

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                          | DATE       | RESTRICTION      |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|------------|------------------|
| 001. memo                | Harold Ickes to POTUS et al. re: Fundraising (3 pages) | 06/28/1995 | Personal Misfile |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
Staff Secretary  
Todd Stern  
OA/Box Number: 5955

### FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files July 1-8, 1995 [1]

2019-0774-S

rs3287

### 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

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7.5.95

95 JUN 28 P5:55

JUNE 28, 1995

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT**

FROM: DOUG SOSNIK  
SUBJECT: RECENT POLLS

Attached please find some items of interest from today's Hotline.

**Michigan Poll**

A recent Michigan poll (June 12-18, 600 likely voters) shows you and the Vice President leading a potential Bob Dole/John Engler ticket 47-44%.

**Louisiana Poll**

A recent Louisiana poll (June 11-22, 805 registered voters) shows your approval/disapproval rate 50% to 43%, but your re-elect number at 29 percent. →

*Mud to go down with them  
outside W.O.*

**Mississippi Governor Poll**

A Natchez Democrat poll (June 21-23, 811 registered voters) shows Governor Fordice leading Dick Molpus 54-36%. It should be noted that this poll was taken right after Fordice had been on the air for several weeks. Molpus has not run any media yet.

**Louisiana Governor Poll**

Buddy Roemer still leads the large pack with 23%. Melinda Schwegman is in second with 12% and all other candidates trail with single digits.

CC: Leon Panetta  
Harold Ickes  
Erskine Bowles

Attachments

MICHIGAN: CLINTON-GORE WITH A SLIGHT EDGE OVER DOLE-ENGLER  
'DETROIT NEWS poll conducted 6/12-18 by EPIC/MRA surveyed 600  
likely MI voters; Margin of error +/- 4% (6/23).

|              |                                       |              |     |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|-----|
| CLINTON JOB  | GENERAL ELECTION MATCHUPS (w/leaners) |              |     |
| Positive 49% | Clinton-Gore 47%                      | Dole-Powell  | 45% |
| Negative 50  | Dole-Engler 44                        | Clinton-Gore | 44  |

(c) The American Political Network, Inc.

LOUISIANA: CLINTON HAS DECENT APPROVAL, LOUSY RE-ELECT

A Univ. of New Orleans poll, conducted 6/11-22, surveyed 805 registered LA voters; margin of error +/- 3.4% (release, 6/27).

| CLINTON APPROVAL | ALL | WHITE WOMEN | WHITE MEN | BLACKS |
|------------------|-----|-------------|-----------|--------|
| Approve          | 50% | 42%         | 37%       | 74%    |
| Disapprove       | 43  | 51          | 60        | 15     |

| CLINTON RE-ELECT | ALL | WHITE WOMEN | WHITE MEN | BLACKS |
|------------------|-----|-------------|-----------|--------|
| Re-elect         | 29% | 15%         | 20%       | 57%    |
| Consider other   | 24  | 31          | 21        | 20     |
| Vote for other   | 41  | 47          | 57        | 14     |

(c) The American Political Network, Inc.



MISSISSIPPI GOVERNOR: FORDICE BESTING MOLPUS

A NATCHEZ DEMOCRAT Poll, conducted 6/21-23 by Mason-Dixon, surveyed 811 registered voters; margin of error +/- 3.4% (6/28). Tested Gov. Kirk Fordice (R) and Sec/State Dick Molpus (D).

|         | ALL | WHITE | BLACK | MEN | WOMEN | FAV/UNFAV | ID. |
|---------|-----|-------|-------|-----|-------|-----------|-----|
| Fordice | 54% | 72%   | 13%   | 57% | 51%   | 61%/ 15%  | 98% |
| Molpus  | 36  | 19    | 73    | 35  | 37    | 41 / 21   | 90  |

FORDICE RECENTLY HAS SAID THAT HE WILL NOT ACCEPT GAMBLING-RELATED CONTRIBUTIONS, BUT STILL WILL KEEP \$150,000 OF SUCH CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED PRIOR TO HIS ANNOUNCEMENT. DOES THIS MAKE YOU MORE/LESS LIKELY TO VOTE FOR FORDICE?

|             |    |
|-------------|----|
| More likely | 7% |
| Less likely | 21 |
| No effect   | 64 |

(c) The American Political Network, Inc.

LOUISIANA GOVERNOR: "CHAIN GANG" BUDDY STAYS OUT IN FRONT

A Univ. of New Orleans poll, conducted 6/11-22, surveyed 805 registered voters; margin of error +/- 3.4% (release, 6/27). In LA's nonpartisan elections, all candidates appear on the same ballot. Should no candidate win 50% in the 10/21 first round, the top two finishers meet in an 11/18 runoff. Tested: Ex-Gov. Buddy Roemer (R), LG Melinda Schwegmann (D), Treas. Mary Landrieu (D), Rep. Cleo Fields (D-04), Jefferson Parish sheriff Harry Lee (D), ex-Gov. David Treen (R), Rep. Bill Jefferson (D-02), ex-state Rep./'91 gov. cand. David Duke (R), state Sen. Mike Foster (D), state Rep./GOP endorsee Quentin Dastugue (R), ex-LA Educ. Supt. Tom Clausen (D) and state Sen. Don Kelly (D). Filing deadline 9/7. Gov. Edwin Edwards (D) is retiring.

|            | ALL | WHITES | BLACKS | ID  | 6/2-5<br>LA BUSINESS 2000 |
|------------|-----|--------|--------|-----|---------------------------|
| Roemer     | 23% | 27%    | 12%    | 91% | 22%                       |
| Schwegmann | 12  | 12     | 12     | 71  | 20                        |
| Landrieu   | 8   | 9      | 6      | 55  | 10                        |
| Fields     | 8   | 1      | 24     | 57  | 9                         |
| Lee        | 7   | 9      | 2      | 50  | 3                         |
| Treen      | 6   | 7      | 5      | 85  | --                        |
| Jefferson  | 6   | 1      | 17     | 53  | 4                         |
| Duke       | 4   | 6      | 1      | 94  | 3                         |
| Foster     | 4   | 5      | 1      | 32  | 5                         |
| Dastugue   | 1   | 2      | 0      | 23  | 2                         |
| Clausen    | 0   | 0      | 1      | 29  | --                        |
| Undec.     | 20  | 20     | 18     |     | 22                        |

POLL REAX: Roemer: "I am humbled by this poll because it says that [the voters] want to give me another chance. ... This poll is particularly exciting to me because it was conducted before my campaign began running television ads while other candidates have been on the air for several months" (Roemer release, 6/27). A Landrieu release notes she is in "a statistical dead heat" with Schwegmann for second place, a "gratifying" result since Schwegmann "has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars" on TV ads. Landrieu has not yet gone on the air "and has more than \$1 million in its media account" (6/27). Roemer, then a U.S. House member, was elected gov. as a Dem in '87. After switching parties in office, he was defeated in '91, failing to make the runoff between Edwards and Duke.

BACK ON THE CHAIN GANG: Roemer began running TV ads 6/26 -- two 30-sec. spots, produced by Alex Castellanos, that focus on crime and his term as gov. The crime ad calls for making inmates to live in army tents and work on chain gangs. "TIRED" -- Roemer: "We ought to put criminals in jail. I want to stop slapping them on the wrist. I would eliminate probation, even if that means putting prisoners in army tents. Its not right to treat our convicts better than we treat our own soldiers. Prisoners ought to work for their room and board. Why not lock them in chain gangs, picking up trash on the side of the road. They can work 48 hours a week and study at night. Citizens would be more safe and criminals would be more tired" (release, 6/26). "LIST" -- Roemer: "When I was governor, we balanced the budget all four years. We cut the unemployment rate in half, creating more than 100,000 new jobs. When I was governor, we gave the teachers a pay raise three times. We sold the state airplanes and sold the limousines and put the money back in the taxpayers pocket or in the classroom. We told politicians you can't take a



secret million dollar political contribution anymore. And in four years, there was not one scandal" (release, 6/27).

' TAKE IT W/A GRAIN OF SALT? The credibility of another recent survey, the LA Business 2000 poll, conducted by Market Research Assocs., has been drawn into question. The poll (above) showed Roemer in the lead with Schwegmann a very close second (see HOTLINE 6/16). MRA pollster Verne Kennedy has declined to state who is behind the LA Business 2000 group, and the "mystery deepened" when state officials said they had no such organization registered as a PAC. But the "picture cleared a bit" when a "well-placed political source" -- not affiliated with any of the current candidates -- "said the poll was mostly paid for" by Gus Mijalis, a "crony" of Gov. Edwin Edwards (D), "in connection with some other old-line Edwards allies who are searching for a candidate." Mijalis recently pleaded guilty to bank bribery charges and "apparently is on his way to federal prison." The Mijalis connection also might explain why ex-Gov. David Treen (R), an "old Edwards adversary," was not tested in that poll (N.O. TIMES-PICAYUNE, 6/25).

PREDICTION: Southern Media & Opinion Research pollster Bernard Pinsonat predicted the next LA gov. will be a woman -- either Schwegmann or Landrieu -- who will defeat Roemer in the run-off. Pinsonat said women "generally are not saddled with the same anti-government baggage as men." Pinsonat also said that Roemer has to continue to apologize for his performance as governor from '87 to '91. Handicapping other candidates, Pinsonat said Treen "needs to wake up and get active," Duke "can energize a certain segment of the population but can't beat anyone in a run-off," and Dastugue "has the horrible problem of running with the endorsement of the Republican Party" (Arnold, TIMES-PICAYUNE, 6/24).

(c) The American Political Network, Inc.

(B)

**Segal memo on important national service developments.** Eli draws your attention to two cost-benefit studies, hearings on the Hill and problems with the Delta Service Corps: 1) An independent cost-benefit study funded by three foundations shows that for every dollar put into AmeriCorps, between \$1.60 and \$2.60 is returned to the community; 2) A GAO study will be released sometime near the end of July that will vastly overstate the costs of AmeriCorps. According to Eli, their methodology is flawed, but nevertheless the Corporation is readying a press strategy to counter the study; 3) Both the House and Senate Appropriations hearings on AmeriCorps went relatively well. Privately, House Chairman Jerry Lewis assured Eli he would be helpful and include AmeriCorps in his mark; 4) The House Defense Authorization bill includes language prohibiting DoD from supporting civilian operations, specifically including AmeriCorps\*NCCC. Eli continues to monitor the situation and keep Pat Griffin posted. Finally, as the Corporation nears awarding grants for next year, Eli wanted to make you aware that the Delta Service Corps is in danger of not being funded again. The Corps has lacked leadership and management since Billie Anne Meyer left. Eli is working with Skip Rutherford to address the problem.

P/s try to keep it going

Non-union analysis of this

(G)

**Letter from Secretary Jesse Brown on your budget proposal.** Secretary Brown expresses serious concern about the impact of your plan on veterans.

**Sosnik memo on recent polls.** Sosnik attaches summaries of several recent polls including your numbers in Michigan and Louisiana and the gubernatorial races in Mississippi and Louisiana.

Not to be used

(H)

**Column written by Senator Patrick Leahy.** Forwarded by Pat Griffin. The column is very favorable towards your balanced budget proposal.

(I)

**Immigration press clips on the Gatekeeper II announcement.** Forwarded by Rahm.





THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
715195  
THE SECRETARY OF VETERANS AFFAIRS  
WASHINGTON

A copy of this  
letter from Jesse  
Brown has been  
given to  
Mr. Panetta.

JUN 20 1995

95 JUN 21 15:17

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am extremely concerned about the 10-year budget plan you will be releasing as early as this week. For two and a half years, you have done an outstanding job of ensuring that the nation honors its obligations to veterans, and your standing in the veterans community is very high. Your Administration's record includes excellent achievements in, for example, the areas of Agent Orange, Ex-POWs, Persian Gulf veterans' health concerns, post-traumatic stress disorder care, and services for women veterans and an excellent FY 96 budget for the VA health-care system, medical construction, and our benefits claims processing system.

The new 10-year budget for VA is simply not consistent with your great record on veterans' issues and, before you finalize this plan, I feel that it is my duty to make you aware of what the impact would be on veterans. In short, the discretionary-spending targets that are currently planned for VA would have a devastating effect. Over the first seven years, the plan that OMB wants you to adopt would require VA to:

- Eliminate about 60,000 doctors, nurses, and other health-care workers--almost one-third of our current medical workforce--by FY 2002.
- Close the equivalent of about 40 average-size VA hospitals.
- Deny care by 2002 to about 1 million veterans annually whom we would treat in our current system.
- Cancel our plans to open the much-needed VA hospitals in Florida and California for which you requested FY 96 construction funds (or close 3-4 additional hospitals in order to staff and fund the operation of these new facilities).
- Withdraw funding for about 170 research projects each year (which would lower the quality of our corps of health-care professionals in addition to stopping research of great value to veterans and the American public).
- Virtually shut down our efforts to bring up to community standards of privacy and comfort our older VA hospitals, where we have open wards of 4 to 16 beds and congregate bath/toilet facilities down the hall (almost 2/3 of VA hospitals are 30 or more years old).



*Putting Veterans First*

In the area of disability benefits processing, the effect would be to wipe out the gains we are making in improving timeliness. As a result of losing about 1,000 employees in this area, our claims backlog would swell to over 500,000 and the time for deciding a compensation claim would grow to more than a year--more than triple the 106-day goal that we would reach by FY 98 with our current staffing level. Vocational rehabilitation service for service-disabled veterans would also deteriorate badly.

We, of course, would try to minimize these adverse impacts through management efficiencies; but I must tell you that any diminution will be at the margins and would not change the order of magnitude of the cutbacks.

As some in Congress have noted, the budget resolutions passed by the House and Senate provide essentially the same funding for the VA health-care system as the Administration's current outyear projections. (While attacking those very same Congressional budget resolutions as mean-spirited breaches of our commitments to veterans, we have considered our outyear targets as non-binding. While within overall caps, your first three VA medical program budgets exceeded previous projections for those years by an average of \$800 million per year.)

I cannot overstate the harm that would result from your announcing a 10-year plan based on these devastatingly low numbers, which others are urging you to adopt and which you and I have never had the occasion to discuss. Frankly, I cannot imagine how we could explain the sharp reversal in our approach to veterans' needs that these figures would necessarily imply. Many would find it especially hard to accept the cutbacks in programs meeting existing obligations to our veterans, including our World War II veterans who rely on VA health care, when those reductions will appear to be funding tax cuts or education benefits for millions who did not serve -- despite the merits of the tax reduction and the strong national priority for education.

I recognize that similar outyear numbers were included in your February budget. However, OMB assured me, and I have assured the veteran community, that those projections were merely the result of an across-the-board allocation of governmentwide targets, and that they would be re-examined after REGO II and each year in the annual budget formulation process. I want to be able to continue to assure our veteran constituents that, because you understand the sacrifices veterans have made, you will treat veteran programs fairly in your 1997 and subsequent budgets.

If you would like, I would be most happy to talk with you about these matters.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Jesse Brown". The signature is stylized with a large, looping "J" and a cursive "Brown".

Jesse Brown

JB/es



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
7-5-95

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 3, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TJS*  
PHIL CAPLAN *PC*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

(A) Stern/Caplan memo summarizing various information items.

*Leon*  
*need to have them in before it is too late*  
*OK*

**Memo from Deputy Secretary Guber on Vietnam.** Based on the recent Presidential delegation he led to Vietnam, Herschel believes cooperation has improved dramatically on the POW/MIA front. Since returning from Vietnam, he has discussed the normalization process with the leaders of the major veterans service organizations. Some, like the VFW and AMVETS, have publicly announced their support for normalization. Others, like the Vietnam Veterans of America, the American Legion, the Disabled Veterans and the National League of Families remain opposed, although at least some of these will not aggressively denounce the normalization process. On balance, Herschel believes we have a window of opportunity to move forward and recommends that you meet with the leadership of the VSOs and publicly announce normalization of relations with Vietnam. *cc: B. Webster*

*I need to see a letter to the Mayor on this*

**Higgins memo on scholarship fund for Oklahoma City bombing victims.** At your request, Cabinet Affairs asked the Cabinet agencies to establish scholarship funds for the families affected by the bombing. HUD has taken the lead and is assisting other agencies in this effort. So far, HUD, USDA, DOT, VA, DOL and the Social Security Administration have established funds. Cabinet Affairs will keep you updated on the progress of the Oklahoma City scholarship funds.

*AD)*

**Rasco memo on SSI for disabled children.** In response to your note about a New York Times editorial on the subject. The issue here is whether and how aid for disabled children should be cut. The Slattery Commission, appointed last year by Congress, deadlocked somewhere between Conrad-Chafee, which would preserve cash payments but tighten eligibility requirements, and a tougher Senate Finance Committee proposal. Carol notes that we oppose the House bill and the Senate Finance proposal and are hopeful that a reasonable bill similar to Conrad-Chafee will emerge. We have not taken a position yet on Conrad-Chafee and are awaiting ongoing negotiations on the Hill. Your balanced budget proposal included savings in children's SSI of \$5 billion over seven years; Conrad-Chafee would save \$3.5 billion over the same time period while the Senate Finance proposal would save \$8.4 billion.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7/5/95

June 26, 1995

MR. PRESIDENT:

A copy of the attached letter  
from Hershel Gober has been  
forwarded to NSC.

Todd Stern

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF VETERANS AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-5-95

June 21, 1995

95 JUN 26 P3:42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJ: Normalization of Relations with Vietnam

On May 22, 1995 I discussed with you my assessment of the successes of the Presidential Delegation that you directed that I lead to Vietnam to advance resolution of the POW/MIA issue. Throughout our visit it was noted that there was a substantial shift in the attitude of Vietnamese government officials and we heard repeatedly from United States representatives how cooperation had dramatically improved at all levels. Through both joint and unilateral efforts we are now benefiting from an established process to pursue the fullest possible accounting.

Since our return I have had the opportunity to discuss the normalization process with the leaders of major veterans service organizations. At this time we have achieved a significant level of agreement that the normalization process should move forward. The Veterans of Foreign Wars and AMVETS have publicly announced their support. Vietnam Veterans of America have a national resolution that requires them to oppose normalization. However, their leadership has indicated that they will not aggressively attack the administration if we move forward and stated to me that they believe it is time to normalize. The American Legion, Disabled Veterans and the National League of Families remain opposed. The Disabled American Veterans are not expected to aggressively denounce normalization.

In my opinion, we have opened a window of opportunity with this important constituency that will allow you to move forward without substantial opposition from the veterans community. The leadership is generally supportive and from their perspective it is important that normalization occur prior to their national conventions in late July and August. I do not believe that normalization will receive prolonged - significant press attention.



We have a process in place to continue our search and have the assurance of the Vietnamese government that they will continue their level of cooperation. Progress has been made in the four areas that you established. I sincerely believe we can make more progress if we establish diplomatic relations.

I recommend that you meet with the leadership of the major veterans service organizations that serve on your delegation and announce normalization of relations with Vietnam and subsequently conduct a public press announcement with members of Congress and 20-30 Vietnam Veterans as well as Veterans Service Organizations present.

Herchel

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
7-5-95

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 3, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TJS*  
PHIL CAPLAN *Phil*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-5-95

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

95 JUN 29 P3:20

June 29, 1995

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate  
the reply.

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT**

**FROM:** KITTY HIGGINS *Kitty*  
**SUBJECT:** OKLAHOMA CITY SCHOLARSHIPS

At your request, we asked the departments and agencies to establish scholarship funds for the families affected by the Oklahoma City bombing.

The initial response was disappointing (see attached list). HUD originated the scholarship idea and Secretary Cisneros has agreed to work with all departments to develop similar programs. OPM and Jim King have also been asked to assist with this initiative. The Cabinet understands your interest in this project and we will keep you updated on its progress.



**LIST OF EDUCATION & ASSISTANCE FUNDS  
FOR OKLAHOMA CITY**

**USDA:**

2 special funds have been established for the families of the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service (APHIS) employees who died in the bombing:

The APHIS Employee Remembrance Fund and the USDA Family's Relief Fund were created to assist family members with special needs and unexpected expenses that have arisen as a result of the bombing. Both funds will be divided equally among the 7 APHIS families.

The addresses of the funds are:

APHIS Employee Remembrance Fund  
Room 4B09, Unit 50  
USDA Center at Riverside  
Riverdale, MD 20737

USDA Family's Relief Fund  
P.O. Box 52935  
Oklahoma City, OK 73152

**DOT:**

The Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) has established a fund within the Federal Employees Education and Assistance Fund (FEEA) to assist the families of DOT victims. A special Department/FHWA Advisory Board will prioritize and direct financial assistance to the areas of greatest need, particularly education needs. DOT employees have been contributing through the FEEA or through FHWA's Office of Personnel. \$12,000 has been counted to date, with more contributions still to be processed.

The Federal Aviation Administration Credit Union has established an account for donations to the Red Cross Disaster Relief Fund; over \$5100 has been collected to date.

**HUD:**

HUD has established the HUD Employees Emergency Assistance and Education Fund within the Oklahoma Fund of the Federal Employee Education and Assistance Fund, whereby contributions to the Fund will benefit HUD employees only.

"The HUD Fund" in care of FEEA  
FEEA  
8441 West Bowles Avenue  
Suite 200  
Littleton, CO 80123-3245

**VA:**

VA has established the Oklahoma City Family Assistance Relief Fund at the Oklahoma Federal Credit Union.

**SSA:**

The SSA OKC Relief Fund was established to assist surviving SSA employees and family members of SSA customers who were killed while visiting the office. SSA is in the process of contracting with the Federal Employee Education and Assistance Fund to receive donations for this fund. OKC Relief Fund will establish an Advisory Board to oversee the use of any donations.

**DOL:**

In support of victims and their families, the Department of Labor issued an all employee notice on April 26, 1995 encouraging DOL employees to assist Federal employees affected by the bombing. DOL employees could contribute directly to the Federal Employees Education and Assistance Fund that was established specifically for families of the children of Federal employees who were killed or injured in the bombing.

updated June 29, 1995

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

sent  
95 JUL 6 A3:24

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: El. Segal / Rick Allen

Fax Number: 565 2784

Phone Number:

FROM: Todd Stern

SUBJECT: POTUS note - 'Pls try to keep it going'

DATE: 7/5/95

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):

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.



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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 12, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
7.5.95

95 JUN 26 A 8 : 54

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ELI SEGAL *ES*  
RICK ALLEN *RA*

SUBJECT: IMPORTANT NATIONAL SERVICE DEVELOPMENTS

1. Cost/Benefit Study: Some time ago, you suggested that we use every opportunity to quantify AmeriCorps' benefit. We previously sent you the report of Aguirre International (headed by President Ford's Commissioner of Education), which showed impressive accomplishments at a randomly-selected eight percent of AmeriCorps sites, for the first five months of operations. Two weeks ago -- one day before our Senate VA/HUD Appropriations hearing -- we held a press briefing to release a major cost/benefit study commissioned by three foundations (IBM, Dana and Irvine) and undertaken by a team of four highly-regarded and methodologically-conservative "Chicago school" economists. Using well-accepted long term studies valuing actions such as early childhood educational intervention (saved welfare costs, greater earning capacity, reduced expenses for incarceration, etc.), they constructed a sophisticated economic model and then applied the model to three specific AmeriCorps programs in which the foundations are partners.

Their conclusion: **Every dollar we put into AmeriCorps returns a minimum of between \$1.60 and \$2.60 in combined benefits to communities and participants -- and many benefits (community-building, improving race relations, etc.) can not be quantified .** This is a better rate of return than T-bills or blue chip bonds. We are building these numbers into our rhetoric at every level (you will see it in the conclusion of the *Business Week* article forwarded to you Friday, as second copy of which is attached). (Critics may retort that this study really examines AmeriCorps' potential, rather than its performance, to which we will point out that (i) the program is being held up for scrutiny far before any long-term studies can be done and (ii) taking this study and the Aguirre report in combination indicates that AmeriCorps is producing valuable results as promised.)

2. GAO Cost Study: One of the other principal reasons we were anxious to have the benefit of AmeriCorps independently validated is that the GAO has for some months been analyzing AmeriCorps' cost, in response to a request by Senators Grassley and Mikulski (the latter accommodating the former in order to move last year's appropriations bill to the floor). GAO is not examining value, and our meeting with them this week raises substantial concerns about their intentions: although they have not yet derived a "cost" number, they have constructed a model which in every case overstates costs and understates service hours performed. As an example, GAO intends to treat everything potentially in a local AmeriCorps program's projected budget to be a "cost" -- including expected donations from corporations or individuals.



We are pressing to have GAO correct its methodology, and readying a damage-control strategy if it does not do so. Although GAO will not provide us with their data, our impression is that their current methodology would lead to an average "cost" for AmeriCorps that could reach or exceed \$40,000 per Member (in contrast to the \$18,800 which we have invested in each Member, on average). GAO is aiming to brief Senators Grassley and Mikulski in mid-July, releasing the report (first to us in draft) thereafter. We are therefore assuming that we have to be ready for a press cycle by mid-July. Accordingly, it would be useful for you to continue to drive home the **value** argument (quoting the above figures) at every opportunity before then.

3. FY'96 Appropriations Hearings Conclude: Our hearings (before Jerry Lewis and Kit Bond, respectively) have gone well, but for the repeated refrain from the Chairmen that however good an idea AmeriCorps is, budgetary constraints leave them with no available funding. At the Senate hearing earlier in the month, both Senators Bond and Mikulski clearly asked for us to provide them with revised budget numbers (you will recall that our budget request is for 47,000 AmeriCorps Members and \$828 million, up from a FY'95 level that apparently will fall somewhere between 33,000 Members and \$575 million, and 25,000 Members and \$430 million). During the same hearing, Senator Kerrey, who was one of four Democrats in the Senate to vote against the 1993 bill, confirmed his conversion into being a supporter.

Although both House and Senate budgets call for the elimination of AmeriCorps (the House would end the seniors programs and AmeriCorps\*VISTA as well), the Senate has seemed to be the better venue for appropriations, both in committee and on the floor. In a private meeting yesterday, House VA/HUD Chair Lewis indicated that -- assuming a deal was struck on FY'95 rescission -- he would include us in his subcommittee mark, now scheduled for July 10 or 11. He said that your budget plan would be helpful in shifting the debate from whether we can "afford" AmeriCorps to what is the best funding level for it. Chairman Lewis would not indicate a funding level, and we anticipate he will use a low figure and expect the Senate to give us better treatment. Lewis indicated he would be helpful in the ultimate Conference. We continue to worry about attacks on the House floor, where the leadership could again pit us in a hopeless confrontation with veterans programs.

4. First Oversight Hearing Unmasks Critics: Chris Shays used his House Government Reform subcommittee in late May as the venue for what is likely to be the only multi-witness hearing on AmeriCorps during this appropriations cycle. Testifying in favor of AmeriCorps were Eli; Board Chair Jim Joseph; FEMA Director Witt (AmeriCorps Members have had significant relief roles after many disasters); a ranking NYPD Commissioner; Philip Wu (the Army vet AmeriCorps Member from Habitat who was part of the State of the Union group); and the mother of Oklahoma City hero Brent Bloom (who joined you in the Rose Garden President's Service Awards ceremony).

A panel of opponents was composed of the three principal conservative think-tank critics of the program, including Bill Kristol's henchman, John Walters. We had helped the subcommittee understand the factual inaccuracies the critics had spread, and under merciless questioning (most of it from Republicans), the panel disintegrated. Included herewith is an edited video tape of the hearing, including some of the highlights of this segment.



5. Nearing Grants Announcement for FY'96: As you know, our grants go out near the end of a fiscal year for programs that start in the Fall and run through the next fiscal year. AmeriCorps continues to have more quality program applicants than money (even assuming no rescission). Most current programs will be renewed, subject to negotiations aimed at improvements in quality, but two possible rejections are of programs well known to you. ACORN Housing Corporation is under investigation by our IG for alleged substantial violations of our regulations, and if she concludes that the allegations are true, we are likely to take them out of consideration for renewal. The Delta Service Corps has lacked leadership since Billie Anne Meyers left and both management and community results have suffered. Arkansas is especially weak, and although we are working through Skip Rutherford, the Corps' future as an AmeriCorps program is uncertain. We will turn down some state-submitted renewals as well, perhaps including two in each of Florida and Pennsylvania. Altogether, however, our first year's programs have performed remarkably well.

6. Prohibition of DOD Support for AmeriCorps: The House-passed Defense Authorization Bill includes language prohibiting DOD from supporting civilian operations, specifically including AmeriCorps\*NCCC (the residential program operating on closed or closing military bases), as well as many National Guard youth programs and others. Were this language to become law, the consequences would be devastating for the NCCC. We are working this issue in the Senate (through Senators Nunn, Kennedy and Robb) and will be keeping Pat posted. White House support may be necessary, because this appears to be a low priority for DOD.

You should also know that, in a cost-cutting measure aimed at bringing its cost-per-Member more into line with other AmeriCorps programs, we announced last week that we would close the Aberdeen, Maryland A\*NCCC campus (which you had visited). The Army had made expenses on this base substantially higher than on the other three sites (Denver, Charleston and San Diego), facilities were vastly inferior and operations in the second year promised to be even more difficult. Senator Mikulski was unhappy with the decision, but understood our fiscal constraints (she continues to be a key aspect of our Senate-based strategy, so we would appreciate whatever special attention you could provide). Press and public reaction to the Aberdeen announcement has been muted so far.

