are aware of the financial constraints that shape our spending decisions. We are now confronted with limited resources, and can ill-afford to lose revenue.

For these reasons, I am respectfully requesting that you authorize the Federal government to assume all financial responsibility for this operation and the actions that the District Government has had to take in response.

I am certain that we both agree, that this operation, and all costs associated with it, is the responsibility of the Federal government.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,


Marion Barry, Jr.
Mayor

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 JUN 6 All : 277W

June 5, 1995

JP
TS
SW
JD
CC

MEMORANDUM FOR WHITE HOUSE OFFICE STAFF

FROM:

JANE C. SHERBURNE *JCS*
SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

MIRIAM NEMETZ *MN*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

RE:

Document Request from the Senate

As you are aware, the newly created Senate Special Committee to Investigate Whitewater Development Corporation and Related Matters has announced intentions to hold hearings this July regarding the handling of documents in the office of Deputy Counsel Vincent Foster following his death in July 1993. In connection with its preparation for these hearings, the Committee has requested certain White House records. We received the Committee's request last Friday and have been asked to respond by this Friday, June 9, 1995. Accordingly, please review your records ("memoranda, correspondence, notes, and records in any other medium, including drafts of any of the foregoing"), as well as your computer files, and retrieve the following:

- (1) "All records discussing or relating to the handling of any and all documents that were in the office of Vincent Foster at the time of, or following, his death on July 20, 1993, including, but not limited to, records that tend to identify any individuals who had contact with such documents, and records that relate to the disposition of such documents." **You need only search for records created or obtained after July 20, 1994 as all other records have been collected previously by the Counsel's Office.**
- (2) "All records relating to entries by any individuals into, or tending to identify any individuals who entered or had access to, Vincent Foster's office from approximately noon of July 20, 1993 to July 31, 1993.

These records should include, but not be limited to, any logs, alarm records, or other records of any individual who entered Vincent Foster's office, and the date, the time and the duration of each such entry, and the number of instances of such entries that occurred.

- (3) "All records of telephone conversations or wire communications, including, but not limited to, phone logs, copies of message pads, and electronic or written records, relating to communications that took place between 5 p.m. on July 20, 1993 and 5 p.m. on July 22, 1993, from or to any of the following individuals:

all members of the office of White House Counsel, including its staff and assistants; the Chief of Staff to the President, including his staff and assistants; the Chief of Staff to the First Lady, including her Staff and Assistants; Patsy L. Thomasson, Special Assistant to the President for Management and Administration and Director of the Office of Administration; Mark D. Gearan, Assistant to the President for Communications; Lisa M. Caputo, Press Secretary to the First Lady; Bruce R. Lindsey, Director of Personnel; and David Watkins, Assistant to the President for the Office of Administration.

- (4) "All records of telephone conversations or wire communications, including, but not limited to, phone logs, copies of message pads, and electronic or written records, relating to communications that took place, between 5 p.m. on July 20, 1993, and 5 p.m. July 22, 1993, between:

- (i) any individual at the White House and
- (ii) Philip D. Heymann, Webster Hubbell, or David Margolis of the United States Department of Justice, or any member of their respective staffs.

- (5) "All records of telephone conversations or wire communications, including, but not limited to, phone logs, copies of message pads, and electronic or written records, relating to telephone calls, between July 12, 1993 and July 31, 1993, between:

- (i) any individual at the White House and

- (ii) James Lyons, an attorney practicing in Colorado, any member of the Rose Law Firm, or the U.S. Attorney in Little Rock, or any individual employed by the U.S. Attorney's Office in Little Rock.
- (6) "All records relating to public statements by the White House concerning the handling of documents that were in the office of Vincent Foster on the date of, or following, his death, including, but not limited to, drafts of, or memoranda or notes prepared in anticipation of, such public statements." **You need only search for records created or obtained after July 20, 1994 as all other records have been collected previously by the Counsel's Office.**

Please provide any records that fall within any of the categories described above to Associate Counsel Miriam Nemetz (OEOB Room 142) **by no later than 12:00 noon on Thursday, June 8, 1995.** In order to minimize the burden on individual staff members, we will retrieve directly from the Office of Records Management (ORM) any telephone logs and message pads responsive to the requests in paragraphs (3) and (4) above and review them for responsiveness. If you have sent such records to ORM, please alert Tom Taggart (6-7242) of ORM.

