

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

JULY 31, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DOUGLAS B. SOSNIK  
SUBJECT: FOCUS POLLS ON WOMEN

For your information, I am enclosing a summary of four focus groups that Celinda Lake produced for EMILY's List.

These focus groups were performed among women who were either ticket-splitters or drop-off voters (Democratic leaning or independent women who voted in 1992 but not 1994). In short, this poll found that the women are very worried about the economy, and more specifically, their economic security. Also of significance is that the women in these focus groups are more motivated by economic terms that have an immediate impact on their lives than more abstract economic terms.

The women polled were very cynical. They believe that the government can help to resolve their problems but that it does not choose to do so.

Attachment

cc: Vice President  
Leon Panetta  
Harold Ickes  
Erskine Bowles

TO: Mary Beth Cahill, EMILY's List

FROM: Celinda Lake, Lake Research  
Tom Kiley, Marttila & Kiley

SUBJECT: Focus Group Findings

DATE: June 22, 1995

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This memorandum summarizes findings from four focus groups conducted among women in Chicago on May 31, 1995, and in Tacoma on June 1, 1995. In each city, two groups were conducted -- one among ticket-splitters and one among drop-off voters. Ticket-splitters were recruited from a list of registered voters, and screened for women who are not strong partisans, who do not vote straight tickets, and who have no more than two years of college education. Drop-off voters were recruited from a list of registered voters who voted in 1992 but not in 1994, and screened for women who are Democratic-leaning or independent, and who do not have a college education.

#### SUMMARY

Following is a brief overview of the focus group findings:

- We cannot underestimate how stressed these women are. They are stretched to the limit, and they are short two precious resources: time and money.
- When these women worry about the economy, they worry in very specific, personal terms about their ability to make ends meet for one more day. They also feel that woman bear the brunt of the economic problems -- not only do they work, but they also take care of the family.
- Profound cynicism, not apathy, marks these voters' attitudes. A fundamental question is whether this cynicism can be turned into activism. They are angry at gridlock, infighting and government that serves special interests rather than the interests of the people who elect them. Fundamentally, they believe that the United States has the resources to help them, but that the politicians choose not to. When they do not vote, it is because they do not believe that voting makes a difference: no matter who they vote into office, nothing will change.
- These women believe that nobody is on their side -- not Democrats, not Republicans, and not any individual they can name. Their anger is focused at Congress broadly, by which they mean politicians. They believe that politicians do not understand their problems, and that they care only about their own narrow political interests.

- These voters claim they choose how to vote on the basis of "issues," but this is often a code word for values and character. They respond most strongly to candidates who visibly understand and relate to their lives.
- Although they often resist admitting it, and in fact may deny it if pressed, these voters clearly believe that women candidates are more likely to understand their lives and share their priorities.
- The strongest message for mobilizing these voters is one which focuses on economic security, and on the things which make it possible for families to survive. Language should focus on immediate economic needs as specifically as possible, rather than on abstract notions of strengthening the economy. The contrast can focus on those in touch with and willing to prioritize the things that real families need. These women feel that few people are on their side, and the strongest rhetoric here can therefore have a distinctly populist edge.

## THE CONTEXT

To describe the mood of these women, it is impossible to use stronger language than they use themselves. These are the words they use to describe how they are feeling about the direction of the country:

depressed	concerned	disgusted
unassured	sad	frustrated
disappointed	nervous	cynical
pissed off	angry	powerless
desperate	scared	uncomfortable

This overpowering negativity has two related sources: severe economic anxiety and a deep cynicism about politics. These women fear for their own families' economic survival, and they do not believe that politicians understand that fear. In fact, they tend to believe that politicians are choosing not to help, and this angers them.

### *Stress and economic anxiety*

These women are struggling to survive and their lives are stretched thin, short of two precious resources in women's lives: time and money. They face immediate economic pressures. They do not worry in the abstract about the economy; they worry in very specific personal terms about their wages, their bills, and their ability to make ends meet for one more day. They feel torn between job and family, and describe their own lives as "stressed," "complicated," "overworked," "underpaid," and a "juggling act":

It seems like you just can't get ahead. You do one thing and it just seems like every time you do something, something happens or you run into something. The money just doesn't go far enough any more. Between paying for -- I pay for five kids so it is really hard to get it to stretch. When the car breaks, we are completely finished. (*Chicago ticket-splitter*)

My husband works for a living. He has a mediocre job. We have three children and it is a struggle to have everything that by law you have to have -- let's say car insurance and all of these things that you have to do and keep your heads above water. There just doesn't seem to be enough money or enough high-paying jobs to go around. *(Tacoma drop-off)*

It is also important to note that these voters have a strong sense that women bear the brunt of economic problems and anxiety. They see women as carrying the load for their families, doing double-duty for job and for family. Men have one job they have to do well, but women have two or more. They also feel discrimination in the workplace, and think it is even harder for women to escape from low-paying jobs. These women are clear: women get paid less for the same work and have less opportunity for advancement.

The demands are high on women, I think, personally. First of all, women never were allowed to grow in a company before. There is a lot of -- my company where I come from, it is chauvinistic. It really is.... Upper management -- they are nice people but it's like ah, you are a woman. You are supposed to go home and cook dinner every night for your family. You're supposed to -- but get this project done by 12 o'clock. Make sure this is here. I need you to work overtime. It is stressful. *(Chicago drop-off)*

They put eight to ten hours a day and you are putting in at least ten hours a day by the time you commute to work and you are wiped out. They need time. You have to spend time with them doing their homework and giving them some input. Women's jobs are never done. When you fall in bed at ten o'clock is when their day is over. *(Tacoma drop-off)*

Underlying all of this is deep frustration that women do not have the option of caring for their children full-time. These women feel trapped. Working is not a choice for these women; it is necessary for their economic survival: "because of the economy, mothers have to go out of the home and work." But although they cannot afford to stay home with their children, the only jobs they can get barely cover child care costs and the government provides no help. As one concluded, "we need the support from the government so people can stay home with the kids" ... "this is not a male/female issue."

You are second-class citizens. You really are.... They don't go after the men and the men get all these tax cuts and everything else. There are breaks and the women who are supporting the children without any assistance are the ones that are having to fight and to struggle and the kids are the ones that are suffering. *(Tacoma drop-off)*

I think about my one daughter who is expecting her first baby. Two of them are working. She desperately wants to take off for this baby when it is born. Give her a chance to start raising a baby. She is not going to be able to. They live in our two-flat. My mother and I have a two-flat. They live upstairs so they are paying minimal rent -- just enough so that we can all cover the mortgage together. She's got a car that half the time doesn't run. He's got a brand new truck because he has to travel a long way away to work. She's not going to be able to stay home because they've got outrageous bills and they are just mounting up by things happening -- Christmas and weddings and things that go on. That is what's so depressing. I was able to stay home for ten years, work part time and you can't do that any more. *(Chicago ticket-splitter)*

I would love to be home with my kids, but I'm forced to -- I've got a six-month-old. I nursed that baby. I love my children but I'm telling my husband. You know, this Christmas rush, I think I really need to go and do the Christmas rush and try to get a job. He's looking at me like why? I'm

like well think about it honey, you've got three kids. You bring home about \$1,000 a month and we're not making it very well. We struggle from paycheck to paycheck. We scrimp. We are looking at things like what can we sell in our house this time. It's awful. *(Tacoma drop-off)*

It really makes me angry that women can't stay home. Someone has to raise the kids. It's not a male/female issue. When they used to say years ago, men had it all, I can't wait. They never had it all. If they did have more than we had, it was because we enabled them to go off to work with a clearer conscience because we were home with the children. So if we, as women, are going to be out working, someone has to be raising the kids. Ideally, it is one of the parents. But because of the way situations are today, it is impossible. I was real lucky. I'm able to work out of my house so I have a physical presence there even if I'm not as attentive as I could have been but at least I'm there in body. I really sympathize with the situation. You just have to turn your kids over and it is not a matter of what you want to do, it's a matter of what you have to do. *(Chicago ticket-splitter)*

These women are also angry at a system they describe as helping those who don't deserve it, while providing those who need and deserve help (that is, their own families) with no support. These women have a strong sense that too many people abuse the welfare system, refusing to work, and therefore stealing benefits and tax dollars from people who work hard and deserve the help. Consistently, these women complain that they are turned down for benefits they genuinely need because they earn too much, working at jobs they hate because it's the responsible thing to do, while people who are lazy and irresponsible get the benefits. Moreover, these are the women who work as waitresses without day care or insurance and see women on welfare getting both for doing nothing.

Well, I'm a welfare mom, I guess, since I get food stamps and my kids get free lunch. But the thing is, you don't go on welfare because you want to. You go on welfare because you can't feed your children. And you go on welfare because the system leaves you no other choice. My husband served 13 years in the military, served in the Gulf War on the front line and yet the military said sorry, we don't need you any more. And he gets out. Nine-hundred dollars a month. Five people in my family and we're being denied welfare because my vehicle is worth too much money. You can't have more than \$2,000 total. Everything you own cannot be worth more than \$2,000. So we're denied. I think priorities are wrong. They're going to put a \$67 million stadium in Seattle, but 400 Tacoma teachers are being laid off. Priorities are way out of whack. *(Tacoma ticket-splitter)*

I just had a heart attack and I'm not able to go back to work for three months but because I have \$40 over the limit, you don't even qualify. I worked all my life. Why isn't there something for this? Where these other people, they get on welfare -- they go and when I see them in the lines and see their shopping carts and mine, it's amazing. *(Chicago drop-off)*

They are making it too easy. I've locked in. My husband was at -- my husband was out of work for two and a half years and I tell you since the day he was laid off I pushed him, go find a job, go find a job. I am tired of going in and cashing that welfare check and having people look at me. I used to dress skuzzy just so people wouldn't look at me bad. I used to watch girls that were 18 and 19 years old going in and cashing out welfare checks going into welfare. I'm thinking, good golly, is this what the world has come to that they just go in and live off of welfare? Most people said, oh, they owe it to me. It's like what are we owing you? We owe you nothing. You need to work. But speaking of those benefits things, though, my husband does work. He works for a very small company. She owns two stores. She can't even afford to give us health care benefits. My kids are on the medical, welfare. Me and my husband are not even covered because it's like they

will not -- they kicked us off after a year after my husband started working. But I fought to get my kids back on because I thought if anybody should be covered, it should be my kids. (*Tacoma drop-off*)

Their economic stress also gives these voters a powerful parochial focus. They believe that the country spends too much helping other countries, and that it does so at the expense of people at home. This is part of a broader political question to these women -- "why don't we take care of our own?" They repeat again and again: "we don't do enough for our own country," "we help everybody but our own." This translates into strong anti-foreign and anti-immigrant feelings:

My concern is about the future. What is going to happen to our children, our children's children? The way the economy -- I don't know just things in general. Primarily, I guess, where is our country. We are helping everybody but our own people here. I don't understand. (*Chicago drop-off*)

It just seems like we don't do enough for our own country. We have homeless and we have people that want us to work for a minimum wage but you can't live on that. We are always send money and troops to everybody else. So I guess that makes me sad. I'd like to see more help here at home. (*Tacoma drop-off*)

What I think there is a problem with is immigration. I'm second-generation to this country. My grandparents came here but they came here. They got a job and they worked. You get these people that are coming here and nobody wants to work. All they want to do is sit back. (*Tacoma drop-off*)

I agree with her. And the other thing is welfare. Foreigners are coming in this country who never ever worked for Social Security. How many who are age 65 are drawing it are not American citizens and are not even Americans yet? They haven't even taken the oath and they're drawing Social Security. My dad has diabetes, served in the Korean War and was denied -- denied his Social Security because he wasn't at the medical point where they thought he should draw, so I'm with her. (*Tacoma ticket-splitter*)

Finally, these voters have great concern for children -- their own and America's. This has the potential to be a prime motivator in their vote. They fear declining morals, deteriorating neighborhoods and families, violence and crime, and lack of opportunity. They worry their children are unsafe even in schools. High policy priorities for them include child support enforcement and quality child care.

### ***Political cynicism***

Profound cynicism, not just apathy, marks these voters' attitudes. A fundamental question is whether cynicism can be turned to activism. They are angry at gridlock, infighting, and government that serves special interests rather than the interests of the people who elect them. These are populist voters, angered by a number of big institutions, including the self-serving elite called politicians. Fundamentally, these voters believe that the United States has the resources to help them, but that politicians choose not to. Said a Tacoma ticket-splitter, "they can give themselves retirement. So why can't they do it for us? They can do it. They choose not to." These voters see politicians as rich ("they have nannies or maybe chauffeurs,

cooks, maids") and as getting richer on the taxpayers' back. "A \$100,000 a year comes out a \$3 million guy. Only in America," said another Tacoma ticket-splitter.

Fundamentally, they see politicians as completely out-of-touch with the lives that most people live, spending their time and energy on partisan bickering, looking only to help themselves and the monied special interests that elected them. They want them to "stop fighting with each other" and to "be accountable for what they say and what they do" (Tacoma ticket-splitter). They are "fighting and whining," "playing Republican and Democrat." And they don't believe politicians understand their lives: "every time I picture Congress, it is just this vision I have in my head. They are always in this building, sitting in these chairs. They are not out in the real world," said a Chicago drop-off voter. Said another, "they are just distant. They have no idea of what we are going through, what we [talkover] day by day."

These voters also detest the lack of accountability in the political system. They perceive a huge gap between what politicians say and what they do. There is "no control," "they can waste our money and don't have to balance their budgets like we do." They "say things and never follow through." "They lie" and "only care about getting re-elected." "They are con people." They feel Washington gets to even the best of them. As one woman said, "even the ones who go in with their ideals get there and can't do it."

## ISSUES AND MESSAGES

The issues that matter most to these women are the issues that most directly affect their own ability to survive economically: child care, education (both for themselves and their children), health care (where they are focused on costs), Social Security and retirement, pay and promotion, and children's issues.

### *Child care*

Child care is a key issue to these voters, because it gives them opportunities in the job market. In an ideal world, these women would have "every job incorporate day care for women that needed it" (Chicago drop-off). They see child care as part of their economic worries, and they want policies that make child care more affordable and accessible.

I was making \$12 an hour plus benefits and everything else as a dental assistant. My husband and I really sat down and looked at our taxes and looked at everything else and with me working it put us in the next tax bracket. We were actually making less. By the time we paid the day care for two kids -- before and after school, paid for my driving back and forth because we had to second car. We were actually making less than if we stayed home with our children. (*Tacoma drop-off*)

I think government could help with day care. I mean, I left my job. I worked grocery for five years and it was really hard. The money was real good, but it was hard finding a baby-sitter every weekend and every evening. So I think if they could help somehow with just day care alone, you know. It's hard trying to find a baby-sitter to work every weekend and every night. (*Tacoma ticket-splitter*)

I think that a deduction somehow through your regular paycheck. I mean, if you have enough women who are working or men, I guess, too, but if there was a building -- if all of us put in, you know, \$200 or.... *(Tacoma ticket-splitter)*

Child care is also an issue where these voters think women candidates would be much more receptive than men:

Yeah, I think it is because she understands it better. I think in order to get where they are, they needed more help and a different kind of way to get there than the man did. So if they wanted to have a traditional work, marriage, children type thing, they struggled more and so they know what a woman has to go through to get in their position. *(Chicago ticket-splitter)*

Real quickly, I worked in a business office and the manager that we had was married but had no children. She had no understanding at all for the other women in the office who had children. Possibly someone came down with chickenpox and you had to miss a day of work. She had no understanding for that whatsoever until she had her own child. As soon as she had her own child, boy things changed a little bit. She came to understand what some of us other women were going through. *(Tacoma drop-off)*

### ***Education***

These women see education as the best path to economic security for themselves and their children, but it's often out of reach:

They have to get more educated and demand for the paper and pay. All the women, basically, in the offices are doing all the work but they are not getting any credit only because they do have to stay at home and raise the family. If they can't make it, they have to go out into the work force. But they haven't been prepared for it. *(Chicago drop-off)*

If you don't want to go to school and you don't want to advance yourself, you're going to make \$4.90 and you're going to live with it. *(Tacoma ticket-splitter)*

And when you see what your taxes are when they break it down for what you are paying on your escrow taxes on your house -- what you are paying in there. The largest chunk is for school. School taxes, not for street. It's not for roads, not for buildings but for education. And I'm all for education. My kids are not in school any more and I think that is the greatest thing in the world if they took 100 percent of the taxes for education, it would be great. Because the more educated kids are, the less they are in trouble. *(Chicago ticket-splitter)*

Not all of us have \$60,000 to fork over for a college degree. *(Tacoma ticket-splitter)*

### ***Health care***

Health care remains a high priority for these voters. Their focus, however, is not on access, availability or quality. Primarily, they are frustrated and angered by constantly rising costs:

A lot of the same things she was saying just as far as trying to raise kids. My husband is working. And medical bills. That's been -- I've been in the hospital three times in the last seven years with kidney stones. And we're still paying on them. My husband has insurance and they pay 80 percent but 80 percent on some of these bills is outrageous. *(Chicago ticket-splitter)*

[What should the government do?]

I agree on the health benefits.... It's ridiculous. Four hundred dollars a month for two people for health insurance. That is more than my first house payment was. That's gross. *(Tacoma drop-off)*

### **Retirement**

These women are most fearful for themselves about their own retirement, a particularly acute concern for homemakers as well as working women. They believe that Social Security will have disappeared by the time they retire, and that they'll be on their own. Even if Social Security survives, they understand that their history of low-paying jobs and their attempts to stay home with their children mean that their benefits will be meager, and they find this fundamentally unfair.

Really scary because Social Security, you can't count on it. And like with me, I raised my kids. I was a single mother. I had to take low-paying jobs and the amount that I get on Social Security is what, \$380 a month or something like that. What can I buy with that? You can't. *(Tacoma ticket-splitter)*

Well, I lived in a man's world for many, many years until I finally decided I'm tired of fighting it and went into real estate and I'm not relying on any outside funds for my retirement. I'm going to be grateful, but I'm just trying to set myself up to make my own money and to be ready for it. I don't know, I have a daughter that's 31 with three kids that works her tail off and has a great supporting husband, you know, and raises three great kids. I just tried to raise my children, took, to plan for retirement because it's not going to be there for you, Social Security. *(Tacoma ticket-splitter)*

I think, too, that there is just -- like you have to be concerned if Social Security is going to be there. There is such a whole environment -- like I feel that the politicians really aren't in touch with us or really care about us or what is happening to the people. It's like their whole concern is sort of perpetuating their own jobs and hanging on to what they have. *(Chicago ticket-splitter)*

I don't think by the time -- I'm 36 and when I get to the age to retire -- and then like now, I haven't been working for the last eight years so I don't have money being put into a profit-sharing or I will probably once my youngest one gets old enough. But that's going to be quite a few years from now. I'm may go back to work part time but there won't be enough put in for me in a retirement or pension fund and then medical. *(Chicago ticket-splitter)*

And years and years of paying, paying. I'm going to be working for probably another 30 years and I'm going to keep on paying it and they keep telling you that you'd better save your own 401-K and your IRAs because you are on your own. *(Chicago ticket-splitter)*

### **Personal Safety**

Crime and violence are also important issues for these women, but they seem to blame government less than they blame individuals and -- particularly -- irresponsible parents for the problem. In fact, their concerns about crime center more on their fears for their children than on their own personal safety. They frequently mention their fears of danger in the public schools, of children bringing guns to school, and they worry about their children's safety in their own neighborhoods.

I am afraid to send her to a public school because I just don't feel she should have to go through metal detectors to get an education. Then I've got to work a second job to pay for a private school so I don't have to worry about that. That's what makes it really sad. You think what is her world when she becomes an adult. What is it going to be like with all the violence that is happening. I'm afraid to let her walk anywhere. I used to walk everywhere to go out, or to a bowling alley or a movie. You've got to drive them. You've got to pick them up. It's a real sad. (*Chicago ticket-splitter*)

Look at the White House. In the last two weeks, I mean, two, three people have gotten over the fence. Just crime. I mean, my daughter is in high school. We came from private school and public school this year, it was really frightening. I was really concerned as far as her safety because of guns, just weapons in general in the school system. There are security guards, there are police officers there all the time. It's like being in prison, you know. But that's her way of being kept safe, you know. (*Tacoma ticket-splitter*)

My greatest concern is my children because they don't get the opportunity to be kids. You have to watch everything they do. I think things are worse out here than in the Chicago area. You have specific areas that you stay out of. Here someone is coming who is friends and tried to run him down on a car on his bicycle. I almost broke it in half. He tells me -- he says, mom, you are so paranoid. I said you don't think I have a reason to be paranoid? One of his friend's mothers is a 911 operator. She feels the same way I do and it is just being a kid -- they don't even get the chance to grow up without -- you can't walk out your door and we live in Park [inaudible]. It's not in the city but still you've got those same concerns. That is my biggest thing is my kids. To grow up -- like I said I grew up just outside of Chicago and we walked. You went to the parks. You didn't feel threatened. You didn't feel afraid. I am more afraid here than I ever did back there. (*Tacoma drop-off*)

This concern for their children also translates into frustration with what they perceive as declining morals and values. Said a Chicago ticket-splitter: "being the parent of teenagers, I see the morals and television programs, MTV and all the moral issues that are one there -- or lack of. It is very disgusting and depressing to have children growing up in this type of an atmosphere." These women resent their loss of control over their own lives and their children's lives and futures.

### *Choice*

Abortion also raises powerful feelings, but opinions are divided. For those who are pro-choice, however, this is a defining issue.

[What do you dislike about Republicans?]

I classified them as conservative and I agree with her as far as them being even close, family, moral, judgment. I think they try to cut the choice of the people. I guess if I had to take one issue in particular, I would say abortion rights and Republicans are known to be against that. (*Tacoma drop-off*)

[I like that the Democrats are] pro-choice. What I mean is though I personally, unless it's for medical reasons or I was raped, I could not have an abortion. I personally couldn't do it, but I have no right to tell another woman what she can and can't do with her body. So I would not take the right away. (*Tacoma ticket-splitter*)

Everybody has their opinion, but I think that particular group and as far as I'm concerned, that cuts to people's choice. (*Chicago drop-off*)

Those issues provide Democrats with a powerful message to mobilize these women with economic security at the core. Republicans, however, also have a potential message to these women, who are concerned about high taxes, big government, wasteful spending of their money and welfare reform. These voters will also vote for change and right now the Republicans seem more like the party of change, the Democrats more like the big spending defenders of the status quo.

Working in our favor, however, is the fact that these women are also populist pro-women voters, particularly the non-voting portion. They believe women "are treated as second-class citizens" by everyone from city hall to car dealers to their employers, and they respond to populist rhetoric from this vantage point.

### **THE MESSAGE -- ECONOMIC SECURITY AND CHANGE**

The strongest message for mobilizing these women is one which focuses on economic security and on the things which make it possible for families to survive. Language should focus on immediate economic needs as specifically as possible, rather than on abstract notions of strengthening the economy. The contrast can focus on those in touch with and willing to prioritize the things that real families need. These women feel that few elected officials are on their side and responding to their economic needs. The strongest rhetoric here can therefore have a distinctly populist edge.<sup>1</sup>

It is a dialogue in these own women's words that taps their frustration and desperation: "everything has deteriorated," "you can't get ahead." These women fear for their children and believe a bad economy has robbed them of the ability to do anything to help. "You are working three of those McDonalds jobs just to make ends meet" ... "Exactly, you are running yourself ragged and paying most of your money out to someone else to watch your kids." These women see little improvement in the future and fear for women's lives ten years from now in a world where "you can't count on Social Security," "you are trapped in low-paying jobs," and full-time jobs are being converted to part-time jobs that are "just enough not to give benefits."

These voters see little value in the status quo. As one woman said, "if things don't change, it will probably be a living hell." They believe that Bill Clinton supported change, but that he is "in over his head," "he's trying but can't get it done," "he's impotent because of the lobbyists." They worry that Democrats "don't like change," "are stuck in the mud," and "don't want change." They voted for change in 1992 and some voted for it again in 1994. Others did not vote in disgust, because they had not gotten the change they were promised.

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<sup>1</sup> However, as we've seen with other swing voters, the argument is not that the wealthy are bad, but that they should contribute their fair share, and that they shouldn't benefit at the expense of others.

*Who is on their side?*

Perhaps most striking is that most of these women believe that *no one* is on their side -- not Democrats, not Republicans, not any individual they can name. As discussed above, their anger is largely focused on Congress broadly, by which they mean politicians. They do not believe that politicians understand their lives, and they see Congress as spending all its time and energy on partisan bickering, rather than on actually working to solve problems. The enemy for these voters is less Democrats or Republicans than Congress and politics as usual.

These voters can think of few people on their side. The lack of a spokesperson mutes the power of messages to these voters. These women are more inclined to see Princess Diana and dead presidents like Lincoln as more on their side than anyone now in office.

Their anger at Congress notwithstanding, these women do see Democrats as somewhat more sympathetic than Republicans. They believe that Democrats tend to be more focused on the middle class -- the working class -- while Republicans' first priority is the wealthy -- the "plantation owners," the "upper echelon." At the same time, they also believe that Democrats have been irresponsible, spending too much money, while they believe that Republicans are more likely to actually bring change:

[What comes to mind when I say "Democrats"?)

Big spenders  
Fat cats -- they want us to pay for everything.  
They overspend.  
The money gets thrown out there without a great deal of thought as to what is actually happening to it in the end.  
Where is it coming from? They spend, spend, spend, but where is it coming from?  
They're wasting our money.  
They give themselves more raises and more perks and we're getting less and less.

[What are the good things about Republicans?]

I like their ideas on welfare reform.  
They want to reduce the size of government. If done properly, that's a good thing.  
I think they are trying to reduce the national debt and balance the budget.

Most of these women personally dislike Gingrich, and they do not believe he understands their lives at all. They do not trust him and think he is trying to be more powerful than his position as Speaker should allow him to be.

Again, just -- I don't know. He seems like he's always putting down Democrats or the people who are more for the people. He has nothing good to say about any of those people who are more for us. (*Tacoma drop-off*)

He doesn't have a clue. I really don't think so. When he is talking about these tax breaks, on the one hand, he is talking about how we have to balance the budget, then he is talking about tax breaks for people with incomes up to \$200,000 a year. He is all caught up in

this fundamentalist religious ho ha. I could go on and on. I can't stand him.  
(*Chicago ticket-splitter*)

I think he is scamming the country. He's got his classes. He's got his television program as well, Eyes on the Classes. He's also got the House, Senate. He's got everything going for him and technically, according to the paper, by law he shouldn't have all that. The government shouldn't be backing up most of his stuff. (*Chicago drop-off*)

Ticket-splitters see the radical right as a powerful threat. They associate the radical right with "Newt Gingrich," "Jimmy Bakker," "fanatics," "right-wingers" and "the militia." Their biggest fears are that the radical right will impose its values on people's personal lives and invade their privacy.

I think bringing religion into the politics -- like you said, I'm all for morality. I'm all for us all living by the Golden Rule and everything, but this prayer in school stuff. That is not something that should be handled at school. That is your personal life. Your at-home stuff. Abortion issues -- to me, that should not be a political theme. I think they are bringing their churches into the whole voting thing. It was just in *Time* magazine just a week or two ago. This young guy -- I can't remember his name but he's got this big following going because he's real -- he's good-looking. He's young. He's got a couple kids and he's a preacher and he is going to be vaulted to be the new leader. I'm like that -- I don't like that because that is just like forcing it down my throat.  
(*Chicago ticket-splitter*)

I think they want their morality to be *the* morality. (*Chicago ticket-splitter*)

Well, all these right-wingers, I'm really scared of them. I really am. I saw a bumper sticker the other day that said "Please, Lord, Save Me From Your Bawlers" and I believe it. I think they've gone too far out. (*Tacoma ticket-splitter*)

No, it doesn't make sense to me. I think everybody should exercise their religion to their beliefs. I don't like people imposing their thoughts or beliefs on me or my children. (*Tacoma ticket-splitter*)

Drop-off voters, however, have a somewhat mixed sense of who the radical right is, and thus see them as a much less serious threat.