7. Press and Public Opinion: Both remain overwhelmingly positive. The best of the recent clips are attached, together with a brief memo summarizing polling results. In summary, AmeriCorps resonates so strongly because (i) it reflects and advances core values (responsibility, citizenship); (ii) its structure makes sense (decentralized, largely operated through local charities, and expanding volunteering rather than replacing it); (iii) it helps hard-working Americans afford college and (iv) it works (showing proven community accomplishments).

Also included are supportive quotes from Republican governors and a letter of support from just some of the Republican (and Democratic) mayors who are deeply engaged in AmeriCorps in their cities. The Conference of Mayors passed a supportive formal resolution in Miami this week.

cc: The Vice President  
The First Lady  
The Chief of Staff  
enclosures

Only Executive Summary is included

# **THE BENEFITS AND COSTS OF NATIONAL SERVICE**

## **METHODS FOR BENEFIT ASSESSMENT WITH APPLICATION TO THREE AMERICORPS PROGRAMS**

FUNDING PROVIDED BY

THE CHARLES A. DANA FOUNDATION  
IBM FOUNDATION  
THE JAMES IRVINE FOUNDATION  
YOUTH SERVICE CALIFORNIA

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UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

**CYRUS J. GARDNER**  
KORMENDI\GARDNER PARTNERS



## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

AmeriCorps is the central new initiative of the federal Corporation for National Service (CNS) that provides community-based service in diverse program areas throughout the nation. CNS grant funds support approximately three-quarters of a local project's expenses, with the balance supplied by matching funds and in-kind resources contributed by project sponsors.

In the context of strenuous debate over federal budgetary goals, the costs of the AmeriCorps program are visible and relatively easy to measure. Measuring the benefits of the program, however, can seem problematic because many benefits occur in the future, benefits delivered per recipient are difficult to assess, and for other reasons. Nevertheless, objective and informed public policy decisions require a responsible assessment of these benefits to compare to the more obvious tally of costs.

The principal public policy issue is whether the AmeriCorps program delivers benefits to society at large and to its members that exceed its federal costs. This study addresses this question with respect to three representative AmeriCorps projects -- AmeriCorps for Math and Literacy, sponsored by The Charles A. Dana Foundation; Project First, sponsored by IBM International Foundation; and East Bay Conservation Corps, sponsored by The James Irvine Foundation. The report was funded by these sponsors, with additional support from Youth Service California, as one element of their respective programs for obtaining independent evaluations of projects that they support.

## **GOALS OF THIS REPORT**

There are three primary goals for this report:

- To measure the dollar value of those benefits of each project that economists *can* measure using rigorous, conservative and widely accepted research methods. Because we *cannot* measure the value of many of the benefits of community service programs, we will almost certainly understate the value of these projects.
- To determine the benefit-cost ratio for each of the three projects.
- To provide a benefit measurement methodology that can be used as a template for the evaluation of other programs.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

Stated generally, *we find that there are important measurable benefits to individuals and society from these AmeriCorps projects, and that the monetary value of these benefits substantially exceeds project costs.* Other important findings include:



- Each of the subject projects delivers a present value ratio of measurable benefits to federal costs in the range of 160% - 260%. Thus, between \$1.60 and \$2.60 is the return to society and AmeriCorps members for each \$1.00 in federal outlays.
- Each of the projects has a net positive present value by a wide margin. By business standards, therefore, each of these projects is a sound investment of taxpayer funds.
- Measurable benefits underestimate the true total benefits to individuals and society from AmeriCorps projects.

## **FURTHER RESEARCH**

Further research implementing accepted data collection and experimental methods could provide greatly improved measures of benefits. This would enable more complete program evaluation, improved program design and enhanced targeting of service project funding.

- The methods developed in this study can be applied to other types of service projects. This analysis and measurement could provide a foundation for improved resource allocation.
- Relevant operational and tracking data regarding ongoing activities of service projects should be collected. Methods for merging such data with analysis such as employed in this study are available to provide the basis for improved program design and funding decisions.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7.5.95

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Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate  
the reply.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 21, 1995

**GROUND BREAKING CEREMONY FOR THE WOMEN'S MEMORIAL**

DATE: June 22, 1995  
LOCATION: Arlington Cemetery  
TIME: 12:30 pm  
FROM: Alexis Herman  
Steve Hilton  
Danny Wexler

**I. PURPOSE**

To participate in the groundbreaking ceremony for the Women in Military Service Memorial and to recognize supporters of the Memorial and women who have or are serving in the military.

**II. BACKGROUND**

On November 6, 1986, President Ronald Reagan signed the Law authorizing the establishment of a memorial on Federal land in Washington, D.C. to honor and document the achievements of the nearly two million women who have served in the armed forces. Led by retired Air Force Brigadier General Wilma Vaught, the Women in Military Service for America Memorial Foundation Inc. (WIMSA), was founded to build the memorial. The First Lady is the Foundation's Honorary Chair. They plan to dedicate the memorial in mid-1997.

In 1988, WIMSA's request to locate the memorial at the existing curved stone gateway at the Grand Entrance to Arlington Cemetery was approved. The estimated cost for the Memorial will be approximately \$16 million. The repair and restoration of the gate will be funded by a \$9.5 million grant authorized by Congress, but the Memorial construction must be financed privately. The remaining \$6.5 million was raised through the sale of 500,000 commemorative silver dollars and corporate, organization and individual donations. NationsBank has provided a \$2 million loan and AT&T has provided \$1 million for the project.

The Memorial will feature an education center which will include exhibits and artifacts of women's military service. Also included will be a 196 seat auditorium and a computerized registry. The registry will be the most important component of the Memorial. It will provide a

*to Gen. Vaught & her women who sponsor  
of my remainder my need letters  
1300 send a copy  
to Gen. Vaught & her women who sponsor  
of my remainder my need letters  
to Gen. Vaught & her women who sponsor  
of my remainder my need letters*

computerized database of information about the women who have served, their names, photographs and their memories.

**You will arrive in the middle of the program.** Speakers before you arrive include:

George Frampton, Assistant Secretary, Interior  
Senator Frank Murkowski  
Representative Joe Kennedy  
Togo West, Army Secretary  
General Shalikashvili  
William Perry, Defense Secretary  
Mary Lou Keener, General Counsel, Veterans Affairs.

After you arrive, General Vaught will introduce six women who will speak briefly about their military experience. They include:

- ✓ **Mrs. Anne Freeman** was one of 12,500 women to enlist in the U.S. Navy during World War I.
- ✓ **Colonel Mary Hallaren** joined the Women's Auxiliary Corps (later the Women's Army Corps) in 1942, commanding the first battalion of WACs sent to the European Theatre of Operations. In 1947, she became the third Director of the Corps, playing a key role in the enactment of the Women's Armed Forces Integration Act establishing a permanent role for women in the military.
- ✓ **Brigadier General Anna Mae McCabe Hays** joined the Army Nurse Corps in 1942 and served overseas during WWII and the Korean conflict. In 1967, during the Vietnam Conflict, she became Chief of the Army Nurse Corps and in 1970, became the first woman promoted to Brigadier General.
- ✓ **Brigadier General Hazel Johnson-Brown** was the first minority woman to be promoted to General. She served in the Army Nurse Corps from 1955 to 1983, was the 16th Chief of the Corps, and the first Chief to earn a doctorate degree.
- ✓ **Senior Chief Petty Officer Sandra O'Toole** joined the Coast Guard in 1979, serving previously in the Coast Guard Reserve and the United States Marine Corps. She currently serves as Special Assistant to the Master Chief Petty Officer of the Coast Guard, the first woman to hold that position.
- ✓ **Major General Carol Mutter** entered the United States Marine Corps in 1967. She is the Commander of the Marine Corps Systems Command in Quantico, Virginia and



the senior ranking woman in the Armed Forces. Major General Mutter will introduce you.

Earlier in the day, the First Lady will host a coffee at the White House for some of the participants in the groundbreaking ceremony as well as some of the supporters of the Memorial.

### III. PARTICIPANTS

On the Dais:

The First Lady

General Wilma Vaught, (U.S. Air Force, Ret.) President,  
Women in Military Service for  
American Memorial Foundation, Inc.

Brigadier General Hazel W. Johnson Brown

Brigadier General Anna Mae Hays, U.S. Army (Ret.)

Colonel Mary Hallaren, U.S. Army (Ret.)

Major General Carol Mutter

Anne Freeman, World War I Veteran

Chief Petty Officer Sandra O'Toole

Senator John Warner (R-VA)

Senator Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS)

Senator Frank Murkowski (R-AK)

Senator Alan Simpson (R-WY)

Senator Chuck Robb (D-VA)

Representative Joe Kennedy (D-MA)

Representative James Moran (D-VA)

Representative Pat Schroeder (D-CO)

Representative Barbara Kennelly (D-CT)

Representative Maxine Waters (D-CA)

William Perry, Defense Secretary

General John Shalikashvili

Togo West, Secretary of the Army

Sheila Widnall, Secretary of the Air Force

John Dalton, Secretary of the Navy

Admiral Robert Kramek, Commandant, U.S. Coast Guard

George Frampton, Assistant Secretary, Interior

Hershel Gober, Deputy Secretary, Veterans Affairs

Mary Lou Keener, General Counsel, Veterans Affairs

General Richard Hearney, Assistant Commandant, Marine Corps

Admiral Jeremy Boorda, Chief of Naval Operations

General Ronald Fogleman, Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force

General Dennis Reimer, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army

General Colin Powell

Commander Julia Cadenhead, U.S. Navy Chaplain

Philip Diehl, Director, U.S. Mint

William Detweiler, National Commander, The American Legion

Ambassador Al-Sabah, Embassy of Kuwait

Commander Julie Cadenhead, U.S. Navy, Chaplain

Helen Coxhead, WWI Veteran



Daisy Jackson, U.S. Air Force  
Leslie Grizzard, NationsBank  
Richard Lombardi, President, AT&T Government Markets  
Loretta Swit, Actress  
Ann Landers  
Anne Armstrong, WIMSA  
Helene Meckel  
Michael Manfredi, Architect for the Memorial  
Marion Weiss, Architect for the Memorial

Lt. Colonel Charity Adams Early who introduced you at the Salute to African American Veterans will be in the front row.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Press.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

- o You arrive at the gate to Arlington Cemetery.
- o WHCA will introduce you and the First Lady. The US Army Band will play "Ruffles and Flourishes" and "Hail to the Chief".
- o You and the First Lady take seats on stage. You will be seated stage left on the second chair from the podium between Major General Carol Mutter and Colonel Mary Hallaren. The First Lady will be seated stage right on the second chair from the podium between General Wilma Vaught and Anne Freeman.
- o General Wilma Vaught will make brief remarks and introduce the First Lady.
- o The First Lady will make remarks.
- o General Vaught will introduce 6 women who will each make very brief remarks (2 minutes each) about their experience in the Military. They are:
  - Anne Freeman
  - Colonel Mary Hallaren
  - Brigadier General Anna Mae McCabe hays
  - Brigadier General Hazel Johnson-Brown.
  - Senior Chief Petty Officer Sandra O'Toole
  - Major General Carol Mutter.
- o Major General Carol Mutter will introduce you.
- o You make remarks

- o You, the First Lady, General Vaught and General Anna Mae Hays proceed off the stage to the groundbreaking site in front of the stage. You will be joined by Staff Sargent Melissa Crain, USMC.

[At this time 22 women will come up from the audience (11 on each side) to participate in the groundbreaking. These women represent every service group and every military conflict. They will be joined by Secretary Perry and General Shalikashvili.]

- o You will be handed a shovel as you reach the groundbreaking site. General Vaught will give the command to dig.
- o After the groundbreaking is complete, General Vaught will introduce Delores Williams, U.S. Army, who will sing "God Bless America".
- o You work the ropeline and depart.

#### VI. REMARKS

To be provided by speechwriters.

#### VII. ATTACHMENTS

Clinton Administration accomplishments for women in the military.



## *Accomplishments*

**Military Assignments for Women:** On April 28, 1993, the Department opened additional non-combatant vessels to women in the Armed Forces. For the first time, women were able to compete for assignments in aircrafts that engage in combat missions. In the Spring of 1994, the U.S.S. Eisenhower became the Navy's first permanently coed combat ship and the Army approved a plan to include women soldiers in the prestigious Old Guard, responsible for guarding the Tomb of the Unknowns and for greeting heads of state. During 1993 and 1994, promotion and reenlistment rates for women in the senior and enlisted ranks have been even higher than those of their male counterparts. On January 13, 1994, the Department required Service Secretaries to review all units and positions currently closed to women and provide the rationale for opening them or keeping them closed. Currently, 92% of career fields are open to women and men: Army - 91%; Navy - 96%; Marine Corps - 93%; Air Force - 99%. BY 1994, 12.9% of military officers and 12.1% of enlisted service members were women. Combat aircraft and surface warships were opened to women and the criteria used to bar women from ground combat positions has been redefined, giving women access to 259,000 previously male-only positions.



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7/5/95

T  
Swanson

What follow up  
are we doing on  
The Pacific Council  
Letters to Congress?

TSC

CPH

Leon Heller  
summary

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-5-95

Be

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for to be abolished  
this has been

1/95



# A Vote for Democrats

**I**F one word sums up the difference between the Democratic Party and the GOP, it's compassion. I'm a Democrat because civil liberties are the most important issues in my life. And I believe it is the Democratic Party which has facilitated the passage of anti-discriminatory laws. But in the last 12 years, under the Republican presidencies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush, these laws have been relegated to the backburner.

I'm a Democrat because if it were not for the liberal immigration policies pursued by Democratic administrations, I—in fact most Indian Americans—would not be in the US. When I see the large percentage of visitors' visas being rejected by US missions to near and dear ones from India (thanks to the curbs imposed by Republican administrations), I feel I did the right thing by becoming the trustee of the Democratic National Committee. We Democrats believe, rightly, that enterprising immigrants are responsible for making the US a world leader.

I've always felt welcome in the Democratic Party. In fact, I was the first Indian American appointed to the Site Selection Committee for the 1992 Democratic Convention. We travelled to different cities to evaluate venues for the convention. This proves that the Democrats are not just paying lip service, they actually want the Indian American community to be under the "big tent".

As Indian Americans we offer a different perspective on many issues affecting the US, therefore it is my goal to get the next generation motivated to contest and get elected as state legislators, members of Congress and, maybe, even the US President. The Democratic Party will make this dream possible. After all, its presidential nominee for the 1988 election was Michael Dukakis, a Greek American. And the party's national chairman is Ron Brown, who is an Afro-American.

On the other hand, the GOP packages itself as an exclusive club. It attracts people who feel they are better than others because of their race, their financial or family status. Remember, how at the Republican Convention in Houston, the extreme right took over and contended that unless one is a Judeo-Christian, one is not an American? A Democrat can never countenance such an outburst.

The State Department under the Republican administrations of the last 12 years has always taken the easy way out when dealing with other countries. This is the reason they have preferred to deal with dictators in China and other parts of the world—they like to toe the line of least resistance. In such a scenario, it is encouraging to see that Democratic leaders are pushing China to accept democracy. With

the cold war becoming a matter of academic interest, China is trying to fill the gap left by the erstwhile Soviet Union. India is the only country in Asia which can keep the ambition of this communist country in check. So, its leaders should make common cause with the Democrats. I feel China's most favoured nation status should be revoked if it does not stop selling nuclear technology to the rest of the world. Also, the country should work towards making a peaceful transition to democratic governance. It's long overdue.

What we must remember is that Republicans are unable to relate to India because it's a democratic country with a multi-party system. I'm sure under a Democratic administration, relations with India will be marked by unprecedented cordiality. A Democratic administration will definitely be sensitive to

USIS



Clinton at the Democratic Convention

India because just like the party, India too is a mosaic of diverse religions, races and cultures, each retaining its identity while co-existing.

Democratic vice-presidential nominee Al Gore is not just my friend, he is a friend of all Indian Americans. It is well-known that he has great respect for Indian culture. Governor Bill Clinton, on his part, has promised top jobs to qualified Indian Americans. Indian leaders would do well to remember that the US is the only superpower left in the world and it would serve the interests of India if they strive to improve ties with Washington. And I'm certain Bill Clinton, if elected, will react more favourably than anyone else to these overtures.

(The author, a company president, is a trustee of the Democratic National Committee.)



GUEST COLUMN  
by  
RAMESH KAPUR

Like India, the Democratic Party is a mosaic of many different religions, races and cultures.



South Fyke B.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
7-5-95

## THIS SWING IS DIFFERENT

Analysis of 1994 Election Exit Polls By Fred Steeper

We have had large swings in our national elections before. For the past 40 years, they have occurred more frequently for President than for Congress. For Congress, we've been having rather dull outcomes even in years of excitement at the top of the ticket. Occasionally, we have had noteworthy congressional swings; 1974, 1980, and 1982 were our most recent examples. However, all these swings, presidential and congressional, meant little for the next national election. Indeed, our series of elections have been like watching an NBA basketball game—whoever is ahead in one quarter is likely to fall behind in the next quarter. It is not without justification that some Democrats are already predicting the election of a Democratic Congress in 1996.

Usually our national elections are dominated by short term issues. As the description implies, the result they produce in one election means little for the next election. The large swings for Congress in 1974, 1980, and 1982 were all built on short term issues—Watergate, Carter's presidency, and a severe recession. Watergate did not mean the demise of the Republican Party as some speculated; the 1980 "Reagan Revolution" was not the precursor of a Republican U.S. House of Representatives in the next election as many Republicans believed in 1981; and the 1981-1982 recession did not mean a Democrat President in 1984. History was quite perverse.

A consistent feature of a short term tide is that it pushes virtually all groups in the same partisan direction. Some groups are propelled more than others, but they all move in the same pro or anti direction. In 1982, for example, the Republican congressional vote was down among liberals and conservatives, among women and men, among blacks and whites, and so on, virtually without exception. Some groups were down more than others, to be sure, but all were "down" nonetheless.<sup>1</sup>

Much is made of differences in subgroup voting, sometimes too much. With some exceptions, U.S. voters do not fall into true voting blocs the way voters do in many European countries. The outcomes of our elections usually can be explained by common

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Originally published January 9, 1995.

Fred Steeper is a partner in Market Strategies, Inc., a national research firm based in Southfield, Michigan that polls for Republicans.

perceptions, no matter what the subgroup. Watergate (1974) was a national disgrace. So was the holding of American hostages (1980) in Iran for 444 days. Double digit inflation (1980) and double digit unemployment (1982) were intolerable. All Americans shared or begrudgingly felt these sentiments. These common perceptions moved all Americans, in varying degrees, in the same direction on election day—toward Republican congressional candidates in 1980 and toward Democrat congressional candidates in 1974 and 1982.

All subgroups do not reach the same majority decision, of course. Different groups have different degrees of built-in biases that resist a trend, but the groups rarely move in different directions in a single election.<sup>2</sup> (When they do, it is called a "realignment.") It is a non-finding to report, for example, that the Republican vote is higher among Protestants than Catholics or higher in non-union households than in union households. These differences merely report group biases that have existed for decades, long past their original rationale. So, different groups, in any given election, start at different points in their inclination to vote Republican or Democrat. From their different starting points, American voters usually move in the same direction—as sensible people making sensible judgments about what is best for the country, in spite of the partisan biases learned from their parents and grandparents.

### The Normal Pattern: Recent Presidential Elections

A normal subgroup pattern corresponding to short term tides can be seen in the exit poll data for recent presidential elections. Figure 1 uses self-identified liberals, moderates and conservatives as examples of subgroup movement across the last five presidential elections. All three groups, after 1976, move in tandem through the Republican victories in the 1980s, returning to a Democratic win in 1992. (The one point decline in the 1980 Republican vote of liberals compared to 1976 is a minor exception. It is partly due to the above average third party vote for Anderson. The Anderson vote also dampens the increase in the 1980 GOP moderate and conservative vote.)<sup>3</sup>

There are similar parallel movements across the five presidential elections by race, gender, party

identification, age, religion, and so on. The special interests of none of the subgroups defined by these variables were primary factors in recent presidential elections.

Substantively, Figure 1 nicely illustrates the two important components of short term swings. First, voters have different starting points as witness the large differences among liberals, moderates, and conservatives that are maintained in varying degrees across all five elections. Second, the three ideological groups move in the same direction, reflecting the same net consensus on the short term issues in a particular election year. When conservatives, moderates, and liberals all agree, the "meaning of the election" can hardly be ideological. The outcome of such an election is primarily the result of short term perceptions and issues that prevail across all groups and change by the next election.

Presidential elections (and congressional elections) have been more "retrospective elections" than "policy elections." In retrospective elections the voters reward or punish the incumbent party based on whether they believe times are good or bad. In so doing, the voters are judging the results of policies rather than the policies themselves. Rarely have our elections been determined by voters explicitly choosing one set of policies over another.

The retrospective pattern is clearly seen in the diagram of recent presidential elections. There was a net consensus by virtually all groups that "times were bad" in 1980, so the vote of the out-party, the Republicans, went up across-the-board. Times are better in 1984 and the vote for the GOP, now the incumbent party, goes up for all three groups; times are not quite as good in 1988 and the GOP vote of all three goes down, and times are worse in 1992 and the GOP vote of all three falls further. Place this retrospective voting along side the nation's economic growth rates or changes in real per capita income between these elections, and one can see that these are perfectly reasonable verdicts by the voters.

Retrospective elections do not carry much policy meaning even in the broad sense of voting for a liberal direction or a conservative direction. They are votes of punishment or reward of the party in power and offer no prediction for what will happen in the next election.

There have been important policy trends during this period. In the early 1980s, many voters did want a stronger national defense and less government spending. There seemed to be a national demand for the federal government to take action on health insurance in 1992. During this entire period, there has been growing

activism of cultural conservatives concerned about the threat to traditional values.

These policy and even ideological trends had some impact on recent presidential elections, but they did not define them in an emphatic way. And, they had no evident impact below President.

### 1994—This Swing is Different

1994 is different. Everyone did not move in the same direction. And, once these rare subgroup movements are sorted out, one is struck by the unavoidable conclusion that the voters made a policy decision in 1994, not just a retrospective "nature of the times" decision. Indeed, the retrospective model would not have predicted a sweeping defeat of Democrats—by conventional definitions, the economy was doing well and there was relative peace abroad.

1994 was a policy election. The voters perceived Republicans as representing a conservative direction and Democrats as representing a liberal direction and chose accordingly more than they have ever done in, perhaps, over 60 years. There is, indeed, a conservative mandate in the 1994 election result.

Of the myriad subgroup results reported in the exit polls for the U.S. House, the most significant is the one for liberals, moderates, and conservatives. (Among other things, the results for these three groups drive the results for all the other groups.) As seen in Figure 2, there has been a surge in conservative voting for Republican House candidates beginning in 1992. In that year, Republican House candidates won 72% of the conservative vote, setting a new high water mark in congressional elections for the GOP—only to be incredibly raised another eight points in the 1994 election. Liberals, on the other hand, have been setting new lows in Republican voting for the House in the last two elections. Moderates are mysteriously impervious to the liberal/conservative polarization. (See later section on "The Mystery of the Moderates.")

In 1994, self-described conservatives reported a huge 80% vote for Republican House candidates. In contrast, less than a majority of moderates voted Republican (42%), and only 18% of liberals voted Republican.

The 80% vote for House Republicans by conservatives is eight points higher than conservatives have "ever" voted for House Republicans, going back to 1980. Moreover, the conservatives' vote for Republicans is 13 points higher than their average 66% Republican House vote between 1980 and 1992.<sup>4</sup>

But, what makes the conservative result extremely important is that moderates and liberals did not move in the same direction. Even though



Republicans achieved their highest national proportion in decades, they did not exceed their previous highs with liberals or moderates. Moreover, Republicans did not exceed even the *average support* of liberals and moderates for Republican House candidates between 1980 and 1992.

Moderates have been voting for Republican House candidates in the surprisingly tight range of 40% to 43%. Their 42% Republican vote in 1994 indicates no Republican tide at all. In fact, their 1994 vote is equal to just *their average support* for Republicans between 1980 and 1992.

The comparison of conservative voters to liberal voters is truly dramatic. The 18% liberal vote for Republicans in 1994 is 11 points *under* their highest vote for Republicans (29% in 1986) and 6 points *under* their 24% average Republican House vote between 1980 and 1992.

Table 1.

**1994 GOP House Vote Compared to Past Elections for Ideological Groups**

(numbers represent % differences in their vote compared to their highest previous vote and their average vote from 1980-1992)

|               | Compared to<br>Their Prior High | Compared to<br>Their '80-'92 Avg. |
|---------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Liberals      | -11                             | -6                                |
| Moderates     | -1                              | 0                                 |
| Conservatives | +8                              | +13                               |

The pro-Republican movement of only conservatives means the 1994 election was not driven mainly by such non-policy factors as Clinton's personal unpopularity, anger with "politics as usual" and "gridlock," or unhappiness with the economy. This election is more than kicking the ins out because of an amorphous dissatisfaction with government performance. All such explanations would be supported by parallel movements of the three ideological groups. That did not happen.

What did happen was a rare policy reaction by the voters. Conservatives polarized toward the Republican Party; liberals toward the Democratic Party. The conservatives produced the Republican Congress. The content of their mandate is open to question. Republicans tend to interpret it as a call for smaller government. Democrats acknowledge this possible meaning, but they talk about making government "more efficient," not necessarily smaller. Significantly, both explanations interpret the conservative mandate in terms of economic conservatism rather than cultural conservatism. Whether this is a fair interpretation will

be discussed in a later section. (See section on "The Conservative-Cultural Realignment.")

The polarization of conservatives and liberals in the 1994 congressional election is responsible for many other subgroups either reaching new highs in Republican congressional voting or moving in a contrary direction. In every case, the groups that reached new highs contain a larger than average number of conservatives (and/or fewer liberals).<sup>1</sup> Consequently, the following groups were part of the Republican surge in 1994: they voted above their prior Republican highs and, in most cases, *substantially above* their average Republican House vote.

Table 2.

**1994 GOP House Vote Compared to Past Elections for Groups Joining the GOP Swing**

(numbers represent % differences in their vote compared to their highest previous vote and their average vote from 1980-1992)

|                              | Compared to<br>Their Prior High | Compared to<br>Their '80-'92 Avg. |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Republicans                  | +2                              | +9                                |
| Whites                       | +3                              | +7                                |
| Southern whites              | +9                              | +13                               |
| White men                    | +5                              | +9                                |
| White women                  | +2                              | +5                                |
| White Protestants/Christians | +3                              | +8                                |
| Catholics                    | +6                              | +9                                |
| Born agains                  | +9                              | +15                               |
| Married men                  | +3                              | +6                                |
| Married women                | +3                              | +4                                |

Similarly, every group that did not join the Republican surge contains a larger than average number of liberals (and/or fewer conservatives). In 1994, they voted below their prior Republican highs and even, in several cases, below just their average Republican House vote.

Table 3.

**1994 GOP House Vote Compared to Past Elections for Groups Not Joining the Swing**

(numbers represent % difference in their vote compared to their highest previous vote and their average vote from 1980-1992)

|                    | Compared to<br>Their Prior High | Compared to<br>Their '80-'92 Avg. |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| White Democrats    | -8                              | -3                                |
| Post college grads | -2                              | -2                                |
| Eastern whites     | -1                              | +3                                |
| Jews               | -7                              | -2                                |
| Blacks             | -10                             | -4                                |
| Unmarried women    | -4                              | -1                                |

The importance of ideology in 1994 can be further illustrated within five of the groups that were not part of the Republican swing, i.e. post college grads, eastern whites, Jews, blacks, and unmarried women. Taking these counter-trend voters together, the conservatives among them still voted Republican by 75% to 25%. The problem for Republicans, if it is a problem (see later section on "The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion"), is that there simply are fewer conservatives in these five groups than in other groups of voters.

Table 4.

**1994 House Vote of Counter-trend Voters**

(Post college grads, eastern whites, Jews, blacks, and unmarried women)

| 1994 Vote  | Conservative | Moderate | Liberal |
|------------|--------------|----------|---------|
| Republican | 75%          | 38%      | 12%     |
| Democrat   | 25%          | 62%      | 88%     |

<sup>1</sup> Based on MSI cross-tabs of Mitofsky International '94 exit poll data.

What about the middle class? Didn't they drive the 1994 result? The exit poll data say "no." Liberal middle class voters voted 82% Democrat to 18% Republican in the House races. Conservative lower income voters voted 73% Republican to 27% Democrat. Indeed, overwhelming majorities of conservatives, regardless of income, voted Republican. Overwhelming majorities of liberals, regardless of income, voted Democratic. (See Figure 3.) The story of 1994 is not income, it is ideology.

What about "angry white males?" Didn't they drive the 1994 result? Again, the exit poll data say "no." Conservative white women voted 82% Republican to 18% Democrat in the House races, similar to conservative white men who voted 85% Republican to 15% Democrat. Liberal white men voted 83% Democrat to 17% Republican, similar to liberal white women who voted 80% Democrat to 20% Republican. (See Figure 4.) The story of 1994 is not gender, it is ideology.

**The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion**

While this analysis identifies a new Republican plurality in congressional elections, some Republicans will not be happy with the apparent "exclusion" of some groups from the new plurality. Our political parties naturally want to be "inclusive." The more voters and groups under the tent the more legitimate the governing majority. Political scientists describe this as the integration or aggregation function of our parties.

Pushing a single group's agenda is the function of interest groups; aggregating those interest into a governing majority is the function of parties.<sup>6</sup>

The point about 1994, however, is not about conventional interest group voting; it is about ideological voting. Conservatives voted Republican. Liberals voted Democrat. And, they did so for good reasons. Some social groups are disproportionately conservative; others are disproportionately liberal. Groups that have an above average number of conservatives or liberals, stand out as voting more or less Republican than before. They did so because of their conservative or liberal values.