If you have any questions about this request or the upcoming hearings, please contact Jane Sherburne (6-5116) or Miriam Nemetz (6-5092).

Thank you for your cooperation.

6/4
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

95 JUN 5 A9:43

5 June 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA
JACK QUINN
DOUG SOSNIK

FROM: Harold Ickes *HI*

SUBJECT: Re-elect fundraising letter

Attached is a draft of a fundraising solicitation to be sent out this month by the re-elect. It was redrafted by Frank Greer to substitute for the letter you saw the middle of last week, with which you were very unimpressed.

Since they want to go to the printer either today (Monday) or no later than tomorrow (Tuesday), I would appreciate your discussing it with me at your convenience.

*I sure wish we
were working new lists
This is very soon to be working
them again - Is it OK - They
haven't even been mailed
for the last contribution letter?
B*

6/6
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Mr. John Q. Donor
123 Any Street
Anytown, USA 00000-0000

Dear Mr. Donor:

A few weeks ago, Americans witnessed what may be the most defining moment of the entire 1996 Presidential campaign.

In a budget document adopted by the House of Representatives, Republican leaders presented Americans their vision for our nation - a vision that bears little resemblance to any idea of government supported by the majority of the American people, Democrat or Republican.

2. You have seen the outlines. It would ~~reduce social Security COLA's and~~ make drastic cuts in Medicare. It would abolish the Department of Education, the Department of Commerce and the Department of Energy. It would cripple our government's ability to issue regulations to protect the health and safety of Americans ~~and our environment~~.

It would end the school lunch program for millions of children, abolish Head Start and ensure that millions more American children will be hungry, homeless and without health care.

Middle class families would find it more difficult to borrow for a college education, find job training, finance a home or obtain affordable child care.

And while the Republican budget would diminish the living standards of middle income Americans, it delivers a massive new tax cut the majority of which benefits the wealthiest ___% of Americans.

The choice facing Americans in the coming presidential election is how to continue America's progress in expanding opportunity, improving health care or cleaning up the environment.

And make no mistake, together we've made real progress... fighting to restore the American dream, getting the economy moving, creating 6 million new jobs, achieving record common sense deficit reduction and fixing government to make it more efficient and effective.

We've lifted up the American family with Family and Medical Leave, tax cuts for the working poor and investments in education, job training and expanded and improved college loans for middle class families. We've offered real hope with a New Covenant -- more opportunities and more responsibility -- like the National Service Program... an historic effort that gives our young people an opportunity to serve their country and deal with problems in our communities while earning money for college.

We passed a landmark crime bill to make our families and neighborhoods more secure with an Assault Weapons Ban and 100,000 more police on the streets.

We've taken great strides to expand trade and we've demanded fair trade and open markets for American products...and American workers.

We've fought hard to protect our environment and reduce the threat of nuclear weapons and terrorism around the world.

We've worked hard to improve life for our children, our seniors and our veterans.

I have always endeavored to put the interest of the American people and the future for our families and children first.

But now all of that is threatened. We face an extreme right-wing assault on government directed by the wealthy special interests that can damage our nation for generations to come.

(RETURN TO ORIGINAL PAGE 2)

I think you know and understand that the stakes in this presidential election have been raised in fundamental ways. Unless I am reelected, there will be nothing to prevent these radical ideas from becoming a bitter reality for millions of Americans.

You and I know that this election campaign will be difficult. ~~Pella show an uphill battle.~~ Success will require the hard work, energy and commitment of millions of concerned Americans.

In the months ahead, my campaign faces some very substantial start-up expenses. Air political travel on Air Force One must now be financed with campaign funds. We must open our headquarters, install computers, telephones and fax machines. We must hire staff, challenge the Republican candidates in the press and prepare literature and mailings about the choice facing Americans.