Sounds like somebody is trying to cram religion down my throat, I guess. (*Tacoma drop-off*)

The thing that I think is so funny is the right wing doesn't even go with religion. The right wings I know, none of them are Christians so the two don't even, in my mind, don't even belong in the same sentence. (*Tacoma drop-off*)

I feel like that too. I don't make the connection at all. When I hear that, I'm like that doesn't make sense because these people are not Christians so why do they attach that to that? (*Tacoma drop-off*)

That's -- I don't know about here but I don't want the country being run by people who think they should lead it using the Bible as a strict set of laws. (*Chicago drop-off*)

Either in their own small communities or some of these small towns that are run that way. I don't - there are some in both parties that I would consider that way. (*Chicago drop-off*)

Like a David Koresh-type to where they have followers. They have power and depending on their

beliefs, there is all different religious leaders. *(Chicago drop-off)*

[Are they a threat, or are they just a few people? How big a threat are they?]

I think it is growing.

It's definitely growing.

Look at the guy that blew Oklahoma and the Michigan -- all those....

The militias.

Were they are religious organization? I thought that was a militant organization?

Yeah, I don't think that's the religious.

But you know, they are people that are real disgusted with the way the government is.

And they start joining all these different things and that is what is happening.

And when that came out, it wasn't like this is just a one little group. This is the first time we all heard. This is all over the country they have these things: Boise, Idaho, and Michigan....

I'm trying to think if I've heard about like this Oklahoma thing -- if anything religious has been said about it. I heard that it was a militant group and that, like you said, is the first time I knew they were all around. But I don't remember hearing anything about them being a religious....

Well, the preacher came on, though, and he talked about how religious they are.

*(Chicago ticket-splitters)*

These women want to like President Clinton, and many make every effort to give him the benefit of the doubt. They want to say that he's trying, and that he has the right intentions. The problem is that they see him as indecisive and as incapable of taking a stand on the issues they care about. When he does, he can't always get things done or follow through. The Perot voters among these women are much more negative.

Well, I don't think our president really gets it. I think he says he gets it and he really tries to act like he gets it, but I don't think he gets it at all. *(Chicago ticket-splitter)*

He vacillates so much. He will say one thing and then two weeks later or a month later it is something else. It's like the guy doesn't have any hard-core conviction is my feeling about him. I would like it better if I disagreed with him that he stood out for what he said. *(Chicago ticket-splitter)*

He doesn't follow through and I agree with Kathleen here. He is basically a good person. He means well. He's just not getting the job done. *(Chicago ticket-splitter)*

He has tried. Like I said, when he was elected I voted for him because of all the good things he said to get him elected. Now, it's like he's changing everything to make everybody happy. It's like why not keep to what you put forth.... *(Tacoma drop-off)*

I think the same way the rest of the ladies here. I think he wants to do so much but he doesn't follow through on anything. He just keeps talking and talking. Then it's like -- we get excited. Oh yeah, that sounds good and nothing is ever followed through on. *(Chicago drop-off)*

These voters have mixed reactions to Hillary Clinton. The defectors dislike that "she pushes Bill Clinton" and "tries to be president." They direct their resentment of class and "professional women" toward her. However, the drop-off voters generally expressed tremendous admiration for Hillary. "She's for children and women," "she's intelligent," "she's well-read," "she's a worker and gets her hands dirty."

She runs the government. *(Tacoma drop-off)*  
I wish she were president. *(Chicago drop-off)*  
She gets out there and she understands what's going on. *(Chicago drop-off)*  
She is from here. She is one of us. She is one of the down-to-earth people.  
*(Chicago drop-off)*

Perhaps the main ally these women see is other women, although they will not admit that directly. They are excited when they hear women candidates are running, but often feel a class difference with "the women in suits" and "women professional politicians." They do, however, articulate a kind of populist feminism -- a sense that women are in the same boat, and that women can be relied on to care and to help.

## PARTICIPATION

Many drop-off voters express their reluctance to vote on election day as deep cynicism. They feel that their own vote will not necessarily make a difference, so why bother. They also feel that they voted for a change in 1992 and did not get it, and tend to believe that politicians will not care about their constituents, no matter who is elected -- so, again, why bother? The defectors feel if they don't vote, "they can't complain." The drop-off voters believe that if they don't vote, "they can't be blamed."

The cynicism of these drop-off voters is different from the gentle apathy of voters in the 50s and 70s. This represents deep alienation. They believe "no matter who's in, it's the same," "same promises, different faces." They report "they weren't excited enough or disgusted enough" to vote and don't "want to vote a bad one in" or do the politicians "a favor." As one reported, she refused to "vote for them" to give them anything. These are also low information voters and "don't want to vote for someone they know nothing about." Their cynicism acts as a further filter on their low information. Their lives are balkanized and they bring few resources to the table.

Sometimes you feel it just doesn't matter. You've got something going in your life. You are not going to stop it and run out to vote because it is going to make a big change in the world.  
*(Chicago drop-off)*

I think they think it doesn't matter who is in there. It's not going to make any difference because it never has. They are thinking it never has. I don't care if there is Democrat in there or a Republican in there. It's always the same, so they are like what does it matter. I hear people talk like that all the time. *(Tacoma drop-off)*

It's almost the same. I wouldn't vote -- you just get disgusted. It's the same old stuff. *(Chicago drop-off)*

That is true. They tell you the same things and they never follow through. *(Chicago drop-off)*

People figure it's not going to make any difference. *(Tacoma drop-off)*

I did not vote on purpose because I'm exactly like you. I think they are all the same and for me to go there and pull a lever, I might cancel out somebody who maybe they know something that I

don't know that could be positive. For me to just go in there and vote for somebody that I didn't feel good about, or that I don't know them well enough to vote.... *(Tacoma drop-off)*

Why go out there and bother? Nobody is doing anything. They say one thing and then they don't do anything. They are changing their mind and we just lose everything all the way around.  
*(Chicago drop-off)*

These voters feel "helpless." They are "fed up," but can't figure out anything effective to do in a world where there "is no difference between Republicans and Democrats."

While suspicious of vote by mail and possible fraud, drop-off voters share more of a populist identity with other women, and are more responsive to a woman-to-woman appeal to vote.

I just think that at some level they are trying to reach out to women and let them know that we understand any problems you are having, or whatever -- just trying to reach out to women in general. That is a good thing. *(Tacoma drop-off)*

## CHOOSING CANDIDATES

These voters talk about issues, but values and character more than issues drive their vote. They vote "for change" and "for who speaks to me in my heart." These voters respond positively to women candidates, but they are often reluctant to admit any preference based on gender. Thus, when asked how they would respond if a woman were running for Congress in their area, their first reaction is "good for her!" Then, they quickly pull back into skepticism and into claiming that they vote on the issues, rather than on gender.

I feel sorry for her right at first and then I think, well, I give -- well, good for her. At least she's got the guts to try. But I do -- first of all, I go oh, God, I feel sorry for her. I don't know. It just seems like women, if you don't get browbeaten, verbally abused or whatever it is, I don't care in any walk of life a woman tries, if you think back in history, how many really do you remember that were -- did something fantastic, I guess. *(Tacoma ticket-splitter)*

Yeah, I'd like to know her background, but I would be happy to see that a woman.... *(Chicago drop-off)*

Good for her [when I hear a woman is running for Congress]. *(Tacoma drop-off)*

Right, and then you have to read her position. *(Tacoma drop-off)*

You also have to see, too, if she is following the men or if she is going for the women. *(Tacoma drop-off)*

Although these women claim they vote on issues, what they really mean is "values." When pushed to explain which issues matter to them, they immediately return to a description of values.

When I vote, I really look at the person's decisions on issues that are important to me. For example, how they have voted in the past on issues concerning people and if people have been losing over the long term because they voted to take these away from them. I don't think that person is qualified to really care about us. Just lots of little things. *(Tacoma ticket-splitter)*

Who speaks to me -- in my heart. Who sits there and speaks to me thinking this person is going to make a change for the better and not for the worse. Someone that is going to do something. *(Tacoma drop-off)*

Similarly, when asked directly, they will often deny that women are any different than men. As conversation evolves, however, they will freely generalize about the issues that women are better on, and about how women are likely to be more compassionate and to understand their lives better.

If it was that equal, I would vote for the woman. Maybe hoping that she'd get more child care issues or education issues passed than more military spending or less graft with gun control, hopefully. Hopefully, because they haven't been in power or women haven't had that kind of responsibility. *(Chicago ticket-splitter)*

Women don't feel like they owe anybody anything. See, once you get into power, I don't owe you a thing. Where men have this little patronage type of thing. Well, you did me a favor so I'm going to do you a favor. A lot of women are like, tough, I'm here now. *(Chicago drop-off)*

We've got a hormonal thing that goes on in our bodies that allow us to be sympathetic. We have a tendency to listen more and come to a better conclusion whereas men, they just kind of think one way and that is the only way. *(Tacoma drop-off)*

The candidates that left the most positive impression on these women were candidates who seemed to understand their lives, and whose slightly rougher edges made them seem more ordinary. They want candidates in touch with women's lives, sharing their multiple roles, and who are not too "upper class." At the same time, they demand a certain degree of professionalism and strength. They leap on women who seem soft or weak, saying that she'd be "eaten alive."

I thought she was a people-person. In her first ad she was with, I think, every kind of background. She was with kids; she was with working people; she was with the police. I don't know. She came across -- I don't know -- warm. Like she would be for you. *(Chicago drop-off)*

I think she addressed the issues -- what mattered and I think that is what I liked about her. She addressed what matters and not the hubbub of all that other kind of stuff out there. She addressed what mattered and that is what I liked about her. *(Tacoma drop-off)*

She was herself. She didn't have to dress all fancy. She just -- I felt she was very educated. She can deal with the average person -- any person she could [talkover] *(Chicago drop-off)*

She seemed like a real person speaking, not the smooth, polished. *(Chicago drop-off)*

It just struck me, too, the way she was shown talking to kids in a classroom, talking to somebody on a job site. That said to me that she actually goes out and makes it a point to try to get different people's points of view, making an effort, rather than I'm here at the kingdom, come see me. (*Tacoma ticket-splitter*)

Or, as a Tacoma ticket-splitter said: "she spoke on a level that I think just about anybody could understand. Working class. Just the basics."

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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August 3, 1995

David Neff  
Executive Editor  
Christianity Today  
465 Gundersen Drive  
Carol Stream, Illinois 60188

Dear David:

Thanks for your letter of July 13 and for your kind words about my speech at James Madison High School. I also appreciate your candid assessment of the Georgetown speech. While I know you agree that the economic issues I addressed are vitally important, I also understand and appreciate your concern that transcendent values be promoted, too. I thank you for sharing your thoughts about it.

I've taken the liberty of enclosing the whole series of recent speeches I've given, and I hope you'll let me know what you think. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

*Bill Clinton*

# CHRISTIANITY TODAY

July 13, 1995

The President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President,

I was very pleased yesterday to read several wire-service reports of your speech at James Madison High School and to talk to someone who was present for the event.

A directive such as you have given to Education and Justice is an important step in securing the sense of personal freedom Americans should have in exercising their religious liberty.

I sincerely hope that the effort that you are putting forth is highly effective. Nevertheless, with several constitutional challenges to RFRA pending in the courts, it may be necessary to move beyond these simple directives to a constitutional amendment. I am opposed to any School Prayer Amendment, but some versions of the Religious Equality Amendment are anything but that, and I am convinced they might clear the air. The media generally, however, have these two amendments hopelessly confused.

I should say that yesterday's speech encouraged me because I had felt a bit let down by the previous week's speech at Georgetown University. I had received a fax from the White House press office before the Georgetown speech, suggesting that its primary goal was to call attention to our "common ground." As I read the transcript of the speech, I felt that its focus was too much on reaching our "middle class dreams," and thus the speech did not seem to lift America's vision any higher than wallet level. There was little sense of the *transcendent* values that we hold in common: justice, freedom, equality, "purple mountain majesties," etc. But yesterday's affirmation of the role of religion in our lives helped to correct that impression. Please remind the American people on a regular basis of the transcendent things that should, for all our diversity, act as superordinate goals.

I spoke last night with Linda Lader. (That wild & crazy woman called me from London where it was 2:30 AM!) She said your long-term record on the role of religion in public life is not generally recognized and should be brought forward. I agreed.

Within minutes of yesterday's speech, some organizations were calling you a political opportunist. (The news release I received from Pat Robertson's ACLJ was one of the worst.) I knew that it was not merely considerations of political timing that drove that speech because of our earlier conversation and correspondence we had about Lincoln's spirituality. If people realized you had addressed this topic in this way as Governor Clinton, it might help to dispel that impression of opportunism. I wonder whether any of

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A PUBLICATION OF CHRISTIANITY TODAY, INC.

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It has been a long time since have had personal contact. (I chose to attend the February version of Renaissance Weekend this year to avoid the crowds.) But perhaps our paths will cross again.

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A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "David".

David Neff  
Executive Editor

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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**OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY**

**Fax Transmittal Sheet**

**TO:** LINDA LADER

**Fax Number:** 638-4141

**Phone Number:**

**FROM:** Todd Stern

**SUBJECT:** Copy of letter signed by the President

**DATE:** 08/07/95

**NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):** 4

**MESSAGE:**

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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by McCaskey  
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August 3, 1995

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David Neff  
Executive Editor



# The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

**WILLIAM F. WELD**  
GOVERNOR

**ARGEO PAUL CELLUCCI**  
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

## FAX TRANSMISSION

---

**To:** The President  
The White House

**Fax:** (202)456-6703

**Voice:**

**From:** William F. Weld  
Governor

**Date:** August 9, 1995

---

**1 page(s) will follow this cover sheet.**

*Handwritten signature*



THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS  
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT  
STATE HOUSE • BOSTON 02133  
(617) 727-3600

WILLIAM F. WELD  
GOVERNOR

ARGEO PAUL CELLUCCI  
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

August 9, 1995

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

*Stop Secy  
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not seen*

Dear Mr. President:

It should be no surprise that the discussions between our administrations related to our pending welfare reform waivers have been challenging, since no state has ever implemented a reform of this breadth.

I am writing to ask that you reconsider the Administration's decision to close negotiations with the Commonwealth. It would be a shame if such a key reform is held up over a single issue. We are pushing the envelope some. You permitted Wisconsin to experiment in two counties with a straightforward time limit; our statute calls for a statewide demonstration -- but a time limit only for able-bodied individuals and in the state with the highest per capita commitment to child care.

You joined with Oregon in cutting new ground in approving their rationing model in Medicaid. In that spirit, I am asking you and Secretary Shalala to move back from the view she enunciated in her recent letter that exceptions approved in other states should fit Massachusetts as well. It just doesn't mesh with our statute.

It is not unreasonable for the federal government to share with a state the business of defining the safety net -- especially if the state has demonstrated the kind of strong commitment to assisting the poor that has been true for so long in Massachusetts.

If our statute is approved, you will have our commitment to make this program work through a careful and sensitive implementation.

Thank you, in advance, for your consideration.

Respectfully,

*Handwritten signature of William F. Weld*

William F. Weld

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/7/95

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate the reply.

original sent to Dorskind

HIV/AIDS

by

Allan "Jay" Fox, IV

OPASCO

- met him at WHFF  
- give copy to AIDS office  
They might want to use him - send on nice paper  
reply to him - BK

Howdy, my name is Allan "Jay" Fox, IV and this is my daughter Megan. MEGAN HAS AIDS, and that is what this is all about. During the past three years Megan and I have traveled over a 100,000 miles throughout the United States and Canada telling "OUR STORY" of how HIV/AIDS has affected us and how it can affect you. Let me start by saying, MEGAN AND I ARE NOT LOOKING FOR YOUR PITY AND DO NOT WANT YOU TO FEEL SORRY FOR US BECAUSE, WE FEEL BLESSED WITH THIS UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO EDUCATE FOLKS ABOUT HIV/AIDS. I WANT TO STRESS TO Y'ALL THAT MEGAN IS NOT DYING FROM AIDS, SHE IS LIVING WITH AIDS.

First, here are some facts and these are just the tip of the iceberg.

FACT I

Many folks believe HIV/AIDS is a disease of only Gays and IV Drug Users. Let me tell y'all this is about as far from the truth as possible!

FACT II

In 1992 it was estimated that as many as one out of every one-hundred people in the United States could be infected with HIV and not even know it!

FACT III

In some countries over 50% of the population are known to be infected with HIV!

FACT IV

Nobody dies from HIV/AIDS they die for complications of the opportunistic diseases brought on by a depressed immune system!

FACT V

The only way to know that you are not infected with HIV is to be tested!

FACT VI

If it is discovered early on that you have HIV/AIDS you can be treated to slow down the progression of the disease!

THE FOLLOWING IS OUR STORY

It all started back in 1963, when Megan's mother, Carol, and I were married. However, it was not until 1982 that we decided to start a family. This is when all our problems began, but at the time we were not aware of them. Carol's gynecologist told her that to conceive she would have to undergo surgery for the removal of Fibroid Tumors. During this surgery, she received a blood transfusion that was contaminated with HIV. We were not to learn about the HIV for over eight (8) years.

On June 15, 1984, Carol and I were blessed with the birth of our daughter, Megan Alyssa Fox. For the next six (6) years we were as happy and proud as any parents could be. Then in November 1990, after some routine surgery, Carol's White Blood Cell count was found to be low. After running several tests, Carol commented to her doctor, do you think I might have AIDS, as I had a blood transfusion in 1982. He told her that he didn't think she had AIDS, but agreed to test her for HIV so as to put her mind at ease.

On Wednesday, the day before Thanksgiving, Carol's doctor informed her that she had tested positive for HIV. The following Monday, Megan and I were also tested. Our results took about ten (10) days to come back. When all test results were in, Carol and Megan had tested positive for HIV and I was negative. Since both Carol and Megan had HIV they were put on the same drug AZT. With both of them on AZT, there was no way to keep it from Megan that she and her mother had the same illness.

Carol was afraid of children being cruel toward Megan, so she wanted the fact that they had HIV to be kept a secret. Then in July 1991, the bottom fell out, as Carol was diagnosed as having Lymphoma Cancer. Since Cancer is one of the opportunistic diseases caused by a depressed immune system, Carol was now classified as having AIDS.

For the next five (5) months Megan watched her mother get sicker and sicker from the Cancer brought on by the same HIV she had. Then on Christmas day 1991, my wife of twenty-eight (28) years and Megan's mother **DIED OF LYMPHOMA CANCER BROUGHT ON BY AIDS.**

I felt it was much more important to spend quality time with Megan than make rich people richer. Therefore to spend as much time as possible with her, I quit my job. By doing this I qualified for survivors benefits from Carol's Social Security as long as I took care of Megan. By changing our lifestyle and dipping into our savings I felt we could survive.

My plans were to travel and show Megan as much as possible during the summer of 1992. Then since Dr. Philip Pizzo of the National Institutes of Health (NIH) was World renowned for his research on HIV/AIDS, I wanted to get her enrolled in one of his HIV/AIDS experimental protocols at NIH in Bethesda, Maryland.

We sold our home in Texas and moved in with my sister to maintain a residence of a sort. Then Megan and I hit the road for Alaska and the adventure of a lifetime. We traveled all summer and everywhere we went, I told both friends and strangers about how Carol had gotten HIV and passed it on to Megan. After traveling over 18,000 miles and experiencing nothing negative about Megan having HIV, we arrived in the quaint little fishing village of St. Michaels, Maryland. This was where Carol had grown up and was now buried. We rented a little house across the street from Carol's, parents. Besides being across the street from Megan's grandparents and two (2) blocks from Carol's grave, we were only an one hour and a half drive from NIH, and Dr. Pizzo, and his outstanding research team.

Upon our arrival in St. Michaels, I decided, since the local population was only about 1,200, it might be easier to be public about Megan's HIV, than try to keep it a secret. During the 1992-93 school year, Megan attended the St. Michaels Elementary/Middle School. This is where I made my first public talk about Megan's life with HIV. Unknowingly to me at the time, I was creating a support group of the entire community for Megan and myself. Had it not been for this support I feel Christmas of 1992 would have been a total nightmare.

In January 1993 Megan was accepted at NIH where Dr. Pizzo and his HIV/AIDS research staff would follow her. This was where both Megan and I first came in contact and made friends with our true peers, those being other children with HIV/AIDS and their adult care givers. It was great support getting to know these children and we looked forward to our visits to NIH to see our new friends.

Megan and I again spent the summer of 1993 traveling over 17,000 miles and returning to the Yukon Territory and Alaska. However, by the time we returned to NIH at the end of the summer, Megan had gone into FULL-BLOWN AIDS. Although Megan was in the FULL-BLOWN AIDS condition she still managed to attend school during the 1993-94 school year and was promoted to the fifth grade.

In September of 1992 FULL-BLOWN AIDS was reclassified. Now it is not necessary to have succumbed to one of the opportunistic diseases to be classified as having FULL-BLOWN AIDS. If the CD-4 cells in your immune system go below 200 you are said to have FULL-BLOWN AIDS.

During the summer 1994, we did not travel because Megan, had to return to NIH several times, because we were trying to start her on a new experimental HIV/AIDS drug therapy.

Megan is just like any other little girl EXCEPT SHE HAS AIDS. You will not get HIV/AIDS from her unless you do something really stupid. In fact you are more dangerous to Megan than she is to you.

As I stated in "OUR STORY" Carol received the blood transfusion that was contaminated with HIV in 1982, but it was not discovered until 1990. Prior to this discovery, HIV/AIDS was really of no great concern to me. I felt that because neither Carol nor myself were, PROMISCUOUS, GAY or IV DRUG USERS we didn't have to worry about HIV/AIDS. However, HIV/AIDS does not discriminate between who it infects. Just like Carol and Megan were, ANYONE OF YOU COULD BE HIV POSITIVE AND NOT EVEN KNOW IT.

The point I want to get across is, GET YOURSELF TESTED FOR HIV, because if you know you have the disease you can be treated. In addition you can take steps so as not to pass it on to someone else.

I like to use the comparison of HIV/AIDS to Diabetes. Nobody dies from Diabetes, they die from complications. Just like a Diabetic can live with Diabetes, so can a person live with HIV/AIDS. However, in both cases YOU MUST TAKE THE FIRST STEP AND BE TESTED.

Most local Health Departments offer FREE HIV TESTING. These tests are CONFIDENTIAL, whereas only you and the person who draws your blood know you are being tested. Likewise the person who gives you the test results and you are the only ones that know how you tested.

In Megan's case the discovery of HIV was earlier then that of Carol's. As I said previously she is now being treated at NIH by Dr. Pizzo and his fine research team. In addition she receives prophylactic drug therapy to keep her from getting some of the opportunistic diseases. HAD IT BEEN DISCOVERED EARLIER THAT CAROL HAD HIV, TREATMENT COULD HAVE BEEN STARTED AND SHE MAY NEVER HAD GOTTEN THE CANCER SHE DIED FROM. THEREFORE, EARLY DISCOVERY OF HIV IS OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO YOU.

In closing I would like to say. There is nothing to be ashamed of about having HIV/AIDS so, for the sake of you, your loved ones and the rest of the world **GET YOURSELF TESTED FOR HIV.**

Thank you for allowing us to speak with you today and may God Bless each and everyone of y'all.

Should you wish to reproduce or quote anything contained herein, you have my permission to do so.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Allan J. Fox, IV". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned above the typed name and address.

Allan J. Fox, IV  
507 Railroad Ave.  
St. Michaels, Md. 21663  
Phone: 410/745-5731

(or)

6510 Emerald St.  
Austin, Tx. 78745  
Phone: 512/443-2205

we would  
write them  
follow  
Be

8/7  
original  
sent to  
Doriskind

ATTACHMENT

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/7/95

Special Guests' Biographies

Jen  
cc Debbie

**Kenny and Rosemarie Weaver, and daughters Michelle and Melinda, Port Lavaca, TX:** In September 1993, in connection with the Make A Wish Foundation, Kenny visited you at the White House with his oldest daughter, Melissa, who was dying of leukemia. Kenny thanked you for signing the FMLA because it enabled him to spend the last weeks of his daughter's life with her. Melissa died one week later.

**Diane and Melvin Atwood, Little Rock, AR:** Diane met you in March of this year at the Emmanuel Baptist Church in Little Rock. She told you that FMLA saved her life. She has Hodgkins' Disease and has had to take time off for many treatments -- chemotherapy, radiation, and a bone marrow transplant. Finally, an experimental drug treatment, Interferon, saved her life. Without FMLA, she couldn't have kept her job and her life insurance which she needed to pay for those treatments. She says that FMLA helped her get through the emotional and financial burdens on their entire family.

**J.C. Shardo and family, Atlanta, GA:** J.C. met you in 1993 when her brother, "Swartz" (pronounced Schwartzie), was first diagnosed with cancer. You sent a special greeting to Swartz before a 10-hour operation. During the months before his death, J.C. and her six siblings spent as much time as possible by his side. J.C. and her family feel that being able to be there for Swartz in his time of need was one of the most meaningful experiences of their lives. The Shardos will hand you a letter which Swartz wrote to you before he died. You will open it for the first time.

**Bill and Debbie Fish and family, Saginaw, MI:** Bill Fish works in production for Saginaw Ball and Screw. Early last spring, his wife, Debbie, developed glaucoma and became blind. Thanks to the FMLA, Bill was able to take time off to drive her to the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, 85 miles away, where the doctors operated and restored her sight.

**Deborah and Christopher Ruffin, Hyattsville, MD:** The Ruffins' daughter, Kristin, was diagnosed with leukemia in November 1993. She had a relapse in November 1994 and had to travel to South Carolina for a bone marrow transplant. Deborah works for the District government and has been able to use annual and sick leave to be with Kristin, but her husband, Chris, who works for Fox TV, has relied on FMLA to obtain the time off. Kristin is staying at the NIH now.

**Christie Sens, Fairfax, VA:** Christie, a teacher in the Fairfax County school district, took leave to recover from a difficult pregnancy. Christie's child was born in August 1993 -- the time the FMLA went into effect. After giving birth, she needed more time to recover from the pregnancy. Her supervisor denied her request for leave, but Christie located a copy of the FMLA and informed her supervisor. She was then granted leave. Her child, who is turning 2 years old, will accompany her.

~~OK~~  
~~Sunday~~  
By Mr. President -

THE WHITE HOUSE THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
8-7-95

95 AUG 7 AB: 47

The VP Prothro For Camp David  
Meeting to be next Sunday. He  
can do Saturday if he leaves  
by 5 PM

Erskine

(E) **Rescue response to your note on food stamp fraud.** Carol reports that USDA is taking a number of steps to reduce fraud -- last year's rate was 7.65%, down from 8.29% in 1993. In May, USDA sent a food stamp reform proposal to the Hill that includes incentives to states to reduce errors and sanctions on the highest error rates. To date, the House and Senate have adopted only a portion of the USDA proposals. The House welfare bill would increase sanctions on states with above-average error rates, though it isn't clear whether Dole's bill will include these provisions. USDA is also working on administrative action to reduce the error rate.

(F) **Gibbons memo on PCAST report on magnetic fusion energy.** PAST has completed its review of the U.S. Magnetic Fusion Energy program, emphasizing the importance of fusion as an environmentally attractive and perhaps essential energy source for the nation by the middle of the 21st century. The panel recommends funding the program at \$320 million/year for the next ten years -- a retrenchment from current Administration plans, but adequate to keep the program going in a meaningful way. The panel also found that the cuts Congress is now considering would be so damaging as to halt progress toward the fusion goal.

(G) **Response from Secretary Riley: private management of public schools and charter schools.** Private management: limited experimentation shows some improvement in the physical operation of schools, but mixed results in student performance. Substantial criticism of EAI (Education Alternatives Inc.) by teacher's unions, though teachers in EAI schools respond more positively. Charter schools: no information on effectiveness yet, though research on other public schools providing choice and greater autonomy suggests that sense of ownership by staff, students and parents helps galvanize efforts toward common goal. Charter schools are growing rapidly in popularity; degree of autonomy differs among charter schools; while teachers unions support the idea, their role in protecting employees leads to advocating more limited flexibility for the schools.

