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001. memo	From Harold Ickes re: Time-buying for 1996 (3 pages)	07/24/1995	Personal Misfile
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7689

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files August 6-12, 1995 [4]

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

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/7/95

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Summer: Dan
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Souder sees help in Waco hearings

Result may be guidelines for actions
by U.S. agents during raids, sieges

By Sylvia A. Smith
Washington editor

WASHINGTON — Rep. Mark Souder, R-4th, doesn't want to make David Koresh into a martyr. He also doesn't want to countenance possible government excesses in the siege of Koresh's compound near Waco, Texas.

He hopes the eight days of hearings Congress launches today will establish a better set of guidelines for any future government raids and sieges.

Souder is one of 28 House members who will question about two dozen witnesses during the series of hearings that one subcommittee chairman said will "get to the bottom" of the siege that left 91 people dead in April 1993.

Some Democrats say they are concerned that Republicans will turn the hearings into an attack, with federal agents as the primary target. But Souder and others say the hearings will help clear up questions about what happened when federal agents tried to serve a search warrant on the compound.

"Nobody can say I'm engaging in a witch hunt," said Rep. Bill Zoliff, R-N.H., chairman of one of two subcommittees in charge of the hearings. "With all the honesty and integrity in my body, I'm trying to get to the bottom of this."

"Some people on this issue are completely off base, there's no question," Souder said in an hourlong interview. He cited several callers who telephoned him during a WGL Radio program Tuesday morning and likened the Waco siege to Hitler or suggested a massive government conspiracy that includes a suggestion that Waco documents were destroyed in the Oklahoma City bombing.

"It also shows, unfortunately, that the government, whenever they are less than honest, fuel and give more credibility to people who go farther and farther in their extremism," he said. "They haven't acknowledged — nor do I think we will discover — that they did anything malicious. That's my personal opinion."

The witness list includes top officials from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and agents who participated in the raid; several survivors of the fire; experts on firearms and religion; and Koresh's attorney. Attorney General Janet Reno, who approved the controversial decision to use tear gas on the final day, will be the final witness July 31.

By questioning the witnesses and going over thousands of pages of documents that were subpoenaed, Zoliff and co-chair-



Souder

Koresh

hope to bridge the gap between the government's description of events and the recollections of those who were inside.

The focus of the hearings, Souder said, is on the government's actions, not the activities of Koresh and his followers.

Souder said a key question is whether Koresh was prepared to surrender. Another critical question, he said, is whether the agents believed Koresh was breaking laws.

"The only law that they clearly established (Koresh) broke that I can see so far is he had sex with consenting minors," he said. "Do you send tanks and government troops in to the large sections of Kentucky and Tennessee and other places where such things occur? Since (Koresh) viewed he was married, which then comes to the polygamy question. In other words, we're sending tanks in to enforce polygamy laws?"

The children and their parents didn't object to Koresh having sex with the girls, Souder said, so "the question is to what level do you try to enforce" laws against sex with minors.

Souder said his preliminary reading of documents supplied by the government suggests the Clinton administration will have a difficult time justifying the original statements that the agents suspected Koresh had a drug lab in his compound or was peddling guns.

Souder said the questions may well stir up a lot of emotions — including anti-government conspiracy fears — but a larger cause will be served.

"I think whenever we (air a controversial issue), whether it's Watergate, whether it's this, whether it's Whitewater and financial dealings ... it sets new standards. This is going to set standards on how agents and law enforcement officials can behave in sieges, how they can behave in crowd control, how you enforce individual law breakers," he said.

Souder said his view of the raid has evolved in the past two years. Initially, he supported the agents' actions, but a religion class teacher in South Bend challenged that view.

The teacher's point, he said,

one, they can come at anybody. But there's a line here. That's why I still (think) that at some point you either respect the law or you don't respect the law.

"The more people who bomb fed buildings, the more people who hole up and don't pay their taxes, the more who abuse their children, the more people who are cocaine distributors and heroin distributors threatening the stability of the majority of people, the more law enforcement will step on some liberties. What we're trying to define is what are those bounds."

The Associated Press contributed to this article.