I deeply appreciate your willingness to serve on my National Steering Committee and the generous contribution that accompanied your acceptance. Your commitment and your understanding of the choice facing our nation honors me personally and gives this campaign a strong beginning.

But to meet the expenses ahead and give this campaign a strong start I must ask for your additional help. Can you make another contribution to help us meet the budget goals that are so crucial to the strong beginning we need?

Thank you for your continuing friendship and your concern for our nation. And thank you for any additional donation you can send.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

P.S. Do not think that most Americans will support a vision of government without room for public service or responsibility to the young, old or less advantaged Americans. Our vision of a leaner, smaller government that is a partner in our progress will prevail - if we can reach out to Americans and fully inform them about the choice in this election. Help me win an election campaign that will define our character as a nation. Please send a generous contribution today.

Original given to
Jim Donskind

① Potus wants
nice letter
done - enclosing
the attached
cards.

↓
② Supporter
Marsha
Scott File

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/3/95

BATTLE HIM FROM THE REPUBLIC

I didn't see Newt acomin' cuz I thought they'd kick him out
with all his talk of Contract, and how it'd help us out!
He has loosed his spiteful rantings, and most do not make
sense, As Dole's face grows more tense!

Glory, glory, does he seek it?
Glory, glory, does he reek it?
Glory, glory, does he spurn it?

WHY, NO, HE'S OUR GIFT FROM GOD!!

RLM 5/16/95

Autographs if you like
to my Grandkids →

Grandkids - TAGLEN & MARAKESH
(DAD is ARKIE)

Ron Mosen

10420 LAKEWOOD
LOLO, MT 59847

To Marshall
But wishes



Bin Clinton

The President

To Teagen

Best wishes



Bin Clinton

The President

Max:
Thank you.
Jim

GREENBERG
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
TRAURIG

111 NORTH ORANGE AVENUE, SUITE 875 ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32801
PHONE 407-420-1000 FAX 407-420-5909
MIAMI FORT LAUDERDALE WEST PALM BEACH TALLAHASSEE
NEW YORK WASHINGTON, D.C.

GREENBERG
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
TRAURIG

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/5

May 26, 1995

Thank you for nominating me for the Appellate Body of the World Trade Organization. You know how much I still want to serve, and I am forever grateful for your confidence in proposing that I serve in such a significant new way. Having been nominated by you, I am hopeful of being appointed by the WTO as one of the seven members worldwide of the Appellate Body. I know I can count on your continued support, and certainly, as always, you can count on mine. I am serving as Chairman of Clinton/Gore '96 in Central Florida, and both fundraising and organizing are going well. I look forward to seeing you in Florida sometime soon so that I can thank you personally.

Jim Bacchus

GREENBERG TRAURIG HOFFMAN LIPOFF ROSEN & QUENTEL, P.A.
111 NORTH ORANGE AVENUE SUITE 875 ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32801 407-420-1000 FAX 407-420-5909
MIAMI FORT LAUDERDALE WEST PALM BEACH TALLAHASSEE ORLANDO
NEW YORK WASHINGTON, D.C.

**THE PRESIDENT ADDRESSES NGA
SUMMIT ON YOUNG CHILDREN: VOWS
TO END WELFARE, PROMOTE WORK****June 6, 1995**

"As we stand at the dawn of the information age and a new global economy, it has never been more important to make sure our children are well prepared for the future. The challenges they face are greater than ever. I ran for President because I did not want my daughter to be part of the first generation of Americans to do worse than their parents."

President Clinton
Tuesday, June 6, 1995

Today, President Clinton addresses the National Governors' Association National Summit on Young Children. The President will outline his record of accomplishment for America's children and his agenda for their future. He will also challenge Congress to send him a real welfare bill that promotes work by July 4 of this year.