(H) **Letter from Secretary Glickman on Oklahoma City.** Secretary Glickman draws your attention to the outstanding service of USDA's National Finance Center in the wake of the bombing. NFC processes the paychecks and renders other financial services for over 40 government agencies, and maintains the record keeping for the government's Thrift Savings Plan. NFC ensured that salary payments to surviving federal employees in the Murrah building were not delayed, re-routing electronic transfers where necessary. NFC provided immediate assistance to rescue personnel to assist in identification efforts and waived requirements for death cases so that benefits to survivors were paid quickly as possible.


THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
8/7/95

August 3, 1995

95 AUG 14 P 3: 04

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN H. GIBBONS   
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR  
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

SUBJECT: PCAST Panel Report on Magnetic Fusion Energy

I am pleased to transmit to you the report of a special panel of your Committee of Advisors on Science and Technology (PCAST). This panel reviewed the U.S. Magnetic Fusion Energy program. The principal objective of this program is to provide the U.S. with an abundant, safe, environmentally attractive, cost-competitive new energy source. Chaired by John Holdren, this PCAST panel is to be congratulated for providing a thoughtful and technically sound scheme for restructuring the fusion program at a substantially reduced level of funding. This report was unanimously approved by PCAST on July 10th.

The PCAST report supports your policy of treating research and development (R&D) as a key long term investment. It underscores the importance of fusion as an attractive -- possibly essential -- energy source for our nation in the middle of the next century and beyond. The large scale of fusion experimental technology, the long time to commercialization, and recent extraordinary achievements argue for continued strong Federal support within the Department of Energy. Further, international collaboration is necessary for demonstrating practical fusion energy.

The panel recommends funding the U.S. magnetic fusion energy program at \$320 million per year through the next decade. Although this program requires considerable retrenchment from current Administration plans, we strongly endorse the panel's framework. It will support an important plasma science program, continue momentum toward the goal of commercial fusion power, and sustain international R&D activities.

As you know, the Congress is considering a funding level for fusion that is well below the PCAST-recommended budget. The panel also evaluated the consequences of a more dramatically reduced budget proposal that is roughly equal to the Congressional mark. It concluded that the program would lose essential elements and halt progress toward the fusion goal. Thus, if the U.S. is to sustain its commitment to plasma science and fusion technology, Federal support at the PCAST recommended level will be required.

**THE U.S. PROGRAM OF  
FUSION ENERGY  
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT**



**Report of the Fusion Review Panel**

*The President's Committee of Advisors  
on Science and Technology (PCAST)*

**July 1995**

MEMORANDUM

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
8-7-95

TO: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: BETTY  
RE: SEN. JOHN KERRY  
DATE: AUGUST 4, 1995

Senator John Kerry called - would like for you to return call.

Pat Griffin requested that you not return call until you speak with him.

Sen. Kerry will be in the office late tonight and most of Saturday.  
224-0214

↳ He thinks RSN,  
Loved it now -

BC

~~Handwritten scribbles and crossed-out text, possibly a signature or initials, heavily obscured by diagonal lines.~~

cc: Bowles and  
Tyson?  
yes &  
Speaking

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
8/7/95

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

95 AUG 5 P4:27

August 5, 1995

*Staff  
& Medical Group  
of Medicare document  
Excellent!!!*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ERSKINE BOWLES  
LAURA TYSON

SUBJECT: Update on Budget Working Group Activities

Appropriations Update

- **House.** Thursday, the House completed action on the Labor/HHS Appropriations bill (219-208). Nine Republicans opposed the bill and six Democrats (the margin of difference for defeat) supported the bill. The House was unable to complete Defense Appropriations prior to recess.
- **Senate.** The Senate is expected to complete action on the Treasury/Postal Appropriations bill today. Dole still intends to complete the Defense and Interior Appropriations bills prior to departing for recess.

Cabinet Activity

- Members of the Cabinet, Sub-Cabinet, and Senior Administration Officials are conducting extensive constituency and media outreach, and frequent trips to districts and visits with elected officials to educate the American people about the differences between the Republican budget resolution and your balanced budget.

Medicare Regional Media

- We have begun implementing a two week radio strategy targeting key legislative and senior markets. 19 White House, HHS and Labor Dept. officials will give us two 45 minute slots each week for morning and evening drive radio.
- Four budget/Medicare media tongs were held this week with Tyson, Stephanopoulos, Rivlin and Griffin. Five more tongs are scheduled for next week.

## Medicare Education

- Recognizing the need to provide reporters with basic education on the status of the Medicare Trust Fund, Administration actions, and the Republican plan, we have organized a series of reporter briefings by Dr. Tyson, Chris Jennings, and Gene Sperling.
- The first 2 briefings occurred on Friday, August 4. 2 more briefings are scheduled for next week. In addition to the oral briefing, a Medicare education document was prepared by the Budget Working Group and given to each of the reporters. A copy of that document is attached.

### Participants 8/4/95

Eleanor Clift	Newsweek
Tom Oliphant	Boston Globe
Robyn Toner	New York Times
Lisa Greene	USA Today (Money Section)
Josh Moss	Washington Times
Jay Carney	Time Magazine
David Broder	Washington Post
Martin Kasindorf	Newsday
George Rodrique	Dallas Morning News
Catherine Berger	ABC News
Bill Plante	CBS News
Jeff Levine	CNN
Kevin Bohn	CNN
Dina Temple-Raston	Bloomberg Business Wire
Alexis Simendinger	BNA

We are also planning to place an op-ed from the Administration trustees (Rubin, Reich, Shalala) to address these issues.

## State-By-State Analyses

- We prepared a booklet for the House Recess highlighting the state-by-state impact of the Republican cuts on Older Americans, Students, and Working Families. All House Democrats received this material in their Recess Packets.
- White House Media Affairs mailed the comprehensive State-by-State analysis to top 150 editorial boards and all D.C. news bureaus.
- The following agencies have also done nation wide releases of State-by-State comparisons of the Republican Budget's drastic cuts vs. the your balanced budget plan: USDA, HUD, HHS (Medicare), Education (Education & Job Training)

## SUMMARY OF THIS WEEK'S ACTIVITY

### Monday, July 31, 1995

**RIVLIN Mid-Session Review:** OMB issued its Mid-Session Review of the Budget, highlighting the Administration's success in reducing the deficit and now forecasting a balanced budget in 9 years under your balanced budget plan.

#### Other Activity

- Sec. Pena conducted radio interviews with target cities regarding impact of transit cuts to rural areas.
- Sec. Reich held an OSHA event on Republican attacks on worker protection laws.

### Tuesday, August 1, 1995

**POTUS Environmental Statement:** Your statement on the GOP amendment reinstating the Environmental riders was the major budget news of the day.

#### Other Activity

- Sec. Ron Brown did a Sperling Breakfast.
- Adm. Johnson participated in a radio interviews with WBTE in Charlotte, NC.
- Sec. Reich participated in a Satellite tour with communities dislocated due to base closures. The communities included Philadelphia, Charleston, San Antonio and key sites in California.
- Sec. Glickman was in MN for Farm Fest Convention where there was a forum on budget cuts.

### Wednesday, August 2, 1995

- Sec. Pena conducted radio interviews regarding impact of transit cuts to rural areas.
- Sec. Pena appeared before the Senate Commerce Science and Transportation Committee on FAA reform.
- Sec. Reich held press event on summer jobs.

**Thursday, August 3, 1995**

**POTUS Event Highlighting Extreme GOP Cuts to Education and Training:**

- ▶ Your meeting with Congressional Democrats and 10 education practitioners served to reinforce your commitment to education and your concerns regarding the Labor/HHS/Education appropriations bill approved by the House last night.
- ▶ Media Affairs set-up print, TV and radio interviews in targeted congressional markets (Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Worcester, Madison and Baltimore) for participants in the Education event. Sent POTUS remarks to regional and education reporters.
- ▶ While the bill was eventually approved, it should be noted that none of the targeted Members representing individuals we invited to the radio address ended up voting in favor of final passage.

**RIVLIN House Testimony on Mid-Session Review**

**Specialty Media.** White House Media Affairs began implementing a specialty press conference calls focusing on African-American, Hispanic, women's and older American press.

**Other Activity**

- Public Liaison conducted a briefing for the leadership of the African-American organizations on Education, Medicare, Medicaid, and the EITC.
- Public Liaison conducted a briefing for business associations through the Am. Society of Assn. of Executives (ALAE).
- Public Liaison conducted four conference calls with hispanic leaders in CA, TX, CO, AZ, NY, FL, and IL.
- Public Liaison conducted a briefing for Meeting with Families USA Medicaid coalition.
- Sec. Brown met with Washington Business Reps. to discuss and update on budget issue priorities.
- Sec. Brown addressed Women's briefing regarding minority business.
- Sec. Shalala was in Anaheim California addressing the California Teachers Association meeting.

- Sec. Shalala briefed seniors in Anaheim California on Medicare
- Sec. Reich released data on worksite fatalities and likely increases under the Republican budget.
- ONDCP Director Lee Brown attended an Empowerment Zone Event in Atlanta, GA.
- Sec. Glickman released state-by-state numbers on the impact of Republican budget cuts on rural areas.

### Friday, August 4, 1995

**Education.** The Department of Education did a budget release to 11,700 daily newspapers

**House Recess Materials.** Prepared and distributed House Recess packets for Members going home to their districts, which includes state by state as well as county by county analysis. Also included talking points that stress the impact of the Medicare cuts on beneficiaries and directly respond to RNC trust fund scare tactic ad.

#### Other Activity

- Treasury Sec. Rubin Attended Sperling breakfast.
- Labor Sec. Reich participated in Family Medical Leave Act hearing.
- Maria Echaveste, Director of DOL Wage & Hour, and Asst. Sec. Anderson will hold an amplification event for the anniversary of FMLA.
- HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros did an event emphasizing the impact of GOP cuts on Urban Policy and Budget Events in Portland, ME
- Interior Secretary Babbitt participated in a conference call with media in New York state, focusing on the impact of GOP cuts on clean water and environmental issues.
- HHS Secretary Shalala attended Peace Corps convention in Austin, TX.
- SBA Adm. Lader spoke to the graduating class of Minority Business Executives at Dartmouth.
- EPA Adm. Browner was interviewed by *Business Week* and *Christian Science Monitor*. Regarding the GOP environment cuts.
- HHS Dep. Sec. Broadnax addressed the National Black Nurses Association in Washington DC.

- Dir. of the Office of Civil Rights Dennis Hayashi spoke at National Convention of the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (AFL-CIO) in New York, NY.

**Saturday, August 5, 1995**

**POTUS Family Medical Leave Act 2nd Anniversary Radio Address**

**Other Activity**

- Shalala at National Women's Political Caucus in Nashville, TN.
- Sec. Cisneros budget event in Burlington, VT

**Sunday, August 6, 1995**

- Sec. Cisneros tours Empowerment Zone in Camden, NJ

**Monday, August 7, 1995**

**Medicare County-by-County Numbers.** Analysis released out to all counties in the country, all states, all state legislators.

- ▶ Press releases on the county numbers by county executives in the following states: Ohio, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, Florida, Virginia, Washington, Illinois, CA, Minn., MD, Kentucky, Georgia, Delaware, PA, Oregon.
- ▶ Press briefings by HHS and White House officials.

**Speaker Gingrich's Medicare Teleconference/Rally in Georgia.**

Monday, Speaker Gingrich hosts a Medicare teleconference/rally in Atlanta, GA. Friendly elected officials and groups have been notified and provided talking points / fact sheets / background information.

- ▶ Coinciding with the timing of the rally, the county by county information will be released.
- ▶ Public liaison is working on events with elected officials and senior groups to counter the Gingrich event.
- ▶ We also hope to have an Op-Ed by Reich, Shalala, and Rubin in Monday's papers.

**Regional Media Roundtables** with Rivlin, Sperling, Feder and Jennings to release Medicare county-by-county numbers. Numbers will go out via U.S. Newswire to 50 state APs and all major dailies, radio stations and tv stations nationwide.

**Women.** Large budget briefing for women's groups focusing on Medicare, and the Labor/HHS/Education appropriations bill.

**African Americans.** Conference calls with regional African-American leaders and ethnic leaders.

**Religious Leaders.** Briefing for the national religious groups.

Other Activity

- Sec. Pena will do a budget event in Des Moines, IA
- Sec. Pena will conduct radio interviews with target cities regarding impact of transit cuts to rural areas.
- Sec. Brown will release Export Enhancement Act\Competitiveness Report this week.
- Sec. Reich will be on *CNN Morning News* on budget.

**Tuesday, August 8, 1995**

**POTUS Environment, Health, and Public Safety event**

Details are being finalized on a Community Right to Know Executive order.

- ▶ In conjunction with your event, Governors and Legislative Leaders and Committee Chairs will put out press releases on the environmental impact of the Republican cuts.
- ▶ Possible White House release of Environmental State-by-State impact numbers
- ▶ Administrator Browner will travel on the press bus to the event in Baltimore, and brief the White House press core on the impact of the drastic cuts and your executive action.

Other Activity

- DOT Sec. Pena will do a budget related event in Cleveland, OH

- Commerce Sec. Brown and Amb. Kantor will meet with Washington Business Representatives will take place in White House
- Labor Sec. Reich will hold a conference of Mayors
- Treasury Asst. Sec. Larry Irving will be in Alaska to focus on the Budget and NII issues.

**Wednesday, August 9**

**POTUS National Baptists Convention (Charlotte, NC)**

**Cabinet Briefing** on recess message and the Medicare materials we have available for them for their recess events.

**Thursday, August 10, 1995**

**POTUS Press Conference**

- Sec. Brown will meet with Business Representatives on sustained development
- DOT and EPA are expected to release State-by-States reports this week.

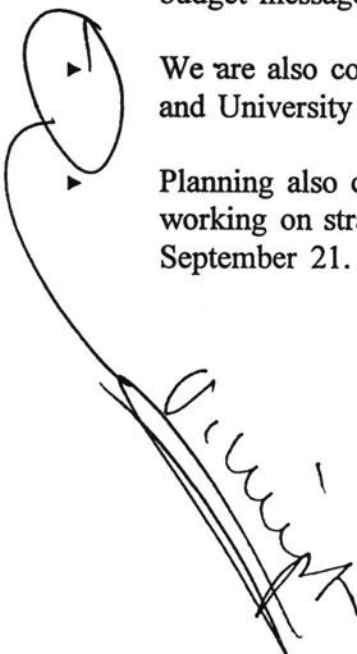
## FUTURE ACTIVITIES

### **Recess Planning**

- ▶ Political Affairs and Legislative Affairs compiled a target list of House members. Each Cabinet member has been assigned a number of targeted members to keep the pressure on over the recess through press interviews and travel.
- ▶ A political "SWAT Team" consisting of groups, political operatives, state party chairs, local officials, and outside validators, has been mobilized to attack the GOP budget proposal through talk radio and press/events in targeted states.
  - OMB finishing analyses of GOP cuts on 50 major cities.
  - Cabinet / Group activity
  - Mayors will meet in Seattle on Aug 28th. Plan is to have them do events in their cities that week, culminating with a huge event, press conference with 50 Mayors on the 8/28th. Possibly Put them on Sunday News shows on the 27th.

### **September Planning**

- ▶ Meetings continue with key education groups and Congressional staff to coordinate back-to-school activities in early September.
- ▶ We are reviewing options for your participation in Back to School events during the second week in September. The Department of Education is working with groups around the country to instill a budget message into hundreds of Back to School events nationwide.
- ▶ We are also considering the possibility of having a meeting with you and University Student Body Presidents from around the country.
- ▶ Planning also continues for the last two weeks of September. We are working on strategy to counter GOP release of Medicare plan set for September 21.



A handwritten signature, possibly "D. Miller", is written in the bottom left corner. A large, loopy scribble extends from the signature area upwards and to the right, crossing over the first two bullet points of the "September Planning" section.

**DEPARTMENT OF  
HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES**

Public Health Service  
National Institutes of Health  
Building 1 Room 126  
Bethesda, Maryland 20892

Official Business  
Penalty for Private Use \$300

*Leon atal*  
*anti-smoking*  
*let for*  
*important to use*  
*w/ rest of info*

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20501

cc'd Leon

Who else?

*ERSKINE*  
*Harold*  
*SOSNIK*

**DEPARTMENT OF  
HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES**

Public Health Service

National Institutes of Health

Building 1 Room 126

Bethesda, Maryland 20892

Official Business

Penalty for Private Use \$300

*Leonatal*  
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*w/ rest of info*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/7/95

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

cc'd Leon  
Who else?



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/7/95

National Institutes of Health  
Bethesda, Maryland 20892

00:00 8/7/95

August 4, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

As the two scientists directly charged by you with overseeing the country's health research enterprise, we are writing to you today about the devastating effects of tobacco use on the health of our Nation. We know you are considering some very important decisions that address this pressing problem, and we want to express our concern about tobacco use and urge you to take action.

For over 50 years, the American people have depended on the National Institutes of Health, including the National Cancer Institute, to discover new knowledge about health and disease, with the expectation that those discoveries would be used to benefit the health of our citizens. A vast amount of scientific research has been conducted on tobacco use over the last 40 years. All of these studies have concluded that tobacco use, especially cigarette smoking, is extraordinarily harmful. Cigarette smoking causes one in five deaths in the United States--over 400,000 every year. In fact, lung cancer kills more women than does breast cancer and more men than does prostate cancer.

The terrible health consequences of smoking could be prevented if people stop smoking. But many people cannot. Each year nearly 20 million smokers try to quit, but only 3 percent succeed. This is because cigarettes are, in essence, devices for the delivery of an addictive drug, designed to hook the user at a young age and for life. Today there is absolute, unassailable scientific evidence that nicotine is addictive. Children, especially teenagers, are highly vulnerable. Every day 3,000 teenagers in America begin to smoke; in fact, nearly 80 percent of all adult smokers began smoking as teenagers. Smoking is increasing among our children, and we know that more and more teenagers are becoming addicted. Over 80 percent of teenagers who smoke one pack or more daily feel they are dependent on or "need" cigarettes. These addicted young people will carry into their future the high risk of disease and premature death caused by tobacco use.

Page 2 - The President

Mr. President, there are few actions that you could take during your Administration that would have a more beneficial and more durable impact on the health of America than the measures you are considering. The support you have from the scientific and medical community for action is clear and unmistakable. As scientists and physicians, we urge you to use the full resources of your office to protect the health of our citizens.

Sincerely,



Harold Varmus, M.D.  
Director  
National Institutes of Health

Sincerely,



Richard D. Klausner, M.D.  
Director  
National Cancer Institute

95 AUG 7 AID : 41

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: August 4, 1995

Leon Panetta  
Harold Ickes  
Erskine Bowles  
TO: Tony Lake  
Mike McCurry  
George Stephanopoulos  
FROM: Staff Secretary

I assume we don't want to do  
this. Any thoughts about how we  
should handle?

Todd

No. We should  
say

"~~GOP~~ POTUS will debate  
his GOP opponent  
~~and~~ at the  
appropriate time  
but the GOP is  
a long, long  
ways from  
picking a  
worth  
nominee."  
- MM<sup>6</sup>

Send to

J. D.

original sent to  
Jim Dowling 8/7/95

Rena Pederson  
Vice President/Editorial Page Editor

August 2, 1995

The Honorable Bill Clinton  
President of the United States  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

On behalf of *The Dallas Morning News* and the Dallas Committee on Foreign Relations, we are writing to invite you to participate in a debate on lifting the Bosnian arms embargo and its consequence for American foreign policy. We have invited Sen. Richard Lugar to argue the case for lifting the embargo and invite you to make the case against.

The format we envision is a truncated Oxford Union format. We will flip a coin to determine the first speaker, who will speak for six minutes to state his case. The second speaker will then take the floor for six minutes. Each speaker will then be given four minutes for rebuttal. The moderator's role will be limited to introduction of the speakers and enforcement of the time limits.

We expect the debate to be televised (widely covered by the media). The 20 minutes allocated for actual debate will allow for sufficient time for introduction, wrap-up and commercial space at the front end of the debate. The debate itself will be continuous and uninterrupted. Our objective is to provide citizens in Texas with insights into one of the most vexing foreign policy issues of our time. To this end we have invited two of the most thoughtful and eloquent decision makers to increase the public's awareness of the complexities of this issue and its impact on America's role in world affairs.

We will work with you to schedule a date which will be both mutually convenient and timely, hopefully during the month of August or September. (Perhaps on your way back from vacation in Wyoming?)

Kindly have your office contact Ms. Pederson at 214/977-8259 so that we may proceed.

Sincerely,



Rena Pederson  
Editor, Editorial Page



Richard W. Fisher  
Founding Chairman  
Dallas Committee on  
Foreign Relations

cc: Sen. Richard Lugar

95 AUG 7 All : 28

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: August 4, 1995

Leon Panetta  
Harold Ickes  
Erskine Bowles  
TO: Tony Lake  
Mike McCurry  
George Stephanopoulos  
FROM: Staff Secretary

I assume we don't want to do  
this. Any thoughts about how we  
should handle?

Todd

To: Todd, Mike  
Storn  
Fr: GS

I would just  
reply.

(GS)

Rena Pederson  
Vice President/Editorial Page Editor

August 2, 1995

The Honorable Bill Clinton  
President of the United States  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

On behalf of *The Dallas Morning News* and the Dallas Committee on Foreign Relations, we are writing to invite you to participate in a debate on lifting the Bosnian arms embargo and its consequence for American foreign policy. We have invited Sen. Richard Lugar to argue the case for lifting the embargo and invite you to make the case against.

The format we envision is a truncated Oxford Union format. We will flip a coin to determine the first speaker, who will speak for six minutes to state his case. The second speaker will then take the floor for six minutes. Each speaker will then be given four minutes for rebuttal. The moderator's role will be limited to introduction of the speakers and enforcement of the time limits.

We expect the debate to be televised (widely covered by the media). The 20 minutes allocated for actual debate will allow for sufficient time for introduction, wrap-up and commercial space at the front end of the debate. The debate itself will be continuous and uninterrupted. Our objective is to provide citizens in Texas with insights into one of the most vexing foreign policy issues of our time. To this end we have invited two of the most thoughtful and eloquent decision makers to increase the public's awareness of the complexities of this issue and its impact on America's role in world affairs.

We will work with you to schedule a date which will be both mutually convenient and timely, hopefully during the month of August or September. (Perhaps on your way back from vacation in Wyoming?)

Kindly have your office contact Ms. Pederson at 214/977-8259 so that we may proceed.

Sincerely,

*Rena Pederson*

*Richard Fisher*

Rena Pederson  
Editor, Editorial Page

Richard W. Fisher  
Founding Chairman  
Dallas Committee on  
Foreign Relations

cc: Sen. Richard Lugar

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/7/95

August 4, 1995

95 AUG 4 P 8:02

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Doug Sosnik  
SUBJECT: Weekly Report

1996 Presidential News

**Vermont DGA Meeting.** Local press coverage of your visit to Vermont has been almost universally positive. The people of Vermont were thrilled to have you make the first Presidential visit to Vermont in five years.

**Bob Dole.** The Christian Coalition is opposing Bob Dole's welfare reform bill. In a letter to Dole, Brian Lopina, Government Affairs Director for the Coalition, wrote that the group was "disappointed" because the bill "will do little to change the alarming increase of illegitimacy which results in a seemingly never-ending cycle of poverty and despair. ... We are still hopeful at this late hour that you can be persuaded to add strong illegitimacy provisions. ... Opt-in and stay-at-home provisions are not acceptable."

**Pete Wilson.** On Thursday, August 3, Governor Wilson signed a \$56.4 billion state budget bringing to an end the second-largest budget delay in California history. Wilson was able to overcome opposition from conservative Republicans over funding for abortions and family planning and also reached a compromise with Los Angeles County Democrats regarding the amount of money granted to the county from the state budget. Wilson has been kept off the campaign trail by the legislature's failure to enact a budget and this week he "missed a chance to show case his presidential bid" at the National Governors Association meeting.

Also, the Wilson campaign continues to receive national coverage as a result of the University of California Board of Regents' decision to end affirmative action in the state's public universities. In response to accusations that Wilson's current position on affirmative action contradicts 21 bills Wilson signed as governor, his staff issued a report on all 21 bills in which they explained why they believe the measures do not represent an inconsistency. A recent poll by the Los Angeles Times found that by a margin of more than 2-1, Californians endorsed an initiative to end racial preference programs that is proposed for the 1996 ballot.

A Wall Street Journal poll this week found that, among Republicans expressing a presidential preference, Wilson's numbers have doubled since the UC Board of Regents vote, with 10% of respondents choosing Wilson.

**New Hampshire.** Phil Gramm's campaign received an unexpected boost when Gov. Steve Merrill (R-NH) declared that Gramm is the candidate he is closest to philosophically. Merrill said, "I am closest to Phil. I like a conservative who dares to draw a line in the sand and who says, 'I am not going to come over to your side. I am going to stand and fight.'" The comment came as a surprise given that Merrill has had nothing nice to say about Gramm since the Senator bungled his handling of Arizona's and Delaware's attempts to move their primary dates. Merrill says he will not make a decision on an endorsement until the fall. Merrill also praised Gramm's welfare reform bill, saying: "Gramm has a good bill, and he's going to get a lot of support." Merrill also said that the Administration and Dole bills also have good features.

Dole reportedly will soon be endorsed by freshman Rep. Charles Bass (R).

After a meeting with New Hampshire's chapters of NARAL and Planned Parenthood and other womens' rights groups, Arlen Specter declared himself to be the only Republican around willing to combat the party's right fringe, which he says "threatens the soul of the party and the soul of America." In a meeting with the *Boston Herald* editorial board, Specter accused Pete Wilson of exploiting racial issues to further his political goals, adding that he believes "Gov. [Bill] Weld probably has heartburn over what Wilson's doing." Weld's spokesperson replied that Specter was taking "pot shots" because the Senator has no record on the issues.

✓ Governor Evan Bayh (D-IN) attended a state party picnic this week in Hanover. Bayh gave a very strong Clinton-Gore stump speech, emphasizing how important the 1996 election will be for the country.

Administrator Lader is travelling to the state today, August 4th, and we have worked closely with his office and with John Broderick in developing a schedule. Among other things, he is making an address at Dartmouth's business school, doing a great deal of press and attending a press availability with Governor Merrill, who is very supportive of what SBA has been doing in this Administration.

**Iowa.** Campaigning in Iowa, Lamar Alexander warned Republicans that "Bill Clinton is not going to be easy to beat. He's very persuasive, he runs towards the center, he now has an enemy in the Republican Congress ... so we as a party have to be careful about who we nominate." Pat Buchanan, meanwhile, in the middle of a 33-town tour of the Buckeye State, responded to Phil Gramm's claims that Buchanan's campaign is desperate because it is running so low on funds. Referring to Gramm's sizeable war chest, Buchanan asked "How'd you get those millions, Phil? When you have a \$4 million dinner, that's not contributors, that's investors." The other Republican candidates and their surrogates have been attacking Gramm for his huge war chest, his cornball style and his meanness.

Dan Quayle will headline the Iowa GOP straw poll on August 19th.

**Recent Polling: Indiana.** The people of the Hoosier State remain a tough crowd for the Administration. A Mason-Dixon poll released this week reports that your job performance ratio in the state is 37% positive/63% negative. Your re-elect percentage is 28%, with 38% saying

they would consider another candidate and 34% saying they would vote to replace you. Dick Lugar leads in his home state with only 36% of the vote, followed by Dole with 23%, Buchanan with 13% and Gramm with 10%. In general election match-ups Lugar leads you by a 53%-34% margin and Dole leads you by a 45%-37% margin. You lead Gramm by a 43%-31% margin.

The poll also showed that Governor Bayh remains very popular, enjoying a 57% favorable/12% unfavorable job rating.

✓ ( **Perot.** In a recent interview with Gannett, Perot accused both parties of failing to deliver on their key promises of a balanced budget and government reform, singling out the Democrats on the former and the Republicans on the latter. He said, however, that he is "beyond optimistic that we will get the system fixed ... and that we will see major changes before 1996." He also said that he did not want to be "in politics" next year, claiming that would be "irrational."