It would be a huge mistake for Republicans to interpret these results as identifying groups the Party needs to target for improvement or "inclusion" by moderating its conservative message. That would be standing this analysis on its head. If Republican improvement is sought, it should be by convincing more people in the group that conservative policies are better for them, for the country, or for both. In attempting this, the Party needs to accept that many people believe in a liberal welfare state or rely on the opinions of those that do. Some people and groups may never be convinced otherwise. But, then, that is why we have a two-party system.

These results, also, strongly suggest that the old paradigm of the parties as aggregations of economic interest groups has been eclipsed by the politics of shared cultural values. Many, if not most, of the cutting issues of today defy an interpretation based on economic self-interest, e.g. school prayer, gay rights, gun control, abortion, and capital punishment. Other issues such as welfare reform, immigration, and affirmative action are more value issues than economic issues although many, especially liberal Democrats, will disagree. To the extent economic self-interest influences modern voting choices, the voter as "taxpayer" is more relevant than the old, New Deal era notion of the voter as a worker in a particular industry. "Taxpayer," however, is too broad a group to fit the old paradigm of parties as aggregations of competing economic groups.

Interestingly, the first counter-offensive by the Democrats after the 1994 election was an attempt to gain political leverage by dividing taxpayers into the middle class and the wealthy. Their middle class tax cut proposals reflect the way Democrats think about the electorate—in terms of economic conflict. But, the 1994 election was not about tax cuts or "classes." (See Figure 3.) Unfortunately, the Republican Party is being seduced by the Democrats into a monetary bidding war when its mandate was about broader issues than the materialistic issue of taxes.



## The Mystery of the Moderates

One excluded group from the Republican plurality deserving special comment are the "moderates." This would appear to be a fairly significant exclusion. More voters identified themselves as moderate (46%) than identified themselves as either conservative (36%) or liberal (18%) on election day.<sup>7</sup> However, it is the prediction of this analysis that the Republican Party will have a surge in moderate support in 1996 barring a Republican disaster with the voters overall.

To make this prediction, two types of moderates need to be considered. One is the voter who distrusts the extremism of both the left and the right. These voters could be pushed to vote even more Democratic than they have been if the Republican Congress goes "too far" in its conservative legislation. It is this first type that many have in mind when they use the term moderate voters.

However, a second type of moderate voter needs to be considered for it is they who probably represent most moderates and will account for the predicted surge in Republican voting in 1996. They are voters who say they vote for the "best person." They put a heavy weight on experience, integrity, and other personal characteristics. They, also, are less interested in policy choices compared to the first type of moderate and, therefore, are not as sensitive to policy controversies and extremes.

With the second type of moderate, incumbents of both parties have a distinct advantage. A moderate is much more likely to have the personal information, that he or she values most, about an incumbent than about the incumbent's challenger. All one has to assume is that most incumbents are, personally, good people to see the advantage incumbents have with the second type of moderate on election day.

Return to Figure 2 and what we should now characterize as the truly amazing flatness of the voting behavior of moderates in past congressional elections. Why would this be? The only thing that is a common thread through these eight elections is that most of the House candidates in a single election are incumbents, albeit not the same ones every election. This also will be true in 1996 but with a very important difference—most of the incumbents will be Republicans!

## The Conservative-Cultural Realignment

There are two brands of conservatism in the country. One is economic conservatism. The other is cultural conservatism. Cultural conservatism is the newer of the two, and it is likely the reason for the historical result on November 8, 1994. An interesting ramification of the latter assertion is that all of the Democrats' post election counter-offensive and much of the Republicans' response to their victory miss the revolutionary meaning of the 1994 election.

Economic conservatism has been politically relevant since the beginning days of the FDR era. It is about the role of the federal government in the national economy and in individual financial situations. Liberals favor a large federal role; conservatives favor a small federal role. We are all familiar with this battle.

Cultural conservatism has been politically relevant for a shorter period of time and is less well understood. It is about traditional morality concerning belief in God, hard work, patriotism, frugality, personal and family responsibility, and self-reliance. Cultural conservatism has become politically charged because many believe these values are threatened. They are threatened, according to cultural conservatives, by a decay in society's commitment to traditional values and by government policies that are hastening the decay.

Conventionally religious Americans are at the core of the constituency that believes traditional values must be revitalized. The constituency is not limited to evangelical or fundamentalist Christians although they are part of it. Most religious Americans would not consider themselves part of the "religious right movement" or even know of the Christian Coalition. The impact of traditional religious values on the 1994 election are woefully understated if limited to those who describe themselves as evangelical Christians or part of the religious right. If, however, the term "religious right" covers people who are religious and conservative on cultural issues, then it covers a majority of Americans.

The Democrats are rationalizing their losses in 1994 by interpreting the election's message as one for a more efficient government and not necessarily for a government that does less. Their agenda of "reinventing government" combined with a "taxpayer's bill of rights" manifest an economic understanding of the election without yielding their liberal belief in a large, albeit more efficient, role for the federal government. Democrats are in total denial of any significant moral values component to their 1994 defeat.

The position of the Republican Party in all this is very intriguing. For decades, it has urged a government that does less and spends less although

sometimes zigzagging into the territory of advocating a "more efficient" government, as well. The Party would be most pleased and most comfortable with an election that finally embraced this brand of conservatism.

While the top of the Republican Party has been most focused on economic conservatism, the base of its voting support has been expanding and changing with the influx of cultural conservatives. Ironically, the cultural conservatives have sought out the Republican Party more than being solicited by it. Many lost their home in the Democratic Party that feels moral issues have no place in politics. So, they carried their moral concerns into the Republican Party.

Many cultural conservatives carry the controversial abortion issue in their bundle of moral concerns and/or unabashedly use the label "Christian." On the specific issue of abortion, there is close to a national consensus supporting a woman's basic right to an abortion.<sup>8</sup> On the broader matter of the political activism of Christians, we have always had a party system that has remained neutral toward our nation's religious affiliations. The discomfort felt by the Republican Party about these features of its new adherents is understandable. However, the cultural conservatives have become an essential part of the Republican coalition, and they are probably responsible for the Party achieving what it could not achieve with economic conservatives alone, a Republican Congress.

The Republican Congress will most certainly act to create a government that will do less and costs less, or, together with the White House, act to create a more efficient federal government. What it does to restore traditional values in public policy is more problematic but equally important to maintain its new coalition.

A direct test of the role of cultural issues compared to economic issues in 1994 is not available in the exit poll data.<sup>9</sup> However, a very suggestive test can be made by investigating the relative impact of religiosity (a surrogate for cultural issues) and income (a surrogate for economic issues) on the 1994 House vote. The Mitofsky International exit poll asked voters if they attended religious services at least once a week and if they were "born again/evangelical Christians." For analysis purposes, we will classify those who were affirmative to both questions as "high" on religiosity; classify those who were negative to both questions as "low" on religiosity; and classify those who were affirmative on one of the two questions as "medium" on religiosity. The voters' income levels are similarly collapsed into three groups: low, middle, and high income. The income groups are rough measures of the voters' economic expectations of government in so far as they are determined by one's own financial situation.

(Lower income voters presumably desire a larger economic role for government; upper income voters, a smaller role for government.)

Figure 5 shows the Republican vote for the nine combinations of income and religiosity. While the Republican House vote increases with income (the surrogate for economic conservatism), it increases even more across the levels of religiosity (the surrogate for cultural conservatism). Religiosity accounts for twice "the variance" in the House vote that income does. In layman's terms, religiosity was twice as important as income in the 1994 election.

## Emergence of a New Party System

1994 may be more than a rare policy election or a one-time conservative mandate, as significant as those are. It may also mean the full emergence of a new party system.

Our country has had only five party systems in its entire history, two before the Civil War and three after.<sup>10</sup> While the first four lasted 25 to 33 years each, the last was an amazing 62 years old on November 8, 1994. Party systems are defined by the competitive situation of the parties and the fundamental public concerns the parties represent or operate within. 1994 represents the first, deep change in the competitive situation between Republicans and Democrats in over 60 years. It is unlikely that such a sweeping change, including major changes in state legislative seats as well as for the U.S. Congress and state governors, was the result of short term concerns alone. It is also unlikely that the competitive change between the two parties was the result of voters finally accepting the position of economic conservatives after 60 years of debate.

When a new party system emerged in our past, it was because a new set of unresolved concerns came to the fore, commanding at least as much vote attention as the older issues. Violent crime, a permanent welfare population, and lagging student performance have led many to conclude there has been a breakdown in important traditional values such as personal and family responsibility, self-reliance, individual merit, and religious principles. Specific cultural issues such as, capital punishment, school prayer, abortion, illegal immigration, gay rights, and affirmative action, together, form a new continuum in our politics.

Consequently, we must seriously consider the proposition that the New Deal party system came to an honorable but definite end this past November and was replaced by a new system with a different competitive relationship between the parties and with a new set of issues defining them along side the older, economic ones.<sup>11</sup>



Economic conservatives are an integral part of the Republican coalition as are economic liberals in the Democratic coalition. What is new is that the economic conservatives have been joined by cultural conservatives, representing the conservative side of the new issues, to form a coalition, at least, equal to the Democratic coalition of the economic and cultural liberals.

A new party system does not necessarily mean a new dominant party. It is too early to tell if the Republicans will be the dominant majority the way the Democrats were in the last system or will remain roughly equal or even slightly behind the Democrats. However, there does not appear to be much chance that the Democrats will have dominant status in the new system as they did in the last one.

While the data presented here paints a picture of a cultural realignment confined to 1992 and 1994, that is an overly narrow view. A cultural realignment began in the South in the 1960s and in the remainder of the country in the late 1970s. The Reagan election in 1980 was the beginning stage of the national emergence of the new party system.<sup>12</sup> The emergence, below the presidential level, was then blunted by several events, especially the 1981 recession, the Iran/Contra scandal, and the 1991 recession. All three events elevated short term, retrospective voting over longer term, policy voting. In addition, the Republican Party's communication of a provocative conservative agenda weakened substantially in Reagan's second term and in George Bush's term in office.

However, the most important reason for the decade-delay in the realignment may have been Republican control of the White House. Voters tend to believe that the party that controls the White House controls the federal government. Consequently, conservative voters wanting to vote for a change were in an ambiguous situation during the period of two Republican Presidents. They perceived the Republican Party as more conservative, but the Republican Party was in control of federal policies that they disliked. Not coincidentally, 1994 was the first election since 1980 when there was no ambiguity for conservatives wanting to vote for a change in policy. In this light, 1994 continued what happened in 1980. The new party system needed a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress to fully emerge in the nation's voting patterns.

The 1994 election does not represent a realignment in the conventional sense that there was a reversal in the voters' basic party loyalties.<sup>13</sup> The 1994 exit polls show that the voting public was still more Democratic than Republican.<sup>14</sup> The exit polls also record that the voting public was more conservative than liberal. But, even the latter finding is not new. What is

new is the ideological polarization of the vote for Congress.

In the wake of the 1994 election, national surveys have been published that give conflicting results on whether voters truly support the various parts of the conservative agenda, especially as represented by the Contract With America. The problem with this evidence is that policy questions in public opinion polls are notoriously biased, not necessarily in their wording, but in the information they include or *do not* include and in the context in which they are placed. Welfare reform, for example, is a hugely complex issue, both in substance and in the preferences of the voters. "Liberal responses" to welfare polling questions are easy to obtain. Such contrary findings only confirm the complexity of the issue. The big picture remains the same—the plurality of voters want a conservative policy direction.

Finally, the impact of the controversial 1992 Republican Convention needs to be reconsidered. In light of this analysis, its emphasis on traditional values did not harm the Party; it helped the Party. It did polarize voters but with a net gain, at the congressional level, for the Republicans. (see Figure 1, 1992 and 1994 elections.) The Republicans lost the White House in 1992 because of disenchantment with national economic policy, not because of the GOP Convention's conservative themes.<sup>14</sup> An important irony in the 1992 election is that Republicans gained House seats that year while losing the White House—a very unusual event. We now see that 1992 was the beginning of a values polarization below the Presidential level that led to a Republican takeover of Congress two years later. The conservative messages of the 1992 GOP Convention may very well have played a key role in this process.

### Comments on the Exit Poll Data

Two organizations conducted exit polls in 1994: Mitofsky International and Voter News Service. Both sets of data were reported in various publications after the election. To add to the possible confusion, the results of both exit polls have been or will be revised since their first appearance. The Mitofsky results were revised on December 1, 1994 and the VNS results will be revised in early 1995.

We used both exit polls for this analysis. We used the December 1 version of the Mitofsky International data and the November 9, 1994 version of the VNS data. In addition to copies of the complete cross-tabs from both organizations, we obtained the individual level data from Mitofsky International to run additional analysis.

The Mitofsky International and VNS results were remarkably similar for most subgroups including the reported vote of liberals, moderates, and conservatives that form the core of our analysis. Rather than choose one set of data over the other, we averaged the two together, with a weight of two on the VNS results as they are based on roughly twice as many interviews.

The historical House data is taken from a copy of the Voter Research and Surveys cross-tabs for 1992 and from a table published in the *New York Times* on November 13, 1994 for all other years. Some of the results in the November *New York Times* table were erroneous and corrections were made in consultation with the newspaper. The *New York Times* may run a revision of the historical table in a January edition.

### Notes

1. "Down" can mean down from the Republican vote in 1980 or down from the average Republican vote for the group from 1980 to 1992, for which there is exit poll data. Both comparisons are true in describing the 1982 Republican vote as "down." There is one major exception—Republicans. The 1980 and 1982 Republican votes by Republicans for the U.S. House were the two *highest* in the seven elections between 1980 and 1992. This is part of 1980-1982 being precursors, not for 1984, but for 1994.

2. One of the rare and dramatic occurrences of groups moving in opposite directions was in the 1960 Presidential election. Protestants moved toward Nixon and Catholics moved toward Kennedy. This was a short term effect, unique to the candidates that year, and had no relevance for the 1964 presidential election.

3. Both 1980 and 1992 had significant third party votes that complicate comparisons to the other three elections in the series which had under 2% for all minor parties. However, if one uses the "major party" percentages (dropping the third party vote from the denominator) or uses a 50% allocation of the third party vote to each major party, a parallel movement of the three groups is still the predominate pattern.

4. The difference between 80% and 66% is 13% due to rounding.

5. Based on MSI cross-tabs of Mitofsky International 1994 exit poll data.

6. U.S. parties are driven to form large aggregations by our winner-take-all system. Some political parties in Europe are more like U.S. interest groups than U.S. parties. They place a priority on representing a group interest over forming a governing majority. They typically exist in parliamentary systems that reward minority parties with pieces of power. Our system does not.

7. Based on the average Mitofsky International and VNS exit poll results. The two exit polls are within two percent or less of each other in their respective estimates of the proportions of liberals, moderates, and conservatives in the 1994 election.

8. There is also a national consensus that abortion rights should have limits—as all our rights have limits.

9. The exit polls did not ask the kind of general questions needed to capture the voters' philosophical orientations beyond having the voters classify themselves as liberals, moderates, and conservatives. Instead, they ask issue and perception questions of a short-term nature. The one exception is in the VNS exit poll that did ask a single question about the role of government. Unfortunately, it does not include a philosophical question about moral values to properly classify voters in a two dimensional space of cultural issues versus economic issues.

10. See William Nisbet Chambers and Walter Dean Burnham (eds.) *The American Party Systems: Stages of Political Development*. Oxford University Press (New York, 1967) for descriptions of party systems in our history.

11. Befitting a new party system, the parties, especially the Republicans, have developed, or had developed for them, a new way of communicating with large numbers of voters—partisan talk radio. Interestingly, partisan talk radio is a throwback to the partisan newspapers of the 19th century.

12. 1980 marked the first time in the University of Michigan's National Election Studies, going back to 1952, that frequency of church attendance was significantly related to partisanship and voting. See John R. Petrocik and Frederick T. Steeper, "The Political Landscape in 1988," *Public Opinion* (Sept/Oct, 1987).

13. In the Mitofsky International exit poll, 39% are Democrats, 34% are Republicans, and 26% are independents. In the VNS exit poll, 38% are Democrats, 36% are Republicans, and 26% are independents.

14. An RNC post election survey found "the Republican Convention showing the Republican Party was too right-wing" was only the 25th most important consideration in voting for President that year out of 33 items. Twenty-five percent of the voters rated this statement about the convention as "very much" on their minds when they voted.



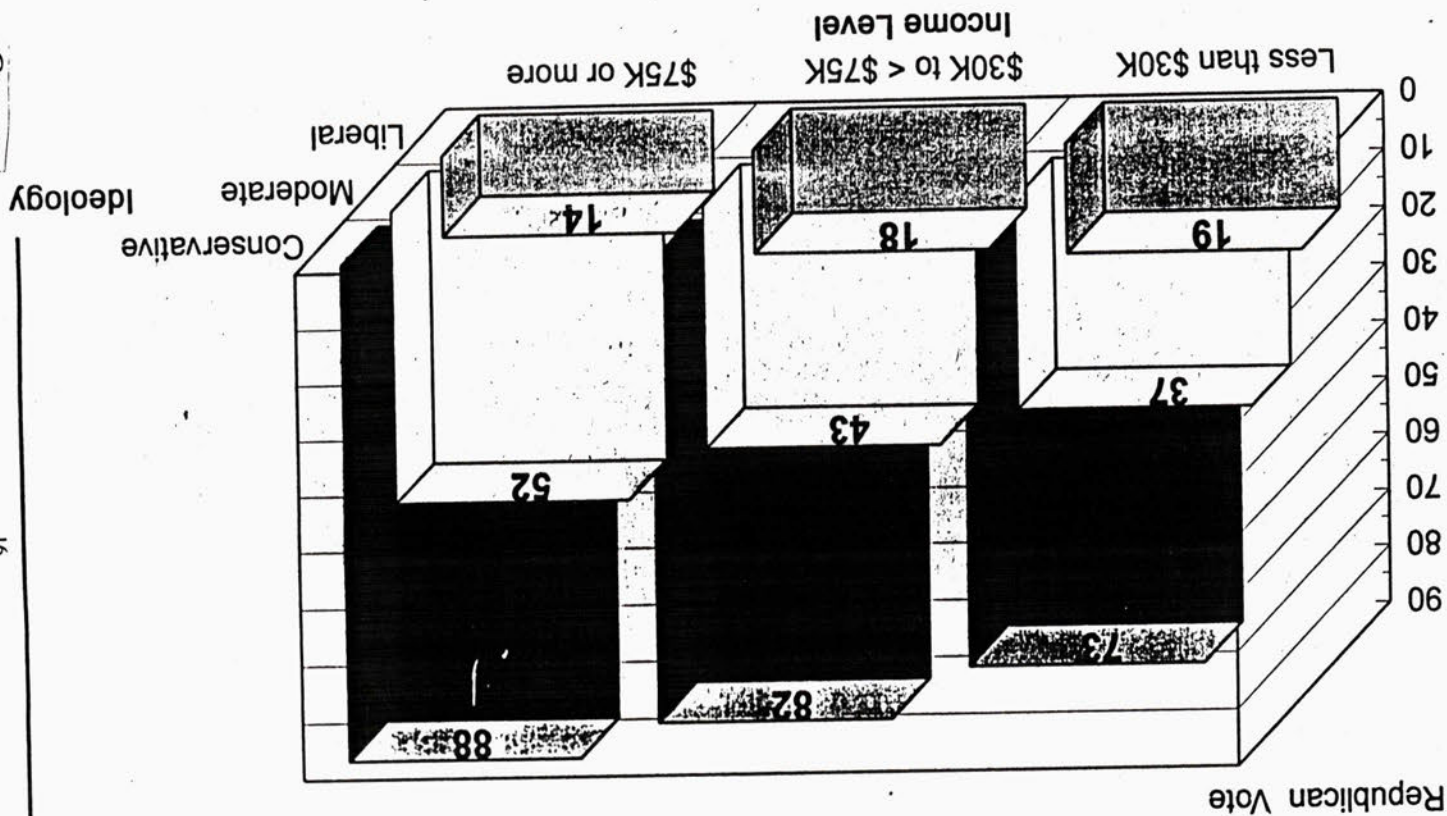
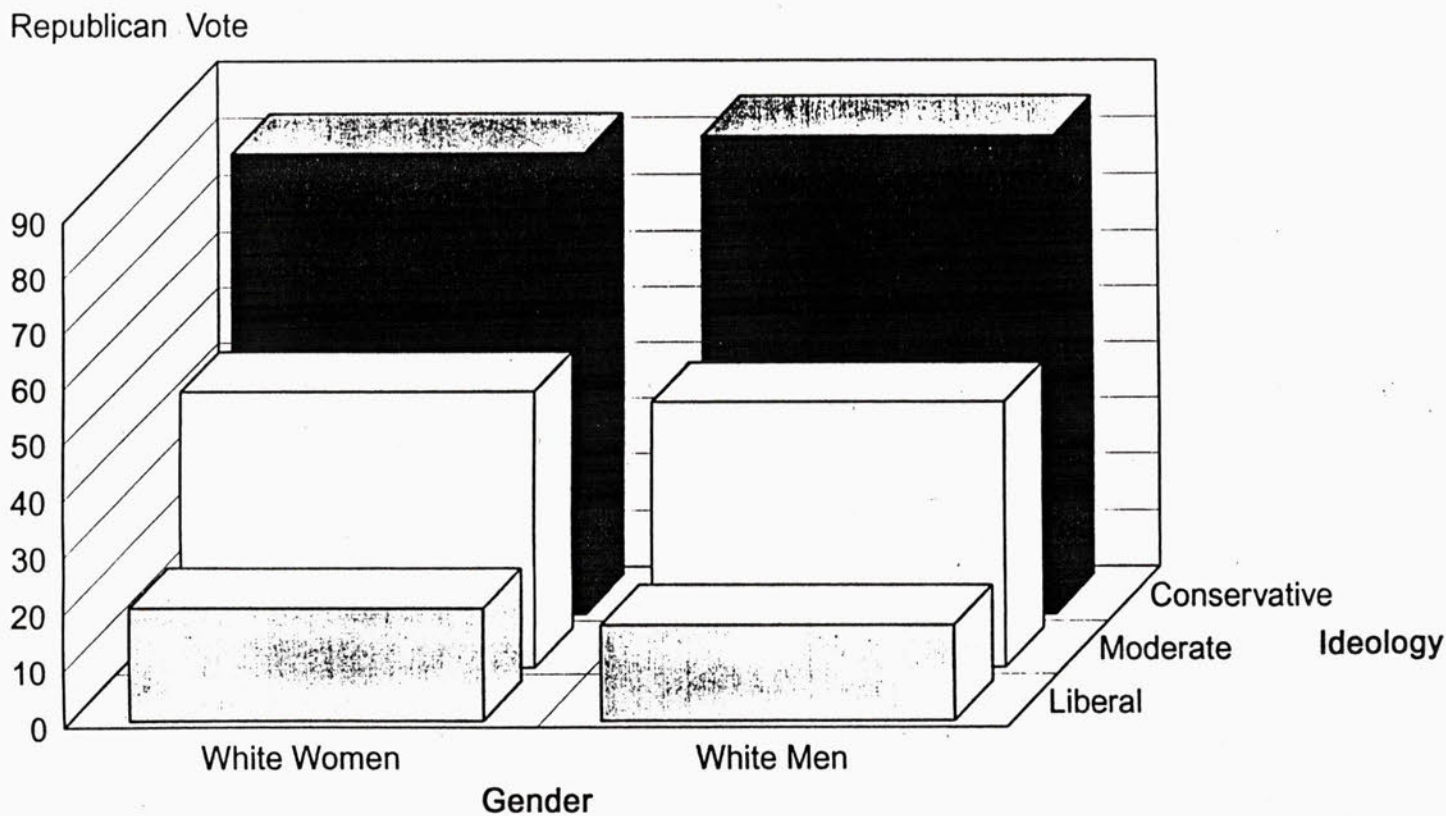
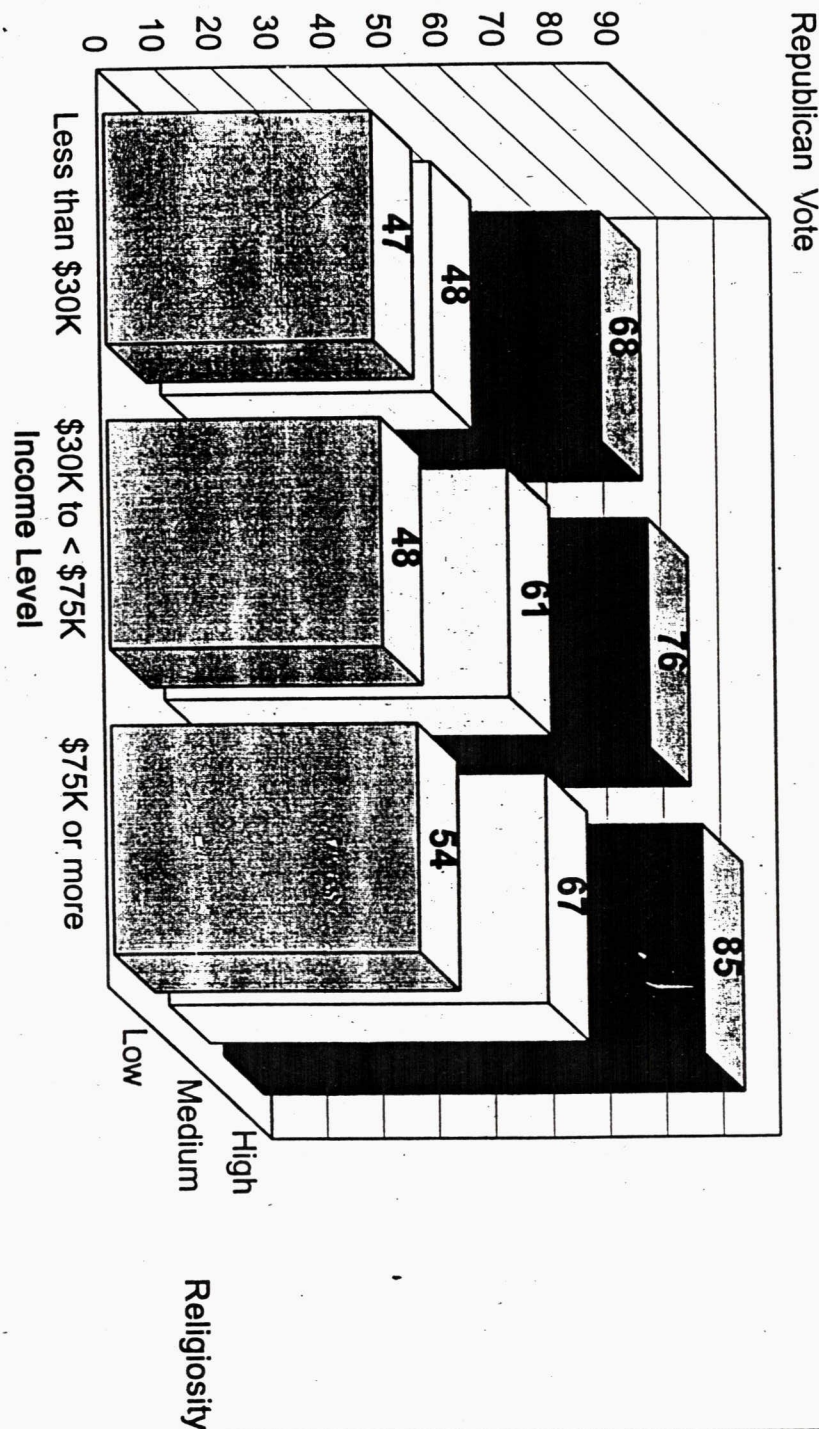


Figure 3.  
1994 Republican House Vote by Ideology  
and Income Groups

Figure 4.  
1994 Republican House Vote by Ideology  
and Gender







**Figure 5.**  
**1994 Republican House Vote by Religion**  
**and Income Groups**  
 (White Voters)

## HOW THE REPUBLICANS CAPTURED THE HOUSE

### An Assessment of the 1994 Midterm Elections

By David W. Brady, John F. Cogan, and Douglas Rivers

#### EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The 1994 midterm elections sent shock waves throughout the U.S. political system. The Republican Party sweep was of historic proportions. The GOP gained 53 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives, eight seats in the U.S. Senate, eleven governorships, and nearly one in every five state legislative chambers. The fact that hardly anyone predicted these outcomes makes them even more remarkable.

What explains the Republican victory? This essay provides a partial answer by examining the factors that influenced the most extraordinary of the election outcomes: Republican control of the House of Representatives.

Our principal finding is that voters in moderate and conservative congressional districts overwhelmingly rejected President Clinton and those House members who supported the president's policies. The impact of these voters was particularly important in the Rocky Mountain, Rust Belt, and southern states. Normally, about 95 percent of incumbents are re-elected. In 1994, in districts where the vote for Clinton had been low in 1992 and the Democratic incumbent supported Clinton's program in 1993, only 30 percent were returned to office. We find powerful statistical evidence that Democratic incumbents from these districts paid a heavy price for their support for the president's program. The more the Democratic incumbent voted to support the president's policies, the more likely he or she was to be defeated. Although all elections are to some extent about policy issues, the direct link between incumbents' congressional voting records and their re-election prospects is striking. In contrast to the recent House elections, where incumbency advantages insulated most incumbents from national electoral tides, national policy issues dominated the campaign.