Keeping Our Promises to the Next Generation. Two years ago, President Clinton and Vice President Gore offered a blueprint for change in their book Putting People First. Already, they have accomplished more than 90 percent of what they promised set out to do for children in Putting People First:

- **Expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit.** A tax cut for families making less than \$26,000 a year.
- **Family and Medical Leave.** To help parents become good parents and good workers.
- **Expanded Head Start.** Increased investments for children and a new initiative for kids from birth to their third year.
- **Goals 2000.** A new partnership to set world class standards in our schools.
- **Direct Lending.** A new college loan program that saves taxpayers and more than 2 million students billions of dollars by making college loans easier to get and easier to pay back.
- **School-to-Work.** A new apprenticeship program to prepare young people who are not going to college for high-paying jobs in the economy of the future.
- **AmeriCorps.** The President's signature service program with over 20,000 members working in schools, hospitals and neighborhoods across the country -- earning money for college by giving something back to their community.

We Have Begun To Reform Welfare. With the help of Governors all across the nation, President Clinton has already begun to end welfare and replace it with work. In just two years, President Clinton has granted 29 states waivers to help them move people off the welfare rolls and back to work:

- **Rewarding Work.** In Vermont and Wisconsin, Governors Dean and Thompson are using their waivers to impose time limits and require work.
- **Jobs, Not Food Stamps.** In Ohio, Governor Voinovich is using his waiver to move people to work by using money now spent on food stamps to subsidize jobs.
- **Requiring Work.** In Missouri, Governor Carnahan has imposed work requirements and a two-year time-limit so people who can work, must work.

-MORE-

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Explain
to me in: This
Be*

June 5, 1995

The Honorable Jack Holt, Jr.
Chief Justice of the
Supreme Court of Arkansas
Justice Building
625 Marshall Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Jack:

Thanks for your letter of May 31 and for following up on Chief Justice Stanley G. Feldman's request for me to meet with a delegation from the Conference of Chief Justices to discuss the product liability legislation. I appreciate your recommendation that I meet with the delegation. While I never know what the schedule will hold, I have shared your letter with Billy Webster, my scheduler, for his consideration.

In addition, Hillary and I send our best wishes on your recent announcement that you will retire from the bench. I know the decision must have been difficult, but I'm sure you've made the right choice. We hope your much-deserved retirement will bring you many years of joy and happiness.

See you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill

cc scheduling

ARKANSAS SUPREME COURT LIBRARY

Justice Building, 625 Marshall St.
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Phone: (501)682-2147

Fax: (501)682-6877

You are receiving a fax from: Chief Justice Jack Holt, JR.

To: Trey Schroeder

Fax: 202-395-4198Date: 5-31-95Total Pages Sent: 24

Please pay this amount: n/c {NO INVOICE WILL FOLLOW}
Make check payable to Supreme Court Library Fund and mail to above address
within thirty days.

COMMENTS: _____



Supreme Court of Arkansas

JUSTICE BUILDING

625 MARSHALL STREET

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72201

May 31, 1995

JACK HOLT, JR.
CHIEF JUSTICE

AREA CODE 501
682-6861
FAX
501-682-6877

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As you may be aware, the Conference of Chief Justices is composed of the highest judicial officers of each of the fifty states, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, and the Territories of American Samoa, Guam, and the Virgin Islands. The mission of the conference is to improve the administration of justice in the states, commonwealths, and territories of the United States.

Recently, I learned that Chief Justice Stanley G. Feldman of Arizona has written to you on behalf of the Conference, requesting that you meet with its delegation for a discussion on product liability legislation and its impact upon the states. I have been selected as a member of the Conference's delegation.

Since legislation is now pending before both the Senate and the House, we would like to have a meeting with you as quickly as your schedule will permit. I am certain that a visit would prove beneficial to you and your administration as well as to the membership of the Conference. Then, too, it would be nice if we would have a few minutes to reminisce.

My regards to the First Lady, "Mack," and the Arkansas crew.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Jack Holt, Jr.", written over a horizontal line.