### 1995 Races

**Louisiana Gubernatorial.** The current thinking on the race in the state is that virtually any of the major Democratic candidates in this race can beat former Governor Buddy Roemer (R), with the exception of Rep. Cleo Fields (D). One of the stronger candidates in the contest, State Treasurer Mary Landrieu (D), has been badly, perhaps fatally, damaged by charges of cronyism pertaining to a school tuition waiver. Landrieu was running a "good-government" campaign and will likely continue to draw the fire of the rest of the field on this issue. Senator Breaux is watching the race very closely and has pledged to work very hard on behalf of whomever ends up in the run-off with Roemer. You will recall that he made the difference in the Edwin Edwards-David Duke race four years ago.

Yet another candidate, State Rep. Robert Adley (D), entered the race this week. Adley referred to himself as a "conservative, Christian Democrat."

✓ ( **Mississippi Gubernatorial Race.** Governor Kirk Fordice and Secretary of State Dick Molpus debated Thursday at Mississippi's historic Neshoba County Fair which has been held every August since 1892 in Philadelphia, MS. Philadelphia is Molpus' home town and press reports say that Fordice was entering into a virtual "lion's den" of Molpus supporters. It was a bitter debate with the two candidates sparring over such issues as negative campaigning and Fordice's acceptance of money from gaming interests. The debate became especially bitter when the candidates were asked about reopening the case of the 1964 murders of three civil rights workers. Fordice refused to apologize for something that happened 30 years ago and insisted that Mississippi now has the best race relations in America. Molpus, on the other hand, stood by the apology he made to the families of the victims on the 25th anniversary of the slayings in 1989.

A Mason-Dixon poll released today showed that Fordice has slightly increased his lead over Molpus since Mason-Dixon last polled in June. The new poll shows that although Fordice would still take 54% of the vote - the same as in the June poll - Molpus dropped from 36% to 34% and 12% remain undecided. Molpus's best showing in the poll was in the Delta region,

but Fordice dominated everywhere else - most significantly in southern Mississippi where Fordice leads Molpus 62% to 26%. The poll did show that there is a vast racial split among Mississippi voters. While Fordice would capture 72% of the white vote, Molpus would, in turn, capture 72% of the black vote. (Mississippi is 63.5% White and 35.6% Black.)

**San Francisco Mayoral.** Campaign finance reports for the period 1/1-6/30 show Mayor Frank Jordan (D) outraised his competitors, garnering more than \$500,000; second was Roberta Achtenberg (D) with more than \$190,000; Willie Brown netted about \$165,000; Supervisor Angela Alioto (D) raised \$67,000. Jordan's report shows 27 donors "appear to have contributed" more than the \$750 maximum that "could lead to substantial fines" from the Fair Political Practices Commission. In addition, Willie Brown continues to be "undercut by charges that he is " beholden to special interests" as evidenced by recent finance reports showing two Brown campaign committees for the Assembly receiving \$40,000 from Phillip Morris after Brown entered the mayoral race.

**Baltimore Mayoral Race.** After picking up the endorsement of the Fraternal Order of Police last week, City Council President Mary Pat Clarke picked up two more union endorsements this week in her primary challenge to Mayor Kurt Schmoke. The Baltimore city firefighters and fire officers threw their weight behind Clarke. One factor in the firefighter's decision to back Clarke was Mayor Schmoke's decision to close three fire houses this year when Clarke fought hard to keep them open. Mayor Schmoke did, however, pick up the endorsement of private health care workers this week.

**Mayor Ed Rendell.** Organized Labor is still trying to recruit a candidate to run against Mayor Rendell, but has been unsuccessful at this point.

### 1996 Races

**Rep. Billy Tauzin.** As you may know, Tauzin is expected to switch parties this weekend.

**Senator Sam Nunn.** Gordon Giffin has told us that Nunn's probability of running for reelection is no higher than 55%. Nunn has set an internal deadline of the end of August to resolve this issue. If Nunn does not run, the leading candidate is Secretary of State Max Cleland. Buddy Darden was once interested in running but is no longer.

**Senator Bill Bradley.** Although he has said he fully intends to run, Bradley has still not announced a run in 1996 and he has not participated in much fundraising this year. His likely Republican challenger, Rep. Dick Zimmer (R) has raised more money than any Republican Senate challenger in the United States - he currently has more than \$1 million cash on hand. Senator Bradley currently only has a little more than \$600,000 cash on hand.

**Senator John Kerry.** During the first six months of 1995, Senator Kerry raised more than \$2 million towards his reelection - more than any other Senator who is up for reelection in 1996. Kerry raised more in the first six months of 1995 than Senator Kennedy did in a comparable

period in 1994. Of the 33 Senators up for reelection in 1996, Kerry is second only to Phil Gramm in cash on hand. A large portion of this money was raised at the Boston fundraiser you participated in last month.

**Other Senate FEC Report News.** Like Pell, Senator Nancy Kassebaum (R) has raised no money this year and has only \$112,000 on hand, perhaps indicating that she will not run. Senators Tom Harkin, Max Baucus, Carl Levin and Paul Wellstone posted very respectable figures, with Wellstone's near-\$1 million total attracting the most attention, given his shoestring 1990 race and his high profile on the campaign finance reform issue.

**Colorado Senate Race.** Representative Wayne Allard (R-04) said on 7/29 there is a "98 percent chance" he will make the bid for the seat of retiring Senator Hank Brown (R). The FEC reports show that Allard has "collected nearly \$284,000 to spend on a possible run."

**Illinois Senate Race.** The Illinois Democratic Party will be holding a series of U.S. Senate candidate forums in August to give party regulars the opportunity to question the candidates on the issues. The meetings are essentially a pretext to permit the Party to endorse Rep. Dick Durbin (D) at the State Central Committee meeting on September 11th. Such an early endorsement -- in a high-profile contested primary without an incumbent -- is unprecedented for the Illinois party. Given that former state Treasurer Pat Quinn (D) is running on an outsider, reformist message, the move will may play into his strategy.

**Senator John Warner.** A recent Mason-Dixon poll shows that only 42% would vote to reelect Senator Warner in 1996. In the past year his excellent/good job rating dropped from 68% to 54% and his fair/poor job rating rose from 28% to 41%. A primary scenario with Jim Miller had Warner taking 41% to Miller's 38%. In a three-way primary race including VA GOP Chair John McSweeney: Warner 41%, Miller 34%, and McSweeney 6%. The poll showed Senator Warner faring better in the general election when they matched him against two likely Democratic challengers Mark Warner and Leslie Byrne.

As you know, the GOP in Virginia vowed revenge against Senator Warner in 1994 when he openly opposed then Senate candidate Oliver North. Currently, his only announced challenger is Republican Jim Miller who ran against Oliver North in the 1994 primary.

**Texas Senate Race.** Attorney and former Harris County Democratic Chair John Odam (D) announced his Senate candidacy this week. A former army lieutenant, Odam blasted Gramm for his lack of military experience, saying that "my record of public service, military service and community service stack up well -- especially against a professional politician who took five draft deferments during the Vietnam War and has worked for the government his entire life."

**Rep. Greg Laughlin (R-TX).** Laughlin drew another primary opponent this week with the announcement that former Rep. Ron Paul (R) will run. Paul left the House in 1984 only to lose the U.S. Senate primary to Phil Gramm. He was the Libertarian Party's presidential nominee in 1988.

**North Carolina.** Speculation about your plans for tobacco regulation continues to dominate the headlines in North Carolina and the FDA continues to be the subject of harsh criticism on both sides of the political aisle. Governor Hunt issued a statement yesterday stating that he had been assured that the White House had not yet made a decision on FDA regulation.

Former Glaxo, Inc. CEO Charlie Sanders has raised almost \$750,000 so far and has about \$500,000 on hand. Harvey Gantt has only about \$10,000 on hand, leading some to believe that he may not make the race. (He has hired Mandy Grunwald and Celinda Lake for a '96 Senate race.) The *Charlotte Observer* reports that a number of supporters of Harvey Gantt are working for Sanders because they believe he has a better shot at defeating Helms. Sanders will have a tough time capturing a large enough percentage of the white vote to defeat Gantt, given that Gantt enjoys substantial support among whites and has the African American community locked up. Also troubling to Sanders' campaign was his 26-year-old son's guilty plea this week on counterfeiting charges. Sentencing has not been scheduled but he faces up to 15 years.

**Missouri Gubernatorial.** This week, two Republicans, State Senator Bill Kenney and State Auditor Margaret Kelly announced their candidacy for Governor. Governor Carnahan's camp is pleased there will be a Republican primary.

*Should  
Queens  
win*  
**Idaho Senate Race.** Walt Minnick (D) says he wants at least 60 days to think about it, but speculation grows that he will challenge Senator Larry Craig (R). Minnick's qualifications are impressive: descendant of an 1860s pioneer; raised on a Palouse wheat farm; No. 1 graduate of Harvard's MBA program in 1966; magna cum laude at Harvard Law; Army lieutenant and White House drug policy official under Nixon who helped create the Drug Enforcement Administration. His name I.D. is just 11%.

**Montana Congressional.** Dwight MacKay, Chief of Staff for Senator Conrad Burns (R), is resigning his position to take on Pat Williams (D-At Large) who will be seeking his 10th term in 1996. Other candidates include ex-Montana GOP chair Rick Hill and farmer-rancher Alan Mikkelsen (R).

*good!*  
**Ohio CD-06.** Ted Strickland who was defeated in 1994 by now Congressman Frank Cremeans, has been following Cremeans to various speeches and events with a video camera. Strickland says that his goal is to "find out what he's doing." Strickland is determined to win his seat back in 1996 which he lost by 2 percentage points to Cremeans, and Democrats are optimistic about his chances.

### Other Political News

**Georgia Redistricting.** Federal judges in the Georgia redistricting case have ordered an August 22nd hearing and have asked that the state and plaintiffs each submit plans for new congressional districts by August 15th. This is, however, only one day after the August 14th special session Governor Miller has called. The courts have ruled that "suggestions should be narrowly drawn and minimally disruptive." Governor Miller has indicated to us again that he does not want the Administration involved in the redistricting.

~~Rep. Mel Reynolds (D).~~ Beverly Heard, the woman who initially accused Reynolds of having sex with her when she was 16, finally agreed Friday to testify in Reynolds' trial.

~~NRA Membership.~~ The Associated Press reported this week that the National Rifle Association has lost nearly 10% of its membership this year, dropping its total to 3.2 million. The NRA ~~claims that much of the drop can be attributed to a hike in dues from \$15 to \$35.~~

~~School Choice.~~ The ACLU and the Milwaukee teachers union, with legal assistance from Brady Williamson, filed suit this week challenging Wisconsin's week-old law that gives poor Milwaukee parents vouchers to pay for educating their children at private religious schools. Mayor John Norquist (D) supports parochial school choice and has been very critical of the lawsuit.

cc: The Vice President  
Leon Panetta  
Harold Ickes  
Jack Quinn  
George Stephanopoulos  
Melanne Verveer

## Clinton's reelection strategy: dump the Democrats

### ROBERT KUTTNER

Last spring the Democratic Party ran some voter focus groups. They had good news and bad news. A majority of voters readily identified Republicans as the party of privilege — but few could articulate what Democrats stood for.

It's hardly a surprise that Democrats are suffering an identity crisis. Traditional Democrats and self-styled New Democrats have almost opposite conceptions of what the party should represent. No wonder voters are perplexed.

House minority leader Dick Gephardt, for one, wants to reclaim the Democrats' historic role as champion of working Americans. This entails sharpening partisan and class differences, reinforcing the perception of Republicans as party of the rich and devising a program to address the declining economic security of the average family.

For example, Gephardt's recent tax blueprint proposed a tax system as simple as the

Republican "flat tax," while giving 80 percent of Americans a bigger tax break. Later this year Gephardt will unveil proposals on health security and the problem of declining wages.

But Gephardt's president has another game plan. Bill Clinton hopes to get reelected by positioning himself as a "different kind of Democrat" — a foe of big government (though a gentler foe than the Republicans) and a conciliator who can work with the Republican congressional majority.

Clinton and his latest crop of advisers are convinced that the voters are tired of partisan bickering; they want results. In this scenario, Clinton wins reelection as the great compromiser and the Democratic Party fends for itself.

The tactic, not surprisingly, has infuriated many House Democrats, who see Clinton as pursuing his own reelection at their expense. When Clinton describes himself as a different Democrat, it invites the question: different from whom? Well, different from Dick Gephardt and much of the House Democratic caucus.

In the past two weeks, the Democrats have mustered a degree of unity despite these schisms. A Democratic filibuster in the Senate, with strong White House backing, derailed the Republican bill on deregulation. House and Senate Republicans are unable to reach agreement among themselves on welfare reform. Defections of moderate Republicans may well save such liberal programs as legal services, food stamps and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

After embracing a budget that would require steep cuts in Medicare, Democrats nonetheless have been able to attack Republicans for backing stiffer Medicare cuts in order to champion tax cuts for the affluent. All of this manages to evoke, however faintly, the Democrats' glory days as the party that uses the public sector to temper the inequities of the private one and bring economic security to the nonrich.

Yet even at last week's successful and highly partisan Capitol Hill rally celebrating the 30th anniversary of Medicare and vowing to defend it against Republican attack, Clinton managed to rain on his party's parade. "I'm not going to let the government

mess with your Medicare," he cried.

Excuse me, Mr. President, but don't you mean: "I'm not going to let the Republicans mess with your Medicare?" Why the gratuitous slap at "the government?" Who do you think brought us Medicare — the John Hancock Co.?

Medicare, justifiably, is one of the most valued government programs. It works precisely because it is universal and publicly funded. The Republicans would wreck it with funding cuts and privatization. Government is the good guy here.

Clinton's rhetoric puts him precisely on both sides of this divide. If Clinton can't even defend Medicare without impugning "government," the Democrats' identity crisis will likely continue.

Heading into the 1996 election, traditional Democrats are yoked to a president who defines his legitimacy precisely in terms of his distance from them. This posture implicitly encourages ticket splitting. In one version, voters support Clinton for president and the Republicans for Congress. Alternatively, if Democratic congressional

candidates criticize Clinton, they risk electing a Republican president. The Republican National Committee could not have devised a neater bind.

For the Republicans of this era, the solution to all economic problems is the same. Shrink the government. For Democrats the issues are more complex. But in the present climate, Democrats will have a hard time devising a program that credibly addresses the voters' pocketbook blues.

The politics of budget balance will preclude spending serious money on such measures as education and training. And the general reluctance to regulate business makes it hard to alter the growing polarization of wages and salaries.

These dilemmas are hardly eased when the Democratic president and his nominal allies in Congress are pulling in opposite directions. Clinton has called for a climate of greater conciliation and civility. He might begin with his own party.

Robert Kuttner's column appears regularly in the Globe.

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# Weld blasts prez on welfare reform

Gov: Clinton is stalling  
on Bay State's changes

By ROBERT CONNOLLY

BURLINGTON, Vt. — Gov. William F. Weld accused the Clinton administration yesterday of undermining real welfare reform after President Clinton OK'd welfare overhaul plans for four states but left Massachusetts off the list.

A top adviser to the president said the Massachusetts plan remains in limbo because it "fails to protect kids."

At issue is a key aspect of the plan: brooming mothers off the rolls after two years, whether or not they've found jobs.

WILLIAM WELD

Bruce Reed, Clinton's top welfare adviser, said the White House simply can't buy that approach.

"We see it as a fundamental issue that there

From Page 1

ought to be protections for children," he said.

The same concern was expressed in a July 29 letter to Weld from U.S. Health and Human Services Secretary Donna E. Shalala, who added "adults who are making a good faith effort to work should not be penalized."

Weld, who had made a personal plea to the president for the approval, said he would continue to push for the plan.

"I'm going to go back and hit my head against the door again and see what I can do," he said.

Under the federal Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, states must get federal approval before making major program changes.

The Clinton administration has a self-imposed 120-day deadline for processing waiver applications.

The deadline for action on the Massachusetts application was Saturday, but the application remains alive as state and federal officials work on the two-year cutoff.

Ironically — at least from the perspective of Weld and those supporting the Massachusetts plan — Clinton yesterday told members of the National Governors' Association that he plans to streamline the waiver process as he tries to fulfill his 1994 campaign pledge to "end welfare as we know it."

The president said that state plans with key characteristics — work requirements, time limits, sanctions against fathers who don't pay child support, requirements that teen mothers live at home, and using food-stamp funds to pay for wage subsidies — will be acted on in 30 days.

Several of those characteristics are at the heart of the Bay State plan.

Addressing the governors earlier in the day, Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole sounded a theme that was music to many attendees, saying the federal government should essentially turn welfare over to the states.

Dole, Clinton's possible opponent in next year's presidential election, proposed sending block-grant subsidies to the states and allowing them to set rules and determine eligibility.

Dole (R-Kan.) said he will put his welfare plan before the Senate later this week.

Clinton outraged some Republican governors by saying Dole's plan was off base because states need federal guidance, lest they spend welfare block grants on non-welfare projects.

# Opinion

## Bill Zeliff's aim

► Co-chairman of the Waco hearings shot himself in the foot.

**B**ill Zeliff had intended to implicate the president and excoriate the attorney general. Instead, he embarrassed himself.

The First District congressman had tried to be fair for much of the 10-day hearings into Waco that he co-chaired. Then he let partisanship get the best of him.

By the hearings' end on Tuesday, Zeliff had failed to show believable evidence that President Clinton was closely involved in the decision to send in the FBI for the fatal assault at the Branch Davidian compound — a claim Zeliff made two days earlier on a Sunday morning talk show. Instead, he was switching back and forth, saying one minute that Clinton was deeply involved, or the next that, as president, he *should* have been. That prompted a reporter to ask Zeliff whether he could make up his mind.

Zeliff's link of Clinton to Waco was based on pure assumption and weak evidence — wishful thinking not reason. He speculated that Attorney General Janet Reno, confirmed only a few weeks earlier, hadn't been on the job long enough to make the critical decision to end the siege with force. As evidence, he presented a memo from Clinton's chief of staff to the president that "no significant action would be taken (in Waco) without White House approval."

That memo, however, was written two months before the raid, when a Republican holdover was acting attorney general and when efforts continued to resolve the standoff peacefully. Under questioning by Zeliff, the unflappable Reno repeated what she has said all along: She discussed the plan to storm the building with Clinton. He asked good questions based on facts she presented. He left the strategic decisions to her and didn't interfere. That was appropriate, she said.

The presidential tangent aside, the Waco hearings elicited volumes of old information and minor revelations. Since Waco had become a battlecry for right-wing militias and anti-government paranoids, it was worthwhile in the end that the events were debated under Capitol Hill lights.

No amount of evidence will stanch conspiracy theories. And Zeliff's dark comment at the conclusion of the

### Editorial

hearings that all the facts have yet come to light — his *mea culpa* — will only serve to feed the rumors.

But enough has come out for rational Americans to conclude that the

**The tragedy at Waco resulted from government mistakes, not government malevolence.**

tragedy at Waco resulted from government mistakes, not government malevolence. Davidian leader David Korosh was a sexual abuser of children. The government had credible reports that he was stocking illegal weapons. Federal agents had a legitimate interest in

finding out what was happening inside the compound.

The tactics and judgments they made, though, were flawed throughout — from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms' decision to storm the compound after its cover was blown, to the FBI's decision to use a tank and potentially hazardous tear gas instead of persuasion and another week's patience. If the hearings lead to tighter rules on the use of force and new insights into the mind of fanatics, they will have proven useful.

As much as the Republicans wanted to use Waco to embarrass the president, the hearings were dicey. Republicans faced a tricky balance. They wanted to discredit the ATF, which enforces firearms laws they have vowed to repeal. But they also didn't want to appear to be abettors of extremism, defenders of cults and opponents of law and order.

Zeliff complicated their task. He put Republicans on the defensive from the start, when he let gun lobby hirelings help with the committee's investigation. That led to charges the hearings were a setup for the NRA.

When it looked like he had regained credibility, Zeliff made the clumsy insinuations about Clinton. That created expectations of bombshells that never fell on the climactic day of testimony from Reno.

Republicans needed someone with finesse to run the hearings. It turned out they had the wrong guy. Too accustomed perhaps to softball questions on Channel 9 and flattering *Union Leader* editorials, Bill Zeliff showed he was not ready for Washington's prime time.

# Shakes Up Burlington

By DIANE DERBY  
Vermont Press Bureau  
BURLINGTON — It was a mixture of pleasure and politics Monday as President Clinton visited Burlington, browsing in a downtown craft shop and shaking hands with dozens before pitching his welfare reform proposal to the nation's governors.

Related Story, Page 8

Clinton was greeted by about 300 people, including most of Vermont's political leaders, when Air Force One arrived at the Burlington International Airport around 11:30 a.m.

The crowds waiting in the hot midday sun were rewarded with handshakes from the president. "It was one of those once in a lifetime experiences," said Marie March, who managed to touch Clinton's hand as he worked his way down the crowd.

From there, a 28-car motorcade (See Burlington, Page 8)

(Continued from Page One)  
whisked Clinton downtown, where crowds had begun gathering behind police barricades long before his arrival. As Clinton moved down the Church Street Market Place, the throng pressed forward to shake Clinton's hand or take his photograph.

The president did his part to support Vermont artisans, dropping about \$300 in one-half hour of shopping at the Frog Hollow State Craft Center. Clinton bought a finger puppet of a parrot, a chocolate frog, ceramic whistle, pottery, glass vase and cup.

The whistle was made by Montpelier artists Della Robinson. The clay whistle was in the shape of a woman holding the world.

The employees of the craft center gave Clinton a puppet image of himself filled with catnip as a gift to the presidential cat, Socks.

Back outside, a military helicopter circled overhead, while Secret Service men talked into their shirt-tails. From the rooftops, police scanned the crowd with binoculars.

Clinton worked the crowd for a time before moving on to the Oasis Diner, long a Democratic stopover in Vermont political circles, for lunch with Gov. Howard Dean, Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., Rep. Bernard Sanders, I-Vt., and other members of their entourage.

Stratty Lines, owner of the Oasis, served up a turkey sandwich with lettuce and mustard while his grandson, Nicholas Lines, 5, popped up behind the president in the next booth. Clinton chatted with the boy as

he and the group of Vermont politicians ate.

Lunch was on the house, although Dean dropped a \$20 bill on the table as a tip.

The visit seemed impromptu, but Stratty Lines' brother, Chris, said White House officials had worked with the diner to set up a menu. "I guess he has lots of allergies," he said.

In all, Clinton's downtown visit took days of preparation, but lasted less than two hours.

Clinton's afternoon speech to the summer meeting of the National Governors' Association at the Sheraton hotel came just hours after Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole appeared in the same room to offer a plan of his own.

With Congress split over how to reform the welfare system, Clinton urged governors to forge ahead with their own plans, and promised that the federal government would respond promptly to states' requests for the waivers that are needed to do so.

Clinton told the governors his administration would approve the waivers within 30 days if they met the criteria; it now takes four months to complete the process.

"Now, we can and we should do more, and we shouldn't just wait around for the congressional process to work its way through," said Clinton, who chaired the NGA in the late 1980s while he was governor of Arkansas.

Clinton outlined five standards that states should work toward in reforming welfare, including a provision that minor welfare parents must live at home and continue their schooling in order to receive benefits.

Clinton's administration has granted welfare reform waivers to 29 states since he became president.

"The first experiment we approved was for Governor Dean to make it clear that welfare in Vermont would become a second chance, not a way of life," Clinton said, referring to the waiver that enabled Vermont to embark on welfare reform two years ago.

M. Jane Kitchel, Vermont's social welfare commissioner, said the president's vision for welfare reform closely resembled Vermont's plan.

"If you look at the broad areas of design and direction, what Vermont has put in place is very much in line with what the president said today," said Kitchel, who was among the 550 guests and governors who filled the Sheraton meeting room for the president's half-hour address.

While the president spoke, police were arresting eight protesters outside the hotel. It was the third day of demonstrations by a group protesting the planned execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia journalist who was convicted in 1982 of killing a police officer.

The eight were arrested after sitting down in the roadway outside the hotel.

Christopher Craft, Vermont bureau chief of the Associated Press, contributed to this story.

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Barre Times Argus

8/1/95

# The Des Moines Register

DES MOINES, IOWA ■ WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 2, 1995 ■ PRICE 35 CENTS

## Farm program cuts attacked

*An aide finds 'some real problems in rural America'*

By **GEORGE ANTHAN**

THE REGISTER'S WASHINGTON BUREAU CHIEF

Washington, D.C. — Clinton administration officials Tuesday renewed their attack on House-passed budget cuts for farm and rural development programs and said Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman would recommend a presidential veto of the fiscal 1996 agriculture appropriations bill if the Senate fails to restore some key spending levels.

Congress has voted to reduce farm program spending by \$13.4 billion over the next seven years while President Clinton has proposed a \$6 billion cut over 10 years.

Also, the House has passed a \$62.5 billion agriculture appropriations bill for fiscal 1996, which begins Oct. 1. The measure is \$4 billion below Clinton's request, with funds being cut from rural housing and small-community water and sewer projects. It's expected that Congress also will reduce farm income and price support subsidies to meet the budget plan's spending targets.

"We've begun to take a look at how the overall seven-year budget proposal and how the fiscal 1996 appropriation bill would affect different parts of the country," said Mike Dunn, deputy undersecretary. "And we find some real problems in rural America, including Iowa, between what Clinton and Congress have proposed."

Dunn said Iowa farmers would lose some \$157 million a year in cash income support subsidies under the congressional seven-year budget plan. He said Clinton's proposed budget would cost Iowa farmers \$37 million a year in lost payments.

The congressional Republicans'

plan, Dunn said, would cost a typical Iowa corn farmer who receives income support payments based on 300 acres of corn about \$4,000 a year more than if Clinton's budget plan is adopted.

Dunn added that the fiscal 1996 spending bill passed by the House would reduce USDA rural housing loans in Iowa from the current \$13.3 million a year to \$7 million. Under Clinton's fiscal 1996 budget, he said, Iowa would be allocated \$19.2 million for rural housing next year.

Dunn said Iowa communities are getting almost \$23 million for water and sewer facility loans and grants, but would be cut to \$16 million next year under the House bill.

He said USDA officials in the state estimate that some 300 communities need sewer facility improvements and that there currently is a two-year backlog of applicants for aid. "The impact of this cut will be tremendous," Dunn said.

He said the House action also would end a small program under which the USDA has been lending \$1.5 million to \$2 million a year in Iowa to rural residents who seek to start a small business and are unable to get startup credit from commercial lenders.

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*excellent  
Price  
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this out  
at the  
State Fair.*

*Thanks to  
Mike Dunn!*

*MT*

*Union Leader 8/4/95*

## A Modest 'Defense' of Dole

### He's Not Too Old To Be President

*This guest editorial was written by Union Leader columnist Jack Kenny.*

Some of the criticisms being leveled at Republican Presidential front-runner Bob Dole are unfair and misguided. True, Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich's oft-quoted description of the Kansas senator as "tax collector for the welfare state" is only too accurate, as the Dole record abundantly illustrates.

But some of his critics miss the point entirely when they raise the so-called "age issue," as Time magazine did in last week's cover story. There are a lot of reasons why Bob Dole should not be the next President, but age is not among them — unless one wishes to argue that the 72-year-old White House hopeful is still too young for the job. That argument is not as far-fetched as it might seem.

Recall that in this, his third quest for the Presidency, Dole has discovered the meaning of the Tenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. At his campaign kickoff in Exeter in April, Dole said he favored limiting the federal government to those powers delegated to it by the Constitution and leaving all else to the states and the people. He has not, of course, explained where in the Constitution the federal government has been delegated the power to subsidize agricul-

ture, provide food stamps or carry on a few score other big government programs Dole has supported over the years. But he is on the right track. After 35 years in Congress, he is beginning to come to terms with the document he has sworn to uphold.

On the issue of taxes, Dole also shows signs of becoming what George Will has called a "late-blooming Buchananite." He now realizes that raising taxes is both bad politics and ruinous economics. He has promised to veto any tax increase that Congress might legislate, a pledge he refused to take when he campaigned here in 1988. In 1990, he helped George Bush break his "Read my lips" pledge by guiding a \$250 billion tax hike through Congress. Then he suggested Mr. Bush find some lip balm. Clever fellow, that Bob.

Yes, Dole is definitely a "late bloomer" who is now sounding all the themes conservatives want to hear. He may even come around to believing in them himself, but that's going to take time. At the rate he's progressed thus far in his career, Dole will, by a conservative estimate, be ready for the White House when he turns 149-years-old. Chances are he'll be campaigning in New Hampshire at the time.