*to my Kentucky and
Tennessee colleagues,*

*Not a very
flattering comment
about our constitution*

*Mike
Ward
KY-03
Louisville*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/7/95

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/7/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 5, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN ~~7/10~~
PHIL CAPLAN

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

- (A) Stern/Caplan memo summarizing various items.
- (B) Response by Secretary Shalala to your note on HIV in blood supply. On July 13, an expert panel of the Institute of Medicine released a report on the events of 1982-86, when more than half the 16,000 hemophiliacs in the U.S. were infected with HIV. The Report found no wrongdoing by any government agency, but said there was a failure of federal leadership and there were opportunities missed to protect hemophiliacs. The panel developed 14 recommendations, including improving public/private coordination through a "blood advisory council" and ensuring that the government has sources of information independent of industry. Many of the recommendations are already addressed by the current blood safety system, but Secretary Shalala has asked a task force of the public health leaders to evaluate all the recommendations and report to her by the end of the month.
- (C) Rivlin response to Brown letter on VA budget. Jesse Brown wrote on June 20 about the drastic impact your balanced budget plan would have on VA medical care -- e.g., eliminating 60,000 health care workers and 40 hospitals, denying care to a million veterans/year by 2002, etc. Alice compares the VA budget under your 10-year plan to the House, Senate and Conference plans; explains the assumptions that guided Ambos work on VA's budget; and disputes Secretary Brown's direst predictions by saying, in essence, that they are based on the faulty assumption that VA will continue to do business as usual rather than taking into account the many efficiencies that will be realized by the structural and programmatic reforms already underway at VA.
- (D) Letter from FCC Chairman Reed Hundt. Hundt commends your recent statements on campaign finance reform and offers the resources and services of the FCC as you move ahead on this issue. Hundt suggests that newly available spectrum for digital broadcasting provides an opportunity for candidates to use the public airwaves without enormous cost; part of the spectrum could be reserved for political and civic purposes. Hundt attaches three recent articles that discuss the concept.

reads: "VP advise"

- Jessica 8/7/95

#116522



OFFICE OF
THE CHAIRMAN

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/7/95

95 AUG 3 P5:56

June 12, 1995

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

Honorable Newt Gingrich
Speaker of the House
H-232 Capitol Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. President and Mr. Speaker:

I was very excited by your statements in New Hampshire yesterday to the effect that you see the possibility of a joint, bipartisan effort to reform campaign finance.

In this connection I would like to offer the ideas and services of this Commission. The new spectrum that will be used for digital broadcasting gives us the practical opportunity to use the public airwaves for the public purpose of civil political debate while not, in effect, requiring candidates to devote millions of dollars to purchase access.

In this connection I draw your attention to recent articles by Mary McGrory, Max Frankel, and Norm Ornstein and to a report on an interview with Rupert Murdoch, who also favors this approach to campaign reform.

The public should take great comfort from the congruence of your leadership and the new ideas that technology is giving us with which to attack an old, chronic, and serious problem with our democracy in the information age.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Reed E. Hundt", written over a horizontal line.

Reed E. Hundt
Chairman

Enclosures

Congress Inside Out

By Norman J. Ornstein

Digital Revolution Could Bring Real Campaign Reform

Strange but true: The opportunity for real and meaningful campaign finance reform may be at hand.

When reform met another round of ignominious defeat late last year, it seemed as if any chance of positive change had disappeared for the foreseeable future. The gulf between the two parties on this issue was larger than ever; the interest groups that have taken an active interest in the issue were in no position to be helpful; the chances of finding any formula that could command majority support seemed nonexistent.

But now there are signs of life. Some Members on both sides of the aisle are willing to explore new ideas — and there are new ideas out there. And — crucially — a potential source of funding for reform has emerged, at just the right moment.

Before I get to the specifics, let me review some of the principles that matter in campaign reform — and some of the problems that now exist.

Campaigns in a democracy like ours should be an extension of the deliberative process that is the basis of governance. In good political campaigns, candidates and parties will raise issues, discuss values, highlight differences in approach, underscore contrasts (and commonalities) between the candidates and their parties, all the while making voters think about the society and the

direction it should take, the role of government, policy alternatives, and what matters most. There would be debate and dialogue, along with attack and counterattack.

Campaigns should involve an array of the best possible candidates for public office. The candidates should have adequate resources to get their messages across — an increasingly difficult task in a large, populous, and diverse country where there is a literal cacophony of messages out there, from news, commercials, entertainment, and other venues, to compete with. It costs real money to run effective campaigns, and there is no way to get around that in a telecommunications age.

Obtaining adequate — meaning substantial — resources should not be a devastating barrier to entry for candidates. And obtaining adequate resources should not be so difficult that

candidates become obsessed with raising them, or that incumbents and rich people have huge advantages over challengers and the non-rich, or that the money contributed becomes so concentrated in the hands of those with obvious policy interests that a pall is cast over the integrity of the governing process.

Our campaigns now obviously don't meet these goals. Candidates scramble constantly to find enough money to run, spending more time raising money than developing their campaigns, working through their positions, or, if they are incumbents, making public policy decisions.

Fewer and fewer of the best among us are willing to consider running because of the brutal money chase. Smaller individual contributions have declined, while contributions from organized interests have increased. Campaigns have not become a model of the deliberative process. Far more often, they are fragmented, disjointed, one-sided, and inadequate.