Jack

JH,Jr/hy



COPY

MAY 22 1995

Supreme Court

STATE OF ARIZONA

FROM THE CHAMBERS OF
STANLEY G. FELDMAN
CHIEF JUSTICE

May 18, 1995

1501 WEST WASHINGTON STREET
PHOENIX, ARIZONA 85007-3327
(602) 542-4532
FAX 602 9481

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

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the Conference of Chief Justices, and with the concurrence of the Conference's President and President Elect, I write to express the Conference's profound concern about the product liability legislation pending before the United States Senate and House of Representatives. The Conference respectfully requests an appointment for its delegation to meet with you to discuss this legislation. The delegation would include me, Chief Justice Holt of Arkansas, and Chief Judge Kaye of New York. The Conference President, Chief Justice Ellen Ash Peters of Connecticut, may also attend.

For over 200 years, the development and implementation of tort law -- including product liability law -- has been left exclusively to the state courts and legislatures. Passage of the pending legislation would represent a major intrusion upon the prerogatives of state courts and legislatures.

While the Conference of Chief Justices has always welcomed needed reforms, on principles of federalism it has consistently opposed federal legislation that would preempt each state's existing tort law in favor of broad federal standards. In addition to its philosophical opposition to this legislation, the Conference is extremely worried about how to interweave these new rules and standards with existing state law. Instead of clarity and uniformity, this legislation will increase complexity and unpredictability for plaintiffs and defendants alike.

Again on principles of federalism, the Conference is equally concerned with both the rules of procedure that this legislation would force on our state courts and a provision allowing decisions by federal circuit courts of appeals in diversity actions to be controlling precedent in state courts -- the first time lower federal courts have ever been given such authority. In addition, we are troubled by the burdens that the novel and undefined additur procedure in the Senate bill would force on state courts. In a federal system of government, tort law reforms must occur through the state courts and legislatures, which are best situated to determine and control the impact of such changes within their own communities. The states have undertaken and are continuing such reforms.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 5, 1995

95 JUN 5 P5:50

- original to Terry G

- copy to Dorskind

MEMORANDUM FOR TERRY GOOD
Director, Office of Records Management

FROM: JOHN PODESTA *JP*
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF PRESIDENTIAL SIGNATURES

The following additional individuals are authorized to approve use of the President's signature pen in the areas of responsibility noted:

Maureen Hudson for photographs; and for Presidential messages in accordance with approved procedures -- and with any new policy language only after clearance by the Staff Secretary.

Stephen Nolet for photographs.

Exemplars of the sign-offs that Maureen and Stephen will use follow. Thank you.

Maureen Hudson *Mah*

Stephen Nolet *SN*

95 JUN 5 P8:29
sent

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO:

Linda Lader

Fax Number:

202 638-4141

Phone Number:

FROM:

John Podesta

SUBJECT:

DATE:

6/5/95

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):

4

MESSAGE:

If all pages are not received, please call 202/456-2702

The document accompanying this facsimile transmittal sheet is intended only for the use of the individual or entity to whom it is addressed. This message contains information which may be privileged, confidential or exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, or the employee or agent responsible for delivering the message to the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any disclosure, dissemination, copying or distribution, or the taking of any action in reliance on the contents of this communication is strictly prohibited.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 MAY 31 P3:04

31 May 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Mark Gearan *me6*
SUBJECT: Civil Discourse

I thought you would be interested in seeing the attached. Mr. Terr seems to pick up on some of your points concerning civil discourse, and proposes an interesting idea.

*5/31/95
Terr
summary
to
President
Gearan*

→ Dear Mr. Gearan,

I thought you might be encouraged by this mention in Paul Greenberg's column (syndicating next week) of an idea (see reverse) which you might find worthwhile, and might want to help get out in the media. I was very encouraged by the Pres's attack on this problem. Thanks—JIM TERR 505-989-9298

Put a cork in it

Who is this Jim Terr, and why is he determined to drive us columnists out of business?