Let your grandchildren vote for him.

## Media Missing the Real Story

### Wide Revulsion in What Today Passes as 'Entertainment'

*Guest commentary by Reed Irvine, chairman of Accuracy in Media, the Washington-based press watchdog group and Joe Goulden, AIM's director of media analysis.*

We've seen a good example of how our mainstream media are out of step with the rest of the country. The story involved Sen. Bob Dole's strong protest against violence and sleaze in

prime time shows, as are partial nudity and soft-core sex scenes you didn't see even five years ago. This is the sort of moral pollution which upsets Bob Dole and many other persons.

But the meanest commentary on the Dole speech came from a New York Times columnist named Frank Rich, who was a drama critic before the Times turned him loose with a twi-

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THE UNION LEADER  
B.A.F.

## Affirm

By WALTER E. WILSON

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GLOBE STAFF PHOTO / JANET KNOTT

Mike Blundo and his daughter Amanda leave the annual Republican State Committee picnic yesterday in Hopkinton, N.H.

## Gramm makes show of strength in N.H.

By Ann Scales  
GLOBE STAFF

### At GOP picnic, Texan hits Dole plans

HOPKINTON, N.H. - Locked in a virtual dead heat for second place in most national polls, the campaign of presidential contender Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas made a big splash here yesterday at an event where the pool of undecided voters was fairly shallow.

From a field of nine candidates

seeking the Republican presidential nomination next year, Gramm and Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana were the only ones to appear at the annual Republican State Committee picnic here yesterday.

Lamar Alexander, the former governor of Tennessee who has been walking the roads of New Hamp-

shire in his trademark plaid shirts in an effort to boost his campaign, sent his wife, Honey.

In what state GOP organizers described as the first major organizational test of the campaign, Gramm emerged as the clear winner, judging from the number of campaign signs and workers at the

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picnic.

At one point Gramm made a joke out of it, telling a campaign worker, "be sure you take all these signs down . . . so we can use them again."

When asked later whether he was disappointed that most of the other candidates did not appear, Gramm responded: "I came here looking for a job and I think when you show up for a job interview and there's not a long line, you ought to be happy."

Charlie Arlinghauf, executive director of the New Hampshire Republican State Committee, said that although Gramm's physical presence appeared to have boosted his turnout of supporters, it was nearly equaled by Patrick Buchanan's supporters.

David Carney, state campaign director for Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas, said there were few undecided voters, a group to whom Dole is trying to appeal.

Carney said he did not realize the event was a test of the organizational strength of the candidates. If it was, he said, "I guess we flunked." It was not Dole's organization to which Gramm assigned a flunking grade, but rather his politics.

"Bob Dole has been a moderate in Washington, D.C., for 35 years. He's been a conservative running for president for four months. I was conservative before conservative was cool," Gramm said, in an oft-repeated remark.

"And in an era where we have a president who reinvents himself every four or five months, when we have candidates who reposition themselves to run for president every four or eight years . . . I think people will find it refreshing to have

## 'When people get to know me, they are going to get to know that I'm shooting with real bullets.'

SEN. PHIL GRAMM  
*Republican of Texas*

a candidate who is what he says he is, and who has a record to back that up."

Gramm then attacked Dole's welfare proposal, saying it does not have a binding work requirement and that it "encourages people to come to America to go on welfare."

Gramm said his welfare proposal would require "able-bodied men and women who are riding in the welfare wagon to get out of the wagon and help the rest of us pull."

Lugar, who arrived at the event late, having appeared earlier at the commissioning of the USS Maine in Portsmouth, spoke briefly about his plan to abolish income taxes and to encourage family savings.

Gramm, for his part, continued to polish his appeal to the core of New Hampshire's conservative voters who will vote in the nation's first presidential primary in February.

He is spending the rest of the weekend appealing to voters in what he called a crucial state and one he vowed to win.

"I have a lot of work to do. Bob Dole has run for president three times, he's been a national public figure since I was a junior in high school, and you get an advantage by having been at this thing for a long time," Gramm said in an apparent reference to Dole's age. Dole turned 72 last week, and his age has become an issue among the other presidential contenders in the campaign.

Gramm said that as a Southerner he had obstacles to overcome in New Hampshire. "I speak a foreign dialect to the ear of people in New Hampshire. They sound funny to me when they talk, but we think alike and that's the important thing.

"When people get to know me they are going to get to know that I'm shooting with real bullets."

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# Minorities blamed for right-wing landslide

T.P. 8-1-95

By GWENDOLYN THOMPkins  
Staff writer

African-Americans who failed to participate in last fall's elections must shoulder much of the blame for the white conservative landslide, voting rights advocates told the Southern Christian Leadership Conference on Monday, warning that this pattern of abstention amounts to political suicide by the black electorate.

Combined with a recent Supreme Court decision destabilizing minority congressional districts and successful attacks on affirmative action in California, the right-wing sweep at the polls has caught black voters unprepared, said former Alabama legislator Antonio Harrison, one of three panelists who served up an apocalyptic vision of race relations in national politics.

While black voters historically have swayed important elections, too many neglected the polls in November, said Harrison, director of the Electoral Participation Project in Washington, D.C.

Since November, he said, conservative legislators have revealed an agenda that virtually ignores the needs of black constituents.

"Just in case anyone might have missed it, the white folks took back America last year and they are further affirming that take-back at every turn," Harri-

# Minorities: Told their votes matter

From A-1

son told his audience at the Hyatt Regency Hotel.

"We, too, have been asleep at the switch," he said. "Does it (the conservative victory) possibly say we stopped organizing in our communities? Does it suggest a lack of leadership from some of our elected officials?"

Voter registration, a precious political tool for African-Americans during the civil rights movement, may help to loosen the conservative grip, said panelist James Ferguson, executive director of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation.

Successful voter registration hinges on targeting black communities that can tip crucial races, Ferguson said. Under the 1993 National Voter Registration Act, also known as the Motor Voter Law, he said, an estimated 20 million Americans will register to vote, and the National Coalition will target cities nationwide to make sure that black voters are in that number.

In Georgia, nearly \$7.1 million has been budgeted to implement the act, said Curtis Atkinson, assistant secretary of state. And in the state's 11th Congressional District, which will be redrawn in the wake of a June ruling from the Supreme Court, newly regis-

tered voters may help keep Cynthia McKinney, D-Ga., in office.

But some at the conference wondered if the Motor Voter Law will backfire for black voters by registering more conservative white constituents and members of the Christian right.

"Are those our votes?" Harrison asked the crowd.

McKinney, Louisiana gubernatorial candidate Cleo Fields, D-Baton Rouge; and two other black members of the U.S. House of Representatives were unable to attend Monday's opening session of the conference's 38th annual convention because of business on Capitol Hill. But Monday afternoon in Washington, Fields defended the 1993 act.

"Motor Voter can help anybody who uses it, be it Christian right or Christian wrong," said Fields, who has made voter registration the thrust of his campaign.

If black voters only knew how important they are, the political outlook of the United States would be entirely different, Harrison said. "In the states where the SCLC has chapters, there are 229 electoral votes. You only need 270 to be the president of the United States. We have the ability to shape the world."

See MINORITIES, A-4

# Revolution's out of control, Charlie

Does Rep. Bass really believe in all this?

By PETER HOE BURLING  
For the Monitor

*(Editor's note: Peter Burling, a former Democratic state representative from Cornish, is a distant cousin of first-term U.S. Republican Rep. Charles Bass. He wrote the following as a "letter to my cousin Charlie.")*

Dear Charlie,  
I see the "revolution" rolls on in Washington. Is it still as exciting for you? How are you fairing with all those right-wing theorists? For a man who consistently voted as a state senator to keep the government from suppressing reproductive choice, it must seem a bit tricky with the radical right wielding so much power.

What bugs me, Charlie, is this whole notion of "revolution." People come up to me and talk of the new "we, the people revolution," as if the last 50 years had not been about the American people.

I guess it's fun to think that the American electorate voted for all the things you're now doing down there, and I'm sure it helps to feel that there is a kind of divine, or at least inspired, quality to all the cuts you're making. But much of what is going on in Congress is neither divine nor inspired; much of it is frankly greedy or stupid.

Please tell me why it's necessary to do away with so much of the federal government's support for education? This month

7/31/95 Monitor  

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## My Turn

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your party killed the Goals 2000 program, which was begun under Presidents Reagan and Bush. Then you went on to vote down, or make massive cuts in, all federal student loan programs. You slashed the Pell grants and obliterated the Eisenhower funds.

Those cuts won't do much to balance the budget, but they will create a huge education deficit. Middle-class and poor people will not be able to get college educations without those loans and loan guarantees. So why do you want to kill the Pell grants? Why does your party want to do away with the Eisenhower grants, which help prepare our teachers to teach better?

And what lies at the heart of your party's attack on the environmental laws? Your campaign never mentioned that you were going to let private industry re-write our environmental laws to their own liking.

But that's what is happening. In the last few weeks, you've voted to give all the power to private industry, and remove it from those who care for the environment. You've voted to make private enforcement lawsuits impossible, while at the same time you've given private industry the power to use courts to stall environmental standards indefinitely.

Your colleague, Jim Hansen, the chairman of the House Subcommittee on National Parks, wants to start shutting down national parks. Some in your party even tried to eliminate funding for the Environmental Protection Agency. To what end?

Is it that you don't remember, Charlie?

Is it that you can't envision how awful the Connecticut River used to be in the '50s, when the water was so foul you couldn't see two inches into it?

Some of the people who are now making public policy down there in Washington are motivated by greed. They will do you and us terrible damage with their demands for an end to environmental protection.

I noticed in a local paper that your father has stepped into the fray to protect you from the angry sniping that's beginning to break out around the state. His is a powerful voice to raise in your behalf. The problem is, your father probably voted for some of the things you are now slashing to the bone. The decade of the '50s, when your father was a congressman, was a time of expansive foreign aid, growing support for the middle class, and real commitment to student loans and other programs to get people educated. Did your father vote against those, the way you are doing?

The drive to reduce the federal budget deficit, which you endorse, is very important. But it does not require the kind of radical excesses that are now being carried out in the name of frugality.

Save the funding for drug-free schools, Charlie. Save the Pell Grants that help 175,000 low-income students. Save the other student-loan programs that will let our work force be educated and competitive in the next century. Do not do damage to our national environment that we cannot repair.

And finally, Charlie, be suspicious of those who like to talk about the revolution they are leading. Once the guillotine is out in the market square, a great deal of mischief can get done.

## Harkin account has \$1.2 million

8/1/95

ASSOCIATED PRESS

U.S. Sen. Tom Harkin has nearly \$1.2 million in the bank for campaigning, though he has yet to formally announce he'll seek a third term, new reports showed.

Harkin said the reports show "I will be ready organizationally and financially" when it's time to begin the campaign. Harkin, a Democrat, is considered a sure bet to seek another term in office.

His fund raising far outstrips any of the Republicans making noise about running against him. State Rep. Steve Grubb of Davenport has announced his campaign for the GOP nomination, and state Sen. Maggie Tinsman of Davenport has said she'll run as well.

Conservative activist Leroy Corey has also said he'll seek the GOP nomination.

# Dirty campaign?

## Contest for U.S. Senate off to a depressing start

A dirty and trivial U.S. Senate campaign might be shaping up for Montana. That judgment might be premature, but based on the content of news releases sent to this newspaper by the supporters of Democratic Sen. Max Baucus and Republican Lt. Gov. Dennis Rehberg, who are expected to be their parties' Senate nominees next year, it's a fair guess.

Rehberg has criticized Baucus for making a statement last spring that Baucus would consider accepting voluntary campaign spending limits, and then making it clear later that he would not. Rehberg calls this "hypocrisy," even though Baucus always indicated that if he faced a well-heeled, well-known candidate, he probably would not limit his spending.

A recent news release from the Republican National Senate Campaign Committee stated that a recent University of Montana poll showed Baucus to be vulnerable. The poll, the release pointed out, found that only 48 percent of respondents approved of Baucus' performance, while 28 percent disapproved. What the release didn't say is that Republican Sen. Conrad Burns had almost the same performance ratings, 49 percent approval, 26 percent disapproval.

If the Republicans want to pester Baucus about spending limits, that's OK. Jack Mudd challenged Conrad Burns to accept spending limits in 1994, too. Burns refused, because well-heeled incumbents always refuse. Mind-boggling campaign spending is a legitimate issue, but it's also become a tired campaign gimmick. Rehberg should give it a rest.

Similarly, gloating over a poll that shows Baucus with high negatives isn't the same as intelligent discussion of the issues.

If the Rehberg campaign is dwelling on trivia, however, the Baucus campaign is looking ominously ugly this far ahead of the elections. A recent release from the Democratic Senatorial Cam-

paign Committee is typical. The release says that "Rehberg campaign falters skirting FEC report regs (and) Oh yeah ... He's already breaking promises."

The release goes on to insinuate that Rehberg has run afoul of Federal Election Commission rules, even though he has not.

The release then makes much of Rehberg's "broken promise" not to campaign while he's serving in his capacity as lieutenant governor. The release said that Rehberg was able to attend a fund-raising event in Washington by "exploiting a loophole in Montana law" that allows the lieutenant governor "to take as much vacation as he likes."

"Now that he's in the big leagues," the release snarls, "Dennis Rehberg will likely learn that voters have a thing against shifty, cynical candidates who can't keep a promise and exploit loopholes."

Shifty, cynical candidates who can't keep a promise? Tough talk, coming from supporters of a man who once made a promise about gun control.

And what prompted this name-calling diatribe from the Baucus camp?

Here's how the release itself explains it: "The 'Friends of Max Baucus' announced this week that they have amassed a \$1.1 million war chest to fend off the nasty, negative campaigning that is already taking place in Montana."

It looks more like the Baucus campaign is making excuses to justify what has every promise of turning into a dirty campaign.

That's one promise we hope will not be fulfilled, by either Max Baucus or Dennis Rehberg. It won't wash for either of these guys to pretend to take the high road while their proxies run the smear machines. Both men should order the dirty birds among their supporters to clean up their acts and keep them cleaned up.

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1-5

# Mass. GOP fears gains are eroding

By Brian C. Mooney  
GLOBE STAFF

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Massachusetts Republicans may put up their most impressive slate of congressional candidates in

## News Analysis

many years in 1996. But it could be a case of robbing Peter to pay

Paul.

The good news for the state's minority party is that several credible candidates, including state Sens. Brian Lees of East Longmeadow, Richard Tisei of Wakefield and Jane Swift of North Ad-

ams, are close to deciding whether to challenge incumbent Democratic congressmen next year.

But some GOP leaders worry privately that this will be the first of a series of steps that plunge the party back into its pre-1990 status of near-irrelevance.

Under this scenario, the party's return to respectability since 1990 could be erased, the result of a party rebuilding effort that has been more top-down than bottom-up.

There's plenty of evidence to support this theory. Meanwhile, some hardliners fear the party, es-

REPUBLICANS, Page 34

■ REPUBLICANS  
Continued from Page 29

chewing confrontation with Democrats for an accommodating partnership, has already blown its chance for the grassroots-level growth that might have followed the 1990 breakthrough.

That year the GOP ended the Democrats' 16-year stranglehold on all six constitutional offices with the

election of Gov. Weld, Lt. Gov. Paul Cellucci and state Treasurer Joseph Malone.

Republicans also knocked off six sitting Democratic state senators, won two of three open Senate seats that changed hands and picked up seven seats in the House.

The gains in the upper chamber gave the party enough senators - 16 out of 40 - to sustain a Weld veto. It was short-lived, however -

wiped out two years later when the GOP lost four of the seven pickups plus three other Republican seats in the Senate.

Last year, as Weld and Cellucci ran up the score with an eye-popping record 42-percentage point margin over the Democratic tandem of Mark Roosevelt and Bob Masie - and Malone tightened his grasp on the treasurer's job - the GOP picked up one measly seat in the Senate.

"We ran some pretty good candidates last year," said Lees, the Senate minority leader now weighing a challenge to Democratic US Rep. Richard Neal in the 2d Congressional District anchored by Springfield.

"We were well-organized and thought we were in pretty good shape. But we got smoked."

Lees and others cite the accommodating posture Weld took to stabilize state finances and achieve other

compromises with the overwhelming Democratic majority in the Legislature

Democrats had a point

"When we ran in 1994, a lot of Democrats said, 'We helped to do the job that's made things much better,'" said Lees. "And you know, they had."

Others are more cynical. "Bill

Weld's agenda was never the party's agenda in this state," said a Republican loyalist, referring to Weld's national political aspirations. "So the party is in worse shape today than it was the day he took office."

Despite the success of Weld, Cellucci and Malone at the top, there are unsettling statistics that ought to concern Republicans about the party's long-term health in Massachusetts.

Consider these trends in the Weld era:

■ The number of Republicans in the 160-member House has dipped from 38 in the 1990 election to 35 last year.

■ More and more legislative seats have gone to Democrats without a fight. In the Senate, the number grew from three in 1990 to 12 in 1992 and 14 in 1994; in the House, from 38 in 1990 to 63 in 1992 to 77 in 1994.

■ Down the ticket, Republican votes have eroded. For example, a Globe analysis shows that in 1990, Republicans in contested Senate races collected 46.2 percent of votes cast. In the off-year 1992, the figure dropped to 43.7 percent. And in 1994, a high-water mark with Weld-Cellucci surpassing 70 percent and Malone hitting 63 percent, GOP Senate candidates received only 43.5 percent of the vote.

■ As a percentage of voters, Republicans slipped from 13.3 percent in the 1990 primary to 13 percent in 1994. Democrats dropped even more, from 42.9 percent to 40.2 percent, but all of the shift went to independents, or to those unenrolled in either party.

Weld did nothing to help the cause on Election Day last year when he showed up at Senate President William M. Bulger's South Boston polling place and urged a vote ("I hope you'll vote for Bill Bulger," Weld declared. "He's a good man.") for the Democratic power broker, a bete noir to other Republicans.

"That was a mistake," said Lees, who otherwise does not blame Weld for the state of the party these days. "It sent a signal to several of our candidates who lost and were thinking of running again that it's not worth it."

dercut by it," said Robert Hedlund of Weymouth, who barely won a rematch with Democrat Brian McDonald for the Senate seat he had won and lost in two previous elections. Bulger was a big issue in the race.

Dissipation of the voter anger of 1990 contributed to the drop-off in legislative candidacies, said GOP state chairman Jim Rappaport, who has not yet shut the door on a possible challenge next year to either Democratic US Sen. John Kerry or second-term US Rep. Martin Meehan of Lowell.

Regardless of his own plans, Rappaport predicted a strong slate of Republican congressional challengers in 1996 when there will be no state office races to drain money and media exposure.

Also helping the recruiting effort is the fact that Republicans now control both houses of Congress and can run with the clout issue on their side for the first time in many years. In the state delegation, Democrats now outnumber Republicans, 8-2.

But even a good crop of Republicans in 1996 does not guarantee success and carries risk to a party that lacks the Democrats' deep bench of potential candidates to step up and fill vacancies down the ticket.

If Lees challenges Neal, Swift runs against incumbent John Oliver in the 1st Congressional District and Tisei takes on Edward Markey in the 7th, the GOP will lose three-fourths of its Senate leadership and leave open two formerly Democratic seats - Tisei's and Lees'.

Worst-case scenario

A plausible worst-case scenario envisioned by some Republican stalwarts goes something like this:

■ Kerry rolls to reelection in a walkover of token opposition.

■ The congressional contests are a mixed bag or worse.

■ The party fails to gain, or even loses, in the state Senate.

■ Cellucci and Malone give up their posts in 1998 because of term limits, carve each other up and the winner loses the governorship to US Rep. Joseph P. Kennedy 2d of Brighton.

■ State auditor A. Joseph DeNucci or another Democrat wins Malone's open treasurer's slot, and Democrats sweep the remaining constitutional offices.

"Then we're back to 1989," said one top Republican official who requested anonymity. "And 1990 becomes just a flash in the pan."

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7-30-95  
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# Edmisten faces flak for hiring his friend

## Woman, 23, got series of jobs

By BILL KRUEGER AND JOHN WAGNER  
STAFF WRITERS

**RALEIGH** — Secretary of State Rufus Edmisten found himself at the center of a political storm Wednesday for helping a 23-year-old female friend get a series of state government jobs, both inside and outside his department.

### INSIDE

Richard Petty may run against Edmisten.

3A

Edmisten regularly called the woman at home on his state-owned cellular phone, and he took her to a conference in Montana at taxpayers' expense while she was a part-time employee in his office.

WRAL-TV first reported the story Tuesday night. The television report also indicated that Edmisten created a new full-time position in his department that he was considering offering to the woman, Rosemary McBryde.

Edmisten acknowledged in an interview Wednesday that he had hired McBryde to work in his office while she was a student at N.C. State University and

SEE EDMISTEN, PAGE 16A

## EDMISTEN

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1A

that he later helped her get a job in the state Commerce Department. He said the woman was the daughter of a longtime friend, and that he had done nothing wrong.

"When in the world did it become a crime for somebody to help a friend of the family?" Edmisten said, adding that he considered the young woman "like a daughter to me."

Edmisten said that both the Montana trip and the cellular phone calls to her home were legitimate work-related expenses.

The report came at a time when other problems in Edmisten's department are coming to light.

In a discreet letter to Edmisten last year — obtained by The News & Observer — State Auditor Ralph Campbell cited several instances of improper behavior in Edmisten's department, including employees' abuse of telephones and an employee who worked for seven months without the knowl-



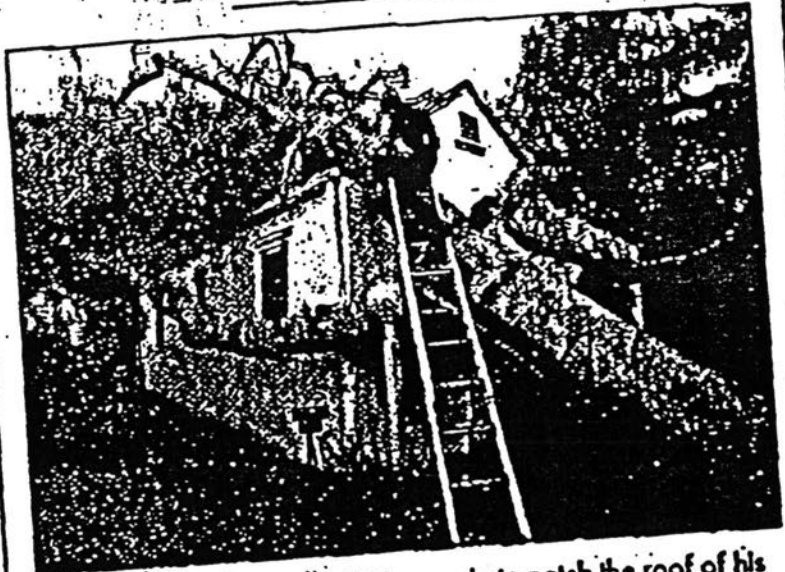
Rufus Edmisten says he has done nothing wrong.

edge of his supervisor.

After the television report, the state Republican Party called for Edmisten's resignation. Later Wednesday, Edmisten and other Democratic Party leaders fired back, accusing the GOP of trying to turn an "ill-informed" news story into a political power grab.

*Jim Henderson*

## ERIN'S LEGACY



Randy Parker of Holly Hill, Fla., works to patch the roof of his home after Hurricane Erin passed by. Erin, downgraded to a tropical storm and in the Gulf of Mexico on Wednesday night, is blamed in Florida for two deaths, minor property damage and widespread power outages. Story, page 4A.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Edmisten's assistance in getting McBryde jobs is not in question. His help dates back to 1991, when she was a freshman at N.C. State University.

McBryde's father, Roy McBryde, said that because he and Edmisten were longtime friends, he asked Edmisten to look after her when she arrived in Raleigh from the family's home in Marshville.

In an interview with The N&O, McBryde said she frequently house sits and does other chores for Edmisten's family, and that she and Edmisten often attend basketball games and other sporting events.

She said that if she were a male, no one would be questioning the way Edmisten has helped her.

McBryde was hired as a part-time employee in Edmisten's office in May 1991 and worked periodically there until December 1994, when, with the benefit of a recommendation from Edmisten, she was offered a job in the Commerce Department as an information-communications specialist.

In July 1994, McBryde traveled with Edmisten and a few other

employees from his office to the national conference in Montana. The cost of her trip, including travel and hotel, was \$1,232.

A spokesman for Edmisten said McBryde did a great deal of organizational work for the entire conference, which was coordinated by a staff member in Edmisten's office.

Edmisten's cellular phone records show regular calls to McBryde, even after she moved to the Commerce Department, ranging from 7:30 a.m. to midnight.

Edmisten said that he called McBryde late at night to ask her to help with odd jobs in his office that needed to be taken care of the next day.

In June, Edmisten placed two calls to Gov. Jim Hunt's chief budget adviser, Marvin Dorman, to discuss adding another securities investigator position in the secretary of state's office.

Edmisten said he had McBryde in mind when he tried to create the new position, but said that she was never assured of getting the job. He said she never applied for the position, and that if she had been hired, it would have been as a trainee.

McBryde has resigned her position, and said she has no plans to seek the new job.

"If this is what state government is about, I don't want any part of it," she said.

The report from Campbell, the state auditor, includes the following findings:

■ An employee, Roy H. Everett Jr., worked in the department's securities division for seven months without the knowledge of the division head. For much of that period, the auditor said, Everett worked out of his home in Hamilton.

"There is a lack of evidence, written and otherwise, that the employee worked more than a minimal amount," Campbell says in the letter.

Everett, who no longer works for the department, said in an interview that he never worked out of his home.

■ An unspecified number of employees made 1,867 personal long-distance calls on state telephones during the 12-month period ending November 1993. The calls cost the state \$1,478.

Campbell said in an interview

that one of the employees, George Parrott, made calls to pawn shops to sell jewelry as part of a private business he worked with.

■ Parrott — unavailable for comment Wednesday — put together a continuing education seminar in Atlantic Beach for funeral home directors.

The purpose of the seminar was to provide the directors with information about investment fraud, but Parrott also received continuing education credit that he needed to maintain his own funeral home director's license.

Although the letter from Campbell was written almost a year ago, it has not been made public before. Campbell's office typically issues news releases announcing new audit reports, but does not do so with management letters such as the one sent to Edmisten.

Campbell released the letter when it was requested by T. N&O, saying the employees scrutinized were no longer working with the department at the time the letter was written.

Staff writers Carrick Molkamp and J. Andrew Curran contributed to this report.

## 'Your Turn,' New Hampshire

# The Press Failed Us on Goals 2000

By WAYNE D. KING

**I**T'S AN AGE-OLD story in New Hampshire. A press corps, cowed by the fear that they may lose access to the governor, fails to ask the tough questions that we expect of the "third estate." The result . . . news reporting that reads like a "he said, she said" divorce court transcript of an in-depth probing of the issues.

This time it was Goals 2000. The well crafted federal plan to improve education in America. Started under President Bush and continued under President Clinton, Goals 2000 is a part of an ongoing national process to retain America's competitive edge in a global economy.

Unlike the 1957 National Defense Education Act, a clear precursor of Goals 2000, adopted in response to a national crisis of confidence spurred by the launch of the Soviet Sputnik satellite, Goals 2000 has rallied the far right in its quest to eliminate public education.

Today, with the bear behind the bush less clear to us, there is less national determination. Unlike the threat of Soviet superiority, Americans are less likely to tie other very real threats like declining wages for middle income citizens and a concentration of wealth in the hands of a small elite minority of



WAYNE KING

the national imperative of a highly educated citizenry.

So the right wing — silenced by the Soviet monolith in the late '50s — suddenly became a force in the public dialogue.

In most other states the Press understood the necessity to educate the public on the details of Goals 2000 and furthermore to hold public officials accountable for their statements. Those who persisted in lying about the intent of Goals 2000 faced a far more aggressive challenge to their distortions. But in New Hampshire it was business as usual.

With few exceptions, New Hampshire's media is more like our own version of the Soviet Tass than the free press envisioned by Thomas Jefferson. Like the manna which flowed from the communist leadership to the party faithful, much of New Hampshire's press has tied their economic fortunes to their loyalty to those in power. It is a perverse conspiracy of silence shrouded with reporting that sheds little light on truth — reporting that reflects all of the heat of public debate and none of the light.