Capping or limiting spending won't solve these problems. Neither will removing or cutting the existing sources of campaign funds, unless they are replaced or supplemented with new ways to get messages across — ideally, new ways that enhance the role of rank-and-file contributors.

The real barrier to effective reform has been finding new resources that would be acceptable to enough actors on both sides of the political aisle.

Enter the new ideas. The most significant opportunity comes as the consequence of

The debate over the expansion of the television spectrum over the next couple of years provides a golden opening for campaign finance reform.

technological change — the expansion of the television spectrum into the digital realm within the next couple of years, and the current engagement of Congress in the process of managing that transition.

Broadcast opportunities will soon be expanded six-fold — six new digital channels for every existing analog one. Congress now has to consider how to allocate the new channels that will result — and what to do with the old, analog broadcast spaces on the spectrum. Real campaign reform provides them with a neat answer.

Policymakers have a variety of options to handle the new additions to the spectrum. They can just give them away, as we did with the original broadcast channels, providing a windfall for the winners, while also requiring some consideration of the public interest. They can auction off all the new channels to the highest bidders. They can give the new digital channels to the existing owners of broadcast stations in return for their analog channels, and then auction off the analog channels.

They can "rent" the new spaces to broadcasters, in effect giving them in return for considerations that might include spectrum fees or commitments to use some of their airtime for "public interest" purposes. Or they can give broadcasters the digital openings in exchange for the analog channels, and then rent the analog channels to those willing to pay appropriately.

The first option is a pretty foolish one, given the awesome success of the recent Federal Communications Commission auctions of other parts of the communications airwaves. An auction is very attractive, generating many billions of dollars. It best fits today's market

Continued on page A-20

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CREDIT UNION

Ornstein: Congress Has a Real Opportunity For Cutting-Edge Campaign Finance Reform

Continued from page A-18
orientation. Its downside would be that we would have a one-time windfall, and lose most opportunities to ensure that public interests would be advanced or protected.

Some form of spectrum rental also has real attractions, including an ongoing source of funds or resources and some ability to enhance public interests, although it would face staunch opposition from broadcasters. (Of course, so will any plan except giving it all away with no conditions to the existing owners.)

I will leave it up to Congress, the White House, and the FCC to determine whether auction or rental makes the most sense. But in either case, there is a golden opening for cam-

paign finance reform in the public interest. If there is an auction, take the revenues and put them in a trust fund. Use the accrued interest in the following way: Candidates for the House or Senate who raise more than \$25,000 in contributions of \$200 or less from within their states could apply for matching funds for any such small in-state contributions — given to them in the form of vouchers to purchase radio or television time.

If instead we turn to a rental scheme, apply the same principle in a different way, using either spectrum fees or an agreement by broadcasters to accept vouchers as legal tender for the purchase by candidates of commercial time at preferential rates, in return for their

lucrative spots on the broadcast spectrum.

Of course, many details would have to be ironed out. Rules for eligibility for candidates would have to be spelled out. The amount available to each candidate, whether limits would be in effect, and whether the program would apply to primaries as well as general elections would depend, on the amount raised in the auction. The size of spectrum fee or voucher commitment would have to be negotiated with the station owners. But in either case, given the nearly boundless commercial opportunities afforded by this new technological feat, it will be a lot.

The outcome would be positive in many ways. Substantial new resources would be

freed to enable candidates of all stripes to get their messages across. Candidates would suddenly have a huge incentive to raise more money of the right sort — in small, individual, in-state contributions. The candidates with the broadest appeal in the political marketplace would have the most success — and those candidates would have a much smaller hurdle to cross to get into the race in the first place.

There is another big plus: The number of these small individual contributions would increase, giving more people a real stake in the political process.

In some respects, to be sure, this could be construed as public money in campaigns. But it would not be coming via an appropriation of tax dollars, or channeled into giveaway grants that would replace private money contributed by citizens to campaigns. These resources would go only to candidates who raised private money in the political marketplace by appealing to voters — which is the right way to bring public resources into the political process.

Surely, Republicans as well as Democrats could support some variant of this approach — especially since the airwaves have been defined as public property since Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover did so in the 1920s.

Now here is a second new idea, the credit for which goes to the Brookings Institution's Tom Mann. Instead of eliminating the Congressional frank, redirect it in the following way: In election years, allow both incumbent

Another new idea:
Allow both incumbent and challenger to make two district- or state-wide mailings — on the condition that their statements are combined into a single package.

and challenger to make two district- or state-wide mailings to give their messages to voters — on the condition that their statements are combined into a single package.