The results of the 1994 U.S. national election are by all accounts extraordinary. The depth and

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breadth of the Republican Party victory was historic. The party gained 53 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives, eight seats in the U.S. Senate, eleven governorships, and nearly one in every five state legislative chambers. Particularly surprising were the results in the House of Representatives, where Republicans took control for the first time in 40 years. Not only will Newt Gingrich be the next Speaker of the House but Speaker Tom Foley will be out of the House after January. Moreover, almost no one predicted it. Pundits, pollsters, and political scientists badly underestimated how large the swing toward the Republicans would be. In most cases Democratic losses in the House were predicted to be in the range of 25 to 30 seats—making the average forecast off by almost 100 percent.<sup>1</sup>

The natural question is how to account for the Republican victory. Was it, as President Clinton argued the day after the election, that the American public believed that congressional Democrats had not gone far enough in enacting his policy agenda? Or was it that they had gone too far? Was it because Republicans had better candidates? Did the Republicans benefit from a wave of anti-incumbent sentiment or was this the long-awaited party realignment that would reorganize the American party system?

This essay tries to provide answers to these and other related questions. Our most important finding is that the large Democratic Party losses in the House were due to voters' rejecting President Clinton's legislative agenda. We find powerful evidence that, in moderate and conservative districts, the more a House Democrat supported the president's agenda, the more likely that she or he would be removed from office. The key to understanding the 1994 midterm election is that the swing to Republicans was regionally and ideologically concentrated. In Democratic strongholds where Clinton ran well in 1992, such as New England, there was a relatively small swing toward Republican congressional candidates. Here, if incumbents were hurt at all by their votes in support of the Clinton program, traditional Democratic advantages were generally enough to insulate them against the Republican tide. It was in the South and the West where Republicans made the greatest inroads, for a large number of seats in those regions were represented by Democratic incumbents but were, at best, marginally Democratic. In those districts, incumbent Democrats who had supported the Clinton



program were defeated at historically high rates. Normally, about 95 percent of incumbents are re-elected; in those districts, the incumbent re-election rate was around 30 percent. Republican gains represented the confluence of three factors: districts that were marginal to begin with, an usually large swing toward the Republicans, and incumbents who were out of step with their districts.

Our results show that a number of factors commonly used to explain those results did not, in fact, significantly affect the election. Turnout was definitely not a factor. Neither the level of turnout in 1994 nor the difference in turnout from 1992 to 1994 was related to electoral change. The Perot factor prominent in many analysts' interpretation of the Republican victory, in our analysis is at best a minor factor and statistically an insignificant predictor of Republican victories. There appears to be a modest decline in incumbency advantages—the Democratic freshman class of 1992 received a smaller than usual boost from incumbency—but this effect by itself was too small to account for the large Republican gains.

Our essay begins with a regional breakdown of the House election results and an analysis of these results. Data regarding the importance of voter turnout, Perot voters, and incumbency are examined. To sharpen the evidence, this analysis is followed by a more detailed statistical analysis that provides surprisingly powerful evidence that Democratic incumbents paid a heavy electoral price for supporting the president's policies and contradicts explanations that factors such as voter turnout played an important role.

## Regional Breakdown

Let us begin with a brief description of the swing in popular vote and the change in seats for and against the Republicans from 1946 to 1994 and the corresponding gain or loss in House seats (see table 1). (Swing is measured by the difference in Republican vote percentages by district between the current election and the previous election and averaging the result across districts.)

Countrywide, the swing to the Republicans was 5.7 percent, which is the second highest pro-Republican swing since the Second World War. In 1946 and 1952 Republicans also won a majority of seats, but the comparable vote swings were both below 5 percent. In the 1966 midterm elections, Republicans gained 6.3 percent of the vote but did not gain control of the House. Republican or Democratic vote swings of about 5 percent or more generate major seat shifts. The lowest seat change, when there was a vote swing of at least 5 percent, was 36 for the Democrats in 1964, and the

highest was 74 for the Democrats in 1948. Republican seat swings of around 5 percent or more have generated seat changes from 48 (in 1966) to 55 (in 1946). Thus, given the vote swing, the change in seats is not out of line—a 5.7 percent swing and a gain of 53 seats.

The vote swing to the Republicans varied by region. In New England Republicans gained 0.5 percent and in the North Atlantic states, 2.4 percent. The other regions where Republicans gained less than the national swing were in the West-North Central farm states and the Pacific West (including Hawaii and Alaska), where the gain was slightly less than 5 percent. Republicans made their greatest gains in the southern and border states, with a shift away from the Democrats of more than 8 percent. The mountain West, with 7.1 percent, and the East-North Central region, with 6.8 percent gains, were right behind. In sum, Republican congressional candidates benefited from a national swing to the party of about 6 percent, and the swing was strongest from the regions bordered by Montana and Nevada in the West and Ohio through North Carolina in the East.

Table 1.  
Popular Vote Swings and Seat Gains: 1946-1994

| Year | POP Gain in<br>Popular Vote from<br>Previous Election | POP Gain in<br>Seats from<br>Previous Election | Party Controlling<br>House after<br>Election |
|------|-------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1946 | 5.0%                                                  | 55                                             | Republican                                   |
| 1948 | -7.4%                                                 | -74                                            | Democratic                                   |
| 1950 | 2.7%                                                  | 28                                             | Democratic                                   |
| 1952 | 2.5%                                                  | 22                                             | Republican                                   |
| 1954 | -4.0%                                                 | -15                                            | Democratic                                   |
| 1956 | 2.1%                                                  | 0                                              | Democratic                                   |
| 1958 | -6.7%                                                 | -42                                            | Democratic                                   |
| 1960 | 2.8%                                                  | 22                                             | Democratic                                   |
| 1962 | 1.0%                                                  | 2                                              | Democratic                                   |
| 1964 | -5.0%                                                 | -36                                            | Democratic                                   |
| 1966 | 6.3%                                                  | 48                                             | Democratic                                   |
| 1968 | 0.2%                                                  | 5                                              | Democratic                                   |
| 1970 | -3.4%                                                 | -7                                             | Democratic                                   |
| 1972 | 1.9%                                                  | 15                                             | Democratic                                   |
| 1974 | -6.7%                                                 | -43                                            | Democratic                                   |
| 1976 | 1.7%                                                  | -2                                             | Democratic                                   |
| 1978 | 2.0%                                                  | 13                                             | Democratic                                   |
| 1980 | 3.3%                                                  | 33                                             | Democratic                                   |
| 1982 | -3.2%                                                 | -26                                            | Democratic                                   |
| 1984 | 3.8%                                                  | 15                                             | Democratic                                   |
| 1986 | -3.2%                                                 | -3                                             | Democratic                                   |
| 1988 | 0.7%                                                  | -2                                             | Democratic                                   |
| 1990 | -0.9%                                                 | -8                                             | Democratic                                   |
| 1992 | 1.2%                                                  | 10                                             | Democratic                                   |
| 1994 | 5.7%                                                  | 53                                             | Republican                                   |

Gaining votes does not, of course, always translate into gaining seats. The major impediment to translating votes into seats is the often-mentioned "incumbency phenomenon": that is, incumbent House members win re-election and do so with large margins—on average almost 70 percent of the vote. A swing of 6 percent to the Republicans in a district with a Democratic incumbent with 70 percent of the vote will not generate a new Republican seat. To analyze where Republicans gained seats, we need to look at the geographic distribution of Republican seat gains (see table 2). Going into the 1994 elections, the Republicans were the minority party in every region; coming out, they were the majority party in the three most populous regions. Republican gains in the Northeast were small—a pickup of only three seats. In contrast the Republicans gained 15 seats in the Midwest, 19 seats in the southern and border states, and 16 seats in the West, making them the majority in each of these three regions.

The major question is, what accounted for the Republican victory? Immediately following the election, pundits filled newspapers and television with interpretations of both the causes and the meaning of the Republican victory, prominent among which were incumbency, voter turnout, better Republican candidates, strong anti-Clinton policy reaction, and Perot voters going Republican. We now analyze each of these factors.

Table 2.  
Republican Gain in Seats from 1992 to 1994, by Region

| Region       | Seats | 1992 | 1994 | Gains '92-'94 |
|--------------|-------|------|------|---------------|
| Northeast    | 89    | 38   | 41   | 3             |
| Midwest      | 105   | 44   | 59   | 15            |
| South/border | 148   | 57   | 76   | 19            |
| West         | 93    | 38   | 54   | 16*           |
| Total        | 435   | 177  | 230  | 53            |

\*This number counts Susan Brooks (California 36) as the winner over Jane Harman (*National Journal*, November 12, 1994). Harman has since been named the winner.

## Incumbency

Political scientists have for some time accounted for Democratic control of the House by arguing that the best predictor of any House race is, if an incumbent is running, he or she will win. Between 1964 and 1992, more than 95 percent of incumbent House candidates have won. Thus we begin our analysis by

breaking down the 435 House districts by incumbency status.

The swing in popular vote does vary by incumbency status. Previous research has shown that incumbents have a personal vote that is independent of the partisanship in the district. When incumbents retire, their party's vote share declines (retirement slump), and in incumbents' first run for re-election, their vote total increases (sophomore surge). Over the last 20 years, retirement slump has averaged about 10 percent whereas sophomore surge has been about 8 percent.<sup>2</sup> Both figures were down in 1994, with slump at about 8 percent and sophomore surge at about half its average. The data in table 3 reflect these incumbent advantages. Swing to the Republicans was more than 7 percent in districts where senior incumbents were running, whereas the comparable figure for freshman Republicans (running for the first time as incumbents) was about 11 percent. Senior Democrats lost 5 percent on average, whereas freshman Democrats lost only about 3.1 percent, indicating a slight sophomore surge. Thus it is fair to say that, although incumbent members still retained a personal vote, it was somewhat reduced from previous years. One interesting phenomenon is that in open-seat districts (where the incumbent was not running for re-election) held by Democrats the swing to the Republicans was more than 12 percent; in Republican open seats there was almost a 7 percent swing to the Democrats. The only gains Democrats made in the House were in four Republican open seats; everywhere else they lost seats.

Table 3.  
Average Republican Vote Swing by Incumbency Status  
Between 1992 and 1994

| Party Holding<br>Seat Before<br>1994 Election | Freshman<br>Incumbent<br>Avg Vote<br>Swing (N) | Senior<br>Incumbent<br>Avg Vote<br>Swing (N) | Open Seats<br>Avg Vote<br>Swing (N) |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Democrat                                      | 3.1% (61)                                      | 5.0% (149)                                   | 12.4% (31)                          |
| Republican                                    | 10.8% (42)                                     | 7.4% (87)                                    | -6.5% (21)                          |

## Perot

Post-election analyses have pointed to exit polls showing that about two-thirds of self-identified Perot supporters voted for Republican congressional candidates. Exit polls do not, of course, distinguish between Republican- and Democratic-held districts. We divided the districts into open-Democrat and Democrat-incumbent running districts and computed the percentage of votes cast for Perot in 1992. In districts



taken from the Democrats, the Perot vote was about 21 percent; in districts held by Democrats, the comparable figures are slightly more than 16 percent. Thus, Perot did run slightly better in 1992 where Republicans made inroads in 1994, but the difference is not very large. When all factors are analyzed together (see table 6 below), the Perot factor appears to be relatively minor.

## Turnout

Those who argue that turnout determined the 1994 election results claim that the Democrats who voted for Clinton and other Democrats in 1992 did not turn out at the polls on election day and that Republicans did. Thus, the claim is that, where Republicans gained seats, Republican turnout was high. We looked at percent turnout in 1994 by open and incumbent Democratic districts to determine if that was the case. The results show that indeed, Republican turnout was higher where Republicans took seats from Democrats. In open-seat, changed districts, turnout was 40.9 percent; in changed incumbent districts, turnout was 40.1 percent. The comparable figures were 35.0 for nonchanged open districts and 35.1 percent for incumbent districts. Again this is compatible with some analysts' claims that turnout was a factor in the Republican victory. This result is suspect, however, because we are comparing districts that vary greatly by race, socioeconomic status, income, and so on. In short, turnout must be included in a multivariate statistical analysis because we need to know its effect while controlling for other relevant characteristics. In fact, the multivariate analyses described below show that turnout had virtually no impact on Republican seat gains.

## Better Candidates

Another explanation of why Republicans have not won control of the U.S. House is that Democrats have had better candidates. Professor Gary Jacobson of the University of California at San Diego has measured challenger quality for House elections since 1946 and shown that Republican candidates for Congress are not as experienced as their Democratic opponents. The Sunday after the election the *New York Times* featured an article claiming that the Republican victory was in part due to better Republican challengers and quoting Professor Jacobson's work. Professor Jacobson graciously provided us with his candidate experience data. Our analysis using his data for the 1994 election shows that in open districts won by Republicans, 50 percent of the victors were experienced whereas in open seats retained by Democrats only 11 percent of the

challengers were experienced. The same difference obtains in the incumbent-held seats, with 46 percent of seats won by Republican challengers with experience; in seats retained by the Democrats the comparable figure is 9 percent. Again our data are comparable with the challenger-quality thesis. Note, however, that, as in the case with the Perot and turnout variables, we need to ascertain where and under what conditions the quality of challengers makes a difference.

## The Clinton Factor and the 1994 Election

The final variable is in some sense the most important given the anti-Clinton interpretation of the election put forward by many commentators. As shown above, the swing to the Republicans across the country was significant, and some interpreted the swing as a reaction against President Clinton or his policies or both. One simple way to account for the Republican victory would be that the swing to Republicans caused the Democrats to lose in districts that were marginal. That is, if there were 50 or so districts where the winning Democrat in 1992 had won by 10 percent or less (a margin of victory less than 55 percent), then a 6 percent swing to the Republicans would make the Republican candidate the winner. For example, in a district where the Democrats had won with 54 percent (to 46 percent Republican) in 1992, a 6 percent swing would result in the vote being 52 percent Republican (46 percent + 6 percent) and 48 percent Democratic (54 percent - 6 percent). In sum, to see if an anti-Clinton mood caused Democrats to lose marginal districts, we need to look at the won and lost percentages by marginal 1992 totals (less than 55 percent Democratic in 1992) in open and incumbent Democratic districts (see table 4).

The results are instructive. Most of the Democratic incumbents who were defeated came from marginal seats, while Republican gains in open-seat races were equally likely to come from marginal and nonmarginal Democratic seats. In marginal Democratic seats with a running incumbent, almost half—45.9 percent—of the incumbents were defeated, while only 10.1 percent of running Democratic incumbents from nonmarginal seats were defeated. In contrast, Republicans won approximately 30 percent of the open Democratic seats regardless of whether these seats were marginal or not.

Table 4.  
Percentage of Republican Victories in Seats  
with Democratic Incumbents

| 1992 Democratic<br>Vote Percentage | Incumbency Status    |              |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------|
|                                    | Running<br>Incumbent | Open<br>Seat |
| Marginal (less than 55%)           | 45.9%                | 30.0%        |
| Nonmarginal (more than 55%)        | 10.1%                | 29.6%        |

What could account for the difference between open and incumbent-held seats? In open seats, the Republican and Democratic candidates are on an equal footing. Neither has a House voting record to defend. Given President Clinton's low popularity ratings and the national swing against him and his party, it is likely that in districts where the Clinton vote in 1992 was lowest (conservative to moderate constituencies) Republican candidates would run against Clinton, rather than against their Democratic opponents' voting records. In more liberal districts, such as Michigan's 13th or Pennsylvania's 2nd, where Clinton received more than 60 percent of the vote, running against Clinton would not be as potent a factor. The result is striking. In every Democrat-held open seat where Clinton got less than 47 percent of the 1992 vote (22 total), the Republicans won. In contrast, in every seat held by the Democrats (nine), Clinton got more than 50 percent of the 1992 vote. In short, in conservative-to-moderate open Democratic seats, Republican candidates, by making Clinton and his policies the issue, were victorious (moreover, Democratic candidates in these districts tried to distance themselves from Clinton).

A few examples from *Congressional Quarterly's* pre-election issue make our point. In North Carolina's 2nd district, the Republican winner, David Funderburk, linked his Democratic opponent to Clinton's policies. In North Carolina's 5th district *Congressional Quarterly* said, "Here again, the Clinton card is played early and often. Richard Burr claims Sandy Sands (Dem.) is just like Clinton. David McIntosh (Rep.) [in Indiana's 2nd district] has focused almost exclusively on Clinton. His first ads criticized Clinton on crime, health care, welfare reform and the budget. Matt Salmon (Rep.) [in Arizona's 1st district] has aired an ad similar to those seen in other states in which a computer 'morphs' a photo of Chuck Blanchard (Dem.) into Clinton. [In response] Blanchard has sought to distance himself from Clinton. In Tennessee's 3rd, when the Democrat, Randy Button, tried to make Republican Zach Wamp's conservatism the issue, Wamp retorted, 'this race is not about him [Button] but about Clinton and his Democratic agenda.' "And so it went across the open seats taken by Republicans. In

sum, it seems clear that, in the 22 open-seat races captured by the Republicans, a strong anti-Clinton swing away from Democrats accounts for the Republican gains.

Republicans took 35 seats from incumbent Democrats, and there must be a different explanation for these losses than for open seats. With Democratic incumbents running for re-election, Republican candidates could use the incumbent's voting record as a campaign issue. As many commentators have noted, the president campaigned in 1992 as a moderate Democrat and, once elected, proposed a legislative agenda that in many respects was on the left of the political spectrum. For the many congressional Democratic incumbents from relatively liberal districts, voting for the president's policies was not a risky venture because the president's policies were in accord with their constituents' preferences. Consider, for example, Julian Dixon, an eighteen-term Democrat from California's 32nd district. In the 1992 presidential election, an overwhelming 86 percent of the vote in that district went to President Clinton. Congressman Dixon supported the president's legislative agenda 94 percent of the time and advertised this loyalty en route to an easy re-election.

For many other Democrats, especially those representing more conservative districts, the choice was more difficult: vote for a decidedly liberal legislative agenda, and risk offending constituents, or vote against the party leadership. Those who decided to support the president's legislative agenda risked providing Republican challengers with an obvious line of attack. Take the case of Neal Smith, who represented Iowa's 4th district for 36 years. In 1992, the 4th district cast only 53 percent of its vote for candidate Bill Clinton. In the ensuing two years, Congressman Smith supported the president 93 percent of the time. He paid dearly for his voting record; after 17 successful re-election races, he was defeated in 1994.

Many Democrats tried to distance themselves from the president and their voting records by emphasizing those occasions when they voted against the president's program. Freshman Ohio Rep. David Mann is a case in point. Congressman Mann represents the 4th district, a marginally Democratic district that has a 30-year history of contested congressional elections, that split its vote in the 1992 presidential elections evenly between George Bush and Bill Clinton, and that gave George Bush a 10 percentage point vote margin in the 1988 presidential election. Despite the district's middle-of-the-road position, Congressman Mann voted with the president 81 percent of the time. During the campaign, however, he repeatedly stressed his opposition to the president's agenda. As one of his campaign ads put it: "Clinton and the congressional



leadership's tax increase—against. Clinton and the leadership's pork barrel program—against. Clinton government takeover of health care—against." Despite these claims of opposition, Mann lost his re-election bid.

These anecdotal pieces aside, the question still remains, how important was support for the president's legislative agenda in contributing to the large loss of Democratic seats among incumbents in the House? The claim is that support for the president's policies affects election results differentially depending on districts' characters and that the more moderate to conservative the district, the more a high pro-Clinton voting record hurts.

The claims turn out to be true. Where Clinton ran poorly in 1992, Democratic incumbents with pro-Clinton voting records in Congress were much more likely to be defeated than those with lower levels of presidential support (see table 5). In districts where Clinton got less than 40 percent of the vote in 1992 (conservative districts), the higher the incumbent's pro-Clinton voting record, the greater the percentage of defeats. Only 17 percent of incumbents with a low presidential support score (less than 60 percent) were defeated, whereas 75 percent of those with a pro-Clinton voting record (greater than 75 percent) were defeated. In districts where Clinton got 40 to 50 percent of the 1992 vote (moderate districts), the percentage of incumbents' losing is lower than in the conservative districts, but the higher the pro-Clinton voting record, the higher the probability of an incumbent being defeated. Where Clinton did well in 1992—winning a clear majority of the total vote—only one Democrat was defeated.

**Table 5.**  
**Relationship between 1992 Clinton Vote,**  
**1993 Rollcall Support for Clinton Program,**  
**and 1994 Democratic Defeat Rates**

| Incumbent's 1993<br>Congressional Quarterly<br>Presidential<br>Support Score | 1992 Clinton Vote in District* |          |                  |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------|------------------|
|                                                                              | Less than<br>40%               | 40%-50%  | More than<br>50% |
| Less than 60%                                                                | 17% (5)                        | 0% (4)   | 0% (1)           |
| 60% to 75%                                                                   | 31% (16)                       | 19% (3)  | 0% (10)          |
| More than 75%                                                                | 75% (28)                       | 29% (75) | 1% (84)          |

\* Entries are percentage of Democratic incumbents in each category who were defeated in 1994. The number in parentheses is the total number of Democratic incumbents who were seeking re-election.

## Statistical Analysis

To obtain a clearer picture of the importance of members' voting records and to pinpoint the effects of other factors in the sizable loss of House Democratic Party seats, we use statistical methods that allow us to compare several possible factors simultaneously. The statistical procedure, which is analogous to standard regression analysis,<sup>4</sup> enables us to isolate what effects members' voting records and other factors have on the likelihood of a Republican challenger beating a Democratic incumbent.

The primary data used for our statistical analysis consist of all 214 House seats held by Democratic incumbents who sought re-election.<sup>5</sup> Later, to test the robustness of our key finding, we enlarge our sample to include the 31 open House seats from which incumbent Democrats retired before the 1994 elections.

The variable we are seeking to explain is the Democratic incumbent being defeated by a Republican challenger. To explain this electoral outcome, we have included three variables that serve as controls for the characteristics of voters in the district: the percentage of the district's 1992 presidential election total vote for Ross Perot, and the district's voter turnout in the 1994 House race. As an additional control, we have also included whether the Republican challenger had any prior electoral experience. We have assigned this variable a value of one if the Republican challenger had held any elective office before the 1994 election and zero otherwise.

Incumbents' voting records are measured by the *Congressional Quarterly's* presidential support score, which measures the degree of support for the president's agenda. This score is based on voting for the president on 102 votes including motor voter, striker replacement, grazing fees, the budget, abortion rights, crime, general support for the president's position (see table 6). In column 2, table 6, we see the impact of each variable on the probability of the Republican challenger's winning the House seat and in column 3, the standard error of the estimated impact.

As our earlier discussion emphasized, the importance of the incumbent's voting record in influencing his or her election outcome can only be assessed in conjunction with voter preferences in the incumbent's district. The percentage of the district's vote for President Clinton serves as a measure of voter sentiment in favor of "Bill Clinton, the candidate." As a candidate, President Clinton campaigned on a platform of promises that appealed to a large number of voters in the middle of the political spectrum. These moderate-to-conservative policies included requiring welfare

recipients to work, reducing taxes for middle-income families, shrinking the size of the federal bureaucracy, and lowering health care costs by encouraging competition through managed-care systems. The higher the district's 1992 electoral vote for candidate Clinton, the greater are voter preferences for these moderate policies.

**Table 6.**  
**Variables Affecting the Probabilities of a Republican**  
**Challenger Winning a House Seat**

| Variable                          | Impact of<br>Variable | Standard<br>Error |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Presidential election vote        | -16.3%                | 4.08              |
| Incumbent's voting record         | 11.6%                 | 2.33              |
| Perot vote                        | 12.4%                 | 3.35              |
| Voter turnout                     | -0.6%                 | 12.00             |
| Challenger's electoral experience | 18.7%                 | 14.03             |

NOTE: Coefficients are maximum likelihood estimates of the impact of each variable on the probability that the Republican challenger will defeat the incumbent Democrat, evaluated at the simple means. The coefficients of the variables in the probit equations are displayed in appendix A along with auxiliary statistics for the likelihood function.

Thus, the likelihood that a Republican challenger would capture a congressional seat is inversely related to that district's support for President Clinton, the candidate (see table 6). A 10 percentage point rise in the vote for President Clinton in 1992 is associated with a 16 percentage point decrease in the probability that the seat would turn Republican.<sup>6</sup>

The coefficient on the presidential support variable captures the *partial* effect of voting for the president's program, *holding constant the initial degree of support for the president's campaign promises*. This interpretation is crucial, for using this presidential support variable in conjunction with the district's 1992 vote for president isolates the impact on Democratic incumbents of voting for the president's legislative program. If Democratic incumbents' voting records harmed their chances of re-election, we would expect the coefficient on presidential support to be positive.

Our statistical analysis shows that, indeed, the greater the Democratic incumbent's support for the president's legislative program, the higher the probability that the Republican challenger would win the seat. The estimated impact is significant from a statistical standpoint and quantitatively important. A 10 percentage point increase in presidential support increases the likelihood that the seat will go Republican by 11.6 percent.

It is possible that our presidential support variable is capturing the effects of factors other than a rejection of Democratic incumbents' voting records. For example, we may be capturing the effects of generalized voter anger with the president's party because of the policies he has been pursuing. As a check on this possibility, we also analyzed the 31 open-seat races in which the Democratic incumbent chose not to stand for re-election. Using both types of race, we re-estimated our equations, allowing the retiring Democrat's voting record to have an independent effect on likelihood that the open seat turned Republican. If voters were expressing their opposition to actual voting records, then we should not find any relationship because the Democratic candidate did not cast these votes. Evidence of a relationship, by contrast, would suggest that voters were expressing more generalized opposition.

Our statistical results show no evidence that retiring Democratic incumbents' voting records harmed the prospects of Democratic candidates seeking to replace them. To be more precise, holding constant support for the president in the 1992 election, there is no statistical relationship between retiring Democratic incumbents' presidential support score and the probability that the Democratic candidate seeking to replace him or her fails.

This result considerably strengthens our finding that Democratic incumbents' voting records contributed importantly to the dramatic loss in House seats. The more that incumbents from moderate-to-conservative districts supported the president's liberal agenda, the worse were their re-election prospects.

To illustrate the quantitative importance of our finding, we use the statistical results to estimate the probabilities that Democratic incumbents with high presidential support scores (80 percent) would lose re-election in three different districts (see table 7). The districts are identified as conservative, moderate, or liberal depending on the degree of the district's support for Clinton in the 1992 election. In the conservative district, voting with the president was extremely costly in that an incumbent Democrat who consistently voted with the president (80 percent of the time) had only a 48 percent chance of being re-elected. In contrast, an incumbent with the same voting record but who represented a liberal district had a 76 percent chance of holding on to his or her seat.



Table 7.

**Democratic Incumbents' Re-election Probabilities**

| District Type | Re-election Probability |
|---------------|-------------------------|
| Conservative  | 47.7%                   |
| Moderate      | 62.8%                   |
| Liberal       | 76.2%                   |

With these results in hand, we attempted to determine if there were crucial votes that contributed to the Republican landslide. If any single vote mattered, we expected that it would be the vote on the 1993 Budget Resolution because it was the hardest fought and most ideological battle of Clinton's first two years. The results show that a vote in favor of the president's budget had a significant negative impact on incumbents' chances of re-election. Put another way, where Clinton received less than 40 percent of the total vote in 1992 and the incumbent supported the president on the budget in 1993, 70 percent of such Democratic incumbents were defeated. In similar districts where the incumbent voted against the budget resolution, only 30 percent lost.<sup>7</sup>

We also examined the effects of votes taken on several other prominent issues—gays in the military, the Hyde amendment to prohibit federal funding for abortion except in cases involving incest and when the life of the mother is in danger, and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The only other vote for which we found weak statistical evidence of an effect (and it was weak) was the Hyde amendment. The other votes do not seem to have affected the election results.

The coefficient on the variable measuring candidate experience among Republican challengers is positive and significant. As with our earlier finding—that the more experienced Republican challengers were more likely to defeat their incumbent opponents than inexperienced candidates—these results show that having previous electoral experience increased a Republican challenger's probability of unseating the Democratic incumbent by a sizable 23 percent. In view of the fact that, in the 1994 House races, the Republican Party fielded fewer candidates with prior electoral experience than they did in 1992, their sizable gains are even more striking.

The effect of voter turnout, measured by the fraction of the voting-age population that cast votes in House elections in 1994, is small and not statistically significant. Even if the estimated impact had been two standard deviations larger, its quantitative impact would have been negligible. Hence, we conclude that voter turnout in 1994 was by itself an unimportant factor in influencing the House elections.<sup>8</sup> Finally, the estimated

impact of the Perot vote is that it increased the likelihood that Democratic incumbents would lose, but the effect is quantitatively small and not statistically reliable. Considerable attention had been paid to the Perot vote by the popular press, with the sizable Republican gains in the House attributed at least in part to Perot voters. It is unclear, however, what importance should be attached to those attributions. The real questions regarding Perot voters are whether or not the act of becoming a Perot voter caused the person to cast a vote, when in the absence of a Perot opinion he would not have done so, or whether the act of becoming a Perot voter altered the way the voter cast her ballot. If the 68 percent of Perot voters who cast ballots for Republicans in the House would otherwise not have voted or would have punched the Democrats' ticket, it means one thing. It means something else entirely if that 68 percent would not have voted for George Bush had Ross Perot not been around in 1992. The low reliability of the coefficient and the conceptual problem of understanding exactly what a Perot vote means lead us to conclude that the Perot effect was at best marginal.