Privately they wring their hands about the need to compromise their professional ethics and publicly they act like groupies that would make Dead Heads look indifferent by comparison.

There are few examples more powerful than that of public radio. In just 10 years, WEVO has been reduced from a significant force in the public policy dialogue of New Hampshire to reading news headlines directly from the front section of the *The Union Leader* . . . a sniveling shadow of its grand promise.

But WEVO is not the only example. Channel 9 shamelessly runs campaign style ads with Governor Merrill telling New Hampshire folks what a great place New Hampshire is to raise a family and do business . . . If Jack Heath ever moves on he can run commercials touting the value of ice cubes to arctic natives.

And, who can forget *The Union Leader*? Joe McQuaid knows what Steve Merrill is thinking before anyone else does . . . usually before Steve Merrill.

With reporting like this it's no wonder the public feels like the proverbial mushroom.

Where were the reporters who made the connection between broken campaign promises over kindergarten and technology enhancement in the schools and the refusal to allow schools to find those resources elsewhere?

Where were the reporters who asked if the champions of "local control" had somehow been lobotomized (no - this is not a typo) and now were seeking to tell schools and communities that they could not have the power to make decisions themselves?

This persistent lack of real reporting has cast a long shadow over our beloved state. Today Goals 2000, as well as the thousands of children who would have been enriched through its provisions, are the victims. Innocent victims of a one party system with an irrelevant press. Tomorrow it will be some other important issue on which we are short-changed. A two party system might help but with a press like this one we may have to wait as long as the Soviets did.

□□□

(Wayne D. King is a former state senator.)

*Union Leader 7/31/95*

# BLM Target Of Probe

from PAGE A1

ishable by removal from office or employment, a fine and up to one year imprisonment," Thomas warned in the letter, which demanded that BLM employees turn over notes and other materials.

Sen. Larry Craig, R-Idaho, also complained that after the BLM circulated its media strategy "we have seen op-ed pieces, public comments, interviews and actions taken by state directors of the BLM and, or, their public information personnel."

In late June, New Mexico BLM Director Bill Calkins wrote a guest opinion article that appeared in the Journal. The article pointed out differences between the administration and the GOP senator's approach to public lands.

In the article, Calkins said the agency "does not support the Livestock Grazing Act as currently written."

In an interview Tuesday, Domenici said Calkins claimed he didn't want to write the article but was made to do so.

"The point was he went ahead and did what they asked him to do," Domenici said. Domenici added that he does not believe career employees "should be promoting on the one hand or be openly arguing against legislation that's pending."

Calkins was not available for comment. A spokeswoman said the communications plan from BLM headquarters in Washington requested editorial opinions and that Calkins complied.

Domenici is backing the investigation.

"It is my understanding that Western BLM field employees have been told by superiors in Washington to be publicly critical of the bill," Domenici said in a letter to the Journal earlier this summer. "The bureaucrats in Washington somehow believe that criticism of the bill would be more creditable coming from BLM employees in the field, rather than from Washington sources. I believe this is a misuse of career civil servants, who are not political appointees and should not be forced to do the bidding of the politicians in Washington."

Federal law prohibits government agencies from lobbying Congress, but Gaudin said the BLM has done nothing wrong.

A Justice Department guideline prepared in April said government employees may communicate directly with the Congress and with the public through "speeches, appearances and published writings to support administration positions."

The guideline forbade government employees from doing such things as sending telegrams and letters asking recipients to contact Congress on legislation.

Livestock groups in the West also are assailing the BLM. In a recent letter, Idaho cattle growers challenged the agency to "defend the charges that have been disseminated from your office, through the press."

Bill Hume, the Journal's editorial page editor, said he often receives op-eds from government officials about legislative issues. He said Calkins' article did not urge the defeat of Domenici's bill.

"I don't condone people breaking the law," Hume said. "But I would rather all people err on the side of airing the issues."

# Grazing Bill Sparks BLM Lobbying Probe

## West's Senators Upset Over News Coverage

By RICHARD PARKER

Journal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Western senators, upset with news coverage of a bill to overhaul federal grazing regulations, are investigating whether dozens of Bureau of Land Management employees violated lobbying restrictions by contacting newspapers and broadcast outlets.

The Interior Department maintains it did nothing wrong and charged that Senate Republicans are trying to silence government employees.

The legislation, by Sen. Pete Domenici, R-N.M., would limit federal control over grazing practices on public lands. The bill recently passed the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee.

In a letter to Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, Sen. Craig Thomas, R-Wyo., said a media plan by BLM Acting Director Mike Dombek "has resulted in BLM employees in the field espousing the horrors of (the bill) and numerous media sta-

ries throughout the West which cast (the bill) in a very disparaging light."

Prohibitions on lobbying "don't keep you from talking to a reporter or an editorial board," said Interior spokesman Mike Gaudin.

Western Republicans and controls

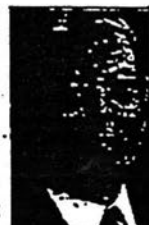
the livestock industry have been stung by a string of unfavorable editorials and opinion pieces in newspapers from Oregon to Montana and New Mexico.

Thomas, chairman of the Senate Energy Subcommittee on Oversight, said late Monday he is investigating whether career BLM employees violated prohibitions on lobbying by expressing opinions on Domenici's bill.

Thomas warned Babbitt there could be serious repercussions.

Violation of this section is pun-

See BLM on PAGE A8



**DOMENICI:**  
Wants to curb  
federal grazing

Journal  
8/2/95

August 1, 1995

# U.S. panel's audit costs Braun \$340,000

## Illegal contributions stall senator's ability to retire election debt

By Ray Gibson  
TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

U.S. Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun's campaign spent \$340,000 since 1992 to pay lawyers and accountants to straighten out the campaign's books in the face of a rare audit by election authorities, campaign-finance records released Tuesday show.

The continued drain of campaign funds to pay the lawyers

and accountants—\$54,264 in the last six months—is partly why the Chicago Democrat has been unable to erase debts that now total \$581,000.

Braun is only one of four U.S. senators since 1986 who have had campaign finances scrutinized by the Federal Election Commission, the agency that oversees compliance with federal election laws.

Previous finance reports have shown that Braun's campaign accepted contributions over the legal limits and failed to report some political donations as required by law.

The \$581,000 debt actually was good news for the campaign. The

committee had reduced the debt by \$104,000, and it was the first time that the debt declined.

In the first six months of 1995, Braun reported receiving \$265,000, but \$71,000 of the money collected was returned to donors who had exceeded the legal limit of \$1,000 for each election.

Tony Podesta, a political consultant brought on board by the senator, said Braun still must refund \$29,000 more to other donors who also exceeded the legal limit.

Podesta said Braun has beefed up her fundraising staff and efforts. He predicted that she easily will eliminate the debt before running for re-election in 1998.

Braun's campaign added Susan Holloway Torricelli as the campaign's national finance director. Torricelli was the fundraising director for Democratic U.S. Sen. Dianne Feinstein's 1994 California campaign, the country's most expensive Senate race.

Braun's campaign also hired A.B. Data to conduct direct marketing for the campaign fund.

Podesta said the campaign was eager for the FEC to complete its audit. He said federal auditors last met with campaign staff in February. Podesta said the campaign has cooperated with the investigation, providing everything that the auditors had requested.



Tribune file photo

U.S. Sen Carol Moseley-Braun (D-Ill.) is one of only four senators the Federal Election Commission has audited since 1986.

# Abusing welfare dollars

**It's irresponsible to give money to states without accountability.**

**S**enate Majority Leader Robert Dole scoffed at President Bill Clinton's warning about the Republican welfare package. The president had said that without a requirement that a certain share of federal block-grant money go for the poor, there would be a "race to the bottom" in benefits as states slashed welfare.

"I wonder which states he thinks would participate in such a race," Dole said.

If he has to wonder, he isn't up to speed on the facts of life of welfare. And that's hard to believe.

The lead in the race to the bottom has long been held by Mississippi. The national average welfare grant to a family of four is \$435 per month. Mississippi pays \$144. And of that, less than \$32 comes from Mississippi taxpayers.

Federal taxes pay the rest — meaning Mississippians pay their welfare recipients less than \$8 per person per month.

Of all the states, Mississippi has the greatest financial incentive to provide money for welfare, because every \$1 the state spends brings in more than \$8 from the feds, the highest ratio offered in the nation. But Mississippi still balks.

Given the option of spending the federal money on less mundane things, Mississippi could cut welfare further. That could drive Mississippi welfare families — and those in Alabama, Louisiana and some other states — to seek greener pastures.

Unlikely? Check Wisconsin, which has attempted to cope with an influx of welfare families from Chicago, where a family of four on Aid to Families with Dependent Children receives \$103 less per month than it would in Wisconsin.

The courts have ruled that states face constitutional problems if they use residency requirements to try to keep out welfare seekers. Such requirements have a "chilling effect" on the right to travel.

In contrast to Mississippi's \$144, Iowa provides \$496 to a welfare family of four (federal money pays five-eighths of that). Alaska, where costs are significantly higher, pays \$1,025; California, \$723; Wisconsin, \$617.

When such huge differences in state spending on poor families exist even when the federal financing formula attempts to dispel them, it's not unrealistic to suggest that even wider differences will develop under the Republican plan to dump the formula — encouraging an influx of the poor to Northern states.

Welfare is a national problem in need of a national solution. Innovations in true reform initiated by states are and should be encouraged; they can become models for federal programs. The Republican plan to hand federal money to the states with no accountability is an irresponsible misuse of taxes.

8/2

Cc: Panetta and  
Tyson?  
yes — no

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
8/7/95

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

95 AUG 5 P12:20

August 4, 1995

any others?  
Gene Sperling  
Erskine Bowler  
Harold Ickes

We need a simpler  
chart on this to  
hand out —  
It's done

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: LEON PANETTA  
LAURA TYSON  
FROM: GENE SPERLING *Gene Sperling*  
ROBERT GORDON  
SUBJECT: Clinton Record and Perot Promises

This memo compares the Clinton Administration's record with Ross Perot's proposals in two books published during and immediately after the 1992 campaign: United We Stand, which came out during the campaign, and Not For Sale at Any Price, published shortly after we proposed our budget in 1993. While Perot made many other statements on many other subjects, the great majority of his substantive positions were stated in these books.

The memo is divided into three sections: Economic Policy, Domestic Policy, and Political Reform. His statements on foreign policy and social issues like abortion and race are sketchy and are not included. In the three main areas mentioned above, we have tried to highlight similarities while also emphasizing key differences. An executive summary follows.

One note of caution: Perot's proposals tend to be vague. Therefore, except for the 28 specific items in his budget calculations, it is hard to give exact percentages as to how we have done compared to his proposals. What we can say is that we have at least partly achieved nearly 70% of his 28 general budget proposals. We will work over the next couple of days to see how many common achievements or proposals we can list and see if there are any other ways of doing percentages that would hold up. One thing that is certainly striking is how much closer to us he is than to the Congressional majority when it comes to public investment and the role of government.

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### I. ECONOMIC POLICY

Both the Clinton Administration and Ross Perot have both put forth economic plans that call for balancing the budget while increasing key public investments in education and other areas.

Of 28 items in Ross' Perot's "deficit reduction plan" from 1993, the Clinton Administration has accomplished part or all of 19 items (68%), while flatly opposing only 7 items (21%).

Most of the differences can be traced to the fact that we have proposed a more progressive tax policy while taking less from working families in entitlement -- particularly Medicare -- savings. On tax policy, we pursued a more progressive path with less overall tax increases, more on those in the highest income ranges, more protection for the middle class, while providing tax breaks to the working poor; Perot's larger tax increases were more heavily targeted at low-and middle-income individuals. Perot called for heavier five year savings in Medicare and Medicaid and agriculture.

#### *Key Similarities*

- **Historic Deficit Reduction.** Perot advocated \$754 billion over 5 years in deficit reduction, much of it unspecified; the Clinton Administration is already achieving \$1 trillion in deficit reduction over seven years from its 1993 budget plan. In the 10 year balanced budget, we propose an additional \$1.2 trillion in deficit reduction over 10 years.
- **Major Spending Cuts.** Perot advocated cuts in "wasteful spending and subsidies" in general terms, but he singled out only six specific discretionary programs for cuts in his two books. His balanced budget actually *increased* discretionary spending. The Clinton Administration cut 300 programs totalling \$255 billion in its first two budgets, including wasteful subsidies like those for honey, wool, and mohair. In our current budget, we propose \$434 billion in discretionary savings over 10 years, with 85% in nondefense areas.
- **Investments in People and Jobs.** Perot supported increased investments in five domestic areas: education, cities, research and development, defense reinvestment, and infrastructure. The Administration has increased investment in all of these areas. Indeed, Perot actually called for higher amounts of investment in R&D. "Where will we be twenty years from now," asked Perot, "If we don't continue to make important public investments?" (United We Stand, p.61)

- **Entitlement Savings from Most Well-Off:** Perot supported measures taken in 1993 such as repealing the limit on income subject to the Medicare wage tax and raising the portion of Social Security benefits that are taxable to 85%.
- **Tax Incentives for Job Creation.** Perot joined the Administration in supporting permanent extension of the R&D tax credit, investment tax credits, and deductions for investment in job creation. He also supported reductions in the capital gains tax that were far deeper and less targeted than ours.

### *Key Differences*

- **Perot Relied on Tax Increases More.** Perot's budget had \$320 billion in tax increases compared to \$250 billion in the President's 1993 budget-- 28% more than the Clinton 1993 plan.
- **Perot's Tax Changes Were Far Less Progressive.** Perot supported smaller tax increases on the wealthiest Americans, far larger tax increases on the middle-class (including a 50-cents gas tax, cuts in the home mortgage deduction, and a tax on employer-provided health care), and no tax relief for working poor families (earned income tax credit).
- **Perot Was Willing to Take More Contractionary Risk with 5-Year Balanced Budget.** While our 10-year plan protects working families and minimizes the dangers of economic slowdown by reaching balance gradually over 10 years, Perot proposed a 5-year balanced budget, with no discussion of its potential short-term impact on the economy.
- **Perot Cut Health Care More Deeply.** While both Perot and the Administration supported health care savings, Perot's were over twice as deep (\$179 billion to \$56 billion) and he proposed increases in Medicare B premiums and a tax on employer-provided health care. Perot never spelled out how \$140 of his \$179 billion in health care savings would be achieved. Even with our new balanced budget proposal with health savings in the context of reform, Perot's five year plan still calls for heavier Medicare savings (\$120 billion in five years versus our \$124 billion over seven years).
- **Perot Cut Agriculture More Deeply.** Perot proposed cutting agriculture subsidies by \$18 billion, compared to \$2 billion in reductions in the Clinton 1993 and an additional \$4.2 billion proposed over 7 years in the 10-year balanced budget proposal.
- **Perot Supported the Balanced Budget Amendment (eventually).** Perot actually changed his position from opposition during the 1992 campaign to support shortly afterwards.

## II. POLITICAL REFORM

Perot shared with the President the same overall political reform agenda: reduce needless bureaucracy and wasteful spending; rein in special interest lobbyists; and diminish the role of big money in campaigns.

Perot put special emphasis on three idiosyncratic goals which the President has not sought to achieve: (1) drastically reducing the benefits of government service; (2) restricting the influence of foreigners in government; and (3) dramatically altering the electoral process. The President, on the other hand, has emphasized the goal of reinventing government far more than Perot did.

The President has achieved or supported about two-thirds of Perot's political reform agenda. Because of Congress's failure to act on our campaign finance and lobbying reform proposals, however, we have partly or fully achieved only about two-fifths of the items on Perot's agenda.

### *Key Similarities*

- **Cutting White House, Executive Branch, and Congressional Staffs.** Perot called for "drastic" cuts in the number of executive branch employees and 30% cuts in White House and congressional staffs. We are cutting 272,000 executive branch employees and cut 25% from the White House staff while challenging Congress to do the same.
- **Improving Government Performance.** Perot advocated increased flexibility for federal employees and better treatment of citizens by government. These are key achievements of the reinventing government initiative.
- **Lobbying Reform (Though We Support Tougher Steps).** Perot proposed closing the "revolving door" and stopping top officials from lobbying for foreign governments. We did both. Perot also supported a gift ban similar to those we have advocated, although none has yet been enacted. In addition, the Administration has taken steps in two areas Perot did not emphasize: closing the "lobbyists' loophole," which Perot did not discuss, and supporting much broader lobbyists disclosure legislation. The President is also making a new Executive Order requiring Lobbyist Disclosure for all lobbying of the executive branch.
- **Line-Item Veto.** Both support giving the President the line-item veto.
- **Campaign Finance Reform.** Both the President and Perot have called for limiting PAC contributions, although Perot called for somewhat harsher limits in his second book. Both have also called for bans on the use of soft money and free air time for major federal candidates.

## *Differences*

- **Perot Supported Cutting Federal Employee COLAs.** While the Administration delayed COLAs in 1993, Perot supported eliminating them indefinitely.
- **Perot Supported Term Limits in His Second Book.** Perot actually changed his position on term limits from opposition to support. The Administration has consistently opposed them.
- **The Clinton Administration Supports Voluntary Spending Limits; Perot Did Not.**
- **Miscellaneous Issues.** Perot supported a range of changes in election law that the Administration has not addressed, including eliminating the electoral college, moving elections to Saturday and Sunday, eliminating the 89th wing of the Air Force, closing down Camp David, and forbidding non-citizens from volunteering on campaigns.

### III. DOMESTIC POLICY

Perot's domestic policy program had little in common with the current view of some of the Congressional majority that government is the source of every problem. Rather, his positions were more of an undeveloped, skeletal form of the "new Democratic" approach, moving away from top-down bureaucracy and toward a government that is a partner with citizens and communities in solving problems from the grassroots up.

Except for some important but isolated issues such as private school choice and nuclear power, many of Perot's proposals are not too different from our own:

- **Health Care: Universal Coverage in the Private System.** While Perot was harshly critical of our efforts in 1994, in 1993 he agreed that there was a health care crisis and outlined principles of reform very similar to ours: gradual movement toward universal coverage, based on a basic benefits package, within the private system. [He is coming out with a new book on health care soon.]
- **Education: Top Down Support for Bottom Up Reform.** Perot supported higher standards and greater autonomy and accountability within the public school system, both key objectives of Goals 2000. He also supported greater investment in education, particularly pre-school, which the Administration has achieved.

*Differences.* The President has put far greater emphasis on increasing college opportunity and improving job training, goals which Perot rarely discussed. In addition, while the President has supported choice within the public schools but opposed using public money to support private schools, Perot supported private school vouchers.

- **Crime: Punishment and Prevention.** Like the President, Perot supported getting tough on criminals through measures such as "three strikes and you're out" and a crackdown on gang violence. But Perot also joined the President in supporting preventive efforts such as expanded drug treatment and skills training for prisoners.

*Differences.* Perot did not emphasize the importance of police officers or community policing, and he did not support the President's goal of putting 100,000 more police officers on the streets.

- **Welfare Reform.** In his books, Perot did not emphasize welfare reform nearly as much as the President. The only area in which he offered details was improving child support enforcement, where his proposals were similar to the President's, including keeping a national database and using tax forms to withhold income from deadbeat parents. Perot supported improving incentives for people on welfare to move to work, but he did not offer any details of the sort we presented in 1994; nor did he support the EITC.

- **Environment and Energy.** While as a businessman Perot often disregarded environmental concerns, as a candidate he supported an environmentalist agenda. Like the President, he rejected the idea of a tradeoff between jobs and the environment. Policies supported by Perot that the President has pursued include encouraging businesses to implement sustainable development strategies; supporting a leadership role for the U.S. in global development; investing in environmental technologies; and increasing user fees for private use of public resources.

*Differences.* Perot supported expanding use of nuclear energy, which we have opposed. He also supported using higher gas taxes to reduce foreign oil imports, while we have sought to increase domestic production and use of alternative fuels.

## I. ECONOMIC POLICY

The Clinton Administration and Perot share a basic framework for national economic policy: eliminate the budget deficit, but increase key public and private investments in people and in jobs.

A numerical analysis of Perot's "deficit reduction plan" from 1993 confirms the overlap: of 28 line-items in that plan, the Clinton Administration accomplished most or all of his proposals in 12 areas (43%); accomplished modifications of his agenda in another 7 areas (25%); and supported but did not achieve another 3 items on his agenda (11%).

This means that **the Clinton Administration accomplished part or all of Perot's budget agenda on over two-thirds (68%) of the items, while completely opposing him on only 21% of the items (6).**

Nearly all of the differences come from either the magnitude of entitlement cuts or the size and targeting of tax increases: we supported fewer tax increases and a more progressive tax structure than Perot, while opposing deep health savings from working families outside of the context of health reform.

**A. DEFICIT REDUCTION.** Perot claimed to have a plan to balance the budget, but the plan as detailed in his 1993 book relied on a number of errors and exaggerations. He used an outdated baseline that failed to include over \$425 billion in higher deficits over 5 years that were already projected by CBO. His budget included \$140 billion in unspecified health care cost containment which he never detailed and which his economist, John White, said he had no real plan to achieve. Perot's budget also included \$108 billion in discretionary domestic cuts that were specified with only six specific cuts that could account for a fraction of those savings. Finally, he also included \$10 billion in savings from improved tax collection, \$21 billion from cracking down on transfer pricing, and \$145 billion in interest savings due to deficit reduction.

Taken by itself, the Administration's 1993 deficit reduction plan--with its real, credible numbers--stands up very well to Perot's sketchy plan. With our proposal for a 10-year balanced budget, we get to balance just as Perot did--but on a more sensible timeline and with much less reliance on tax increases.

- **Perot Changed His Position on the Balanced Budget Amendment from Opposition to Support; the Clinton Administration Consistently Opposed It.** In 1992, Perot opposed the BBA, saying, "Why tamper with the Constitution when what we need is for Congress to apply restraint over its own procedures?" In 1993, Perot changed his position and said, "The only way to get our elected servants to balance the budget and get rid of the debt is to pass the Balanced Budget Amendment to the Constitution."

- **The Clinton Administration Cut the Deficit by \$616 Billion Over 5 Years and \$1 Trillion Over 7, and in the 10-Year Plan, Proposed an additional \$1.2 Trillion More in Deficit Reduction; Perot Cut the Deficit by \$754 Billion Through Unspecified and At Times Exaggerated Savings.**
- **Just To Match the Clinton Administration's Record So Far, Perot Would Have Had To Achieve All of His Specific Savings and 65% of His Soft and Unspecified Savings.** Of Perot's \$754 billion in deficit reduction, \$393 billion is from unspecified health care cost containment, barely specified domestic discretionary cuts, and interest savings. Just to equal our \$616 billion in actual deficit reduction so far, Perot would have had to achieve 65% of these unspecified savings and 100% of his specific entitlement cuts and tax increases.
- **Perot Relied on Tax Increases More--\$320 Billion to \$250 Billion--And Targeted Them at the Middle Class.** If Perot's budget is classified as OMB has classified ours, it contains \$320 billion in net tax increases. (There are \$302 billion in tax hikes by his own admission.) Our 1993 plan as enacted had only \$250 billion in tax cuts-- his was 28% higher over 5 years. In addition, Perot's tax hikes were much less progressive than ours--much more targeted at the middle class and much less at the wealthy, with less relief for working families. Perot proposed no expansion in the Earned Income Tax Credit.
- **Our Balanced Budget Plan Gets To Balance On a More Reasonable Time Frame with No New Tax Increases.** Perot's proposal created unnecessary contractionary risks by seeking to balance within 5 years. The Clinton Administration reduces that risk with a prudent plan to reach balance that protects working families. There are no new tax increases, and we get to balance in 10 years rather than five.

**B. DISCRETIONARY SPENDING CUTS.** The Clinton Administration has achieved more net savings and made more specific cuts than Perot proposed. Much of the additional savings is from deeper defense cuts, but some is from deeper discretionary cuts. In addition, the Administration has been able to achieve specific savings--including many through Reinventing Government--that Perot only vaguely outlined. The Administration has also proposed many of the same user fee increases as Perot, though many were not enacted.

### *Differences*

- **Our Total Discretionary Savings Is Higher Than Perot's, Including Deeper Proposed Cuts in Domestic Programs.** Perot achieved a net reduction of \$38.5 billion in discretionary spending between 1994 and 1998: \$40 billion in reductions in Defense and increased net domestic discretionary spending of \$1.5 billion (\$108 billion in cuts and \$109.5 billion in investments). By contrast, the first Clinton budget included \$108 billion in savings from lowering the discretionary caps. While these savings were predominantly in defense, our current budget proposal calls for \$434 billion in discretionary cuts, with over 85% of these in nondefense discretionary programs. Over 5 years, the cut from our new plan is \$104 billion--entirely from nondefense programs.
- **The Clinton Administration Cut 300 Specific Programs; Perot Cut Six.** In his two books, Perot only singled out six specific programs for cuts, four domestic and two Defense: the Space Station, Superfund, Small Business Administration, Rural Electrification Administration, B-2 Bomber, and Seawolf. In its 1993 five year plan, the Clinton Administration cut \$255 billion and had cuts in 300 programs in each of its first two years--including REA and the B-2, but not Perot's other cuts.
- **The Administration's Achieved and Pending Cuts through Reinventing Government Are Larger Than Perot's Unspecified Administrative Cuts.** Over two-thirds of Perot's domestic discretionary cuts were achieved from a 10% across-the-board administrative cut of \$73 billion--his only major (but still unspecified) savings from any sort of reinventing government. Just from Phase I of the Reinventing Government initiative, the Administration has already achieved \$63 billion in savings, predominantly discretionary, including \$40 billion from streamlining bureaucracies and \$12 billion from procurement reform. In Phase II, the Administration proposed \$37 billion in savings. While some of this \$37 billion overlaps with the \$63 billion and some of it is on the entitlement side, our total discretionary savings from REGO I and II are greater than Perot's administrative cut.
- **Defense Cuts.** Perot called for \$40 billion in savings from defense beyond President Bush's baseline. The Administration called for more savings in defense in our 1993 five year plan.

### *Similarities*

- **Both Called for Higher User Fees.** Perot called for raising air traffic, island waterway, and natural resources fees. The Clinton Administration proposed increases in all three categories in the 1993 budget, but most were not included by Congress in reconciliation. In its current budget, the Administration proposes raising fees for private use of public goods by continuing the auction of the radio spectrum and through other measures.

**C. ENTITLEMENT CUTS.** Perot and the Clinton Administration made many similar reforms in entitlement spending, yet the Clinton budgets have called for less savings than Perot because his fall heavily on middle class recipients. Of 5 specific changes in entitlements that Perot proposed, we enacted 3 in the same or very similar form and 1 in part. In 1993, we achieved Medicare and Medicaid savings of smaller magnitude than Perot claimed he could (\$56 billion versus \$179 billion) (\$49 billion versus \$120 billion in Medicare). We did not increase costs to beneficiaries, as Perot explicitly would have done through a proposed \$38 billion increase in Medicare premiums over five years. In our current budget proposal, our added savings from Medicare and Medicaid are still on a smaller scale than Perot's proposed savings, and still differ in that they do not hit beneficiaries with cuts.

On non-health care entitlements, Perot and the Administration proposed similar cuts in wasteful subsidies to special interests. Perot proposed deeper cuts in Agriculture, but we have achieved savings that he did not propose from direct lending, auctioning the radio spectrum, and veterans' benefits.

### *Similarities*

- **Both Repealed \$135,000 Limit on Income Subject to Medicare Wage Tax.** Perot proposed, and we supported and enacted, repealing the \$135,000 limit on income subject to the HI (Medicare) wage tax, which raised \$29 billion over 5 years from the wealthiest retirees. Our savings from this went to Medicare Trust Fund and helped extend its solvency.
- **Both Raised the Portion of Social Security Benefits That Are Taxable to 85%.** Perot proposed raising from 50 percent to 85 the amount of Social Security benefits subject to income tax for retirees earning above \$25,000 (single) or \$32,000 (couple). We proposed the same change, and due to congressional modification, signed into law an increase to 85 percent for those earning above \$34,000 (single) or \$44,000 (couple), raising \$18 billion.
- **Both Cut Federal Retirement COLAs By About \$12 Billion.** Perot proposed reducing COLAs for retired Federal employees by one-third, saving \$13 billion. The Administration saved \$11.5 billion by delaying COLAs for retirees.
- **Both Cut Wasteful Subsidies Such as Honey, Wool, and Mohair.** Perot proposed cutting "wasteful subsidies," but was not specific. The Clinton Administration has eliminated federal support payments for wool and mohair (\$1 billion in 5-year savings) and for honey (about \$20 million).