He's a musician and gentle agitator out of Santa Fe, New Mexico, who's come up with a way to lower the country's political temperature, at least for a day. (Santa Fe seems to specialize in his kind of mood artist; maybe it's the mountains, or the sunsets, or the *huenos rancheros* with green salsa, or just something in the water that attracts 'em.)

Anyway, Jim Terr proposes that for one day and one day only—Friday, June 16th—all of us opinionators try to come up with some commentary or proposals or insights about the country's problems other than blaming them all on those on the other side of the political divide.

As if that weren't a hard enough assignment—columnists would have to start thinking instead of just reacting—Jim Terr has produced a list of his own unfavorable words. Just for one day, he asks us to avoid the following terms:

Republican, Democrat, liberal, conservative, fascist, Nazi, wacko, jerk, idiot, tree-hugger, apologist, culture war, immoral, media, reactionary, feminist, Ivy League, right, left (especially when used with *far* and *extreme*), *fault, Washington, Wall Street, capitalist, elite, religious right, and them, they, and their.*

What is this Jim Terr, some kind of far-out extremist bleeding-heart moderate? He's going to render a lot of us speechless on June 16th if he keeps this up. Why, we'll be reduced to rational discussion, or at least an unsatisfactory imitation of it. It's been so long since some of us tried that strange mode of communication, we may have forgotten how. You know what they say: Use it or lose it.

We could all wind up sounding like Murray Kempton or William F. Buckley trying to fight our way out of some endlessly elaborated tunnel of a sentence that we've somehow managed to pull in behind us,

Paul Greenberg



leaving no way out. We'll sound like a combination of David Broder and William Raspberry on an agonizingly slow day—the prose equivalent of a snooze button.

What's called for come June 16th is apparently a kind of toneless, emotionless, Janet-Reno approach to the news. An approach that would make an ax murder sound like a legal technicality. Unfortunately, the effect is more eerie than peaceful.

Mr. Terr suggests that not just columnists observe June 16th as Time Out From Demons Day, but—get this—talk-show hosts, too, and even letter writers. The man does have an imagination.

Oh, yes, and editorial writers are supposed to observe T.O.F.D. Day, too. Unfortunately, too many editorials already read as if their writers had taken time out not only from demons but from anything else that might stir interest. ("Whither NATO? Unfunded Mandates and the Takings Clause")

One inspiration for Jim Terr's idea had to be the ghastliness at Oklahoma City and the natural reaction to it, which on the part of most of us inky wretches was surely to weigh our words. At least, that should have

been the natural reaction. And to think again on the difference between liberty and license.

Learned Hand may have said it best, as usual: "The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure that it is right; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which weighs their interests alongside its own."

Most of us inky wretches have no problem taking responsibility for how we write, but it's another matter to take responsibility for how others read us, which can come as a total surprise, not to say complete mystery. Walter Goodman, the sharp-eyed and sharper-tongued critic of the *New York Times*, came up the other day with a quote from H.L. Mencken, vintage 1929, that seems particularly relevant in 1995:

"The danger of free speech does not lie in the menace of ideas, but in the menace of emotions. If words were merely logical devices, no one would fear them. But when they impinge upon a moron they set off his hormones, and so they are justifiably feared."

Alas, a simple list of Forbidden Words isn't likely to usher in peace and light—because there is no telling what words will prove explosive to those ready to explode.

Moral: Maybe if the country had more careful readers, it wouldn't need more careful writers.

Paul Greenberg is the Pulitzer Prize winning editorial page editor of the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*.

Guide to the Editorial Page

Only the editorials express the opinion of the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*. They almost always appear on the left side of the editorial page.

The columnists—local and syndicated—express only their own opinions, as do the cartoonists whose work appears on this page.

Learn
Hand's quote

over →

OTHER VOICES

Take day off from finger pointing

BY JIM TERR

The following petition, modestly suggested, might be a way to begin to restore some sanity and civility into our increasingly factionalized world:

We, the undersigned, respectfully request that on Friday, June 16, all political pundits set aside their personal political orientation. Included would be radio and TV hosts and commentators, and newspaper and magazine columnists and editorialists, and particularly those whose thrust is to represent the "liberal" or "conservative" viewpoint.