**Conclusion**

The Republican takeover of the House of Representatives in 1994 came as a surprise to most election observers. In this essay we sought to account for the election results using the explanations most frequently put forward—shifts by Perot voters, differential turnout, and anti-incumbent sentiment. It is, of course, too early to tell whether the vote shifts in this election will be permanent, but it is difficult to see how Democrats will be able to reverse Republican gains in conservative areas. Incumbency advantages and campaigns focused on local issues allowed Democratic incumbents to survive in districts that had been voting Republican at the presidential level for some time. Clinton did better in these areas in 1992 than other recent Democratic presidential candidates (presumably because he was a Southerner running against an incumbent in a weak economy), but it does not appear that there was any fundamental ideological shift in 1992. In fact, support for the Clinton agenda turned out to be costly for many Democratic incumbents from marginal districts. The losing Democratic incumbents, ironically, tended to be relatively moderate or even conservative ideologically (though apparently not conservative enough for their districts). With the loss of these moderates, the Democratic caucus in the House will be more liberal in 1995-96 than it was in 1993-94.

The difficulty facing Democratic congressional candidates from moderate and conservative districts in

the South and West is clear. Democratic challengers will not only be running against Republican incumbents (the incumbency advantage is now with the Republicans), but they will have to distance themselves even farther from the liberal image of congressional Democrats. In many of the districts captured by Republicans in 1994, Democrats will find this a difficult task.

**Appendix A**  
**Maximum Likelihood Probit Estimates of**  
**Probability that a Republican Challenger Will Win**

| Variable                          | Coefficient | Standard Error |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| Constant term                     | -0.41       | 1.57           |
| Presidential election vote        | -0.08       | 0.02           |
| Voting record                     | 0.03        | 0.02           |
| Challenger's electoral experience | 0.04        | 0.03           |
| Voter turnout                     | -0.00       | 0.02           |
| Perot vote                        | 1.00        | 0.27           |
| Log likelihood                    |             | -67.5          |
| Percent correctly predicted       |             | 84%            |
| Number of observations            |             | 224            |

NOTE: Sample includes only seats held by Democratic party incumbents.

**Notes**

1. The most accurate forecast we are aware of was made by Martin Anderson, who predicted, publicly and frequently, a Republican pickup of 46 House seats.
2. John R. Alford and David W. Brady, "Personal and Partisan Advantages in U.S. House Elections, 1846-1996," in Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered*, 5th ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1993), pp. 141-57.
3. We used district-level support for Michael Dukakis in 1988 as a measure of a district's preferences and obtained similar results. The idea is that the higher the support for either Dukakis or Clinton, the more liberal the district. In this essay, we use the Clinton vote.
4. The statistical method is called *probit analysis*. Appendix A contains the actual probit estimates.
5. This excludes one new Democratic member for whom we did not have voting data.
6. The magnitude of the impact of a change in any of the explanatory variables depends on the levels of the remaining explanatory variables. In all our calculations, we have evaluated the impact at the mean values of the explanatory variables.

7. The relationship is largely the result of the fact that the best predictor of a high presidential support score is a probudget vote.

8. We also used the difference in turnout from 1992 to 1994 because it could be argued that, where the falloff was greatest, the Republicans would do best. Not only were the results insignificant, but the sign of the coefficient was wrong.



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
7-5-95

# Give Weld two thumbs up

**DERRICK Z. JACKSON**

Republicans must wonder if Gov. Weld is as deluded as Francis Sargent. Sargent was the Republican governor of Massachusetts who lowered the State House stars and stripes to half staff in 1970 at the request of protesters against the killing of students at Kent State and the war in Vietnam.

"I thought it was a reasonable request and I granted it," Sargent said. "I think I did the wise thing, and I think I'd do it again tomorrow if the circumstances were the same."

In a party whose presidential timber would exterminate affirmative action without considering whether the act was reasonable, Weld is playing the iconoclast.

In his commencement speech Saturday to graduates of Northeastern University, Weld said, "I believe our society today needs to give a little nudge to make sure we are all sitting at the same table in 2010, enjoying the fruits of our economic pie. Indeed, I suggest that if all groups are sitting at the table, that will make the pie bigger. ... There's no reason why government shouldn't give this nudge. ... The nudge I've been talking about goes by the name of affirmative action."

Just a few weeks ago, Weld looked like just another reactionary retrograde. His state office for affirmative action has a budget of only \$151,335, compared with \$507,000 in 1988 under Gov. Dukakis. He called for a review of affirmative action. Top aide Martin Linsky sent Weld a memo that recommended that affirmative action include disadvantaged white people and "blow up" the state office that certifies contractors of color and women's business firms. Linsky suggested that companies that seek contracts under affirmative action programs be subject to a

five-year time limit.

Then came Saturday. To be sure, Weld did not mention any specifics. But his broad rhetoric was stronger than that of any nationally known Republican and was stunningly more progressive than that of President Clinton. Clinton, who won 86 percent of the African-American vote and 63 percent of the women's vote, recently said: "This is, psychologically, a difficult time for the so-called angry white males. Even though they may have started ahead, most of them are now working harder for less money than they were 15 years ago."

On Monday, Weld, in a telephone interview, said he studied the data on affirmative action during his recent vacation in the Adirondacks. He found the rationale for white-male suffering quite wanting. White Americans, and white males in particular, hold a disproportionate share of valued jobs.

"I've listened to the claims and assertions for six months about this terrible resentment of white males," Weld said. "Now that I've listened and studied it, I'm not buying it. These are phony assertions. The bottom line is that blacks are twice as unemployed as whites. ... You have a pretty crushing rationale" for affirmative action, "and all the arguments against it you should discard."

Asked about the desire of some GOP colleagues, such as presidential candidate Phil Gramm, to eliminate affirmative action by executive order, Weld said: "No one can honestly say that everybody right now has a fair opportunity. ... It's an alluring idea that with the stroke of a pen you can get rid of group preference. I believe, however, the best way to get there is by including everybody in."

Weld said he was also moved by a meeting he had with top-ranking African-American Republicans and Fletcher and Benaree Wiley. Both Wileys are active in politics and civic affairs. Fletcher heads the Boston Chamber of Commerce. Fletcher Wiley has said that time limits



ELAINE CHAMBERLAIN ILLUSTRATION

on affirmative action are "preposterous" when discrimination is still alive.

"I had a pretty candid conversation with Flash and Bennie," Weld said. "They're old friends. When people like them say that when you're a minority contractor and you have to be twice as good, you've got to listen."

Anyone who is for affirmative action has to give Weld two thumbs up not just for listening, but for speaking out more forcefully than Clinton. Come to think of it, we should send him back to the Adirondacks so he can learn to also discard the phony assertions that have led him to bash welfare moms and call for more prisons than schools.

But let us not quibble. For now, Weld has given more of a boost to affirmative action than any conservative politician to date. He has declared that in a nation where opportunity is unequal, affirmative action is a most reasonable request.

Given the seething attacks on affirmative action in the GOP, Weld has achieved the 1990s equivalent of lowering the flag to half staff. We should let him know he did the wise thing.

Derrick Z. Jackson is a Globe columnist.

# It's big-hearted Republicanism

**DAVID NYHAN**

Gov. Weld gave a big-picture speech on affirmative action at the Northeastern commencement that was generous of spirit, philosophically sophisticated and politically sound.

In a party that has shut its eyes to Abe Lincoln and embraced the Southern strategy conceived by Richard Nixon three decades back, Weld reestablished the credentials of principled Yankee Republicanism that has withered since the sway of men like Henry Cabot Lodge, Leverett Saltonstall, Frank Sargent, Elliot Richardson.

Our New Age Abe retreated to his Adirondacks aerie to craft the I-love-affirmative-action speech that separates the governor from virtually every other major Republican figure. With the GOP triumph last fall built largely on the votes of whites riled by taxes, welfare and liberal social policies, the GOP has been running right hard.

Dismantling affirmative action in California is the centerpiece of the presidential campaign being mounted - with Weld's enthusiastic support - by Gov. Pete Wilson of California, who rode the anti-immigrant tide unleashed by Prop. 187 to reelection in California last year.

So Weld surprised most everyone by uncorking a solid defense of the principle of helping minorities and women overcome institutionalized barriers to employment and advancement. He dressed it up with some of his libertarian economic voodoo. And he carefully avoided the manholes - no pun intended - that swallow up implementers of specific, detailed affirmative action remedies.

But it was a big-hearted, big-concept, here's-where-I-stand speech by our Guv. And as a fellow who leans toward the rabbit punch when dissecting Weldian motivations, I take my hat off to him. Speaking of hats, Bill, where'd you get the lid you wore during the speech? The photo in the Globe had Weld pounding his index finger into the podium whilst wearing a blob of velvet.

But enough about the chapeau, and some speculation about what underlies said cloche: the gubernatorial brain pan. What gives?

"One thing about Weld," said Chuck Campion, a veteran Democratic politico. "He always catches you. The guy says what he believes in as every other Republican is running the other way. He's got the guts to do it. There is something there."

You just wish it were there 40 hours a week."

I may not go as far as some of the rush-to-Rushmore editorial reaction; Weld came out for the principle of affirmative action but deftly avoided any specifics, such as whether his administration will deep-six minority set-asides.

It would be very surprising if he does not in fact begin to trim some of the bureaucratic excesses of the noble principle he spent last Saturday extolling.

Bill Clinton and the Democratic Party are undergoing their own sort of hold-your-horses-and-let's-take-another-look-at-this rethink of affirmative action in action, if not in principle.

Affirmative action is a government policy that seems to carry an expiration date, like cartons of milk. "Sell by the next election" seems to be the product label on this concept, particularly since last November's Republican resurrection dragged back onto the discussion table all the stuff we'd thought we'd shelved in the Clinton election: abortion, affirmative action, property rights, gun control, sex education, blah blah, all the stuff that pokes through the rubble of the previous election.

Those social issues emerge like weeds once the economic imperative of hard times is beaten back into its cave. Clinton won on economics, tried to govern on economics, got sidetracked by a thousand and one distractions, and the economy roars on, almost unintended, while politicians beat their gums about movie sex and CD lyrics.

Gov. Weld has been a cheerful participant in the pander-to-the-public game. His hairy-chested sternum-thumping on taxes and capital punishment and welfare in the last election eminently qualifies him as a political pitchman who knows his voters. He even winks as he does it, which helps explain the cozy treatment he enjoys from his largely docile State House press corps.

It's hard to take a chap to task for demagoguery when you know he doesn't really believe it, because he has conveyed, by messenger and even murmured asides, that, heck, you know, he's just doing such-and-such because he has to, but he'd much rather be spearing pickerel or aiming the old AK-47 on Bambi's uncle out at the lodge with a few of the boys and a barrel of barleycorn.

But this one was vintage Weld; the man has a real brain, plus the platform, and it's a pleasure to see him wed ability to opportunity for a change.

David Nyhan is a Globe columnist.

BOSTON GLOBE 6-21-95



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
7-5-95

*[Handwritten signature]*

The United States has important strategic and humanitarian interests in Bosnia: to prevent the spread of the conflict, to help limit the loss of life and to keep faith with our NATO Allies who have troops on the ground there. That is why the U.S. led efforts by NATO to lift the siege of Sarajevo last year; has conducted the longest humanitarian airlift in history; has participated in enforcing the No-fly zone; has deployed peacekeeping troops to neighboring Macedonia; and has led diplomatic efforts to find a peaceful solution to this bitter conflict. And that is why we support the protection and strengthening of UNPROFOR, which helped reduce deaths among Bosnian civilians from 130,000 in 1992 to less than 3,000 in 1994.

For all its problems, if UNPROFOR withdraws -- either on its own or especially because of an American action like unilaterally lifting the arms embargo -- the humanitarian crisis would worsen; we would either have to send U.S. troops temporarily to help UNPROFOR get out or leave our Allies in the lurch; and the Europeans could then give us primary responsibility for that conflict. We would face the choice of walking away or committing ourselves to military intervention in the conflict. Such a venture, to succeed, could require American ground troops in the conflict, something neither the President nor our people want to see.

So the wisest immediate course is this: support the RRF and work for a peaceful settlement.

**Congress of the United States**  
Washington, DC 20515



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7.5.95

June 29, 1995

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to respond to your decision to provide U.S. funds, material, transportation, and close air support in support of the deployment of the European Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) to Bosnia and Herzegovina. By doing so, your administration has essentially dismissed the serious concerns we expressed in our June 15 letter to you.

We are displeased by your administration's decision to disregard our strong opposition to funding the RRF through U.N. assessments and to acquiesce to partial funding -- of approximately \$35 million for six months -- through U.N. assessments. In addition to acquiescing in additional assessed contributions, your administration is proposing to provide \$60 million in assistance from the Department of Defense. Under current circumstances, we oppose the provision of this assistance and the exercise of any authorities to waive application of relevant provisions of law. The use of special authorities to draw down defense resources without congressional approval is not what we envisioned in our June 15 letter. Use of such special authorities to circumvent the will of Congress is likely to lead to restriction and limitation of these authorities in future legislation.

Of greater concern than the decision to provide more resources to a bloated and failed operation is the apparent decision to subject U.S. military personnel to greater risks than are necessary. We cannot understand the Administration's acquiescence in the decision by General Janvier -- subsequently reaffirmed by U.N. Secretary General Boutros-Ghali -- to veto the request by Admiral Leighton Smith to attack Bosnian Serb targets, including air defenses, around Banja Luka which threaten U.S. and NATO air crews in Operation Deny Flight. According to U.N. and U.S. officials, the RRF will operate under the same conditions and mandate as UNPROFOR. We are extremely disturbed that you have decided to provide close air support to the RRF in light of these inherently flawed and dangerous command arrangements.

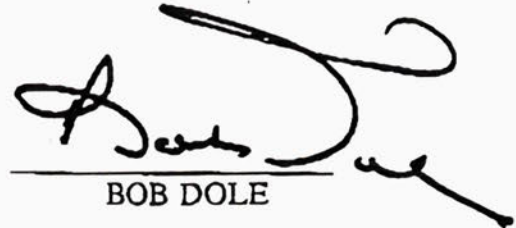
We believe that it is unconscionable for U.S. air crews -- or any other U.S. military personnel -- to be subjected to greater risks than are necessary because of the political sensitivities of U.N. bureaucrats. As such, it is essential that the rules of engagement be immediately reviewed and amended to allow preemptive actions to suppress threats should such measures be necessary. Anything less would unnecessarily risk American lives.



Mr. President, it is our view that U.S. funding for and participation in supporting the RRF is ill-conceived. In Congressional briefings on the RRF late yesterday, the most fundamental questions could not be answered -- questions about the mission, goals, and standards for measuring progress. Furthermore, Administration officials indicated the RRF deployment would not measurably affect UNPROFOR's ability or willingness to implement the mandate given them by the Security Council, in particular, the protection of U.N. designated safe havens and enforcement of the weapons exclusion zones in conjunction with NATO. Recent developments further highlight a hopelessly incompetent operation. In our view, it is time to terminate funding for the entire UNPROFOR operation. Enough is enough -- the Bosnian people, our military personnel, and the U.S. taxpayer deserve better.

Sincerely,

  
NEWT GINGRICH

  
BOB DOLE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-5-95

To K McGinty  
Fry - PC



## ARTICLE

### **Designing Environmental Policies for a More Competitive Electricity Industry**

Although the electricity industry produces less than 3 percent of the output of the economy, it accounts for more than one-third of both greenhouse gas emissions and nitrogen dioxide emissions (a precursor of ozone smog). It also accounts for three-fourths of the nation's sulfur dioxide emissions (although these emissions will fall sharply in the future due to limits imposed by the Clean Air Act).

Federal and state regulators have responded to this environmental impact by attempting to influence the type of generating capacity that is built, and by promoting energy conservation through a variety of programs collectively known as demand-side management programs. For example, a state regulator may mandate that utilities under its jurisdiction subsidize the purchase of fluorescent light bulbs, or offer rebates on the installation of energy-efficient windows. Demand-side management programs are one way of addressing the problem that many households fail to invest in cost-effective energy-saving technology. Such programs have also probably helped redress the fact that, under the prevailing regulatory regime (which is based on a cost-plus-type approach), utilities have a financial incentive to build too much capacity.

**The challenge of industry reorganization.** The advent of competition to the electrical utility industry will render many current conservation and clean technology programs impossible to implement. Requirements for the use of certain types of generating technology will become more difficult to enforce as unregulated electricity generators take a larger share of the market, and in any event, these requirements work contrary to the goal of restructuring. Mandates for financing customer conservation and the use of cleaner technologies could be maintained by imposing them on the distribution network, which will in all likelihood remain a regulated monopoly, but this would concentrate costs on a smaller share of the industry. It is an indication of the complexity of these issues that California, which has been a forerunner both in mandating conservation and alternative technologies and in proposing a restructuring of the industry, has not yet developed a clear plan for how environmental issues associated with restructuring should be addressed.

However, in many respects, the demise of current conservation and clean technology programs would represent an opportunity for achieving improved efficiency while protecting the environment. In many cases, these programs are excessively costly, even taking account of the environmental benefits they deliver. For example, many states effectively mandate the purchase of electricity from alternative suppliers at inflated prices even though this is contrary to the intent of the relevant authorizing legislation. There also are debates about the cost-effectiveness of conservation programs under the current regulatory regime.



Critics argue that these programs may be much more costly than is commonly thought. It may also be that the capacity such programs displace is new, clean generating plant rather than older, dirtier plant.

**Appropriate pricing is crucial.** Fortunately, the environmental goals of Federal and state conservation and technology programs can be achieved in other (often more efficient) ways even as the restructuring of the industry goes forward. Appropriate supply and demand decisions can be encouraged by ensuring that consumers pay prices that reflect the full cost to society of generating electricity, including the cost of environmental damage. One efficient means of achieving full-cost pricing is to create regional emissions trading programs that cover all relevant generation sources (as EPA and the states are attempting to do in a number of locations). Emissions trading programs represent a market-oriented mechanism for rewarding utilities that invest in cleaner technology. These programs can be complemented with information campaigns and state conservation subsidies that are targeted, for example, to lower-income households that are less likely to make energy-efficient purchases. They can also be complemented by continued support for research on renewable energy technologies (a program targeted for severe cuts in the Republican budget proposals).

**Policy issues.** At the Federal level, the most immediate issue is the fate of the 1978 Public Utilities Regulatory Policies Act (PURPA). The original objectives of this Act were to guarantee more open access to the utility grid system and to promote the development of environmentally friendly alternative energy sources (such as waste heat industrial cogenerators and plants operated with renewable resources like solar energy and municipal waste). The Act attempts to accomplish these objectives by requiring utilities to purchase the electrical output of certain "qualifying facilities" (mainly cogenerators and renewables users) at a certain price known in the trade as "full avoided cost" (roughly speaking, a price that reflects both the capital and operating costs the utility would have to pay in order to produce the electricity itself from a new plant).

Critics of PURPA argue that under the new competitive regime, access will not be a problem, and full-cost pricing and technology R&D represent more cost-effective mechanisms for encouraging the development and adoption of environmentally friendly approaches to electricity generation than does PURPA. However, many supporters of PURPA, while acknowledging problems of implementation that have caused economic distortions, argue that the basic requirements set out by the Act should be retained until restructuring of the industry is more advanced, environmental concerns have been addressed, and support for renewable energy technologies has been assured.



✓  
Paul  
Lewin  
Br

Tax Reform: State of Play

Congressional Proposals

The Republicans intend to make tax reform a major issue in the forthcoming Presidential campaign. But it is **highly unlikely** that there will be any serious effort to enact a fundamental tax reform proposal before 1997.

Proposals that have been presented thus far would **replace** the individual and corporate income taxes with some form of **consumption tax**. These include the Unlimited Savings Account (USA) tax of Senators Nunn and Domenici, the flat tax proposals of Representative Armer and Senator Spector, and sales tax proposals by Representatives Gibbons and Senator Lugar.

Ways and Means Chairman Archer has proposed replacing the entire income tax with a national sales tax and claimed his reforms will take the IRS out of people's lives. But he has not specified how the sales tax would be collected (e.g., retail sales or value added) or what items would be exempt. It appears he will use attacks on the IRS as a campaign issue, **without specifying details of his own proposal**.

Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich have appointed a Commission headed by Jack Kemp to develop a tax reform plan by **September 1995**. The Kemp Commission is expected to endorse some variant of the Armer flat tax, but without complete details.

Minority Leader Gephardt and Senator Bradley favor maintaining a progressive income tax with a much broader tax base and lower tax rates. **Gephardt's proposal** may be made public as early as the **first week of July**. Bradley is developing a separate proposal.

Broad Tax Policy Approaches

Any changes in the tax law should maintain revenue and keep the tax system as progressive as current law, simplify the tax system by reducing costs of compliance and administration, and promote saving and economic growth.

One alternative is to **simplify the existing income tax**. This can be accomplished by proposals that alter the tax law to reduce the number of taxpayers who must file returns, allow more taxpayers file simpler forms (Forms 1040EZ and 1040A), reduce recordkeeping requirements, and simplify complex calculations, while minimizing losses in revenue and fairness. (For example, a proposal to allow taxpayers to exclude \$500,000 of gain from the sale of a home would reduce recordkeeping requirements the need for many people to keep track of amounts spent on home improvements. Proposals to allow certain tax credits to be claimed against the individual alternative minimum tax (AMT) would eliminate the need for complex calculations to determine whether the credits make an

taxpayer liable for the AMT and to compute AMT liability. Similar adjustment could be made for the corporate AMT.) These proposals could be viewed as **minimal** because they would basically maintain the existing tax system.

Some Members of Congress and commentators support **radical tax reform** that would keep a progressive tax system, but drastically lower tax rates without losing revenue by removing widely used deductions and exclusions.

Three generic types of radical tax reform approaches have been discussed.

- . Radical **income tax reform**, which would keep a progressive income tax, but with much lower tax rates and a broader tax base (by, for example, eliminating itemized deductions;

- . Substituting a **national sales tax** for the income tax for most taxpayers, but keeping progressivity by maintaining an income tax on high income taxpayers and expanding refundable credits to offset the effect of the tax on low-income families;

- . Introducing a **modified flat tax**, as proposed by Representative Armey, but including income from capital (dividends, interest, and capital gains) in the tax base and imposing a surtax on high income returns.



## QUESTIONS ON TAX REFORM

1. What tax policy principles do we stand for? Some possibilities are:
  - . Reducing taxpayer compliance burdens
  - . Maintaining revenue and progressivity
  - . Eliminating outmoded economic incentives
  - . Promoting fairness by ensuring that people with the same income pay the same tax
  - . Minimizing disincentives to work and save

Are there other principles we should enunciate?

2. Do we favor some form of comprehensive tax reform. If so, what type?
  - . Broad-base, low rate income tax
  - . VAT for most people with rebates at bottom and income tax at top to maintain progressivity
  - . Other?
3. What do we say about the Gephardt and Bradley proposals?
  - . Do we support the concept of lowering tax rates and broadening the tax base?
  - . What do we say if asked about details?
    - . eliminating deductions for mortgage interest, state and local taxes, and charitable contributions.
    - . taxing employer-provided fringe benefits, including health insurance premiums
    - . taxing interest on state and local bonds and income from pension plans
4. How much can we say about tax simplification under the existing income tax? Should we plan to release any proposals?

### Comparison of Selected Tax Reform Proposals

|                                 | Current Law                                                                                                   | Gephardt                                        | Retail Sales Tax or VAT                        | Armey                                                                         | Nunn-Domenici                                                                            |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Rate structure: individuals  | 15%-39.6%                                                                                                     | Not available.<br>Goal is 10%-33%               | --                                             | 20% in 1996, 17% after two years                                              | 19%-40% in 1996, 8%-40% after four years                                                 |
| Rate structure: businesses      | Corporations: 15%-35%;<br>non-corporate entities:<br>individual rates                                         | Not available;<br>slightly below<br>current law | Single or<br>multiple rates;<br>all businesses | 20% in 1996, 17% after two years; all businesses                              | 11%; all businesses                                                                      |
| 2. Standard or family allowance | \$2,500 personal exemption for taxpayer and dependents; \$6,550 for joint returns, \$3,900 for single returns | Not available                                   | --                                             | \$5,300 for dependents; \$26,200 for joint filers, \$13,700 for single filers | \$2,550 for taxpayer and dependents; \$7,400 for joint filers, \$4,400 for single filers |
| 3. Wages                        | Taxable to individuals                                                                                        | Taxable to individuals                          | Taxed at business level                        | Taxable to individuals                                                        | Taxable at both business and individual level                                            |
| 4. Interest                     | Taxable to individuals                                                                                        | Taxable to individuals                          | Tax exempt from new saving                     | Tax exempt from new saving                                                    | Tax exempt from new saving                                                               |
| 5. Dividends                    | Taxable at individual and corporate level                                                                     | Taxable at individual and corporate level       | Tax exempt                                     | Tax exempt from new saving                                                    | Tax exempt from new saving                                                               |
| 6. Capital gains                | Taxable (28% max. rate)                                                                                       | Taxable (no max. rate)                          | Exempt                                         | Exempt                                                                        | Exempt                                                                                   |



|                                                    | Current Law              | Gephardt                                      | Retail Sales<br>Tax or VAT   | Armey                        | Nunn-Domenici                                    |
|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 7. Deductions                                      |                          |                                               |                              |                              |                                                  |
| Home mortgage<br>interest                          | Deductible               | Not deductible                                | Not deductible               | Not deductible               | Deductible (subject<br>to limit)                 |
| Charitable<br>contributions                        | Deductible               | Not deductible                                | Not deductible               | Not deductible               | Deductible                                       |
| State and local<br>income taxes                    | Deductible               | Not deductible                                | Not deductible               | Not deductible               | Not deductible                                   |
| Net savings                                        | Not deductible           | Not deductible                                | Effectively<br>deductible    | Effectively<br>deductible    | Deductible                                       |
| Education<br>expenses                              | Generally not deductible | Not deductible                                | Not deductible               | Not deductible               | Deductible (subject<br>to limit)                 |
| 8. Employer-funded<br>health insurance<br>benefits | Excludable               | Taxable                                       | Taxable at<br>business level | Taxable at business<br>level | Taxable to both<br>businesses and<br>individuals |
| 9. Income of Pension<br>Funds                      | Not taxed                | Taxed, with<br>deferral of inside<br>build-up | Untaxed                      | Untaxed                      | Untaxed                                          |
| 10. Capital<br>purchases                           | Depreciated              | Depreciated                                   | Expensed                     | Expensed                     | Expensed                                         |
| 11. Consumption<br>from previously<br>taxed wealth | Not taxable              | Not taxable                                   | Taxable                      | Taxable                      | Generally not<br>taxable                         |

|                    | Current Law | Gephardt          | Retail Sales Tax or VAT | Armey             | Nunn-Domenici     |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Criteria           |             |                   |                         |                   |                   |
| Simplicity         | --          | Improved          | Much Improved           | Much improved     | Probably worsened |
| Progressivity      | --          | Same              | Worsened                | Worsened          | Same              |
| Savings incentives | --          | Slightly worsened | Slightly improved       | Slightly improved | Slightly improved |
| Work incentives    | --          | Slightly improved | Uncertain               | Uncertain         | Slightly worsened |

June 22, 1995



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1995

Jocelyn/Chris,

Per Todd Stern, please prepare another letter to Congressman Bill Richardson with a current date.

Text is attached of letter that was previously submitted to the President for signature, but never came back from the Oval Office. We have checked with your office and also Records Management and no one has a record that this letter has ever been dispatched.

Thanks.

Sharon Wagner/  
Staff Secretary Office

E. W.  
Leg. Affs.

06/09

Jocelyn or Chris --

① Did you ever get this letter back to be dispatched?  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
Please let me know. Thanks WASHINGTON

Sharon/  
Podesta's ofc.  
6/14/95 June 2, 1995

6/13 midnight / Tues.  
left v. n. msg.

S.  
Jocelyn called -  
They have not seen  
this ltr to Richardson

Dear Bill:

I want to thank you for your leadership in  
securing passage of the Chacoan Outliers  
Protection Act of 1995.

This legislation will ensure that the  
additional archaeological sites are protected  
and preserved for the benefit of future  
generations of Navajo. You can be proud of  
this contribution to the cultural enrichment  
of all Americans. Please accept the enclosed  
commemorative pen and copy of the bill as a  
token of my appreciation for your hard work.

Sincerely,

② 06/14/95

Betty,

Does this look  
familiar to you?  
Is it still in  
Oval Ofc?

Sharon

06/19/95

③ Terry/Lee

Can you check if this ever went out?  
Do you have a record??

Sharon

6/22 Pat Young / RM - says no record of ltr going  
out

The Honorable Bill Richardson  
House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

④ 6/23/95

Betty, This letter went to Oval on 6/2  
and does not appear to have been sent out.  
Do you recall it or still have it in Oval?

Sharon

95 JUN 18 PM 1:18

faxed  
✓

15:11a 6/23/95  
Fax  
St. 12  
would not go  
thru



per Phil - 7/5/95

Staff to NSC -

C.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

07/05/95

NSC:

For your appropriate  
handling.

Thanks.

Phil Caplan  
Office of the  
Staff Secretary



A RENDEZVOUS  
WITH DESTINY



**FDR**  
MEMORIAL

FRANKLIN DELANO  
ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL  
COMMISSION

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Dorann H. Gunderson

825-A Hart Senate

Office Building

Washington, DC 20510

202.228.2491

FAX 202.228.1010

95 JUL 5 P4:14

29 May 1995

The Rt. Hon. Douglas Hurd, CBE MP  
Secretary of State for Foreign and  
Commonwealth Affairs  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
London, England SW1A 2AH

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I write to you in regard to the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial which is currently being constructed in Washington, D.C.