## *Differences*

- **Perot Cut Agriculture More Deeply.** Perot proposed "eliminating our entire system of farm subsidies for giant agricultural corporations," with savings totalling \$17 billion. The Clinton Administration has taken a more targeted approach to agriculture subsidies, with savings totalling about \$2 billion in the 1993 budget, and an additional \$4.2 billion over 7 years in the 10-year budget proposal. The Administration is also cutting an additional \$1.5 billion in order to implement GATT (\$600 million through 1998), and has eliminated specific agricultural subsidies such as wool, honey, and mohair.
- **Perot Supported Cutting Beneficiaries by Raising Premiums for Medicare B; the Clinton Administration Has Not.** Perot would have raised \$38 billion by raising the Medicare B premium for beneficiaries from 25% to 35% of costs. None of the 1993 OBRA changes in Medicare targeted cost increases at beneficiaries, and our 10-year balanced budget calls for *no* new savings from Medicare beneficiaries.
- **Both Called For Some Medicare and Medicaid Savings; His Were Larger, Ours Have Been Real.** Perot's projected cuts were \$120 billion in Medicare and \$59 billion in Medicaid over 5 years, but he never specified how \$140 billion in these savings would be achieved, and his economist, John White, said he had no concrete plan. In 1993, the Clinton Administration saved \$49 billion in Medicare and \$7.2 billion mainly by reducing payments to providers. In our balanced budget proposal, we would achieve \$124 billion in additional Medicare savings and \$54 billion in additional Medicaid savings. However, these savings would be achieved in the context of health care reform. Over the period 1993-98, even combined with the 1993 savings, these savings are smaller than those in Perot's proposal.
  - **Perot Premiums Hikes:** Perot called for increasing the Part B premium from 25% to 35% on at a cost of \$38 billion over five years. That averages over \$1000 per beneficiary over five years. We support keeping the premium at 25%.
- **We Have Achieved Other Entitlement Savings Perot Did Not Discuss.** Our direct lending initiative is already saving \$6.8 billion; in our current budget, we propose accelerating implementation to save more. In addition, our 1993 budget saved \$3.5 billion from Veterans programs.

**D. INCREASED REVENUES.** Perot's budget included 7 major tax increases. Of these, the Clinton Administration enacted 3 in the same or similar form, and supported enactment of one other. We did not support 2 of Perot's tax proposals that would have hit the middle class hard. In general, our policies on taxes represent a strong contrast with Perot's proposals in two respects:

- First, we enacted *smaller* tax increases than he proposed, \$250 billion versus \$320 billion.
- Second, our tax policies were far *more progressive*. Specifically, we cut taxes for the working poor, which he didn't; we protected the middle class from major tax hikes, while he raised their taxes significantly; and we raised taxes on the wealthiest considerably more than he did, so that the burden on working families would be smaller and real deficit reduction could still be achieved.

### *Similarities*

- **Both Raised Income Taxes on the Wealthy; the Clinton Administration Increase Was Larger:** Perot proposed increasing the top marginal tax rate for individuals from 31% to 33% or 35% if necessary. OBRA 1993 created two new top brackets at 36% and 39.6%, thus raising taxes for only the wealthiest 1.2% of Americans, joint filers earning over \$180,000 in Adjusted Gross Income. The 1993 plan also imposed a new 10-percent surtax on taxable income above \$250,000.
- **Both Cut Deduction for Business Entertainment Expenses to 50 percent.** Perot proposed, and we supported and signed into law, a reduction in the deduction for business entertainment expenses from 80 percent to 50 percent, saving \$16 billion over 5 years.
- **Both Supported Cracking Down on Transfer Pricing; the Administration's Savings Have Been Less than Expected.** During the campaign, we called for new restrictions on transfer pricing to raise \$45 billion; Perot proposed raising \$21.4 billion. The Clinton Administration has taken several steps to reduce transfer pricing, but scoreable savings have been limited to about \$4 billion.
- **Both Supported Higher Tobacco Taxes.** Perot proposed raising \$19 billion from higher excise taxes on tobacco. The Clinton Administration supported a higher tobacco tax in the context of health care reform.
- **Both Supported Eliminating Unnecessary Corporate Subsidies.** Perot's plan included \$22 billion in savings from "wasteful subsidies." The Administration has already eliminated wasteful subsidies for wool, honey, and mohair, and proposed cuts in hundreds of programs. In our current balanced budget, the Administration proposed to eliminate \$25 billion in corporate welfare, on both the tax expenditure and the spending sides.

*Differences: Our Tax Hikes Were Smaller and More Progressive*

- **We Had Fewer Tax Hikes--\$320 billion versus \$250 billion.** Counting tax increases as we did, Perot's plan included \$319 billion in tax increases (\$302 billion by his own admission), compared to \$250 billion in our 1993 plan as enacted.
- **Perot Supported Large Gas Tax Hike with No Offsets to Protect Working Families; We Enacted a Small Gas Tax Increase with Protection for Families.** Perot supported a 50-cent gas tax (10 cents increase per year over 5 years) that would have raised taxes by \$158 billion over 5 years, without any increase in energy assistance or the EITC to protect working families. By contrast, the Administration enacted into law a 4.3 cent increase in the gas tax (less than 10% as large), raising \$24 billion, while also increasing the EITC and providing a new EITC for 4 million workers without children to ensure that the effect of the tax did not regressively hurt poor workers. Earlier, the Administration had proposed a BTU tax that was still less than half as large as Perot's --\$71 billion --and we provided an even more generous EITC along with energy assistance to protect lower-income families.
- **Perot Supported Cutting the Home Mortgage Deduction for the Middle Class; We Don't.** Perot supported limiting the deduction for mortgage interest to \$250,000 on a first home. The Clinton Administration has not supported that change, which would raise taxes for middle-class families in areas with high real estate prices.
- **Perot Supported a New Tax on Employer-Provided Health Care; We Didn't:** Perot proposed taxing employer-provided health care programs in excess of a premium of \$135 per month for an individual and \$335 per month for a family. The Administration supported no such proposal in 1993, although we did say we would consider such increases ten years into a comprehensive health care reform.
- **We Supported the EITC for Working Families; Perot Didn't.** We proposed and Congress enacted a \$21 billion expansion in the Earned Income Tax Credit, providing tax relief to 15 million working families earning \$27,000 or less. We have now also proposed \$63 billion in tax relief for the middle class. Perot supported no such credit or tax relief.
- **The Clinton Administration Supported Making the Wealthiest Pay More than Perot, Including Increases in Corporate Taxes.** As noted above, the Clinton Administration has enacted higher increases in personal income taxes. The Administration has also raised the corporate income tax on the top 1 percent of corporations from 34 to 35 percent.
- **Perot and the Administration Differed on Several Smaller Tax Provisions.** We eliminated the deduction for lobbying expenses, savings \$700 million over 5 years, while Perot had no such proposal. We also eliminated certain other deductions, such as those for club dues and moving expenses.

**E. TAX CUTS.** Perot and the Clinton Administration have both supported limited tax incentives to support job creation. These tax incentives have been similar in form, focusing on investments and targeted capital gains, but ours have in general been smaller and more targeted to small businesses. We have also supported a tax cut specifically directed at helping working families; Perot has not supported such a cut.

### *Similarities*

- **Both Supported Permanent Extension of the R&D Tax Credit.** We achieved a 3-year extension.
- **Both Supported Investment Tax Credits; Ours Is Smaller and Targeted to Small Businesses.** Perot supported a 10% investment tax credit costing \$27 billion. In 1993, we proposed a permanent small business tax credit for investment in equipment, costing \$12.2 billion. The Administration achieved a 75% increase in the maximum expensing for small businesses, costing \$4 billion.
- **Both Supported Targeted Capital Gains Tax Cut; Ours Is Much Smaller and Targeted at Small Businesses.** Perot supported a reduction in the long-term capital gains tax costing \$17 billion. He wrote that "we need a stairstepped capital gains tax, decreasing each year over five years, on shares purchased from public companies with the money going into the treasury to build the company." He also claimed that we should have no capital gains for investment in a starting-up small business. Our 1993 budget included a targeted capital gains exclusion for long-term investment in small businesses costing just \$800 million.
- **Both Supported Tax Incentives for Investment in Education, Though These Differ.** Perot supported a tax credit for firms that invest in worker training costing \$10 billion. The 10-year balanced budget includes a tax deduction for tuition costs of up to \$10,000, costing \$24 billion, and going directly to workers and students or their families.
- **The Clinton Administration Has Passed Other Tax Extensions and Incentives that Perot Did Not Discuss.** The Administration supported a series of tax credits Perot did not discuss, including extending the low-income housing tax credit; modifying passive loss rules for certain real estate; and extending the targeted jobs tax credit.

### *Differences*

- **We Support a Tax Cut for Working Families; Perot Did Not.** We support a tax cut that is targeted to help working families raise their children and pay for education. While as noted earlier, Perot did support tax incentives for education, he did criticize a broad middle-class tax cut as too costly.

**F. INVESTMENTS IN PEOPLE AND JOBS.** Unlike many of the leaders of today's Republican Party, Ross Perot was not reflexively opposed to government. He proposed increased spending in five domestic areas. The Clinton Administration has expanded investment in all these areas, though generally not by the amounts he proposed. **We would welcome his support for increasing these investments.** "Where will we be twenty years from now," asked Perot, "If we don't continue to make important public investments?" (United We Stand, p.61)

- **Both Invested More in Education:** Perot supported \$12 billion in increased education spending over 5 years. The agenda we are trying to implement would top that growth. In just the two years from 1993 to 1995, we have increased funding by \$5.5 billion for key education investments (including Head Start, Goals 2000, School-to-Work, National Service, and job training) With our proposed increases in 1996, our total 3-year increase would be \$11.4 billion. Over the next 7 years, we would increase investment in education by \$41 billion.
- **Both Invested More in Cities:** Perot proposed \$11 billion in new investment in cities, including enterprise zones. Our empowerment zone initiative offers \$2.5 billion in tax incentives and an additional \$1 billion in flexible block grants. Our Community Development Financial Institutions initiative authorizes \$500 million to leverage billions more in private capital. And other investments of ours, like expanding Head Start and Chapter 1, will also greatly benefit urban areas.
- **Both Invested More in Research and Development, though Perot Supported Very Large Increases.** Perot supported a massive increase in R&D spending--\$46 billion over 5 years, with \$13.5 billion more in 1996 than in 1993. Our civilian R&D budget is up \$4.6 billion from 1993 to 1996, and in addition we have increased investment in dual-use technologies. The Administration has clearly stated that it will seek to protect critical technology investments in any effort to balance the budget.
- **Both Supported Defense Reinvestment.** Without a cost estimate, Perot proposed programs to help convert military bases to other uses and help military personnel move into civilian employment. Perot wrote that "we need to convert many of our defense industries to new and productive tasks so that downsizing of our industries is not accompanied by a downturn in jobs. The federal government can play an important role." The Clinton Administration has initiated a 5-year, \$20 billion Defense Reinvestment and Conversion Program.

- **Both Believed that there were Methods of Public-Private partnership in Technology and Innovation without Industrial Policy:** While the current Congressional majority targets for elimination many of the Clinton initiatives that call for a governmental role in technology and innovation, Perot saw there could be a role without impeding on the marketplace or leading to industrial policy. In United We Stand, Perot has three pages on "Target Growth Industries" making the case for "targeting and stimulating new industries, applications, and inventions..."
- **Both Invested in Infrastructure.** Perot supported \$40 billion in added spending on roads, bridges, and tunnels over 5 years, with a \$16 billion increase from 1993 to 1995 alone. The Clinton Administration has increased funding for infrastructure by smaller but still significant amounts: for example, highway aid is up over \$2 billion from 1993 to 1995; mass transit formula grants are up over \$500 million; and there have been smaller new investments in next generation high speed rail and an intelligent vehicle highway system. However, many infrastructure investments could be threatened by a 10-year balanced budget.

## II. POLITICAL REFORM

In political reform as in economic reform, the Clinton Administration's agenda overlaps significantly with Perot's. Both have sought to eliminate needless bureaucracy and improve the way government works; to reduce extravagant perks; to limit the influence of special interest lobbyists; and to diminish the role of big money in election campaigns.

Within this shared framework, there is a difference of emphasis. Perot and the Clinton Administration have both treated lobbying reform and campaign finance reform as major priorities, though Congress has stalled our proposals. Perot has put special emphasis on three idiosyncratic areas: drastically reducing the benefits of government service (e.g., eliminating COLAs for current federal workers); restricting the influence of "foreigners" (e.g., banning foreigners from volunteering on campaigns); and dramatically altering the electoral process (e.g., moving elections to Saturday and Sunday). While the Clinton Administration has not supported these efforts, we have much more vigorously sought to "reinvent government," producing major savings and improved services that Perot vaguely discussed.

Of the 30 items supported by Perot on the political reform issues that follow, we have completely opposed or taken no action on only 10 of the items, nearly all from outside the political mainstream. Thus, the Clinton Administration has partly or fully supported Perot's goals on two-thirds of these items. However, due to Congressional inaction on our campaign finance and lobbying reform proposals, we have partly or fully achieved only 13 of the items (43%). Had Congress enacted just our lobbying reform and campaign finance proposal, we would have accomplished 19 of the items on Perot's agenda (63%).

**A. REINVENTING GOVERNMENT.** Perot's rhetoric about improving government that is similar to ours, but in general he put much *greater emphasis on reducing perks for government officials than on improving services or cutting costs for taxpayers*. The Reinventing Government initiative has achieved both savings and improvements that Perot vaguely sketched but did not seriously detail. With regard to the perks, we have reduced some of the benefits that Perot wanted to cut, and sought to reduce others. But the Administration has not embraced Perot's more draconian proposals or attacked policies that are traditionally Congressional prerogatives.

### *Similarities*

- **Our Achieved and Pending Cuts through Reinventing Government Are Larger Than Perot's Unspecified Administrative Cuts.** Over two-thirds of Perot's domestic discretionary cuts were achieved from a 10% across-the-board administrative cut of \$73 billion--his only major savings from "reinventing government," which he did not specify at all. Just from Phase I of the Reinventing Government initiative, we have already achieved \$63 billion in savings, predominantly discretionary, including \$40 billion from streamlining bureaucracies and \$12 billion from procurement reform. In Phase II, we have proposed \$37 billion in savings. While some of this \$37 billion overlaps with the \$63 billion and some of it is on the entitlement side, our total discretionary savings from REGO I and II are greater than Perot's administrative cut.

- **Both Cut Federal Employees.** Perot proposed "drastically" cutting the number of executive branch employees. The Administration is reducing the number of federal civilian employees by over 272,000, to the lowest level since the Kennedy Administration.
- **Both Cut White House Staffs.** Perot proposed cutting White House staff costs by 25% and White House staff by 30%. We cut the White House staff by 25%.
- **Both Increased Flexibility for Federal Employees.** Perot said employees should be enabled to be more "responsive.... We need to lift restrictions that keep our employees from doing their best jobs." Through a new emphasis on achieving agency missions, the Reinventing Government initiative has cut red tape and freed employees to focus on getting their jobs done rather than abiding by regulations
- **Both Support Making Government Serve Citizens Better.** Perot said we should "encourage federal employees to treat citizens as owners." Our efforts to emphasize customer service and putting outcomes first seek the same goal. For example, the Administration has reduced a massive SBA loan application to two pages.
- **Both Applied Laws of Nation to Congress.** Perot supported the legislation which we enacted to make sure that legislation passed by Congress applies to Congress.
- **Both Support Line-Item Veto.**
- **Both Reduced Use of Limousines By Federal Employees.** Perot proposed eliminating "limousines and chauffeurs" for most federal employees. We have eliminated car service to the homes of all but a few senior officials. The Administration continues to allow top officials to use car service (not limousines) for business purposes only.
- **Both Supported Cutting Congressional Perks.** Perot proposed eliminating congressional perks such as subsidized haircuts, food, and free parking, and "cutting other perks by 40 percent." The Congressional budget is traditionally a congressional prerogative, but the Administration has supported efforts to reduce the congressional budget in general terms.
- **Both Supported Cutting Congressional Staffs.** Perot proposed cutting congressional staffs by 30 percent. You challenged Congress to cut their staffs by 25%, and the House is now reducing committee staffs by one-third, though not personal staffs.
- **Perot Supported Electronic Town Halls; We Have Expanded Public Participation Dramatically.** Perot proposed using interactive electronic town meetings to "reach a consensus" on certain issues. The President has used town meetings and White House conferences across America on different subjects to bring public debate out of Washington and to learn more about the nation's needs. However, we have not sought to make binding decisions on the spot at town meetings.

## *Differences*

- **Perot Supported Reducing the Number of Agencies; We Have Streamlined Major Agencies and Proposed Eliminating Smaller Ones.** Perot called for fewer Federal departments, though he did not say which he would cut. You have issued an executive order to reduce agency administrative costs by 14%; the second phase of the Reinventing Government initiative has offered proposals to dramatically restructure nine agencies; and we have proposed eliminating the Interstate Commerce Commission and other smaller agencies.
- **Perot Supported Eliminating Federal Employee COLAs; the Administration Delayed COLAs.** Perot proposed eliminating all automatic COLAs for Federal employees. In 1993, the Clinton Administration delayed COLAs for federal employees in order to reduce the deficit.
- **Perot Supported Cuts in Elected Officials' Salaries and Pensions.** Perot sharply criticized the "million dollar pensions" of some Congressmen, and proposed cutting salaries for the President and Congress by at least 10 percent. The Administration has not addressed these issues, which are traditionally a congressional prerogative.
- **Perot Supported Reducing Availability of Airplanes and Vacation Retreats for Federal Officials.** Perot proposed selling 1200 government airplanes used to fly senior officials, eliminating the 89th wing of the Air Force, and closing down federal "vacation retreats." The only notable such "retreat" is historic Camp David, which you--like all previous Presidents--have maintained. We have shut down the executive dining rooms in the White House.

**B. LOBBYING REFORM.** Of Perot's five proposals to reduce the influence of special interest and foreign lobbyists, we have implemented two by executive order in slightly less stringent form. We have supported two others --taking a broader and tougher position on lobbyist disclosure--but Congress blocked our efforts. Thus, we have supported or achieved 80% of Perot's lobbying agenda. We have not acted on one measure supported by Perot (banning foreign lobbyists), and we have taken one step not supported by him, closing the lobbyists' loophole.

### *Similarities*

- **Perot Proposed Closing the "Revolving Door"; We Closed It.** Perot sought to ban former top officials from lobbying government for 5 years. We banned top officials from lobbying their own agencies for 5 years.
- **Perot Supported Stopping Top Officials from Ever Taking Money from Foreign Governments; We Stopped Them from Ever Lobbying.** Perot proposed forbidding any top official from accepting a penny for any reason from any foreign interest. The Clinton Administration has required senior officials to pledge never to become registered agents on behalf of any foreign government.
- **Both Supported Gift and Contribution Bans.** Perot sought to ban donations or gifts by lobbyists to elected officials. We have supported legislation to bar lobbyists from giving campaign contributions to, or raising funds for, the lawmakers they contact for one year after the contact, and from lobbying lawmakers to whom they have contributed for one year after the contribution. In your State of the Union address, you challenged Congress to voluntarily adopt a gift ban.
- **The Administration Supported Much Broader Lobbyist Disclosure Legislation Than Perot.** Perot focused on regulating the behavior of foreign lobbyists, but said little about disclosure by domestic lobbyists. The Administration supported legislation, blocked by Republicans, that would require all professional lobbyists to register, fully disclose who pays them and how much they are paid, and require full disclosure of their interest (i.e., supporting or opposing a particular bill).

### *Differences*

- **We Closed the "Lobbyists Loophole"; Perot Had No Position on the Issue.** President Clinton eliminated the tax provision that allowed corporations to deduct the costs of lobbying expenses. He supported no similar policy.
- **Perot Supported Eliminating Foreign Lobbyists; the Clinton Administration Supported Tougher Disclosure Laws.** Perot supported an outright ban on lobbying for foreign interests. The Administration has supported tougher disclosure by all lobbyists, but no such ban.

**C. CAMPAIGN FINANCE AND ELECTION REFORM.** We have supported campaign finance reforms that would reduce the influence of big money in political campaigns. The Clinton Administration's proposals have had similarities to those of Perot. Yet, the Administration has supported constraints on candidate self-financing and voluntary spending limits that Perot did not support, while the Administration's proposed limits on PACs have been somewhat moderated by the need to maintain broad congressional support.

In addition, the Administration has not supported procedural changes--such as term limits and eliminating the electoral college. Finally, through Motor-Voter, we have achieved one of Perot's major goals of facilitating voter registration.

### *Similarities*

- **Both Support Easier Voter registration.** Perot supported measures to make it easier to register to vote. You signed the Motor-Voter Act into law.
- **Both Support Free Air Time.** Perot proposed providing equal free time on airwaves to major federal candidates. We have supported free air time for federal candidates as well for candidates who abide by voluntary spending limits.
- **Both Supported Restraints on PACs: Perot Changed His Position from Limiting PAC Contributions to \$1,000, to Eliminating PACs Altogether; We Supported Limiting PAC Contributions to \$1,000.** In his first book, Perot called for limiting contributions to PACs (and all contributions) to \$1,000. In his second book, Perot called for flat-out eliminating PACs. We never supported the latter, but we have supported a \$1,000 limit on PAC contributions. The Administration's campaign finance proposal last year included the limit for presidential candidates, with a higher limit for House and Senate candidates.
- **Both Called for Bans on the Use of "Soft Money."** Perot called for eliminating soft money contributions. The Administration has supported legislation that would ban the use of soft money in federal elections and for national party committees except for narrow purposes. Our proposal would allow state party grassroots activity for federal candidates to be conducted through state parties, funded through "hard money" raised and disclosed under Federal limits.

## *Differences*

- **We Support Voluntary Spending Limits; Perot Doesn't.** We have supported voluntary limits on campaign spending, with free air time provided to candidates who abide by the limits. Perot supported no such limits.
- **Perot First Opposed, Then Supported Term Limits; the Administration Has Consistently Opposed Them.** Perot switched positions on term limits. In his first book, he said "we don't need term limits as long as we have the ballot." Later, during the debates, he endorsed term limits. And in his 1993 book, he proposed that Members of Congress face automatic removal if the deficit reduction plan did not meet its targets. The Administration has consistently opposed term limits.
- **Perot Proposed Treasury Confiscation of Excess Campaign Funds.** Perot proposed that unspent campaign funds be given over to the Treasury. The Administration has made no similar proposal.
- **Perot Supported Changes in the Campaign Calendar.** Perot proposed shortening campaigns by law and holding elections on Saturday and Sunday rather than Tuesday. We have made no similar proposals.
- **Perot Proposed Sharp Constraints on Foreigners' Role in Campaigns.** Perot proposed preventing foreigners from contributing to or serving on campaigns. The Administration has made no similar proposal.
- **Perot Proposed Eliminating the Electoral College.** Perot proposed a constitutional amendment to elect Presidents by popular vote. We have made no similar proposal.
- **Perot Proposed Legislation To Forbid Release of Polling Data on Election Day Until After Polls Close in Alaska and Hawaii.** Currently, news organizations police themselves to prevent premature release of information on Election Day. We have made no legislative proposal in this area.

### III. DOMESTIC POLICY

Ross Perot's central concerns were the economy, political reform, and trade, and he devoted relatively little space in his books to domestic policy issues. For example, in his first book he wrote about six pages about education and three or fewer about welfare, crime, the environment, and health care. The second book hardly addresses these issues at all.

Nonetheless, Perot did outline programs in all of these fields. Perot's ideas have little in common with the current Republican view that government is the source of every problem. Rather, his positions were a skeletal form of the "new Democratic" approach, moving away from top-down bureaucratic solutions and toward a government that is a partner with communities and ordinary citizens in solving problems from the grassroots up.

Except for some important but isolated issues such as private school choice and nuclear power, many of Perot's proposals are close to ours.

#### A. HEALTH CARE

In 1993 and 1994, Perot was sharply critical of the Health Security Act. He called it a government takeover of health care that would reduce patients' choice of doctors, hurt small businesses, and cost too much. Denying there was a health care crisis, Perot looked to doctors to lead reforms that would be implemented on a pilot basis.

During his campaign, however, Perot's line had been very different. In his book he criticized the health care system, saying, "We have 37 million people who aren't covered at all.... Health-care costs have grown at twice our economic growth rate.... Our companies are forced to divert money from jobs."

[???]While Perot did not offer a detailed prescription for health care reform, he did suggest major changes that were similar to our proposals: maintaining a private insurance system while cutting costs and expanding coverage.

#### *Similarities*

- **Both Supported National Health Reform.** Perot said that in the longer-term, America needed "comprehensive national health care reform based on a public-private partnership." This was the principle behind the Health Security Act.
- **Both Supported a National Health Board.** The HSA would have established such a board.

- **Both Supported A Basic Benefits Package.** Perot said that a basic benefits package should be established, though he did not say by whom or what it should include. The HSA would have established a basic benefits package.
- **Both Supported Universal Coverage.** Perot explicitly called for "universal coverage." The HSA would have achieved universal coverage gradually.
- **Both Supported Expanded Preventive Care.** Perot said that in the short-run, the priorities for health care should be cost-containment and preventive care. This is consistent with the HSA, and in addition, we have greatly expanded support for preventive care through initiatives like our immunization program.

## B. EDUCATION

Perot recognized the importance of education in the new economy: "Failing schools and shoddy performance are undermining our nation's ability to compete and our children's expectations for the future." Perot did not share the view of some Republicans today that the federal government has no role in public education. Rather, he shared the belief that results should be measured and successes disseminated from Washington, but that responsibility should continue to remain with communities. In a formula, he supported "top-down support for bottom-up reform."

We have taken steps in all the major areas that Perot emphasized except private school choice, while also doing much more than Perot contemplated to emphasize *lifelong* learning.

### *Similarities*

- **Both Supported Improving and Expanding Pre-School Programs.** Perot extolled the benefits of investments in pre-schooling, saying we should "Establish Comprehensive Pre-School Education." In the Administration's first two years, we increased funding for Head Start by \$1.2 billion, and he signed into law a bill authorizing \$1 billion in support for family preservation programs and family support programs like HIPPI. Our current budget would expand Head Start by \$1.5 billion by 2002 to reach another 50,000 children.
- **Both Supported "local autonomy with accountability."** This Perot formula expresses the approach of the Goals 2000 legislation that we strongly supported, which provides funding for schools to set challenging academic standards--and to help students meet them.

- **Both Supported "Creating National Standards and Measuring Results."** Again, Goals 2000 does both of the things that Perot is calling for, codifying the national Goals 2000 framework and creating voluntary national standards, while also making continued support contingent on implementing reform proposals and meeting benchmarks.
- **Both Supported Wider Use of School Buildings.** Perot said that school buildings should be used before and after school for day-care, medical clinics, adult literacy, and other purposes. The Crime Bill includes provisions for community schools that stay open after hours for these and other purposes.
- **Both Supported New Methods of Certification for Teachers.** Perot said that the teacher certification system should be reexamined. The Administration has supported the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, which is developing a voluntary system of advanced certification for teachers. The Administration has also supported the development of alternative routes to--but not lower standards for--certification.
- **Both Support Some Merit Pay.** Perot said that teachers should be paid for performance. The Administration has supported the efforts of the National Board, which include support for differentiated pay for board certified teachers, who clearly achieve the highest standards in the profession.
- **Both Support Emphasis on Learning in Schools.** Perot emphasized the need to put first things first in schools. The Department of Education has strongly supported reports on time and learning that seek to refocus schools on learning and teaching rather than social services.
- **Both Support Refocusing Educational Research.** Perot said that funds should be shifted from researching what works in education to implementing successful models. The Administration has refocused research on producing useful information and on making this research more accessible. For example, the new PATHWAYS program will make state-of-the-art knowledge about best practices accessible to teachers across the country with access to the Internet.