For this one day, they and their audience could learn what, if anything, these commentators have to say aside from blaming and demonizing the opposition, polarizing and coarsening the political

debate and framing all issues in terms of the liberal-conservative spectrum.

We acknowledge that this might require a great effort on the part of some pundits, force of habit being so strong. But we believe that the salutary effect will be worthwhile for both the public and the pundits, and for the quality of public discourse and the potential discovery of common ground.

All participating pundits shall reserve full rights to return to their usual tone, style and political identity with full vigor on the following broadcast or publication day, if desired. They may do so in full confidence that the righteousness of their cause will not have suffered from the one-day vacation.

It is our hope that this "time out" may begin to ratchet down the spiral of hostility, recrimination and suspicion characterizing much of our political debate and atmosphere.

In the case of those pundits who choose not to participate on June 16, their refusal will at least bring this issue of polarization, demonization and hostility into sharper focus for their audiences and themselves.

It is suggested specifically that, at minimum, the use of the following terms in both singular and plural forms be avoided on this day: *liberal, conservative, Republican, Democrat, fascist, Nazi, wacko, jerk, idiot, tree-hugger, apologist, culture war, immoral, media, reactionary, feminist, Ivy League,*

right, left (including "far" and "extreme"), fault, Washington, Wall Street, capitalist, elite, religious right, them, they and their. It is suggested that callers and guests on participating talk shows and writers of guest columns and letters to the editor be bound by these same rules.

Finally, it is suggested that the topic for this day not be this polarization and the "time out," but rather some other subject of possible interest.

I think this is an idea that deserves national attention. If you agree, please help spread the word to friend and media contacts.

(Terr, who lives in Santa Fe, is a songwriter who frequently comments on the political scene.)

over →

OTHER VOICES

Take day off from finger pointing

BY JIM TERR

The following petition, modestly suggested, might be a way to begin to restore some sanity and civility into our increasingly factionalized world:

We, the undersigned, respectfully request that on Friday, June 16, all political pundits set aside their personal political orientation. Included would be radio and TV hosts and commentators, and newspaper and magazine columnists and editorialists, and particularly those whose thrust is to represent the "liberal" or "conservative" viewpoint.

For this one day, they and their audience could learn what, if anything, these commentators have to say aside from blaming and demonizing the opposition, polarizing and coarsening the political

debate and framing all issues in terms of the liberal-conservative spectrum.

We acknowledge that this might require a great effort on the part of some pundits, force of habit being so strong. But we believe that the salutary effect will be worthwhile for both the public and the pundits, and for the quality of public discourse and the potential discovery of common ground.

All participating pundits shall reserve full rights to return to their usual tone, style and political identity with full vigor on the following broadcast or publication day, if desired. They may do so in full confidence that the righteousness of their cause will not have suffered from the one-day vacation.

It is our hope that this "time out" may begin to ratchet down the spiral of hostility, recrimination and suspicion characterizing much of our political debate and atmosphere.

In the case of those pundits who choose not to participate on June 16, their refusal will at least bring this issue of polarization, demonization and hostility into sharper focus for their audiences and themselves.

It is suggested specifically that, at minimum, the use of the following terms in both singular and plural forms be avoided on this day: *liberal, conservative, Republican, Democrat, fascist, Nazi, wacko, jerk, idiot, tree-hugger, apologist, culture war, immoral, media, reactionary, feminist, Ivy League,*

right, left (including "far" and "extreme"), fault, Washington, Wall Street, capitalist, elite, religious right, them, they and their. It is suggested that callers and guests on participating talk shows and writers of guest columns and letters to the editor be bound by these same rules.

Finally, it is suggested that the topic for this day not be this polarization and the "time out," but rather some other subject of possible interest.

I think this is an idea that deserves national attention. If you agree, please help spread the word to friend and media contacts.

(Terr, who lives in Santa Fe, is a songwriter who frequently comments on the political scene.)

over →