It is appropriate, I believe, that as the world commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the most devastating war in modern history, and as the United States and the world remembers the fiftieth anniversary of my grandfather's death, the erection of this national memorial is finally underway. It has taken more than forty years for the project to reach this conclusive stage, years during which other nations, such as Great Britain, have long before recognized and paid tribute to the contributions of Franklin Roosevelt. Now too the people of the United States will remember his life and work.

The FDR Memorial will be located on the Tidal Basin, directly across from the Washington Memorial and between the Lincoln and Jefferson Monuments -- a site with which you may be familiar. It will not be an edifice to the man, but rather a unique recollection of his contributions both domestic and international. Rather than attempting to describe its design concept, perhaps inadequately, I am providing you with some printed material and a brief video tape, which I hope you will have an opportunity to review.

Under mandate from the United States Congress, the FDR Memorial Commission is required to secure from the private sector funds equal to some twenty percent of the total construction costs (or \$10 million of the \$52 million total) as a supplement to federal appropriations. While the majority of these funds will be raised from small individual contributions, corporations and some philanthropic sources, we are also requesting certain members of the international community who shared a very special partnership with FDR to consider a generous contribution to this effort. In



The Rt. Hon. Douglas Hurd, CBE MP  
Secretary of State for Foreign and  
Commonwealth Affairs  
29 June 1995  
Page Two

response to a prior personal communication from my cousin Christopher Roosevelt, Her Majesty, The Queen Mother graciously made an individual contribution. As well, several others within the international community have made or are currently considering contributions to the Memorial.

Mr. Secretary, in view of the very special relationship our two nations have shared, and of course the warm and personal friendship which developed between my grandfather and Sir Winston Churchill during those terrible days of World War II, I and my fellow commissioners respectfully request your recommendation that your government consider a contribution to the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial in the name of the citizens of your great nation. I know that it would be of singular significance, and of course we would assure appropriate recognition and acknowledgement at the time of the formal dedication ceremonies in April 1997.

I thank you in advance for your kind consideration of this request, and I greatly appreciate the generous assistance of Sir Robin Renwick in assuring that this letter and accompanying material reach you expeditiously. If I can be of further assistance or can provide you with additional information please contact me through the FDR Memorial office.

With kindest regards I am,

Sincerely yours,



David B. Roosevelt  
Commissioner

cc: Sir Robin Renwick, The British Ambassador to the United States  
Senator Mark Hatfield, Co-Chair, FDR Memorial Commission  
Senator Daniel Inouye, Co-Chair, FDR Memorial Commission  
President William J. Clinton, Honorary Co-Chair, FDR Memorial Commission

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

95 JUL 6 12:31

Sent S.

## OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

### Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: SECRETARY ROBERT REICH

Fax Number: 219-7659

Phone Number: 219-8274

FROM: Todd Stern

SUBJECT: cc from the President

DATE: 07/05/95

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):

3

MESSAGE:

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

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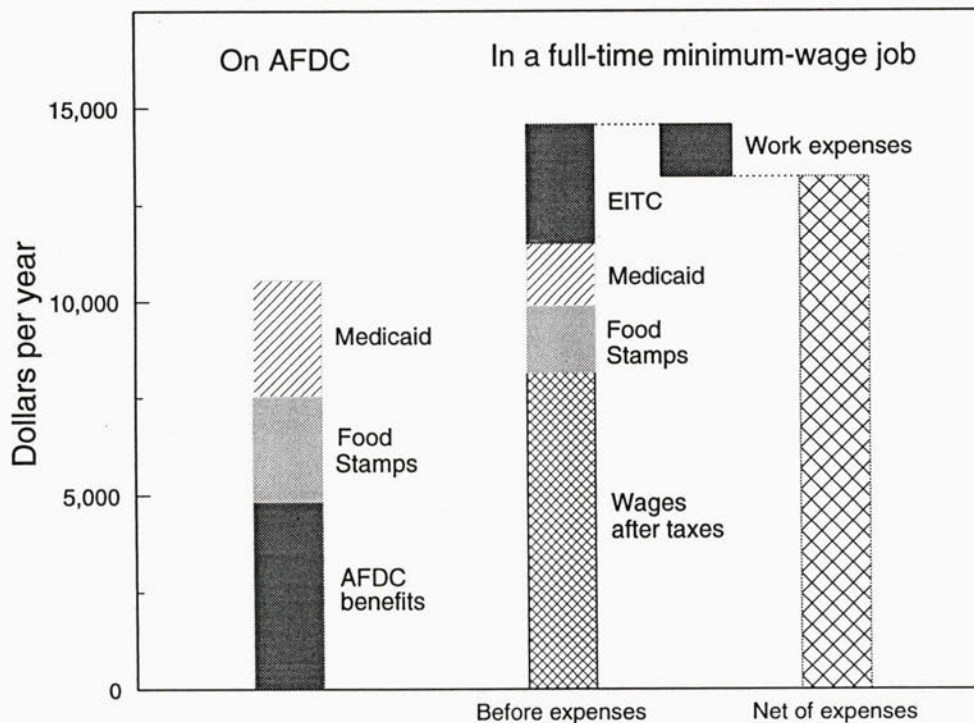
7/5/95

If it's a  
hard  
daySPECIAL ANALYSIS**Moving from Welfare to Work: Why Bother?**

The average welfare recipient gains little financially from going to work. High implicit rates of "taxation"—most importantly due to the loss of welfare benefits—mean that out of each dollar earned, the typical welfare recipient's overall income will rise only about thirty cents.

**The Government Giveth, the Government Taketh Away.** For example, a non-working mother with two children who receives AFDC in Pennsylvania (a state with AFDC benefit levels at about the national median) receives \$4,836 from AFDC. With the cash value of her Food Stamps and Medicaid coverage added in, her total annual income rises to \$10,537 (see chart).

Income on Welfare versus at Work



If she takes a full-time job at the minimum wage, her earnings after payroll taxes come to \$8,141, or nearly 70 percent more than she received from AFDC alone. The Earned Income Tax Credit (or EITC, which is calculated here at the fully phased-in 1996 levels) adds another \$3,094. But because she is now gainfully employed, her Food Stamp and Medicaid benefits drop by over 40 percent, while she loses entirely her eligibility for AFDC. As a result, her total net income as a working woman is \$14,577—barely \$4000 more than she would get by not working.

In effect, the phase-out of benefits adds up to a "tax" on wages of 58 percent—more onerous than the marginal rates faced by the highest-income earners. With the higher costs of transportation and child care for the working mother taken into account, her remaining income is even lower: \$13,247, meaning that the working mother faces an effective "tax rate" of 72 percent. In terms of the amount it adds to her consumption, this is equivalent to working for an after-tax wage of \$1.30 an hour. In this example, without the EITC the effective "tax rate" would be just over 100 percent.

**Analysis.** More than half of all welfare recipients would face an effective tax rate of between 50 and 90 percent, were they to take full-time jobs at the minimum wage. These high effective tax rates not only discourage welfare recipients from taking jobs, but also encourage them not to report their income when they do work.

What can government do to improve these incentives?

- Coordinate and extend the phase-out of benefits. AFDC, Food Stamps, Medicaid, and housing subsidies all phase out with income at varying rates and over varying income ranges, with each program using a different measure of income. Although these phase-out provisions may seem individually sensible, together they often add up to prohibitive effective tax rates. Better coordination of benefit phase-out could reduce these disincentives.

Nevertheless, coordination alone cannot resolve a fundamental trade-off: If government wishes to provide adequate benefits to the lowest-income recipients at limited budgetary cost, phase-out is necessarily rapid. To put it another way, improving work incentives generally requires either spending more or reducing benefit levels for those on welfare.

- Impose work requirements for welfare recipients. One way around the phase-out problem is to require AFDC recipients to work after a certain time period, as the Administration supports. Combined with improved job training and a higher minimum wage, this approach could improve work incentives sharply.



Chron

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
7/5/95



PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

To Soniel  
need to do  
travel reply  
BC

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate  
the reply.



## COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND

J. LEE WARREN, JR.

Chairman  
Board of Commissioners

P.O. Box 1829  
Fayetteville, N.C. 28302-1829

OVER

910-678-7771

FAX 910-678-7717

HOME 910 486-4600

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7/5/95

FAYETTEVILLE OBSERVER-TIMES  
MONDAY, JUNE 26, 1995

## Politics

From Page 1B

Rose was out of his office for the weekend and could not be reached for comment.

### Scholarship renamed

Eronomy Smith Muhammed, one of the organizers of the Concerned Citizens of Fayetteville, has backed away from using the name of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. on the scholarships that the group will award next month.

The scholarships will be given in memory of the late Bill Bowser, radio talk show host and longtime Democratic activist.

Muhammed had announced earlier that the scholarships would be awarded in honor of King and Bowser. But a leader of the Fayetteville-Cumberland County Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Committee was sharply critical of the plan and asked Muhammed not

to use the civil rights leader's name.

Lula Crenshaw, chairman, said she was angered because Muhammed had identified his campaign committee for state Senate as one of the co-sponsors of the awards banquet on July 9.

Muhammed plans to run in the 1998 Democratic primary for the 41st District seat held by Rev. C.R. Edwards. Edwards has not said if he plans to run for reelection. County Commissioner Tom Bacote, a Democrat, said he is seriously considering running for the seat.

Crenshaw said her committee was created in the late 1980s with local and state government approval. "We have kept the committee out of politics, and I think it is wrong to have Dr. King's name associated with a political campaign committee."

Muhammed said he does not want to cause dissension "in a time when we need to work together."

He said his Concerned Citizens organization was created to bring together community leaders to find ways "to reduce juvenile crimes and teen-agers killing each other."

### Breece put on panel

Cumberland County Democratic Party Chairman George Breece has been appointed to the national steering committee to re-elect President Clinton and Vice President Gore in 1996.

A letter to Breece from the president's campaign director of operations, Jeff King, says the steering committee is being asked to raise a substantial amount of money this year.

"Your commitment, along with the commitments of thousands of

other friends and supporters, is a good first step in what will surely be a long and difficult campaign," King said.

### Riddle plans to run

Jeff Riddle, local builder and son of political activist Harold Riddle, is making plans to run against Register of Deeds George Tatum.

Riddle, a Democrat, has not made a public announcement but has said he is interested in becoming a candidate. Tatum has said he will run for re-election in the 1996 Democratic primary.

City Councilman Nat Robertson Jr. said recently he will consider running if Tatum decides not to run again. Robertson is not going to run again for the council.

Have a tip for Inside Politics? Call 486-3525.

From Page 1B

IN 1992 CUMBERLAND COUNTY, N.C. WAS A CLINTON/GORE COUNTY -  
IN 1994 CUMBERLAND COUNTY, N.C. WAS A 100% DEMOCRATIC VICTORY -

DEM PARTY CHAIR

GEORGE W BREECE

FAX 910-484-5431

PAGE 02

PO Box 2801  
FAY, NC 28302



DIANNE FEINSTEIN  
CALIFORNIA

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
7/5/95  
**United States Senate**  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0504

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

✓ 11/2  
CC: Leg Aff.

**FAX COVER SHEET**

DATE: June 29, 1995

TO: Presedent William Clinton

FROM: Dianne Feinstein  
331 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510  
202/224-9650

# of Pages (including cover sheet): 6

Comments:

# Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

June 28, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

We, members of the California Congressional Delegation, strongly urge you to reject the Base Closure and Realignment Commission's recommended 1995 base closure list. We have two serious concerns: the impact of the Commission's action on U.S. national security and the impact on California's economy.

First, we do not believe that the final 1995 base closure makes military sense. As you know, the Commission voted to close or realign nine out of the twelve California bases that were reviewed, many against the advice and recommendation of the Secretary of Defense.

Our military and civilian leadership at the Pentagon have strongly denounced several of the Commission's recommendations, stating that closing or realigning these bases will adversely impact the readiness of troops, modernization of equipment and mobilization of forces in times of crisis.

Second, the economic impact of base closures on California must also be considered. Simply put, California is being hit disproportionately hard by base closures. While California is willing to absorb its fair share of base closures and defense downsizing -- and has -- this base closure round, taken with the closures and realignments from past rounds, will devastate the State's economy.

If the current base closure list -- to be presented to you by July 1 -- goes forward, more than 58,000 additional direct and indirect California jobs (7,900 direct military and 19,000 direct civilian personnel) will be impacted. Major bases in California which the Commission has targeted in this round include:

- \* McClellan Air Force Base in Sacramento;
- \* Long Beach Naval Shipyard in Los Angeles County;
- \* Onizuka Air Station in Sunnyvale;
- \* Oakland Army Base in Alameda County;
- \* Sierra Army Depot in Lassen County; and
- \* Fort Hunter Liggett in Monterey County.

Previous base closures have also taken their toll on California and added to the cumulative economic impact on the State. Since 1988, 22 major bases in California have been slated for closure or realignment in the first three rounds alone -- more than double any other state.



Honorable William J. Clinton  
June 28, 1995  
Pare Two

Though California is home to only 15 percent of all Defense Department personnel, the State has lost more than 82,000 of the nearly 120,000 net direct jobs (military and civilian) nationwide. All total, these actions have resulted in the loss of more than 200,000 direct and indirect jobs and \$7 billion in annual economic activity in California.

Moreover, with the addition of defense industry layoffs in California -- which have claimed 250,000 jobs in just the past few years -- California stands to lose more than half-a-million jobs as a result of base closures and defense downsizing. Further defense industry downsizing is expected to continue through the end of the decade with the loss of another 250,000 jobs.

The Commission, as you know, is mandated by law to consider economic impact when determining what bases to recommend for closure or realignment. The inclusion of economic impact as a criteria is for good reason: to prevent the piling on of base closures on one single community or state. Yet, it is clear to us that the Commission disregarded the economic impact of currently proposed and previously announced base closures on California when it made its final recommendation to close or realign nine California bases.

This base closure round will have a devastating effect on California's already fragile economy. California is just now seeing the first signs of recovery from the recession. If this round goes through as proposed by the Commission, the economic impact of these closures -- particularly the cumulative economic impact -- could well stop California's economic recovery in its tracks.

The California economy cannot take additional base closures at this time. *California's unemployment rate is nearly three percent higher than the national average.* More than 1.28 million Californians are out of work. Bases slated for closure in past rounds are just now starting to close their gates, and few are having success in reuse and redevelopment efforts. The full impact of these closings are just now being felt.

In light of the adverse national security implications of the Commission's recommendations, as well as the economic impact on California, we strongly urge you to reject the 1995 base closure list. We hope we can meet with you soon to personally discuss this important issue with you.

Thank you for your consideration of this important matter.

Sincerely yours,

Honorable William J. Clinton

June 28, 1995

Page Three

Dianne Feinstein

Barbara Boxer

John Horn

Vic Fazio

Wally Hoyer

John T. Doolittle

Sam Tan

Ed O'Donoghue

Nancy Pelosi

Martine Walker

Constance

Barbara M. Roberts

Lynn C. Woolsey

Mike Miller



Bill Thomas

Richard Panko

Esteban E. Jones

Tom Lantz

Honorable William J. Clinton

June 28, 1995

Page Five

Lynn WoolseyThomas IchniowskiMatthew J. MartinezGeorge S. BrownJoe L. SponBarbara WarnerJames D. OrrLarry R. BoydellPete StarkCalvin D. DooleyGeorge Miller

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Honorable William J. Clinton

June 28, 1995

Page Three

Dianne Feinstein

Barbara Boxer

John Horn

Vic Fazio

Wally Hager

John T. Dillitto

Sam Tan

John O'Hara

Nancy Pelosi

Martine Waters

Constance

Paul P. Matsui

Lynn C. Woolsey

Walt Minner

Honorable William J. Clinton

June 28, 1995

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June HarrisDaniel DineW. Thad HAndrew SebastianSunny/BorCuba MonkheadRay JohnsonBill BakerJay KingR. F. DormanBill ThomasRichard PantoEsteban E. JornerTom Lantz



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
7/5/95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 JUN 20 P1:16

20 June 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Mark Gearan  
RE: David Nyhan's Column *me*

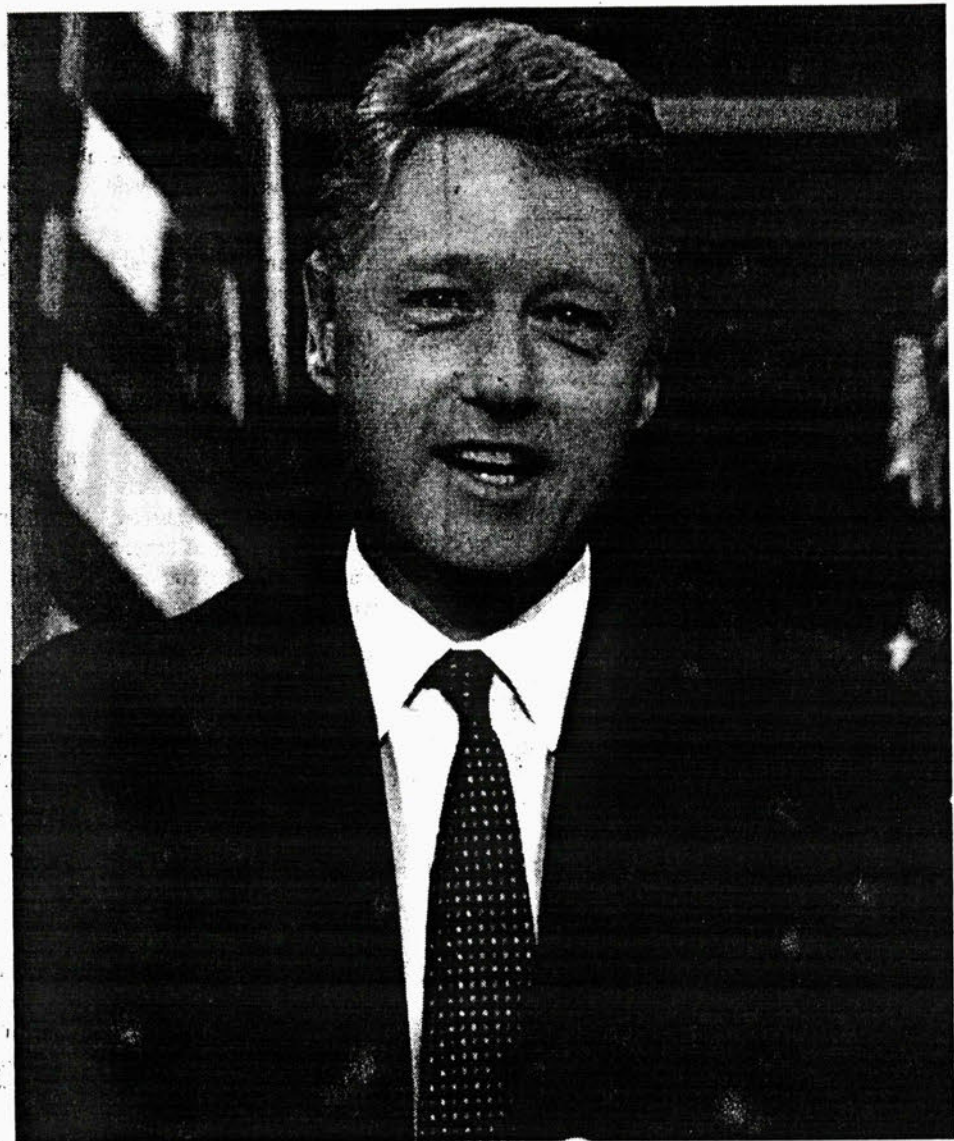
I thought you would be interested in reading the attached.

*Great*



DAVID NYHAN

## The man who came to lunch and ate *yours*



AP PHOTO

President Clinton maintains a single position as he outlines his own 10-year plan to balance the budget, in a address on national television Tuesday night.



MOST OF US SUSPECTED there would be some kind of third party at work in the '96 presidential election.

But I never dreamed it would be headed by Bill Clinton.

President Now-you-see-me-now-you-don't confounded his dumb-

founded Democrats and surprised his Republican enemies by springing his new-newest budget scheme Tuesday night.

The howls of outrage after any presidential budget-charting are as predictable as commercial timeouts during any sports broadcast. But this time it was the Democrats woofing at their own guy, and Republicans batting eyelashes, muttering ahems and saying things like "Er, two cheers!" We're talking serious role-reversal here, and I'm as confused as the next trend-analyst. This Clinton fella is giving everyone fits; just when you think you have him sized up, he wriggles out and wobbles his way off in another philosophical direction.

Clinton is clearly not predictable - except in his unpredictability. He used to call himself a New Democrat, whatever that was. Some liberals - Jesse Jackson comes

to mind - think of him as the Permanently Retreating Democrat.

I think of him as the I-grew-up-in-a-crummy-house-in-a-town-called-Hope-and-I-clawed-my-way-to-Georgetown-and-the-damn-Yale-Law-School-an'-if-you-think-I'm-gonna-let-these-Republican-so-and-so's-lick-me-without-a-huge-fight-then-you-just-watch-my-smoke Democrat.

Bill likes to eat the other guy's lunch; I like that. The older I get, the less I'm interested in politicians who calibrate philosophies and policies to the nth degree; give me the guy who wants to win, and I'll put up with the philosophical wrinkles in my political hair shirt.

Bill is like the sophomore saxophonist given his first solo in the high school jazz band's spring concert: You never know what the first few bars will sound like till he licks his lips, clamps onto his mouth-piece and starts blowing. I suspect he's never sure himself till the red light goes on and the hoarse whisper says: "You're on, Mr. President."

Clearly, Bill is on. He's on a mission. And back on the beam. His poll numbers are inching up. Clinton vs. everyone is usually a sure loser for Clinton; no one ever lets him forget he was elected by only 43 percent of the vote. But Clinton vs. Dole, Clinton vs. Newt, Clinton vs. Gramm (oh,

God, yes, let it be Gramm, or Buchanan or one of those mean-looking ones) is a rather healthier-sounding proposition.

Bidding for the title of "most pragmatic politician of 1995," the boy president showed he will be a slippery moving target for the gaggle of Republicans who think they can evict him. After months of laying back in the weeds, letting criticism and sentiment mount against the GOP's cut-the-bejeebers-out-of-gummint strategy, Clinton leapt - halfway.

Ya'll wanna balance the budget in seven years, drawled poker-playing Bill? I think 10 sounds about right. You want to cut Medicaid a lot? I think we should cut it sort of medium.

The Democrats who survived November's GOP tidal wave wanted more of the old time tax-and-spend religion from their Wobbly Prince William. "He's playing Newt's game," they croak.

Yes. And no. If he's doing anything, Clinton is trying to hog the middle. He wants to win again. He's persuaded that being for a balanced budget is the way to go, but that being a fang-and-claw right-winger is a dead-end. So he shaves and trims and cuts and backslides and accommodates. Yes, he does all that. This is not New Deal, Fair Deal, Square Deal; Bill's politics is Let's Deal, cut the damn cards, let's you and me mud-wrassle and we'll see who wins the election. The Democrats need more of this, not less.

As isolated as any president is, as difficult as it is to keep hearing the people amid the tin ears of Washington officialdom, I think Clinton is in touch with America. He's Walt Whitman with a laptop: I hear you groaning, America, I hear you creaking, I hear your fears and I hear your willingness to tighten belts and take a little less, if only someone will hold us all together.

Why is that so bad?

Clinton had all those Democratic committee chairmen in the House and Senate his first two years, and what did they give him? A hard time, mostly. Sure, the Republicans are chumps, slaves to rich men's greed; what's new about that?

This Clinton lad is finally learning the ropes. The chump who got mugged his first year in town is a little wiser this time around. He's not going to get sandbagged the way he got waylaid last year on health care. He now fully comprehends that what people tell pollsters and their congressman and us in the media is not necessarily what they tell their spouses when they lay their head on the pillow at night.

Bill-the-boy-president is growing on the job. He likes where he lives, he likes the pay, the perks and the view off the balcony. You want to get rid of him, it'll take dynamite - and luck - and maybe more than any of these Republicans have got. Bill's motto could be: "I'll meet the Republicans halfway any day, so long as I can eat their lunch."

David Nyhan is a Globe columnist.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
715195

95 JUN 13 P1:47

June 13, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Carol Rasco *CR*

SUBJECT: Attached Clipping on SSI and Elderly Immigrants

You had sent me the attached Washington Post article on the growth in the number of elderly permanent residents on SSI and noted that we need a careful position on the issue.

In our welfare reform bill, we took the position that the income of an immigrant's sponsor should be deemed available to the immigrant for a period of five years for the purposes of determining eligibility for SSI, as well as AFDC and food stamps. This period would be longer if the sponsor's annual income was above the U.S. median family income. In that case, the immigrant would not be eligible for benefits until citizenship.

However, since that time, the House and the Senate Finance Committee have both acted on this issue as part of their welfare reform bills. As the article notes, the House would bar legal immigrants from receipt of Medicaid, SSI, school lunch, and other Federal programs, with an exception for those older than 75 who have lived in the U.S. for at least five years. The Senate Finance Committee approach is tougher. It would bar legal immigrants from receipt of SSI, except those who are older than 65 who have worked in the U.S. at least 10 years (long enough to qualify for SSDI and old-age benefits). Both would also exempt recent refugees and veterans. These measures result in significant savings within each bill: \$6 billion out of \$69 billion in savings in the House welfare reform bill, and approximately \$10-11 billion out of \$32 billion in savings in the Senate Finance version.

One very recent development is Senator Simpson's immigration proposal. Senator Simpson would require an immigrant's sponsor to agree to financially support the sponsored individual until the sponsored individual has worked in the U.S. for 40 qualifying quarters. The bill would save \$8.5 billion over five years. In our comments on Simpson's bill, we said that, while the Administration strongly supports making the affidavit of support legally binding, we have reservations about setting the period of obligation and deeming at 40 qualifying quarters, as it could lead to deeming even after the immigrant becomes a naturalized citizen. This feature of Simpson's bill was criticized by others in the attached Washington Post article over the weekend.

We offered to work with Simpson's Subcommittee to establish a reasonable deeming policy that addresses these concerns. We suggested that one option could be to deem sponsored immigrants for 10 years or until citizenship with certain exemptions.

We have not made this issue a priority in our comments on the welfare reform bill to date, and have therefore not been actively pushing our deeming proposal during the recent debate on the Hill. The conference will be a more appropriate time for us to weigh in, once we have ascertained how much support Senator Simpson is garnering.

cc: Leon Panetta  
Anthony Lake



# Senate Measure On Immigrants Draws Protest

## *Benefits Limits Apply Even After Citizenship*

By Barbara Vobejda  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate welfare reform bill would make it more difficult for legal immigrants to receive benefits even after they become citizens, which immigrant groups claim would violate long-standing tradition by creating two classes of citizens.

Republican legislation in the House and Senate calls for restricting welfare aid to legal immigrants. But only in the Senate bill do the restrictions extend beyond the point at which immigrants become citizens.

"It means that a naturalized citizen doesn't have all the rights of a citizen who was born here," said Josh Bernstein, a policy analyst with the National Immigration Law Center. "We're asking people to pledge allegiance to the country, take on the full responsibilities of citizenship, but we're withholding some of the benefits of citizens."

A spokesman for Sen. Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.), who proposed the language, dismissed arguments that the policy would be unfair to immigrants who become citizens.

For Simpson, said Richard W. Day, chief counsel to the Judiciary immigration subcommittee, "it's a matter of principle that newcomers should be self-supporting."

Under the welfare bill approved by the House in March, most legal immigrants who have not become citizens would be barred from receiving benefits under the major welfare programs—including Aid to Families with Dependent Children, food stamps, Medicaid and Supplemental Security Income (SSI) for the elderly and disabled.

Illegal immigrants are not eligible for most programs under current law, nor would they be under the proposed changes.

Immigrant groups and others protested the House provisions affecting legal immigrants, arguing they are living in this country legally and paying taxes and should be eligible for the same programs as other Americans.

To some extent, those provisions were softened in the legislation approved by the Senate Finance Committee last month. Under the Senate bill, for example, noncitizens would be barred from only one program, SSI, rather than the five programs in the House bill.

But in other ways, the Senate bill is more restrictive than the House version.

The issue most disturbing to immigrant groups is the Senate provision that would make it more difficult for legal immigrants to qualify for benefits even after they become citizens. The added barrier to benefits is a requirement that states, when determining eligibility, take into account the income not only of the immigrants applying for assistance, but the income of the sponsors of those immigrants, and the sponsors' spouses.

For the most part, sponsors are relatives of the immigrants.

Advocacy groups argue that few immigrants could qualify for assistance under the proposed provisions, known as "deeming" rules. Also, these groups say, the relatives of immigrants are often struggling financially, and supporting another family would send them into further economic difficulty.

Under current law, the income of sponsors must be "deemed" when a noncitizen applies for three programs: AFDC, food stamps and SSI.

In the House version, the deeming requirement would end when an immigrant became a citizen. In the Senate bill, the deeming requirement would apply even after an immigrant becomes a citizen.

"To create this distinction between naturalized citizens and other citizens is a huge departure from a couple hundred years' worth of tradition in this country," said Cecilia Muñoz, deputy vice president at the National Council of La Raza.

That argument was supported by David Martin, University of Virginia professor of law. "Traditionally, the dividing line has been obtaining citizenship," Martin said. "Virtually every kind of restriction that applies to aliens ceases to apply when you become a citizen."

Day said Simpson had disagreed with the House provisions creating an outright ban on benefits to noncitizens, arguing there should be a "limited safety net" for immigrants who fall on hard times.

But when that happens, sponsors who have pledged to help support immigrants should be held to that agreement, Day said. Taking into account the income of the sponsors in determining eligibility is similar to considering the alimony or child support other welfare applicants may be receiving, he said.