## *Differences*

- **We Have Supported Lifelong Learning Measures that Perot Did Not Discuss.** Our agenda has been broader than Perot's, including measures such as School-to-Work Opportunities, Direct College Loans with Pay-as-you-can repayment, national service, and Skill Grants for unemployed and low-income workers. Perot said little in any of these areas.
- **Both Supported Empowering Parents: Perot Supported Public and Private School Choice; the Administration Has Opposed Private School Choice.** Both Perot and the Administration have emphasized the need to return power and responsibility to parents. Perot proposed encouraging school districts to allow parents to choose among the public schools in the district, while removing federal obstacles to state and local pilots with private school choice. The Clinton Administration has supported parenting education, public school choice and efforts to engage parents more in their children's education, through parental resource centers and through Secretary Riley's parental responsibility campaign. The Administration has opposed private school choice.
- **Both Supported Recruiting Military Professionals To Teach in Public Schools, Though the Administration Cut This Program.** In its first two budgets, the Clinton Administration supported the "Troops-to-Teachers" program to help military professionals move into teaching in schools with shortages of teachers. However, the program is expensive, and the 1996 budget request included no funding for this year.

**C. CRIME.** Perot shared the view that America's approach to crime should balance punishment and prevention. His 1992 proposals show little affinity for the purely punitive approach of the current House Republicans. The 1994 Crime Bill takes steps in the direction of all of Perot's proposals except one, without fully achieving some of his goals.

## *Similarities*

- **Both Support Three Strikes and You're Out.** Perot supported mandatory life sentences without parole for three violent crimes at any age. You signed a proposal enacting "three strikes and you're out" for adults and giving judges discretion to impose much tougher penalties on minors.
- **Both Support Expanded Drug Treatment.** Perot supported drug treatment on demand. The Clinton Administration proposed drug treatment on demand as part of our health care legislation; proposed the largest increase ever in treatment for hard-core abusers for three years; and achieved an increase of \$140 million in 1994 and another \$250 million in 1995. In addition, the Crime Bill authorized \$1 billion for new Drug Courts, including treatment and testing of drug criminals.

- **Both Support Cracking Down on Gangs.** Perot said he would "apply all appropriate statutes to prosecute gangs and ask the nation's prosecutors and U.S. attorneys what further legal tools they need." The Crime Bill increases the maximum prison sentence for gang-related drug or violent crimes by up to 10 years.
- **Both Support Making Literacy and Skills a Precondition for Prison Release.** The Crime Bill withholds parole credits from federal prisoners who do not have and are not making progress toward a high school diploma or GED.
- **Both Support Using Former Military Bases and Other Facilities for Drug Rehabilitation.** The federal government has already converted several military bases to prisons. In addition, the Crime Bill authorizes the conversion of military bases for other purposes, including boot camps with drug treatment.
- **Both Support Establishing Mandatory Drug-testing for Prisoners and Parolees.** The Crime Bill mandates drug treatment and testing for federal prisoners who have committed drug offenses. In addition, the bill provided additional funding for states and localities to test and treat prisoners.

### *Differences*

- **We Have Begun Putting 100,000 Police Officers on the Streets; Perot Had No Comparable Proposal.** Perot did not emphasize the importance of police officers to fighting crime.
- **Perot Supported Programs to Divert Gang Members to Entrepreneurship; the Administration Is Skeptical.** Many people believe that they simply give gang members the opportunity to make money while continuing to engage in illegal activities.

**D. WELFARE REFORM.** Perot did not provide a detailed welfare reform plan in either of his two books. He showed significant interest in only one area, deadbeat dads, offering proposals similar to ours. Perot's vague statements concerning incentives to work may indicate that he would have favored an approach like ours that emphasizes empowerment for future work rather than punishment for past mistakes.

### *Similarities*

- **Both Support Keeping a National Database of Deadbeat Parents.** The Clinton Administration's welfare reform legislation would set up such a database.
- **Both Support Using Tax Forms to Withhold Income from Deadbeats.** Our welfare reform allows for wage withholding only from child support delinquents, while Perot would have authorized wage withholding for all parents who owe child support payments.
- **Both Support Crackdown on Deadbeats.** Perot wanted to make crossing state lines to avoid child support payments a felony. Our legislation would have established a more uniform enforcement system, allowed states to use central registries, and required them to withhold drivers and professional licenses from delinquent parents.
- **Both Support Improving Incentives to Work.** Perot said, "We need income incentives to enable people who work, even minimally, to see immediate positive results in their monthly income." Ironically, Perot did not call for the EITC as we did.

### *Differences*

- **We Have Offered Comprehensive Welfare-to-Work Proposals; Perot Didn't.** Perot offered nothing comparable to the Work and Responsibility Act or to the current budget proposal in either expanding education and training or requiring able-bodied welfare recipients to go to work.

**E. ENVIRONMENT AND ENERGY.** Perot's views on the environment were hard to discern. As a businessman, he showed blatant disregard for the environment, blowing up an entire coral reef and driving a bird onto the endangered species list by illegally clearing land. In his off-the-cuff remarks, he said things such as, "You can't have a whole area devastated because of this exotic concern over a handful of birds [spotted owls]; and "If we're broke we can't fix the environment. We have got to rebuild our industrial base." Perot also expressed support for oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

Yet in his campaign platform and certain other statements, Perot supported an environmentalist agenda. His book argued that "protecting the environment versus creating jobs" represented a false choice, saying instead that "A strong, considered environmental strategy... can create growth and jobs." Most of the proposals in United We Stand expressed vague but strong support for environmental strategies similar to ours--emphasizing sensible regulation, environmental protection, global environmental leadership, and environmental technologies. There are only two notable items on which Perot and the Administration differ: a gas tax and nuclear power.

### *Similarities*

- **Both Support Business Strategies for Sustainable Development.** Perot said government should work with industries to prevent pollution rather than fighting against them. The Administration is doing so through numerous initiatives. The Council on Sustainable Development unites business leaders with top Administration officials to develop public policy recommendations. The Climate Change Action Plan relies almost entirely on public-private partnerships and incentives to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The Partnership for a New Generation of Vehicles joins public and private sector in the "clean car" initiative.
- **Both Support Incentives over Regulation.** Perot criticized overregulating and emphasized creating incentives as an alternative. With the Vice President's leadership, the Administration has already announced landmark regulatory reforms, with results including: cutting the reporting and record keeping burden of EPA by 25%; creating one-stop emissions reporting; providing a six-month grace period for small businesses to correct pollution violations; and extending the use of emissions trading--a market incentive--for more air and water pollution sources.
- **Both Support Leadership Role in Global Economic Development.** Perot said that the United States should support international efforts to limit population growth and reduce poverty. The Administration took a leadership role at the population growth conference in Cairo, and our first two budgets provided funding for international family planning for the first time since 1985.

- **Both Support Investing in Environmental Technologies.** Perot said U.S. companies should remain at the forefront in developing new environmental technologies. The Administration recently released a 19-point plan to promote the export of environmental technologies through export financing, streamlined regulations, and other measures. Our current budget also proposes a budget for environment technology investments at EPA that is three times larger than the 1993 level.
- **Both Support Higher User Fees for Mining and Timber, Though the Administration's Efforts Were Thwarted.** Perot said that private industry should not be allowed to use up public resources for personal gain without paying for it. The Administration has sought to increase fees for private use of public resources, although Congress did not act on most of the increases.
- **Both Support Natural Gas Industry.** Perot expressed support for natural gas and proposed reexamining its regulation. The Clinton Administration has continued processes that are opening up natural gas markets to free competition and enabling large users to buy gas directly from producers and transmit it along established pipelines.

### *Differences*

- **Perot Supported Expanding Nuclear Energy; We Have Not.** Perot called for renewed efforts to develop nuclear power sources in the U.S. The Administration has not sought to do this.
- **Both Support Cutting Down on Oil Imports; Perot Supported Much Higher Gas Taxes for this Purpose; We Didn't, But Support Increased Domestic Production and Alternative Fuels.** Both Perot and the Administration supported the goal of reducing oil exports. He would have achieved this goal mainly through an extremely high gas tax. The Administration supported a much smaller increase in the gas tax, but have pursued a dual strategy of boosting domestic oil production and encouraging energy efficiency. The Administration has supported increased investment in technology to lower exploration and production costs, and announced support for deep water royalty relief in order to spur domestic production. In addition, the budget has increased the funding for renewable energy by over 20%, and the Administration is working to reduce energy consumption in federal buildings.
- **Perot Supported Increased Clean Coal R&D; the Administration Has Opposed It.** The Administration is phasing out the Clean Coal program. It was designed to help commercialize technologies in order to help companies comply with the requirements of the Clean Air Act. That goal has been accomplished, and so the program is no longer needed.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
8/7/95

**HIV/AIDS**  
by  
**Allan "Jay" Fox, IV**

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reply to him - BC

Howdy, my name is Allan "Jay" Fox, IV and this is my daughter Megan. **MEGAN HAS AIDS**, and that is what this is all about. During the past three years Megan and I have traveled over a 100,000 miles throughout the United States and Canada telling "OUR STORY" of how HIV/AIDS has affected us and how it can affect you. Let me start by saying, **MEGAN AND I ARE NOT LOOKING FOR YOUR PITY AND DO NOT WANT YOU TO FEEL SORRY FOR US BECAUSE, WE FEEL BLESSED WITH THIS UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO EDUCATE FOLKS ABOUT HIV/AIDS. I WANT TO STRESS TO Y'ALL THAT MEGAN IS NOT DYING FROM AIDS, SHE IS LIVING WITH AIDS.**

First, here are some facts and these are just the tip of the iceberg.

**FACT I**

Many folks believe HIV/AIDS is a disease of only Gays and IV Drug Users. Let me tell y'all this is about as far from the truth as possible!

**FACT II**

In 1992 it was estimated that as many as one out of every one-hundred people in the United States could be infected with HIV and not even know it!

**FACT III**

In some countries over 50% of the population are known to be infected with HIV!

**FACT IV**

Nobody dies from HIV/AIDS they die for complications of the opportunistic diseases brought on by a depressed immune system!

**FACT V**

The only way to know that you are not infected with HIV is to be tested!

**FACT VI**

If it is discovered early on that you have HIV/AIDS you can be treated to slow down the progression of the disease!

**THE FOLLOWING IS OUR STORY**

It all started back in 1963, when Megan's mother, Carol, and I were married. However, it was not until 1982 that we decided to start a family. This is when all our problems began, but at the time we were not aware of them. Carol's gynecologist told her that to conceive she would have to undergo surgery for the removal of Fibroid Tumors. During this surgery, she received a blood transfusion that was contaminated with HIV. We were not to learn about the HIV for over eight (8) years.

On June 15, 1984, Carol and I were blessed with the birth of our daughter, Megan Alyssa Fox. For the next six (6) years we were as happy and proud as any parents could be. Then in November 1990, after some routine surgery, Carol's White Blood Cell count was found to be low. After running several tests, Carol commented to her doctor, do you think I might have AIDS, as I had a blood transfusion in 1982. He told her that he didn't think she had AIDS, but agreed to test her for HIV so as to put her mind at ease.

On Wednesday, the day before Thanksgiving, Carol's doctor informed her that she had tested positive for HIV. The following Monday, Megan and I were also tested. Our results took about ten (10) days to come back. When all test results were in, Carol and Megan had tested positive for HIV and I was negative. Since both Carol and Megan had HIV they were put on the same drug AZT. With both of them on AZT, there was no way to keep it from Megan that she and her mother had the same illness.

Carol was afraid of children being cruel toward Megan, so she wanted the fact that they had HIV to be kept a secret. Then in July 1991, the bottom fell out, as Carol was diagnosed as having Lymphoma Cancer. Since Cancer is one of the opportunistic diseases caused by a depressed immune system, Carol was now classified as having AIDS.

For the next five (5) months Megan watched her mother get sicker and sicker from the Cancer brought on by the same HIV she had. Then on Christmas day 1991, my wife of twenty-eight (28) years and Megan's mother **DIED OF LYMPHOMA CANCER BROUGHT ON BY AIDS.**

I felt it was much more important to spend quality time with Megan than make rich people richer. Therefore to spend as much time as possible with her, I quit my job. By doing this I qualified for survivors benefits from Carol's Social Security as long as I took care of Megan. By changing our lifestyle and dipping into our savings I felt we could survive.

My plans were to travel and show Megan as much as possible during the summer of 1992. Then since Dr. Philip Pizzo of the National Institutes of Health (NIH) was World renowned for his research on HIV/AIDS, I wanted to get her enrolled in one of his HIV/AIDS experimental protocols at NIH in Bethesda, Maryland.

We sold our home in Texas and moved in with my sister to maintain a residence of a sort. Then Megan and I hit the road for Alaska and the adventure of a lifetime. We traveled all summer and everywhere we went, I told both friends and strangers about how Carol had gotten HIV and passed it on to Megan. After traveling over 18,000 miles and experiencing nothing negative about Megan having HIV, we arrived in the quaint little fishing village of St. Michaels, Maryland. This was where Carol had grown up and was now buried. We rented a little house across the street from Carol's, parents. Besides being across the street from Megan's grandparents and two (2) blocks from Carol's grave, we were only an one hour and a half drive from NIH, and Dr. Pizzo, and his outstanding research team.

Upon our arrival in St. Michaels, I decided, since the local population was only about 1,200, it might be easier to be public about Megan's HIV, than try to keep it a secret. During the 1992-93 school year, Megan attended the St. Michaels Elementary/Middle School. This is where I made my first public talk about Megan's life with HIV. Unknowingly to me at the time, I was creating a support group of the entire community for Megan and myself. Had it not been for this support I feel Christmas of 1992 would have been a total nightmare.

In January 1993 Megan was accepted at NIH where Dr. Pizzo and his HIV/AIDS research staff would follow her. This was where both Megan and I first came in contact and made friends with our true peers, those being other children with HIV/AIDS and their adult care givers. It was great support getting to know these children and we looked forward to our visits to NIH to see our new friends.

Megan and I again spent the summer of 1993 traveling over 17,000 miles and returning to the Yukon Territory and Alaska. However, by the time we returned to NIH at the end of the summer, Megan had gone into FULL-BLOWN AIDS. Although Megan was in the FULL-BLOWN AIDS condition she still managed to attend school during the 1993-94 school year and was promoted to the fifth grade.

In September of 1992 FULL-BLOWN AIDS was reclassified. Now it is not necessary to have succumbed to one of the opportunistic diseases to be classified as having FULL-BLOWN AIDS. If the CD-4 cells in your immune system go below 200 you are said to have FULL-BLOWN AIDS.

During the summer 1994, we did not travel because Megan had to return to NIH several times, because we were trying to start her on a new experimental HIV/AIDS drug therapy.

Megan is just like any other little girl EXCEPT SHE HAS AIDS. You will not get HIV/AIDS from her unless you do something really stupid. In fact you are more dangerous to Megan than she is to you.

As I stated in "OUR STORY" Carol received the blood transfusion that was contaminated with HIV in 1982, but it was not discovered until 1990. Prior to this discovery, HIV/AIDS was really of no great concern to me. I felt that because neither Carol nor myself were, PROMISCUOUS, GAY or IV DRUG USERS we didn't have to worry about HIV/AIDS. However, HIV/AIDS does not discriminate between who it infects. Just like Carol and Megan were, ANYONE OF YOU COULD BE HIV POSITIVE AND NOT EVEN KNOW IT.

The point I want to get across is, GET YOURSELF TESTED FOR HIV, because if you know you have the disease you can be treated. In addition you can take steps so as not to pass it on to someone else.

I like to use the comparison of HIV/AIDS to Diabetes. Nobody dies from Diabetes, they die from complications. Just like a Diabetic can live with Diabetes, so can a person live with HIV/AIDS. However, in both cases YOU MUST TAKE THE FIRST STEP AND BE TESTED.

Most local Health Departments offer FREE HIV TESTING. These tests are CONFIDENTIAL, whereas only you and the person who draws your blood know you are being tested. Likewise the person who gives you the test results and you are the only ones that know how you tested.

In Megan's case the discovery of HIV was earlier than that of Carol's. As I said previously she is now being treated at NIH by Dr. Pizzo and his fine research team. In addition she receives prophylactic drug therapy to keep her from getting some of the opportunistic diseases. HAD IT BEEN DISCOVERED EARLIER THAT CAROL HAD HIV, TREATMENT COULD HAVE BEEN STARTED AND SHE MAY NEVER HAD GOTTEN THE CANCER SHE DIED FROM. THEREFORE, EARLY DISCOVERY OF HIV IS OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO YOU.

In closing I would like to say. There is nothing to be ashamed of about having HIV/AIDS so, for the sake of you, your loved ones and the rest of the world **GET YOURSELF TESTED FOR HIV.**

Thank you for allowing us to speak with you today and may God Bless each and everyone of y'all.

Should you wish to reproduce or quote anything contained herein, you have my permission to do so.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Allan J. Fox, IV". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned to the left of the typed contact information.

Allan J. Fox, IV  
507 Railroad Ave.  
St. Michaels, Md. 21663  
Phone: 410/745-5731

(or)  
6510 Emerald St.  
Austin, Tx. 78745  
Phone: 512/443-2205

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ATTACHMENT

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/7/95

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Special Guests' Biographies

**Kenny and Rosemarie Weaver, and daughters Michelle and Melinda, Port Lavaca, TX:** In September 1993, in connection with the Make A Wish Foundation, Kenny visited you at the White House with his oldest daughter, Melissa, who was dying of leukemia. Kenny thanked you for signing the FMLA because it enabled him to spend the last weeks of his daughter's life with her. Melissa died one week later.

**Diane and Melvin Atwood, Little Rock, AR:** Diane met you in March of this year at the Emmanuel Baptist Church in Little Rock. She told you that FMLA saved her life. She has Hodgkins' Disease and has had to take time off for many treatments -- chemotherapy, radiation, and a bone marrow transplant. Finally, an experimental drug treatment, Interferon, saved her life. Without FMLA, she couldn't have kept her job and her life insurance which she needed to pay for those treatments. She says that FMLA helped her get through the emotional and financial burdens on their entire family.

**J.C. Shardo and family, Atlanta, GA:** J.C. met you in 1993 when her brother, "Swartz" (pronounced Schwartzie), was first diagnosed with cancer. You sent a special greeting to Swartz before a 10-hour operation. During the months before his death, J.C. and her six siblings spent as much time as possible by his side. J.C. and her family feel that being able to be there for Swartz in his time of need was one of the most meaningful experiences of their lives. The Shardos will hand you a letter which Swartz wrote to you before he died. You will open it for the first time.

**Bill and Debbie Fish and family, Saginaw, MI:** Bill Fish works in production for Saginaw Ball and Screw. Early last spring, his wife, Debbie, developed glaucoma and became blind. Thanks to the FMLA, Bill was able to take time off to drive her to the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, 85 miles away, where the doctors operated and restored her sight.

**Deborah and Christopher Ruffin, Hyattsville, MD:** The Ruffins' daughter, Kristin, was diagnosed with leukemia in November 1993. She had a relapse in November 1994 and had to travel to South Carolina for a bone marrow transplant. Deborah works for the District government and has been able to use annual and sick leave to be with Kristin, but her husband, Chris, who works for Fox TV, has relied on FMLA to obtain the time off. Kristin is staying at the NIH now.

**Christie Sens, Fairfax, VA:** Christie, a teacher in the Fairfax County school district, took leave to recover from a difficult pregnancy. Christie's child was born in August 1993 -- the time the FMLA went into effect. After giving birth, she needed more time to recover from the pregnancy. Her supervisor denied her request for leave, but Christie located a copy of the FMLA and informed her supervisor. She was then granted leave. Her child, who is turning 2 years old, will accompany her.

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# Joker, 12, Dies in a Rage of Bullets and a Youth, 16, Is Held

To: POTUS from: DAB  
By CAREY GOLDBERG

Friends called him Junior or June or June-Bug. Quentin Carter was a little guy, a bantam, the class clown and one of the smallest students in his sixth grade at Intermediate School 109 in Queens Village. Two days before his 13th birthday, he pulled one of his usual routines on an older youth, nagging him comically for a quarter outside a neighborhood grocery store.

The older boy, 16-year-old Brian Wright, was also seen as a little guy by his peers; not physically, but in status. He was nicknamed Shorty, and had the reputation of an easily bullied boy, a Herb or a nerd, high school acquaintances said. They branded him a loser.

But Brian had a gun. And the night after Quentin hit him up for a quarter, the police said, he emptied the clip of his .380-caliber handgun into the smaller youth, standing over the 98-pound boy as he lay on the sidewalk and pumping bullet after bullet into his meager chest.

"He shot him over a quarter," said Capt. Bernard Gillespie, the 105th Precinct detective handling the case.

"But it comes to the bigger issue of disrespect between the younger boy and the older boy."

"He came into a rage," Captain Gillespie said. "He was upset about being dissed."

By yesterday, the spot where Quentin Carter died on Monday had been turned into a small shrine, where 13 votive candles burned to mark the 13th birthday Quentin did not live to celebrate. Quentin's aunt, Sharon Ellis, said the boy's mother, Wanda, could do little but cry and clutch one of Quentin's basketball shirts. His six younger siblings, she said, keep asking "Does this mean Junior's not coming back?"

The police arrested Brian Wright early yesterday morning, and say he has confessed to the shooting. He faces charges of murder, and will be tried as an adult. Should he be convicted, he could face life in prison.

"It was a senseless, mindless killing," said the Queens District Attorney, Richard Brown. "A young



Steve Hart for The New York Times

Brian White, 16, left, is charged with the murder of Quentin Carter, 12, over a joke that went awry.

Continued on Page B5

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/7/95

# Class Clown, 12, Is

Continued From Page B1

man on the eve of his 13th birthday was killed for no reason. Apparently, he did nothing more than talk to another kid and for that he lost his life. In the last analysis, there's little more that any of us can say. You've got two lives lost, one a 13-year-old and one a 16-year-old who will spend the next 25 years, if not his life, in prison."

Neighbors and the authorities denounced the proliferation of handguns that make it so easy for minor quarrels to turn fatal.

"I am so sorry, I really am," said Eleanor Willis-Lindsey, a neighbor of Brian Wright's family on 220th Street in Queens Village, a well-tended neighborhood of shade trees and tidy walks. "If we could do something to get these guns off the street, that would be helpful. He's not to blame fully. Somebody made that gun and sold it. Our boys don't need to be killed like that."

The police said they were still trying to determine where Brian had obtained the handgun. They said they had not recovered the weapon yet because Brian had given it to one of his friends and refused to say who.

Accounts of the incident that led up to the shooting varied, but all agreed that the trouble began when Quentin hit up Brian for a quarter outside a store.

It was a running joke of Quentin's to ask for money, said an I.S. 109 eighth-grader who refused to give her name, one of several young people who gathered at Quentin's shrine. He would often come up to her, she said, and say: "Where's my dollar? Where's my dollar?"

"And I'd say, what dollar?" the girl said. "You didn't give me a dollar. And he'd say, 'Well, you better give me a dollar tomorrow.' Whenever he saw you, he would repeat the joke."

Brian Wright died, investigators said.

He and Quentin used profanity, said K... longtime friend of... talked to him after... day night.

He said that Que... Brian then pulled... waistband, brandis... "Are you ready to... Quentin admitted... that he had starte...

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## 4-Year-Old Falls Death

You Like

CITY

# Class Clown, 12, Is Slain, and Gunman, 16, Is Held

Continued From Page B1

man on the eve of his 13th birthday was killed for no reason. Apparently, he did nothing more than talk to another kid and for that he lost his life. In the last analysis, there's little more that any of us can say. You've got two lives lost, one a 13-year-old and one a 16-year-old who will spend the next 25 years, if not his life, in prison."

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"And I'd say, what dollar?" the girl said. "You didn't give me a

Brian Wright did not find it funny, investigators said.

He and Quentin traded insults and profanity, said Kevin Marriott, a longtime friend of Quentin's who talked to him after the incident Sunday night.

He said that Quentin told him that Brian then pulled the gun from his waistband, brandished it and asked, "Are you ready to die?"

Quentin admitted to his friends that he had started to cry, but he

lived up to his reputation as a tough guy who would take no guff from anybody.

"He told Brian, 'Go ahead and shoot me,'" Mr. Marriott said. But the intervention of an adult stopped the ruckus that night, he said.

On Monday night, on a nearby Queens Village street, the two youths' paths intersected again. The police said that according to Brian's version, Quentin pointed him out to several friends as "the guy who

drew down on me last night."

The confrontation flared again, and Brian again drew his gun and cocked it. The younger children scattered. Investigators said Brian told them that he fired once at Quentin and missed, and the boy started to run across 221st Street. Brian fired again, catching him in the back, and again, and Quentin fell to the ground, the police said. As Quentin lay there, Brian emptied the rest of his gun into the boy's body.

He later told the police he felt justified because of the disrespect Quentin had shown him. He also admitted to feeling some remorse, the police said.

Minutes later, after friends had summoned Wanda Carter to help her hurt son, she arrived to find his life ebbing away. His aunt, Sharon Ellis, recalled that Ms. Carter "had laid out stretched over the body, and was saying, 'Oh God, my son. Please, Junior, hold on. Please, Junior, don't leave me.'"

But when the ambulance pulled away, Ms. Ellis said, Quentin's family noticed that the paramedics had

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NOV

CITY

# ain, and Gunman, 16, Is Held

It funny, lived up to his reputation as a tough guy who would take no guff from anybody.

He told Brian, 'Go ahead and shoot me,' Mr. Marriott said. But the intervention of an adult stopped the ruckus that night, he said.

On Monday night, on a nearby Queens Village street, the two youths' paths intersected again. The police said that according to Brian's version, Quentin pointed him out to several friends as "the guy who

drew down on me last night."

The confrontation flared again, and Brian again drew his gun and cocked it. The younger children scattered. Investigators said Brian told them that he fired once at Quentin and missed, and the boy started to run across 221st Street. Brian fired again, catching him in the back, and again, and Quentin fell to the ground, the police said. As Quentin lay there, Brian emptied the rest of his gun into the boy's body.

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But when the ambulance pulled away, Ms. Ellis said, Quentin's family noticed that the paramedics had

not bothered to turn on the siren, and they knew that he was dead.

Neighbors and friends said that Brian Wright had never been seen as a troublemaker, and authorities said he was not known to have any criminal record. But there was not a drop of sympathy for him among the Queens Village young people who had known both boys.

Henry Brooks, 16, said Brian had been known as a nerd.

"If you carry yourself like you're a nobody, you're going to get treated like a nobody," he said. "I think he felt he had to take a little kid's life to show how big he was."

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/7/95

Governor Jones of Kentucky wishes to speak to the President about his Medicaid waiver. He feels he has gone as far as he can with HHS. The waiver is an old one that was put on hold by the state when the legislature there did not pass something needed. Now Kentucky is asking for a modification of that original waiver to put medicaid patients into a single managed care system. There is no choice of plans although there is choice to some extent of providers in most instances within the one plan.

We have consistently talked not only about choice but choice of plans. We talked about its necessity during health care reform, we have as an administration insisted in other waivers on a choice of plans for Medicaid recipients.

The Governor argues that, a business person, factory worker, etc. who currently gets their insurance through their employer only gets one plan. However, as I have explained to him, this administration has gone strongly on record about choice of PLANS.

HHS/HCFA has told him that allowing a fee for service plan as the option fulfills the choice requirement but he insists that he has his providers ready to go and that the agreement with them is the one single plan.

It will be a very bad precedent for the administration to tell him there is room for even one state to experiment with a single plan; if we do it in one state there will be others.

Governor Jones feels very, very strongly about speaking to the President.

I am in Nashville, Tennessee for the day on Thursday speaking to Methodist bishops, back about 5 p.m. in the afternoon Thursday.

↳ Clare  
See memo re: this

Bo

What's the distribution on this? - Su Be

Am I just getting started -

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
8/7/95

# Impact of Proposed Republican Budget Cuts on:

- Older and Disabled Americans
- Students
- Working Families

## A State-By-State Analysis



August 3, 1995