This would make the mailings part of a real dialogue, would level the playing field between challengers and incumbents, and would expand the resource base in a positive way to candidates. It doesn't require any new appropriation, only a different use for the existing franking money.

House Commerce Committee Chairman Tom Bliley (R-Va) has been among those lawmakers willing to look at ways to provide free television time to Congressional candidates. Here is a reasonable way to provide time for House and Senate candidates, without the many downsides of requiring free time to all campaigns.

He, telecommunications and finance subcommittee Chairman Jack Fields (R-Texas), Senate Commerce Chairman Larry Pressler (R-SD), and independent thinkers like John McCain (R-Ariz), Rep. Chris Shays (R-Conn), and Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore), along with Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga) and Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole (R-Kan) ought to join with Democrats like Reps. John Dingell (Mich), Ed Markey (Mass), and Ben Cardin (Md), Sens. Bill Bradley (NJ), Joe Lieberman (Conn), and Dianne Feinstein (Calif), and a broad array of others and jump on these twin bandwagons. Franking reformers ought to do the same.

They should move quickly; dealing with the new digital world is right on Congress's front burner, and franking changes are in the offing.

SWIMMING... TENNIS... SERENITY. 5 MINUTES FROM WISCONSIN AND M.

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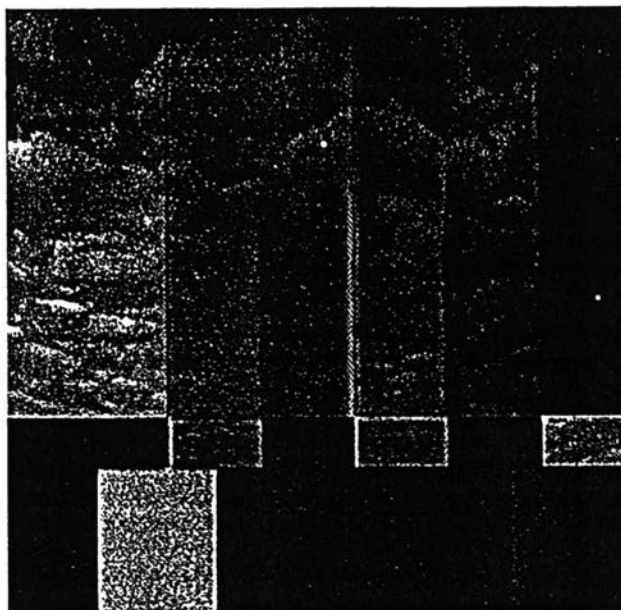
Airfill

FOR JUST A MOMENT, THINK OF IT as landfill, like 20 percent of modern Manhattan. Imagine a vast stretch of valuable real estate suddenly added to your city. As you might expect, its creation has set off a mad scramble for possession. The owners of old land claim priority to annex the new. The designers of the landfill say no, it was promised to them. A few people shout, "Save some for parks and playgrounds!" Some dare to suggest an auction to help reduce the budget deficit.

If the argument were really about land so obviously worth billions, the public would surely recognize its stake in the debate. The struggle at hand, however, concerns not landfill but airfill — vast new space in the broadcast spectrum. The imminent availability of that space has arisen from what is murkily called the Digital-HDTV problem, as if to make sure that only a few thousand comprehending Americans will bother to decipher the technical, economic and political issues involved. But that new airspace is precious real estate indeed. It is worth billions. It was created at government initiative and its disposition should not be left to lobbyists and the legislators they routinely bribe with campaign contributions.

Here's the situation: About eight years ago, Japan was threatening to make all television equipment obsolete by leading the world into the era of "high-definition television" — HDTV — a wider picture, built of twice the present number of lines and therefore twice as clear and more beautiful than anything now available. The public, it was feared, would find the new pictures irresistible, forcing broadcasters to invest in expensive new equipment without the prospect of offsetting new revenues. Indeed, because the HDTV signals required more space in the spectrum, broadcasters feared that some stations might be crowded off the air altogether.

To meet the threat, the Reagan Administration risked a rare deviation from its free-market ideology and organized a competition to invent an American HDTV. And as incentive, the Federal Communications Commission promised to give broadcasters new channel space to transmit the sharper images. The competition was won by a little-known lab belonging to General Instrument, which stunned the world by abandoning the current analog transmissions — radio waves that are analogous to the sound and light waves of the



original image — and creating its better picture with digital transmissions — impulses that represent sound and light with the 1's and 0's of the digital computer code.