"It's just like another asset that should be considered," Day said. "Folks who are their relatives should be responsible for them, not the American taxpayer."



## AN UNCERTAIN OLD AGE

THE IMMIGRANT ELDERLY

# Benefit Lifeline May Be Severed For Noncitizens

Part of three articles

By Lena H. Sun  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Phan Hue rolls up his pants and sleeves to show the scars from four bullet and shrapnel wounds, reminders of his days in the South Vietnamese army. Now living in Falls Church, Phan, 74, and his wife survive on \$680 a month in federal benefits for the elderly poor, known as Supplemental Security Income, or SSI. They stretch those dollars by turning the heat down in the winter, sitting outside in the sun to keep warm, and seldom buying meat.

The two refugees are among hundreds of thousands of elderly immigrants, all of them legally admitted into the country, who would lose such benefits under the Republican-sponsored welfare reform bill that passed the House in March and under another bill pending in the Senate. These cuts are an essential part of the GOP proposals because they produce roughly one-third of the \$66 billion in savings over five years that backers expect to glean from the House welfare plan, and about 40 percent of the \$26 billion in savings from the Senate version.

The impact of the legislation goes far beyond dollars and cents. Already these money-saving proposals have prompted a wide-ranging debate over the place of legal immigrants in American society. For the first time, they are being judged substantially in relation to their use of publicly funded health care and other entitlements, as opposed to their

See ELDERLY, A5, Col 3

ELDERLY, From A1

economic, social and cultural contributions to the society.

"When did we change the definition of American? . . . From Albert Einstein to Martina Navratilova; from An Wang, the founder of Wang computers, to Elie Wiesel, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize—all have come to this country and been accepted as Americans," said Rep. Norman Y. Mineta (D-Calif.) during the House floor debate.

But advocates of the new restrictions insist that legal immigrants must accept substantial sacrifices at a time of widespread cuts in federal spending on assistance programs.

"Quite frankly, I do not think that when we're cutting benefits and cutting welfare for our citizens, I don't see why we should stretch and say that we have an obligation to those that aren't even citizens of our own country," said Rep. E. Clay Shaw Jr. (R-Fla.), an author of the House welfare plan.

The issue is likely to be a major point of contention in coming months now that the welfare reform debate has moved to the Senate, where some prominent Republicans favor either adopting less restrictive measures or letting individual states decide on immigrants' eligibility.

### 'In Every Sense Part of Us'

Sen. Alan K. Simpson, (R-Wyo.), a longtime leader on immigration policy, often argues that legal immigrants enter into a contract with the government when they come to the United States. They pay taxes and serve in the military. To take the safety net from them, he said, "would be a very grave mistake" and goes against the spirit of House Republicans' "Con-

tract With America."

"They live in your home town. They go to the Rotary Club. They're in the service club," Simpson said. "They are in every sense part of us—except for one thing, the right to vote."

The House version of welfare reform would produce savings of between \$18 billion and \$21 billion over five years by barring most legal immigrants from receiving a range of federally funded benefits, from Medicaid to school lunches.

Exceptions would be made for legal immigrants over 75 who have lived here five years, recent refugees and veterans, among others. Undocumented aliens would continue to be barred from welfare programs and non-emergency health care welfare programs.

The Senate version of the welfare bill adopted last week by the Finance Committee would give states the option of barring legal immigrants from the basic cash welfare program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

But, like the House bill, the Senate legislation targets the federal program that has been used by increasing numbers of elderly immigrants and refugees in the last decade: the Supplemental Security Income program, which provides assistance to the nation's disabled and elderly poor.

The Senate version of welfare reform would produce savings of between \$10 billion and \$11 billion over five years by keeping most elderly immigrants from receiving aid under SSI.

Exceptions would be made for legal immigrants who have worked in the United States long enough to qualify for Social Security disability income or old-age benefits—at least 10 years—and for recent refugees and veterans.

An estimated 738,000 legal aliens received SSI benefits in December 1994. Legal aliens account for nearly 12 percent of all SSI recipients and 30 percent of all recipients 65 or older. Since 1982, the number of legal residents receiving SSI has risen 580 percent, reflecting a surge in immigration.

Robert Rector, a policy analyst with the Heritage Foundation who favors the new restrictions, says knowledge about these benefits has spread in immigrant communities here and overseas, attracting foreign-born elderly who are turning the U.S. welfare system into a "deluxe retirement home."

Critics of the legislation say the bills, particularly the broader House legislation, would hurt the needy and vulnerable. For immigrants who arrive too late in life to work enough time to qualify for Social Security, there is virtually no other way to get affordable health insurance except through SSI. In most states, elderly people receiving SSI automatically qualify for Medicaid, the government health insurance program for the poor and disabled.

Another category of immigrants that opponents of the cutbacks consider particularly deserving are those who worked in the United States long enough to get Social Security but were employed in such low-wage, low-benefit jobs that they now need SSI to keep them out of poverty. About one of every four legal immigrants receiving SSI, many of them former workers in the garment and service industries, also gets Social Security retirement benefits.

Juan Martinez, 71, a retired day laborer, lives in Weslaco, Tex., in the Rio Grande valley. Originally from Mexico, Martinez worked for 16 years picking cucumbers, tomatoes, strawberries and oranges in Ohio, Florida and Michigan. He retired four years ago after he became ill with diabetes. He receives \$287 a month in Social Security, and \$178 in SSI. His wife, also a retired farm worker, receives an additional spousal Social Security check of \$139 a month.

Martinez would be protected under the Senate welfare reform bill, but the House version would cut off his SSI income and force the couple to live on an annual income of \$5,112, substantially below the poverty line.

"They can check with my bosses, they can find out if I worked or not," said Martinez, his words tumbling out in Spanish. "If they get rid of the check, I couldn't pay the electric, I couldn't pay the water, I couldn't pay for the old car I got—I couldn't pay for anything."

Others who would be hard-hit are refugees, with the largest numbers having fled the former Soviet Union and Southeast Asia. Refugee advocates say the United States played a central role in the political upheavals that produced the flow

of refugees during the Cold War and therefore has a special obligation to help them once they are here.

Proponents of the bill say the United States should not use welfare to compensate for misery under communism.

The group most frequently criticized by proponents of restricting benefits are elderly immigrants coming to the United States to join their American-citizen children. Many are too old or disabled to work. Advocates of welfare reform say children who sponsor their parents to come to the United States, not American taxpayers, should take care of them.

Opponents say elderly immigrants who are eligible for SSI are not cheating the system but making normal use of a benefit that native-born Americans would not deny their own families.

In the Washington area, where foreign-born residents make up 12 percent of the general population—higher than the national average—the two largest groups of legal residents receiving SSI are from Vietnam and South Korea, according to the Social Security Administration.

### When Families Can't Help

Du Won Kim, a retired South Korean auto parts salesman, came to the United States 10 years ago to be with his grown daughter and son. Kim, now 74, stayed briefly with his daughter in her Silver Spring home but moved out because he did not want to live in the same house with his son-in-law's mother. He lives alone in a subsidized apartment in Rockville.

He worked for about a year in a delicatessen but stopped when he turned 65 and was eligible to receive SSI. His monthly check is \$458. He can pay his \$128 monthly rent, but he relies on his daughter for additional money to cover living expenses.

The daughter, Chong Hong, 51, is an American citizen. She owns a Rockville sandwich shop; her husband is an auto mechanic. With three daughters in college, she said, she is unable to provide full financial support for her father.

"I can't cover all his expenses," she said. "In Korea, the wives stay home, but in America, my husband and I both work hard, and still we do not have enough for everything."

Her brother, recently divorced, is also struggling and cannot provide for his father.

Kim turns 75 next year and would be exempt from the ban under the House bill, but unprotected under the Senate version. He is taking no chances. He is applying for citizenship.

Other elderly immigrants may not be as fortunate.

Phan, the former South Vietnamese army sergeant, has a third-grade education and little chance of learning enough English to pass the citizenship test. In 1987, he fled his village in central Vietnam for the Philippines on a fishing boat with six of his nine children and their families.

A year later, they arrived in the United States. The children are working—some as carpenters, one as a custodian—but their wages are low, and they cannot help their parents financially. The \$680 in monthly SSI benefits barely covers rent, utilities and food for Phan and his wife, Truong Thi Ty, 68, who arrived last year.

The blue couch in their one-bedroom Falls Church apartment is threadbare. A white Frisbee turned upside down is the tray for chipped tea-cups. One recent afternoon, the fiancée of one of their granddaughters brought them a bag of shrimp, a treat they seldom buy themselves.

Truong has frequent migraines, and may have diabetes. Phan suffers from severe arthritis. Because of his age, Phan would keep his benefits under the House bill, but his wife would lose her SSI stipend and Medicaid coverage. Under the Senate version, the couple would lose their entire monthly income of \$680.

"If the government does not help out the old people, I don't see how we can survive," said Phan, speaking agitatedly in Vietnamese. "The Americans helped the Vietnamese fight the Communists. I don't really don't understand about the politics here. But if America had won the war, then all the Vietnamese soldiers would be leading a much happier life everywhere."

Staff writers, Guy Gugliotta and Peter Pae contributed to this report.



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 5/31

Leon / CR / Tony  
we need a copy  
portion on the  
also might have some  
foreign policy implications  
PK

Jim Dorslund  
Phil Caplan  
Todd Stern  
Nancy Hernreich

THE PRESENT HAS SEEN  
7/5/95

Nancy Hernreich

Coral -

This should go to  
Jim D. w/ Caplan to  
Doug & to Nash -  
NH

Original sent to  
Jim Dorslund after  
Todd Stern + Phil  
Caplan have seen -





**MILES S. RAPOPORT**  
*Secretary of the State*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
7/5/95

**REGISTER  
VOTE**  
YOU CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate  
the reply.

July 1, 1995

The Honorable William J. Clinton  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

I would like to offer my services to you as a member of the Commission on Campaign Finance Reform and Lobbying Reform that you and Speaker Gingrich discussed and agreed on during your New Hampshire visit. These issues are crucial, and I would like to help you in whatever way possible on this very important effort.

As Secretary of the State of Connecticut, I believe that campaign finance reform and lobbying reform are essential to preserving our democratic system, and preventing it from being completely dominated by insider lobbyists and powerful special interests. Along with voter registration and full participation in the democratic process, this office is committed to making campaign finance reform a top priority. As a Democrat, I believe that making democracy work inclusively, and fighting for an "even playing field" for all citizens, are essential for the future success and well-being of our party.

Since assuming office in January, I have fought for campaign finance reform for gubernatorial elections in Connecticut. The legislation received very strong public and editorial support, and passed four legislative committees. Although it was not brought to a floor vote, I believe its strong showing set the stage for an even more successful fight next year.

Prior to serving as Secretary of the State, I spent ten years in the Connecticut Legislature and served on the Government Administration and Elections Committee for those ten years; the last two years as Chair. As such, I was the sponsor of almost every election and campaign finance reform legislation to pass during that time, including mail-in registration, Connecticut's Motor Voter law, restrictions on lobbyist contributions, full disclosure of campaign contributions, the computerization of the statewide voter list, and many others.

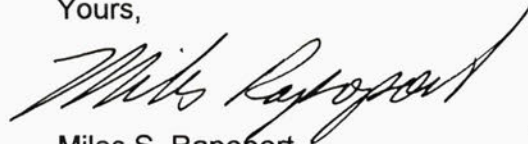
I believe that I can be a genuine contributor to this Commission and believe the way to approach campaign finance reform is on both the state and federal level in mutually reinforcing

ways. I would be willing to devote both time and office resources to this very important issue if you see fit to include me in the process.

Though there may be many hoops and obstacles to overcome before this Commission becomes a reality, I did want to let you know early of my interest. I believe a state perspective is always helpful on these types of issues, and, I believe, my particular experience would be well suited to making a contribution.

Thank you for your consideration--and thank you for helping to put this issue back on the national agenda.

Yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Miles Rapoport".

Miles S. Rapoport  
Secretary of the State



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 5, 1995

Dear Mr. Speaker:

I am writing to urge you to lead the Congress in passing the reauthorization of the Ryan White CARE Act before the summer recess. We cannot allow this crucial program to lapse.

There is strong bipartisan support for the Ryan White CARE Act. The initial legislation was approved by overwhelming margins in both houses (95-4 in the Senate and 408-14 in the House) and signed into law by President Bush. Funding for this program has been endorsed from both sides of the aisle throughout the five years of the program and the reauthorization bill in the Senate has 60 co-sponsors. It is a program vital to the lives of Americans living with HIV and AIDS. Its existence has had a dramatic impact on the quality and length of their lives while helping to reduce the cost of their care.

The CARE Act provides direct services to people living with HIV and AIDS through grants to states, cities, community organizations, and local clinics. It emphasizes outpatient care in clinics and other facilities and is designed to relieve the burden on public hospitals and other more expensive inpatient facilities.

It has been a tremendous success in meeting this mandate. By lessening the demand on public hospitals and other facilities, valuable inpatient resources have been freed to care for patients with other diseases, and people with HIV and AIDS have been able to lead more productive lives in their communities. The CARE Act approach serves as a model for delivering more cost-effective health care for people with all diseases.

In 1994, the CARE Act provided care to more than 200,000 uninsured and underinsured people living with HIV or AIDS and early intervention services to another 85,000 people. The Act also funded HIV counseling and testing to nearly 100,000 Americans, provided pharmaceutical assistance to 75,000 individuals, and supported more than 15,000 women and children participating in AIDS-related clinical trials.

Let me share with you the story of one person who has been helped by this program -- one person whose experience with the CARE Act is typical of literally hundreds of thousands of other

The Honorable Newt Gingrich  
Page Two

Americans who have benefitted from this law. "Debbie" is a 27 year old woman living with AIDS in a rural part of South Carolina. Until recently, few doctors in Debbie's hometown were willing to treat AIDS patients in part because so many were uninsured. With funding from the Ryan White CARE Act, the County Health Department opened a clinic in the town of Orangeburg that operated six days a month with a rotating staff of five physicians and three nurses. The clinic's staff has taught Debbie's mother to care for her daughter at home. When Debbie is too sick to come to the clinic, the staff comes to her. Not only has this prevented more costly hospitalizations, but it provides Debbie and her mother peace of mind. Debbie's Mom calls the clinic's staff her "guardian angels."

The Ryan White CARE Act is a model of compassionate caring for people in need. At a time when AIDS is the leading cause of death of young adults, we cannot let reauthorization of the CARE Act be held up by divisive arguments about how people contracted HIV. Nor should we be deterred by the false argument that people with HIV and AIDS are getting more help than those with other diseases. In fact, total federal spending in FY 1995 for research, treatment, prevention, Medicaid, Medicare, and income supplements for AIDS is less than one-third that for cancer and less than one-sixth that for heart disease. (AIDS spending is \$6 billion, cancer is \$17.5 billion, and heart disease is \$38 billion.)

In the United States, an average of 220 Americans are being diagnosed with AIDS every day and an average of 109 Americans are dying of this disease each day. Now is not the time to retreat in our national response to this terrible disease. We must move forward to meet the very real needs of Americans living with HIV and AIDS. We can certainly do more, we cannot do any less.

I hope you will join me in urging the Congress to move forward promptly with a five-year reauthorization of this vital program without complicated amendments so that we can once again show the American people that their government can provide the assistance they deserve.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Bill Clinton". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Bill" and last name "Clinton" clearly distinguishable.

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



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 5, 1995

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The Honorable Bob Dole  
Page Two

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I hope you will join me in urging the Congress to move forward promptly with a five-year reauthorization of this vital program without complicated amendments so that we can once again show the American people that their government can provide the assistance they deserve.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Bill" and last name "Clinton" clearly distinguishable.

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



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 5, 1995

Leon:

The attached note from Bob Rubin was routed through our office. Bob is seeking clearance on putting out a message from the President stressing the importance of savings and endorsing U.S. Savings Bonds as a good way for people to save. The message would be printed on around 25 million pamphlets.

Incidentally, the June 30 date in Bob's note isn't real. Treasury has indicated to me that action anytime within the next several days would be fine.

If you approve, I'll let Treasury know. Unless you have a different view, I don't think this is something we need to show the President.



Todd Stern



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

**MEMORANDUM FOR:** LEON PANETTA  
CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

**FROM:** Robert E. Rubin *RE Rubin*

**SUBJECT:** Message to Americans About Savings Bonds

I would like to publish a message from the President to the American people on the importance of saving and an endorsement of savings bonds as a good way to save regularly.

The message would be printed in a promotion pamphlet distributed to employees in more than 40 thousand locations where payroll savings plans are offered. There will be about 25 million pamphlets distributed during the 1996 payroll savings drive.

If the President agrees, we will need to complete the clearance process with a signed copy by June 30. Thank you in advance for your help.

Attachment: Message from the President

cc Todd Stern



Dear Fellow Americans:

Financial security gives us the freedom to make choices in our lives, something that we all want for ourselves and our families.

In today's busy and competitive world, many of us are preoccupied with the concerns of our monthly financial picture, paying for housing, food, transportation, and the many other costs of living. We can get so concerned about our current obligations that we neglect the steps we need to take to prepare for the future, and overlook how regular saving is and should be the foundation of financial security.

Some 55 million Americans anchor their personal savings portfolios with U.S. Savings Bonds. They buy bonds right where they work in amounts that fit their budgets. Series E Bonds offer complete safety, they are convenient to buy, and have market-based rates of return.

Savings Bonds are a stable, dependable way to lay a solid foundation for your future security. When you buy savings bonds, you invest in yourself and you invest in our country. Buying savings bonds as part of a regular investment plan makes good sense.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
7/5/95

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 22, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TS*  
PHIL CAPLAN *PC*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

*Ickes only  
sent his memo  
not Stern / Caplan  
memo.*

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

- (A) **Stern/Caplan memo summarizing various information items.**
- (B) **DNC balanced budget talking points.** Forwarded by Ickes. Don Fowler has sent a memo and talking points to party activists around the country on your balanced budget proposal.
- (C) **Ickes memo on *The Center for New Media*.** Laura Quinn proposal, supported by Rockefeller, Daschle and Gephardt, regarding the establishment of a state-of-the-art media/communications center. The proposal involves a serious fundraising commitment in order for the center to be operational by January 1996. Harold would like to discuss this with you.
- (D) **Ickes note on Colin Powell.** Lester Hyman, former chair of the Massachusetts Democratic Party, suggests inviting General Powell to speak at the '96 Democratic convention on America's role in foreign affairs. Hyman doesn't believe Powell will run on the GOP side or as an independent and argues that there would be substantial dividends in inviting him to speak at the Democratic Convention.
- (E) **Rasco memo on SSI eligibility for elderly legal immigrants.** Responds to a question you raised about a May 30 Washington Post article reporting on the sharp increase in the number of legal residents receiving SSI benefits and Republican efforts to cut back on these benefits.
- (F) **Two clips on your budget announcement from Gearan.** By Manchester Union Leader and David Nyhan of the Boston Globe.
- (G) **Political clips from Sosnik plus Arkansas AmeriCorp clip from Mack.**
- (H) **McCurry memo listing regional media highlights of the past ten days.**
- (I) **Lincoln's second inaugural address.** Forwarded by Gearan, at your request.



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
7/5/95

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

19 June 1995

95 JUN 21 P1:49

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA

FROM: Harold Ickes *UB*

SUBJECT: Colin Powell

*Yonham to  
Levy  
Be*

Attached is a copy of a 7 June 1995 letter to me from Lester Hyman, former chair of the Massachusetts Democratic Party, urging that consideration be given to inviting Colin Powell to speak at the Democratic National Convention.

LESTER S. HYMAN  
OF COUNSEL

SWIDLER  
&  
BERLIN  
CHARTERED

DIRECT DIAL  
(202)424-7509

June 7, 1995

Mr. Harold Ickes  
Deputy Chief of Staff  
for Policy and Political Affairs  
The White House  
First Floor, West Wing  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Harold:

As you may recall, we worked together too many years ago on the Muskie campaign in New York. Now, as one of President Clinton's two appointees to the FDR Memorial Commission, I have the pleasure of working closely with the other appointee, Bobbie Handman (who does not believe in the old adage that "behind every successful man stands a surprised mother-in-law").

I write you very briefly with an idea for the 1996 Democratic National Convention.

In my judgment, there is little chance that Colin Powell will actively seek the Republican Presidential nomination. Neither do I think he can be "drafted" for the job. If Dole falters, as I think he will, Newt Gingrich will be the nominee.

Secondly, I do not believe General Powell would agree to serve as the Vice-Presidential nominee on any Republican ticket (a) because he would have no control over policy positions and (b) because I cannot believe he shares the Republican "party line" that calls for cut-offs of foreign aid and refusal to allow the U.S. to participate in UN peacekeeping forces.

Third, while there may be an interest by Powell in heading up a third party, I do not believe that this is a realistic possibility in this day and age.

Accordingly, my suggestion is that a trusted emissary sound out General Powell as to whether he would accept an invitation to address the Democratic National Convention on the subject of America's role in foreign affairs (giving him carte blanche to say what he wishes).



Mr. Harold Ickes  
June 7, 1995  
Page 2

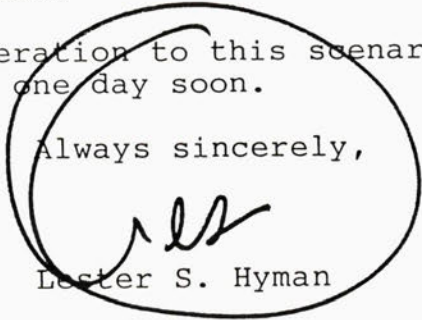
If I were as sophisticated a man as General Powell, I would assume that the issuance of such an invitation meant that I would be seriously considered for Secretary of State when President Clinton wins re-election -- and that if I wanted that job, as I assume General Powell does, it would behoove me to accept the invitation and give a supportive speech.

From our point of view, the very fact that Powell appears at our Convention would give an implicit signal to the American people that Powell looks kindly upon a second Clinton term.

All in all, a win-win situation.

I hope you might give consideration to this scenario. Many thanks, Harold -- hope to see you one day soon.

Always sincerely,

  
Lester S. Hyman

LSH:lsj:1545.01

*Thanks, Harold!*

**LESTER S. HYMAN**  
**BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES**

Lester S. Hyman, a Founding Partner of the prominent Washington, D.C. law firm of Swidler & Berlin, specializes in creating and implementing legislative strategies and in resolving international disputes. His clients include Fortune 500 corporations, as well as countries and major companies abroad.

As a protege of John F. Kennedy, he served with the U.S. Securities & Exchange Commission, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, and as Secretary of Commerce and later Chairman of the Democratic Party of Massachusetts.

Mr. Hyman has been an advisor to eight U.S. presidential candidates. Following his participation in the Clinton-Gore campaign, he "vetted" candidates for Vice President, the Supreme Court, and the Cabinet and prepared the latter for Senatorial confirmation hearings.

He currently serves as a member of the Board of the Center for National Policy, one of the country's leading political "think tanks" and is a member of the Advisory Board of the International Legal Studies Program of the Washington College of Law (at the American University). He has taught "Decision-making in Politics" at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

In 1990 he was a member of the International Observer Team, headed by former President Jimmy Carter, which monitored the first democratic election in the history of Haiti.

In 1994, the President of the United States, upon the personal recommendation of Hillary Rodham Clinton, appointed Mr. Hyman to the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission.

In 1995 he was elected to the Board of Trustees of the Norton Simon Museum of Art at Pasadena, California.

He lectures extensively throughout the country and has been described as an informative, entertaining and eloquent public speaker. His biography appears in the current edition of "Who's Who in America." Mr. Hyman has written extensively on U.S. and international issues, with his articles appearing in such publications as "The Los Angeles Times" and "The Boston Globe."

He has a home in the Caribbean (on the island of Tortola) where he is a member of the Board of the British Virgin Islands Community College.



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
7/5/95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 28, 1995

95 JUN 28 P1:21

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA (w/o encl.)  
ERSKINE BOWLES (w/o encl.)  
DOUG SOSNIK (w/o encl.)

FROM: Harold Ickes *HI*

Attached are the originals (which are my only copies) of 2 surveys which I received from Mark Mellman of the Mellman Group. The first is captioned "CPN - Presentation of Findings from Focus Groups in a National Survey, April 1995".

The second is captioned "National Issues Foundation: Results from a Nationwide Survey of 1000 Likely Voters, dated 5/95".

I would appreciate your returning both to me when you have finished reviewing them.

7/5/95

*Original documents returned to  
Ickes - Carol Cleveland*



# **NATIONAL ISSUES FOUNDATION**

5/95

**Results from a Nationwide Survey  
of 1000 Likely Voters  
Conducted By The Mellman Group**







**CNP**

**PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS  
From Focus Groups and A National Survey**

**April 1995**

*Rahm*

# Terrorist-Fighting Sleuths Get Help From 'Taggants'

BY CHRISTOPHER B. COHEN

Sixteen years ago, on May 10, 1979, Nathan Allen left work at Bethlehem Steel Company's Baltimore plant and got in his truck to go home.

As he turned on the ignition, the truck exploded in the parking lot. Allen was killed and his passenger injured. The murderer soon was arrested and convicted due to a new invention for "tagging" explosives.

After the explosion, agents from the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms examined the site for evidence. They found microscopic, plastic, color-coded chips called "taggants"—part of an ATF pilot program in 1978 and 1979. The color code lists given to the ATF allowed it to trace the explosive used in the bomb.

In the 16 years since, thousands of bombs have shattered lives of otherwise ordinary Americans with little notoriety. Then came the bombings at the World Trade Center in 1993 and Oklahoma City last month.

Since Allen's killer's 1980 conviction in federal court in Baltimore, and its affirmation by the U.S. Court of Appeals in 1981, the ATF halted its program to catch bomb-making criminals through the use of taggants. These tagging devices are no longer mixed into explosives in the United States.

To aid law enforcement, the colored striped codes in the plastic flakes are changed after each shift at the explosives plant. During manufacturing, they are given magnetic and fluorescent qualities. This means detectives and investigators can more easily find these tiny specks by shining ultraviolet light on debris left at a bombing site.

Investigators can place a magnet inside a small plastic evidence bag turned inside out. When the magnetized particles are drawn to the plastic bag, it is turned outside in with the evidence sealed inside. Bringing a microscope to a truck's tailgate allows investigators to read the code right at the bombing site. They compare it to the code book and immediately contact the manufacturer and retail outlet.



Christopher B. Cohen

In 16 years, bills have been introduced in Congress to help trace the source of bombings. None passed. Insertion of tagging devices into all manufactured explosives and potassium nitrate is opposed by the Institute of Makers of Explosives, the National Rifle Association and the Fertilizer Institute.

Taggants are the size of pepper flakes. Those who argue against their use say that they would add to the cost of explosives and thus damage the mining and oil exploration businesses that use these commercial products. Others want an exception so taggants will not be placed in gunpowder—a favorite substance for making pipe bombs.

Still others don't want the plastic specks put into fertilizer, which can be combined with fuel oil to produce powerful bombs.

Democratic anti-terrorism legislation has yet to be released but it is likely to require the treasury secretary to study tagging explosives, making fertilizer inert and controls on bomb components.

*Chris Cohen served two terms as a Chicago alderman and was regional director of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare during the Carter Administration. He chairs the government law department at the law firm of Holleb & Coff.*

**Chicago Sun-Times**  
An Independent Newspaper

Dennis A. Britton  
Editor, Executive Vice President

Mark B. Nadler  
Executive Editor, Vice President

Julia Wallace  
Managing Editor



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
7/5/95

LOS

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 24, 1995

MEETING WITH NORM PATTIZ

DATE: June 26, 1995  
LOCATION: Air Force I  
TIME: 9:00 p.m.  
FROM: Harold Ickes (1)

I. PURPOSE

The purpose of the meeting is to permit Mr. Pattiz to explain his proposals to the President; to permit the President to tell him that the White House favors the proposals and will cooperate; and to permit the President to personally express his great appreciation for all of Mr. Pattiz' pro bono efforts.

II. BACKGROUND

To discuss with the President Mr. Pattiz' proposals for the use of radio in getting the President's message to the American people. Mr. Pattiz, who is Chairman of the Board and CEO of Westwood 1 which owns the National Broadcasting System and controls the NBC Radio Network, and who is very close to David Giffin, has made three separate proposals: One, to convey supportive messages in a news context on stations other than talk radio. Two, several public personalities to deliver supportive messages on a regular basis on non talk radio stations. Three, occasional radio conversations with the President hosted by Larry King or someone similar.

According to Chairman Fowler, these efforts can be a major part of our media effort at very little cost to the DNC, while at the same time create a nationwide presence on hundreds of radio stations.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Norm Pattiz

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed press.

B H checked  
don - F. Green  
can be brief you  
for

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

As per usual



**WESTWOOD ONE  
INCORPORATED***Mutual Broadcasting System  
NBC Radio Networks  
Westwood One Radio Networks  
Unistar Radio Networks**9540 Washington Boulevard  
Culver City, California 90232-2689  
Tel: (310) 840-4201 Fax (310) 436-0***NORMAN J. PATTIZ**  
*Chairman of the Board***MEMORANDUM**

**To : President Bill Clinton**

**From : Norm Pattiz**

**Date : June 6, 1995**

**Subject : Maximizing The Use of Radio**

At Don Fowler's request, I am summarizing in memo form my most recent meeting with Don, which translates into 3 specific suggestions to improve your access to and acceptance by, radio.