That breakthrough led to the creation of a consortium of seven major companies and labs, called "the Grand Alliance," to exploit the new technology. Lo and behold, the Grand Alliance's system, now almost complete, can do much more than send elegant pictures. In the spectrum space now used by one analog channel, it can transmit not just one high-definition image but five or six digital television signals as good as current ones. Airfill! And it can use those extra signals not just for television pictures but also to carry Internet computer files, two-way paging systems, electronic mail and much, much more.

Because the new system surpassed all expectations for HDTV, and also because they'd prefer not to bother any longer with an unprofitable conversion to HDTV, broadcasters have taken to calling the new technology by its alternate name, Advanced Television, or ATV. And as Reed Hundt, the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, considers the policy decisions that ATV will require starting this year, he calls this "a true watershed moment for the broadcast world."

"Broadcasters are just now commencing the process of converting to the digital age," he observes. "In a few years, broadcasting in most parts of the country will start to be digital transmission. And TV will become fanatically diverse and complex, merging with the computer and communications industry to create the multimedia experience you've all been reading about."

Hundt wants commercial broadcasting to evolve competitively, with little or no government intervention and he has angered some members of the Grand Alliance by not forcing a conversion to HDTV. The alliance has invested heavily in the new

technology and feels betrayed to see it diverted to other uses. But Hundt has also annoyed the broadcasters, who want the extra spectrum space once set aside for HDTV to be given to them for profitable services.

The F.C.C. chairman looks upon all the airwaves as public property, to be rented or bartered for commercial uses and to some degree reserved for public purposes. He recently earned nearly \$8 billion for the United States Treasury by auctioning off space on the radio spectrum. And he is now seeking public support for the idea of making broadcasters pay for spectrum space with cash or contributions of time or a mixture of both.

"Who among us thinks it was a bad idea to set aside 843 acres in Manhattan to create Central Park?" he recently asked. "Does anyone think Teddy Roosevelt erred in proposing the National Park System that left us the treasures of Yosemite, Yellowstone and so many others? Surely not all the Western wilderness needs to be turned over to commercial development."

At the least, Hundt obviously intends to protect the investments already made by wireless phone and paging companies at his spectrum auction by charging comparable fees to broadcasters who would now compete with them. He has also suggested that broadcasters be required to set aside some of the huge new spectrum capacity for both educational children's programs and free political discussion. He suggests creating a "bank" of reserved free time for politics to be withdrawn with vouchers given to political parties and candidates. The free broadcasts and electronic mail that these vouchers would provide would, in a stroke, greatly reduce the costs of campaigning — and therefore the influence — of campaign contributors.

The question now is whether Congress will feel free enough from industry pressure to lay claim to the public's stake in the spectrum. For half a century, television broadcasters have paid nothing for their highly profitable use of the airwaves. Their promise in return to operate "in the public interest" was shown long ago to have little meaning and, in any case, to be unenforceable. And their campaign contributions almost succeeded last year in sneaking into law, without even a public hearing, an amendment that would have given them unrestricted use of the spectrum's new airfill.

These issues are not so technical that they defy public understanding. They ought to be the subject of a full and fair debate. If broadcasters want to demonstrate the responsibility that entitles them to the airfill bonanza, they could begin by offering generous time for a proper airing of the subject. ■

JUNE 4, 1995

MARY McGRORY

The Vaster Wasteland

THE WORD "revolution" is used pretty promiscuously in Washington now—hardly a day goes by without reference to changes that will change the world as we know it. But Federal Communications Commission Chairman Reed E. Hundt thinks he's got the real thing on his hands—digital television—and he wishes people would talk about it.

Digital television, a marvelous and mysterious device that multiplies the number of TV frequencies by six, will bring an explosion to the information superhighway. It won't be on line, however, until 1997, a year after the presidential election, a fact that may explain the relative silence about what Hundt calls "the greatest story in the history of communications since the invention of the printing press."

A local station like WRC, for instance, will suddenly have six more channels. So will the other 10 stations in Washington. The question is who will get ownership of this vastly multiplied "wasteland." The Republicans generally favor selling the new outlets at auction. Hundt, a youthful and enthusiastic Clintonian, thinks the new frequencies should be given away—under two conditions: First, stations must pledge a certain amount of time for the purpose of educating children; second, they must pledge free time to political candidates.

The benefits of educational television have already been measured and found undisputably good. Hundt thinks that we owe children the right to learn things that their homes, and even their schools, cannot teach them. "If you're going to cut Head Start," he says, "You have to give them something else."

"Something else" is also his remedy for the violent, raunchy, degrading, corrupting fare that parents constantly, and politicians sporadically, inveigh against. "I don't believe in censorship," he says. "The FCC should not be the nation's nanny. You have to offer alternatives."

House Speaker Newt Gingrich, an easy rider on the information superhighway, thinks that the FCC should be phased out of existence. Needless to say, Gingrich believes that the new frequencies in digital television should be sold at auction. The profits could probably balance the budget. But Hundt believes the airwaves belong to everyone and that they should be used to profit everyone.

So far the only broadcaster who has endorsed his idea of

educating the children and liberating the politicians from the shackles of perpetual fund-raising is Rupert Murdoch. He told the National Association of Broadcasters it was a capital idea.

Politics would be transformed beyond recognition if free air time were given to candidates. Aspirants could rise up from their knees if they didn't have to spend so much time groveling for funds, 40 percent of which is eaten up with purchasing television time. The average Senate campaign requires \$4.3 million; for a House seat, the going rate is \$545,000.

Joshua Goldstein of the Center for Responsive Politics says that the gift of air time would change the whole dynamic of a campaign.

"Attack ads would be out of the picture," he says.

"Taxpayers would not want their money spent for smearing."

It could mean also some cutting down to size of the consultants who are waxing fat and rich on nervous candidates. Imagine the difference it would have meant in the campaign of Sen. Dianne Feinstein of California, whose campaign against multimillionaire Republican Michael Huffington was one of the country's hardest-fought of 1994. At one point, she was required to raise \$22,000 a day to reach her goal of \$15 million. Ordinarily a senator has to raise but \$12,000 a week for six years.

If digital television were to relieve them of almost half of their fund-raising chores, candidates could think more about the issues—or even listen to their constituents.

Any public financing of politics raises Republican hackles.

They almost overturned the modest checkoff program for presidential candidates that was put in place after Watergate had exposed the back alleys and dark corners where so many campaign dollars were collected. Only a rare show of unity among Democrats and the courage of 11 Republicans saved the checkoff.

Nothing is yet written down by way of rules and regulations yet. A commission is drawing up proposals. Hundt wants broadcasters to set up time banks, from which candidates could get vouchers for air time. They would be beholden to nobody but the public.

Hundt wants hearings, debates, town meetings, any kind of forum to discuss this great wonder and its uses. It offers a clear choice between "100 percent pursuit of maximum profits" and a clear public purpose.

ImagiNation Network service plans expansion with release of new software offering 10 multiplayer games, including air combat, NFL-licensed product, bridge game. Company also announced AT&T customers will be eligible for 10% discount on monthly membership of \$9.95 with 5 free hours on-line and \$2.95 for additional hours.

'Trickle' of Affiliation Switches

FOX 'VERY SERIOUS' ABOUT FREE TIME FOR CANDIDATES – MURDOCH

Fox Bcstg.'s owned TV stations will begin offering free time to political candidates in 1996 campaign despite "unfriendliness from all our competitors," News Corp.-Fox CEO Rupert Murdoch told Warren Publishing during interview in his L.A. office. "We're very serious," he said. "You'll see us doing it next year." He said

"we haven't decided that yet" when asked if free time also will be offered to Presidential candidates on Fox TV Network. Other points made by Murdoch in interview, in which Preston Padden, pres. of Fox TV Network distribution, participated: -~

(1) There'll be "steady trickle" of affiliation switches to Fox in near term. (2) Fox is satisfied generally with bills in Congress. (3) "All sorts of things" are planned in new media ventures. (4) Goal is to put Fox Network "on top in U.S." (5) No daily, half-hour news show will be on network, but Fox will provide 24-hour news service for affiliates. (6) FCC investigation cost "millions." (7) Serious negotiations are under way to acquire TV empire of ex-Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi. (8) Without explanation, Murdoch said News Corp.-Fox have "all sorts of things in mind" in new technology areas in addition to on-line joint venture with MCI that we reported (CD June 5 p5).

News Corp. is "developing as a global media company," Murdoch said, but there's no set pattern. "Everything we do is to make Fox

Bcstg. No. 1. We're not making any prediction about when we're going to achieve that. It's going to take years. That is central to us... We have already succeeded to make the Fox plan... or the Fox sports plan, predominant. We have to work on that and do a lot more with that." Acquiring NFL rights for Fox and its affiliates is "intangible," he said, "but I think it's enormous... The fact is that millions of people discovered Fox [through NFL] that they never knew existed." Padden said Fox has "absolute parity" with

Big 3 in football but not on entertainment shows: "When we signed the football deal, we had 138 affiliates... We now have 200 [counting secondaries]. That's all the byproduct of the football deal."