**1) Creation of a liberal/moderate news and commentary feature.**

Rather than focusing on the creation of a liberal Rush Limbaugh for talk radio stations who are generally speaking not our best friends or most receptive audience, I believe that we should focus on the 85% of stations that are not talk formatted through the development of a liberal/moderate Paul Harvey type program. One of Paul Harvey's keys to success and influence is that he has credibility because of his posture as a newsman. With this credibility, he can effectively deliver a political message in an exceptionally persuasive fashion. These daily features would air multiple times each day, and reach a much larger more persuadable audience than any single talk show. Let the rest of the world focus on finding the mythical anti-Limbaugh. We should not be placing our primary focus on talk radio where our options are limited. We should concentrate on the rest of radio where the field is wide open.

**Continued -**

**Memorandum****June 6, 1995****Page 2****2) Selected major events for the talk radio format utilizing the President and Vice President at irregular intervals.**

The administration's relationship with talk radio can be redefined through individual events of major proportion ; for example "A conversation with America". This can be positioned as the interactive fireside chat of the 90's. By utilizing not only telephone call-ins and faxes, but online via the internet, we can take questions from America and easily select the most appropriate subjects for response. My suggestion for a host would be Larry King, a friend with a twenty year relationship with Westwood One, who has been the recipient of numerous Radio Hall of Fame Awards, and the only radio talk show host to ever receive a Peabody Award. Larry's return to live talk radio for this type of mega event would also be viewed as a very big positive by the industry. An event of this magnitude would be viewed as an outreach to talk radio, while at the same time clearly placing you miles above the level of being a guest on any one of numerous radio talk shows. This, in my view, is the most effective and appropriate way to live with the medium. We can reach its listeners without having to interact directly with its hosts. We bring them something they can't do for themselves but that they must do for their audience, and at the same time present our message in the most effective and persuadable way. I believe that the time to do this is now, especially in light of the perceived criticisms of talk radio that currently exist.

**Continued -**



## Memorandum

June 6, 1995

Page 3

- 3) Multiple public personalities delivering targeted messages via short features on radio stations with different musical formats.

These features could be hosted by entertainers, sport celebrities, authors, business executives, and public figures appropriate to the formats on which they air, i.e. Don Henley or Stephen Stills on classic rock, Barbra Streisand on adult contemporary, country personalities for country stations, sports personalities for all sports formats, business leaders for news and information ...etc. This approach will be the most time consuming and difficult to pull off, but has the greatest potential for influence. It would require writers who can create variations on a theme for various formats, while keeping the central idea uniform. We need hosts who believe as we do, and who are comfortable with using their celebrities to communicate important messages.

A few other closing thoughts that Don and I discussed at our meeting. I think we should be very careful in attacking purveyors of hate on talk radio. The public has a short memory, talk show hosts don't. We run the risk of making this a rallying point that galvanizes talk radio hosts against us, i.e. the selection of G. Gordon Liddy as the first amendment honoree at the convention for the National Association of Radio Talk Show Hosts. I believe that suggestion no. 2 can be very effective in dealing with some of the negative side effects which may exist.

I also believe that it is foolish for us to try to copy the republican party's manner and style of distribution of information to talk radio stations and hosts. This only serves to provide them with material to bash us. We are writing their scripts for them. We should instead concentrate on station news directors, network news directors, reporters, and hosts that are more persuadable and friendly.

Since the time that my friend David Geffen first suggested that we engage in some dialogue several months ago, my only purpose has been to be supportive. I hope this memo will be helpful. I am available to discuss any of the above anytime, via phone or on my next trip to Washington.



cc: Don Fowler

**DEMOCRATIC ★ NATIONAL ★ COMMITTEE**

Donald L. Fowler  
National Chair

Christopher J. Dodd  
General Chair

**VIA TELECOPIER**

---

**MEMO TO:** Harold Ickes

**FROM:** Donald L. Fowler

**RE:** Norm Pattiz' Appointment with President Clinton

**DATE:** June 16, 1995

---

Norm Pattiz wants to talk with President Clinton to discuss his proposals for the use of radio in getting his message to the American people. See the attached memorandum from Pattiz to the President.

Norm has made three separate proposals:

- A moderate - liberal Paul Harvey to convey supportive messages in a news context (this piece is almost ready to go) on stations other than talk stations.
- Several public personalities (business people, entertainers, academicians, etc.) to deliver supportive messages on a regular basis on non-talk radio stations.
- Occasional in-depth radio conversations (with call-in participation) with President Clinton hosted by Larry King or some similar personality.

These efforts can and should be a major part of our media effort. They cost the DNC almost nothing, yet they can in a few short weeks and months create a nationwide countervailing influence on literally hundreds of radio stations across the nation. This is not ideal talk. It is real and achievable in the immediate future.

Pattiz wants to talk to the President for the following reasons:

- To explain the program to him,



Donald L. Fowler  
June 16, 1995  
Page 2

- To encourage him specifically to do the Larry King piece,
- To make the President aware of the value of this type of radio effort on non-talk show stations, and
- To get the President to put his stamp of approval on these efforts so that other Democrats will expand their efforts in radio.

Norm has been invited as a participant to the Western Economic Summit in Portland on Tuesday, June 27. He could stop by San Francisco on ~~Wednesday~~, June 28, if that is more convenient, or he could do it in Washington (he comes to the East Coast frequently). He would prefer to do it on June 26 or June 27, if feasible.

monday 26

Attachment:

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                          | DATE       | RESTRICTION      |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|------------|------------------|
| 001. memo                | Harold Ickes to POTUS et al. re: Fundraising (3 pages) | 06/28/1995 | Personal Misfile |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
Staff Secretary  
Todd Stern  
OA/Box Number: 5955

### FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files July 1-8, 1995 [1]

2019-0774-S

rs3287

### 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  
7/5/95

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

95 JUN 21 P7:56

June 21, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARK GEARAN *MG*  
SUBJECT: ACCOMPLISHMENTS BOOKLET

As part of our ongoing effort to amplify the Clinton Administration's impressive record of accomplishment, the Communications Office has created the attached booklet, *Clinton Administration Accomplishments -- June 1995*.

This book was prepared for two purposes. First, it will supplement and give context to issue specific briefings and the booklets we prepare for special events, e.g. The White House Conference on Small Business, the National Rural Conference. Second, it stands alone as a quick overview to your substantial record of accomplishment.

We have asked the outreach offices (Intergovernmental, Political Affairs, and Public Liaison) to distribute it as widely as possible.

cc: Leon Panetta  
Erskine Bowles

*Let's  
just discuss  
it*

*"America is once again the world's strongest economic power: almost 6 million new jobs in the last two years, exports booming, inflation down. High wage jobs are coming back. A record number of American entrepreneurs are living the American dream."*

*—January 24, 1995*

*"Let's give our children a future. Let us take away their guns and give them books. Let us overcome their despair and replace it with hope."*

*—January 24, 1995*

*"I made a commitment, a promise to put 100,000 more police on our streets, because there is simply no better crime fighting tool to be found. And I intend to keep that promise."*

*—February 11, 1995*

## ECONOMY

---

- Signed the **Economic Package**, August 10, 1993.
- The economy created **6.3 million new jobs** in the first 26 months of this Administration.
- Passed the largest **deficit-cutting** plan in history—resulting in over one trillion dollars in deficit reduction over seven years.
- On track for three consecutive years of **deficit reduction**—for the first time since Harry Truman.
- **Cut federal spending** by \$255 billion.
- Made **new tax cuts** available to over 90% of small businesses.
- Lowest **unemployment** in over 4 years.
- Lowest **combined rate of unemployment and inflation** in 25 years.
- 1994 **GDP growth** was the highest in a decade.

## EDUCATION

---

- Signed the **Student Loan Reform Act**, August 10, 1993—More than 1400 new schools have committed to enrolling in the program that saves taxpayers and students billions of dollars.
- Signed the **National Service Act**, September 21, 1993—Americorps has 20,000 volunteers working in schools, hospitals, neighborhoods and parks.
- Signed the **Goals 2000: Educate America Act**—More than 40 states have already chosen to participate and develop their own plans for educational reform.
- Signed the **School-to-Work Opportunities Act** on May 4, 1994—Broadens opportunities for students not immediately bound for four-year colleges.
- Signed the **Elementary and Secondary Schools Act**—Directly helps five million children in high poverty areas by granting more flexibility in the use of federal aid to improve teaching.
- Increased **Head Start** funding by \$760 million.
- Introduced the **Reemployment Act**.

## CRIME

---

- Signed a tough \$30 billion **Crime Bill**, September 13, 1994.
- Signed the **Brady Bill**, November 30, 1993.
- Signed the **Assault Weapons Ban** as part of the Crime Bill.
- Put **100,000 new police** on the street—nearly 17,000 more officers have already been funded.
- Signed the **Violence Against Women Act** as part of the Crime Bill.
- Signed the **Safe and Drug-Free Schools Act** to expand security and violence prevention, Oct. 20, 1994.
- Signed Presidential Directive enforcing a "**Zero Tolerance**" **gun policy** in public schools, Oct. 22, 1994
- Introduced **Operation Safe Home** to fight crime in public housing.



## REINVENTING GOVERNMENT

---

- Already cut the **Federal workforce by over 100,000**—on the way to the lowest level in 30 years.
- As regulators, moved from adversarial relationships to **partnerships** with business community.
- Awarded over **100 awards** to federal organizations which have reinvented themselves.
- Appointed the most **diverse** Cabinet and Administration in history.
- Developed government-wide **Customer Service Standards** for the first time.
- Signed the most important federal procurement act ever to **streamline government purchasing**.
- Eliminated 284 federal **advisory committees**.
- Initiated thorough review of **human radiation experiments**.
- Reformed **Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation** to protect 8.5 million pensions.
- Proposed corporatization of nation's **air traffic control system**.

*"It is time to radically change the way government operates—to shift from top-down bureaucracy to entrepreneurial government that empowers citizens and communities to change our country from the bottom up."*

*—Putting People First, 1992*

## COMMUNITY & ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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- Created nine Economic **Empowerment Zones** and 95 **Enterprise Communities**.
- Signed the **Community Development Banking Bill**, Sept. 23, 1994.
- Signed the **Interstate Banking Bill**.
- Reformed the **Community Reinvestment Act** to focus on performance rather than paperwork, April 19, 1994.
- Introduced the **Housing and Community Development Act** of 1993.
- Instituted the **Defense Reinvestment and Conversion Initiative**.
- Delivered over \$11.1 billion in Federal aid for California **earthquake relief**.
- Instituted **shipbuilding revitalization** initiative.
- Introduced administrative initiative to revitalize **airline industry**.

*"[There] needs to be a new partnership between Washington and the communities and the individuals of this country and there needs to be a way of doing business in which we try to create the conditions in which people can seize opportunity for themselves."*

*—January 17, 1994*

## ENVIRONMENT

---

- Announced **"reinventing environmental regulation"** to cut red tape and make health and environmental programs work better and cost less.
- Developed a **Northwest Forest Plan** to put people back to work and protect old-growth forests.
- Signed **executive orders** to increase recycling and cut waste in federal buildings.
- Expanded **Community-Right-to-Know** to give people more information about toxic emissions.
- Signed the **California Desert Protection Act**.
- Developed **'Common Sense' reforms** to make health and environmental protection cleaner and cheaper.
- Introduced comprehensive **Safe Drinking Water** and **Superfund** reforms.
- Developed a plan to **restore Florida's Everglades**.
- Developed a consensus plan to allocate **California water** from the San Francisco Bay-Delta.

*"Do we need more common sense and fairness in our regulations? You bet we do. But we can have common sense and still provide for safe drinking water. We can have fairness and still clean up toxic water dumps. And we ought to do it."*

*—January 24, 1995*

*"Our families will never be secure, our businesses will never be strong, and our government will never again be fully solvent until we tackle the health care crisis."*

*—February 17, 1993*

#### HEALTH CARE

---

- Introduced the **Health Care Security Act**, November 20, 1993.
- Signed the **Family and Medical Leave Act**, February 5, 1993.
- Signed a comprehensive **Child Immunization Plan**.
- Revoked the Reagan/Bush restrictions on **abortion** counseling ("**the gag rule**"), abortions in military hospitals, "Mexico City" policy and RU-486 imports.
- Increased **Ryan White CARE Act** funding for outpatient **AIDS care** by \$231 million.
- Put the **Women, Infants and Children Program (WIC)** on a full-funding path.
- Increased NIH funding for **breast cancer research** by 65%.

#### FAMILIES & CHILDREN

---

*"The hardest and the most important part of welfare reform is moving people from welfare to work. You have to educate and train people. You've got to make sure that their kids aren't punished once they go to work by losing their health care or their child care."*

*—March 7, 1995*

- Expanded the **Earned Income Tax Credit** by \$21 billion over five years.
- Introduced the **Work and Responsibility Act** - comprehensive welfare reform.
- Passed the **Family Support and Preservation Program**—\$1 billion over 5 years for supportive services.
- Increased **adoption and foster care funds** by almost \$600 million from 1994-1995.
- Passed major funding increases for **homeless programs** in both Houses.
- Approved **29 waivers** for states permitting comprehensive **welfare reform** demonstrations.
- Signed the **Social Security Independent Agency Act**.

#### POLITICAL REFORM

---

*"...We must clean up political campaigns, limit the cost of campaigning, reduce the role of special interests, and increase the role of ordinary citizens."*

*—January 25, 1995*

- Signed the National Voter Registration Act (**Motor-Voter**), May 20, 1993.
- Eliminated the tax deduction for **lobbying** expenses.
- Imposed strictest Administration **ethics guidelines** in history.
- Barred top officials from becoming **foreign lobbyists** after leaving government.
- Fought for passage of **Campaign Finance Reform**.
- Fought for passage of **Lobbying Disclosure Bill**.

#### FREE TRADE

---

*"The truth of our age is this—and must be this: Open and competitive commerce will enrich us as a nation... And so I say to you in the face of all the pressures to do the reverse, we must compete, not retreat."*

*—February 26, 1993*

- Signed **NAFTA** into law, December 8, 1993, which will create hundreds of thousands of US jobs.
- Signed **GATT** into law, December 8, 1994, the largest trade agreement in history.
- Secured free-trade commitments from **Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)** leaders.
- Hosted **Summit of the Americas** and agreed to negotiate a Free Trade Area of the Americas by 2005.
- Developed **National Export Strategy**, eliminating outdated export controls on \$35 billion in exports.
- Opened **14 different market sectors** in Japan ranging from telecommunications procurement to rice.
- Reached agreement with China to provide **intellectual property rights protection** for billions of dollars worth of U.S. exports.



- Reached agreement with Russia to **detarget** all its **missiles** trained on U.S. citizens and cities.
- **Eliminated nuclear weapons** in Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan; in 1994 brokered agreement with Russia and Ukraine that opened way to elimination of nuclear weapons in Ukraine; all nuclear weapons in Kazakhstan have been returned to Russia.
- Worked with Kiev to bring Ukraine into **Non-Proliferation Treaty**, which permitted START I entry-into-force, which will reduce by over 9,000 (40%) U.S. and Russian strategic nuclear weapons.
- Facilitated agreement between **Russia** and the **Baltics** allowing the complete withdrawal of Russian troops. All Russian troops are out of Central and Eastern Europe for the first time since World War II.
- Proposed and helped create **Partnership for Peace** and led start of orderly NATO expansion process.
- Maintained strong commitments to **military readiness** and weapons modernization, including a \$25 billion increase over 6 years and a defense supplement of \$3.04 billion for Fiscal Year 1995.
- Prepared a "**Bottom-Up-Review**" strategy for our armed forces to fight two major regional conflicts nearly simultaneously.
- Agreed to framework with **North Korea** that freezes and leads to the eventual elimination of North Korea's dangerous nuclear program.
- Reversed **Iraqi military threat** against Kuwait.
- Pursued and apprehended **terrorists**, including World Trade Center bombers.
- Helped **Israel and Jordan** achieve a historic peace treaty and **Israel and the Palestinians** fulfill their historic accord.
- Contributed to a historic cease-fire in **Northern Ireland**.
- Carried out a massive humanitarian operation in **Rwanda**.
- Undertook, with NATO allies and the UN, actions to alleviate the suffering and end the conflict in **Bosnia**.
- Reached an agreement with **Cuba** to normalize immigration and avert a mass influx of boat people.
- Signed into law the most comprehensive **counterintelligence legislation** since 1976.
- Worked to **safely dispose of nuclear materials** from the former Soviet republics and took steps to combat smuggling.
- Played leadership role in **halting conflict between Peru and Ecuador**, participated in four-country observer mission.
- Expanded **sanctions against Iran** in response to its continuing unacceptable behavior.
- Worked cooperatively with the states of the FSU to **prevent nuclear theft and nuclear smuggling**.
- Air-lifted more than half a ton of **vulnerable, highly enriched uranium**, enough to make dozens of nuclear bombs, from Kazakhstan to **safe storage**.

*"Our efforts to help build more democracies will make us all more secure, more prosperous, and more successful, as we try to make this era of terrific change our friend and not our enemy."*

*—September 26, 1994*

## PROMOTING DEMOCRACY

---

- Assisted states, such as **Russia and Ukraine**, in making progress toward democracy and market reforms.
- Assisted **South Africa's** transition to democracy, providing support for free elections and development.
- Restored democratically elected Haitian **President Aristide** to power on October 15, 1994; created a secure and stable environment which will enable the UN to take over the operation.
- Hosted White House Conference on **Africa**.
- Made **promotion** and consolidation **of democracy** and free market reforms a foreign aid priority, especially in NIS, Russia, Central Europe and South Africa.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 5, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR ANN FLEICHMAN

FROM: CAROL CLEVELAND *Carol*  
Office of the Staff Secretary

SUBJECT: Self-Inking Stamps

Would you please order two self-inking stamps (Kwik Stamp II)  
with the following messages on them:

Okay for Signature by  
Staff Secretary \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_

Okay for Signature by  
Dep Stf Secretary \_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 5, 1995

TO: BOB NASH

FROM: TODD STERN *TS*



# NOMINATION OF JOHN AGRESTO

## HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-NINTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

NOMINATION OF JOHN AGRESTO TO BE ARCHIVIST OF THE UNITED  
STATES

AUGUST 13 AND SEPTEMBER 9, 10, 1986

Printed for the use of the  
Committee on Governmental Affairs

Return  
to Bob  
Nash's  
office from  
me.

T.



OREGON SEA GRANT COMMUNICATIONS

OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY

Administrative Services A402  
Corvallis, Oregon 97331-2134



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
7/3/95

PRESIDENT CLINTON

Kare Ginty  
to Portland Conf



# THE RETURN OF THE SALMON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7/3/95

June 21, 1995

President Bill Clinton  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Clinton:

This note accompanies an educational videotape being delivered to you on behalf of Sea Grant by Oregon salmon fisherman Scott Boley.

Salmon are the soul of the Pacific Northwest. This video presents both the very grave threats the fish are facing and the passion many people in the region are bringing to the hard work of restoring these marvelous creatures.

The focus of the video is watersheds, and you should take credit for focusing public attention on watersheds. The scientists you convened following your last visit to Portland, for the 1993 Forest Conference, said that to solve the persistent endangered species problems that the region is facing, we need to give our attention not just to indicator species, like salmon or spotted owls, but to the ecosystems that support them. In the forests of the Northwest, that means attending to the protection and restoration of watersheds.

*The Return of the Salmon* highlights the good work that real people—dairy farmers, small timberland owners, fishermen—are doing now in the Northwest, based on the understanding that healthy watersheds are the key—not only to salmon abundance but to many other things we value here, including sustainable harvests from our forests and good clean water for our homes, for farming, and for industry.

The Sea Grant programs of Washington, which played a role in arranging Mr. Boley's visit with you, and of California, which helped Oregon in the production of this videotape, appreciate your commitment to the fisheries resources of the Northwest.

Thank you for your interest and support.

Sincerely,



Joseph Cone

Producer and Writer, *The Return of the Salmon*  
Assistant Director for Communications

cc. R. Malouf, Oregon Sea Grant; M. Bailiff, Washington Sea Grant; R. Amidei, California Sea Grant; V. Omelczenko, NOSG



OREGON  
STATE  
UNIVERSITY

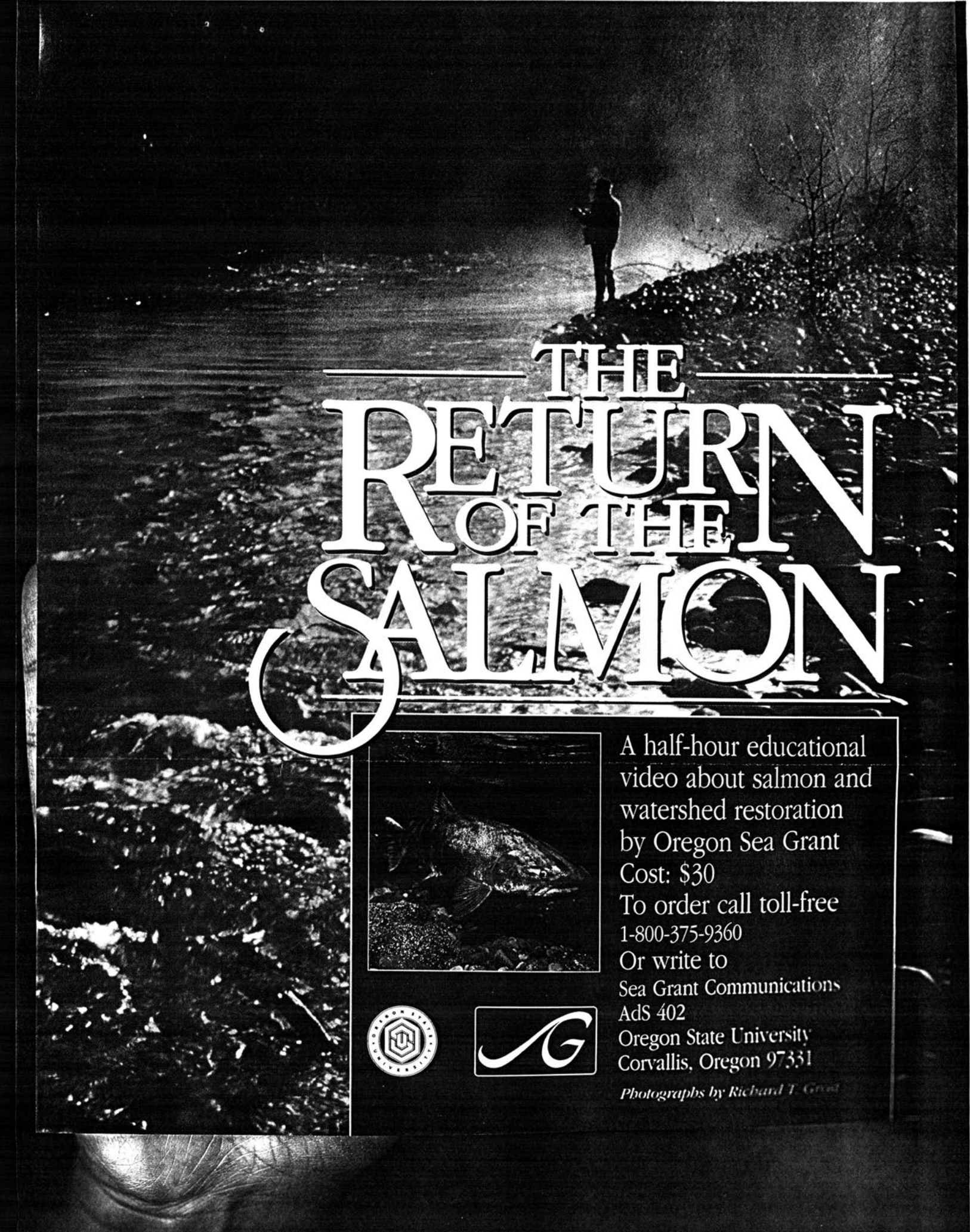
Administrative Services A402  
Corvallis, Oregon  
97331-2134

Telephone  
503-737-2716

Fax  
503-737-2400



Oregon Sea Grant is supported cooperatively by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, by the State of Oregon, and by participating local governments and private industry.



# THE RETURN OF THE SALMON



A half-hour educational  
video about salmon and  
watershed restoration  
by Oregon Sea Grant  
Cost: \$30

To order call toll-free  
1-800-375-9360

Or write to  
Sea Grant Communications  
AdS 402

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*Photographs by Richard T. Groot*



## An Introduction

# THE RETURN OF THE SALMON



Oregon Sea Grant

### Overview

*The Return of the Salmon* is an educational video produced by Oregon Sea Grant to help people understand a complicated natural resources problem and the on-the-ground approaches some Northwesterners are taking to address it. Both the problem and the potential solutions are much bigger than can be dealt with thoroughly in a half-hour video. The program is intended as an introduction to the issues and the opportunities. It is suitable for middle school through adult audiences.

### How the Video is Organized

*The Return of the Salmon* is designed as one seamless story, but it is organized into chapters which develop logically.

### Introduction

People tend to think of the Northwest as a place of natural abundance—of forests, rivers, and fish. Unfortunately, the salmon decline is real. Recognizing the seriousness of the problem, many hard-working coastal people are involved trying to restore salmon and the watersheds they share with the fish.

### The scientific background

Oregon State University fisheries professor Stan Gregory describes what watersheds are and how salmon fit into them. Salmon and watersheds interact in unique and subtle ways.

*Photographs by Richard T. Groat*



## An Introduction to *The Return of the Salmon*

### The contemporary situation

A spectrum of knowledgeable observers from the Northwest, including a conservation leader, a fishing industry spokesman, and an Indian businessman, give their views on the effects and meaning of the salmon decline. The decline has environmental, economic, social, and cultural significance, they say.

### The historic background

Through the use of rare black and white photographs and historic film footage, the complex factors contributing to the salmon decline are shown, including habitat loss and damage, overfishing, the inadequacy of hatcheries,

and unfavorable ocean conditions.

### The prospects for solutions

Difficult as the task of restoration might seem, coastal residents throughout the Northwest have taken action to make a difference to the environment they share with the salmon. Candid comments from the people directly involved end the video on a constructive, hopeful note. Profiled are projects on Knowles Creek, Larsen Creek, and the Coquille River, Oregon; the Mattole, Eel, and Van Duzen rivers, California; and the Chehalis River, Washington.

*Lower Columbia River canneries packed more than 20 million pounds of salmon a year during their heyday.*



COLUMBIA RIVER MARITIME MUSEUM



### The salmon-watershed connection:

*"It became obvious (to us) after awhile that the salmon don't just live in the creeks; they live in the watershed, all the way up to the ridges. Whatever happens on the slopes ends up in the creeks."*

Jan Morrison, Mattole River, California



### The economic benefits of restoration:

*"Think what the value of salmon would be if we restored it to five or ten percent of what it was historically. That would be a major part of your economic base for your community."*

Charley Dewberry, Knowles Creek, Oregon



### The key factors in forging restoration partnerships:

*"All participants have to build trust, they have to build respect, and they have to have patience. It takes a lot of patience to build the first two."*

Scott Downie, Eel River, California



### Why Northwest residents are involved in restoration:

*"I think they take a lot of pride in saying they are part of the solution, not part of the problem."*

Jerry Manuel, Chehalis River, Washington

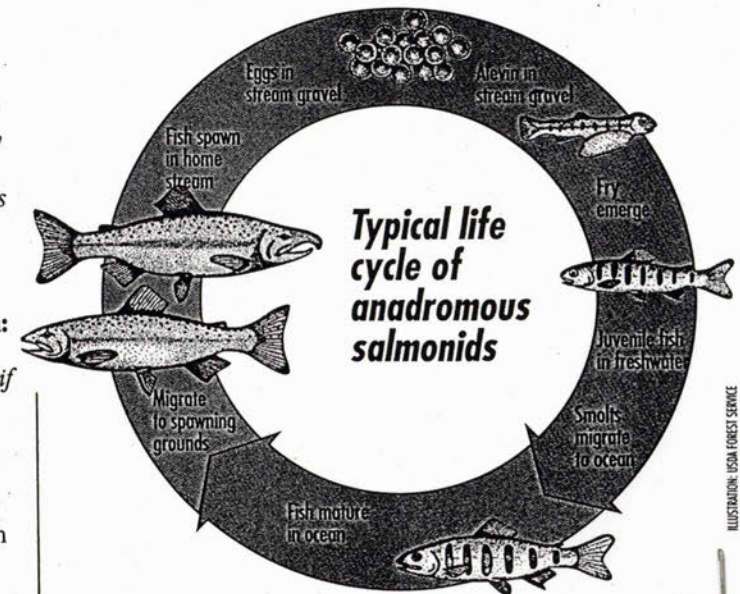


ILLUSTRATION: USDA FOREST SERVICE

### Some Salmon and Restoration Terms

**anadromous fish** - species like salmon and steelhead trout that spawn in freshwater and migrate to the ocean as juveniles.

**run** - a population of fish of the same species consisting of one or more stocks migrating at the same time.

**stock** - a distinct population of fish spawning in a particular stream at a particular time.

**watershed** - an area of land which drains water, sediment, and dissolved materials into waterways. In the coastal Northwest, watersheds are defined by the ridges of the hills or mountains that divide them.

**wild stock** - in general, naturally spawned fish belonging to an indigenous population.



## How to Order

*The Return of the Salmon* is available on VHS. Cost for individual copies is \$30, postpaid. Send check, money order, or purchase order (payable to Oregon Sea Grant) to

Videotape Orders  
Oregon Sea Grant Communications  
ADS 402  
Oregon State University  
Corvallis, OR 97331

Send request via e-mail to: [seagrant@ccmail.orst.edu](mailto:seagrant@ccmail.orst.edu)  
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