Murdoch first announced plans to offer free political time at NAB convention in April, in action derided by other networks as ploy to gain political favor (CD April 12 p3). Explaining unfriendliness to proposal of Big 3 networks, he said: "They like to make money out of politics... The FCC has made sounds of support... The people of the American Enterprise Institute are drawing up papers for us on how to do it." Fox hasn't heard from any prospective candidates, Murdoch said, "who I think just can't believe it's going to happen." He said it would be "very, very difficult" to offer free time on network if Big 3 don't do it also, but it would be possible "if it was nothing much more than a token. I do believe very strongly that the money that is paid to politicians political parties in this country... is democratic in many ways but I think we would be a lot better off without it. And the truth is, the television industry is the beneficiary of this because it makes a lot of money" from candidates.

Candidates constantly seek contributions from PACs and individuals, Murdoch said: "We never u

to give a penny, but now that we're in television and we're in films and we're out here [in Hollywood] we have to go with the flow and we certainly do give moderately and modestly... In the past the Fox company has given a great deal more to Democrats than it has to Republicans... That might be in balance." He said Fox is "satisfied generally" with telecom bills pending in Congress, that only thing it really sought was lifting cap on number of stations that could be owned and national audience could be reached.

As for still-to-come affiliation switches to Fox, "you're not going to see another New World deal" in which Fox picked up 10 VHF affiliates at once, Murdoch said. In near term, he said, there will be "a steady trickle" of stations switching to Fox: "The truth is, they make more money being Fox affiliates than they do being affiliates of other networks and so they are coming to us... It's been a win/win situation, absolutely" for stations. Fox made financial investment in New World stations, Murdoch said, and will share in profits: "We could sell today and make a profit." Most of future action will be in markets with 3 stations or less.

"No, no, no," Murdoch responded when asked if Fox pays VHF stations "huge sums" in compensation to switch. He said there have been "one or 2 smaller markets, 3-station markets, where Preston has given a little better compensation [but] in all, we'll just spend \$10 million a year [on compensation to affiliates], whereas the other people were already spending a hundred million a year have gone up to 2 hundred million a year." Padden said that "while NBC had us tied up at the FCC [on alien ownership challenge, along with NAACP], [NBC] and the other networks ran around and signed -- they paid a fortune to buy long-term commitments from their existing affiliates in the biggest markets so the battle has shifted somewhat to the smaller markets." Signing long-term contracts while there was much uncertainty about Fox at FCC, Padden said, "is an unbelievable example of how the regulatory process was abused to blunt the efforts of the new competitor."

Fox has had many false starts in news area and again is moving toward expansion with worldwide joint operation with Reuters. But, Murdoch said, "there will not be a half-hour daily network news coverage, as such." Network is building package for affiliates to make it easy for them to offer news from around world "whenever they want say 10 o'clock at night." Asked if Fox is interested in hiring Connie Chung, recently dropped as even co-anchor by CBS, he said: "No. We hadn't really thought about that." Responding to reports in Murdoch's N.Y. Post and other papers that Chung would end up at Fox, he said: "That just shows you that I don't interfere with my newspapers."

Part of News Corp.'s global plans are current negotiations with Berlusconi, who owns Italy's 3 dominant private TV networks. Murdoch said networks are "remarkably well-run. A first-class TV operation... We are by no means close to a deal at the moment... We're certainly in negotiations, strong and active negotiations." Murdoch will appear only via videotape at Fox TV affiliates' convention 2 weeks from now in L.A. He'll be in Italy negotiating for Berlusconi properties, along with taking some vacation time, he said. In England, he said, proposed changes in there to limit foreign ownership will have "no impact whatsoever" on News Corp., which doesn't own TV stations in U.K.. "We run a pay-TV system there [British Sky Bcstg.]," he said, along with newspapers, and goal will be to "build Sky stronger and stronger."

FCC investigation of Fox Bcstg. ownership (CD May 26 p2) has cost Fox and News Corp. "million in legal fees alone, Murdoch said, but not as much as \$10 million, Padden added. "It's taken a lot of time," Murdoch said, "a lot of pain, a lot of diversion of attention... An upsetting and unnecessary diversion" from Fox people who should have been accomplishing other things. Padden said it took 6 months of his attention fulltime.

Asked about succession of control in News Corp.-Fox if something happens to him, Murdoch said

"We have a very strong board of directors. If I left tomorrow, they would have an emergency meeting and appoint someone in my place." Barry Diller left Fox, Murdoch said, because "he wanted to go off and do his own thing. He wanted to run his own show... It just kind of came to an end, that's all." Diller had 5% equity in Fox and "there was no negotiation at all," said Murdoch. "Barry knew that I wasn't... going to make a present so Barry didn't even ask." Asked about Lucille Salhany, former Fox TV Network pres., Murdoch said: "She left at my request but I wouldn't want to make any comment about that... She worked very hard when she was here."

COMMUNICATIONS PERSONALS

Al Kurtze, senior vp-operations, Sprint Local Telecommunications Div., named senior vp, Sprint joint venture with TCI, Comcast and Cox Communications; Tom Mateer and John Harrison move from Sprint to "key support positions" in venture... Robert Wussler, ex-Wussler Group, joins NewVenco as pres.-CEO... Susan Scafe advanced to vp-new business development, Disney Interactive... Barbara Mowry leaves own consulting company to become senior vp-customer satisfaction TCI Communications... Guy Pepper advanced to senior dir., NBC News... Rick Mater, ex-NBC, appointed head of broadcast standards & practices, WB TV Network... Alan Cohen, ex-Serino Coyne Advertising & PR, appointed dir.-media relations, ABC Daytime... Consultant Glenn Moss named assoc. gen. counsel, Court TV... Leo Armatis, vp, Meredith Corp., elected chmn., American Advertising Federation; Wilder Baker, chmn.-pres.-CEO, Warwick, Baker Fiore, elected vice chmn... Jim Moore promoted to vp-engineering, WDAF-TV Kansas City... CBS Radio Pres. Nancy Widmann receives NAB National Radio Award Sept. 8 at NAB Radio Show, New Orleans.

TELEPHONY

FCC has suspended for 5 months AT&T's proposed changes in Contract Tariff 360, originally offered to Interworld Communications in 1993. Proposed modifications would raise international rates, eliminate term and volume discounts and impose \$205,000 cap on month of free calling provided for in tariff. Interworld, MCI and Tel-Save filed oppositions to changes although Interworld terminated its service with AT&T in April and withdrew petition. FCC Common Carrier Bureau concluded in order released Mon. that changes weren't "just and reasonable" and said it would investigate further during suspension period.

FCC granted cable landing license to Alaska Telecom, which plans to operate privately owned fiber cable system with landing points in Pacific Northwest U.S., Juneau, Alaska, and South Central Alaska. International Bureau said in order released Tues. that it doesn't object to company's plan to operate cable on non-common carrier basis because there already is "wide availability of common carrier circuits between the contiguous United States and Alaska."

Fact that competitors oppose it and customers support it provides proof that lower rates and more competition would result from request by 7 RHCs to transport information services across LATA boundaries, they said in joint filing Mon. with U.S. Dist. Court, D.C.: "What is in question here is a narrow waiver that would permit the Bell companies --

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 7, 1995

To: Leon Panetta
Fr: Todd Stern *ms*

Re: Right to know Executive Orders

I agree 100% with Gene's political analysis: the GOP's radical attack on environmental protection should be a major political issue for us, we should be much more aggressive on it, and the business guys who applaud our regulation cutting won't support us anyway.

However, I question the premise that delivering a tough environmental message tomorrow requires issuance of any executive order (or draft order). If the President delivers a veto threat with some tough rhetoric about the Republican attack on the environment, I think people will get it and I doubt that issuing an executive order would even add much to the impact of the event. (If we think an E.O. is the only way to get covered on the news, I'd feel differently, but I doubt that.)

So, given the downsides of (i) issuing an E.O. or draft E.O. on the "use" issue (i.e., ammunition to those who want to paint us as over regulators, internal uncertainty about substantive wisdom of a use E.O., legislative problem of showing hand so Congress could "overrule" the E.O. by way of a new rider), and (ii) issuing an E.O. on the emission issue alone (i.e., silence on the other two issues, facilities and use, would be conspicuous), I'd vote for no Order, relying instead on a veto threat plus cranked up rhetoric and a general threat to do executive orders if it comes to that. As Pat argued, this would allow the President to look strong and confident that his veto will stick. (Remember, premise of any executive order is that his veto *won't* be enough to block the Republican assault.)

Martha - (Martha Foley)
FLY?
Todd
8/7/95

8-7-95

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/7/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 5, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN ^{PO3}
PHIL CAPLAN

SUBJECT: Recent Political Information Items

We have received the following recent political information items:

*Dist. to VP
unrec'd
to Sec*

(A) **Ickes memo on Re-elect time-buying.** Harold thinks the 15% commission paid to the Squier and Scheinkopf firms for the time buy on the crime spots was way out of line and that the remaining time for both the primary and general campaigns should be bought on a 5-6% commission. He also urges that the time-buying function should be given to a firm that is separate from the Media Team and skilled at buying spot time. He, Sosnik and Janice Enright recently met with Frank Greer and Jim Margolis, who handled your time buying in '92, which relied heavily on spot time. They think some 85% of your '96 time-buy should be spot. Harold thinks they have a highly sophisticated operation. Frank has offered to take a 6% commission and might even go lower. Harold advocates talking to several firms to get the best combination of price and skill. Harold would like to discuss this with you.

*BB & Chris
summary
note*

(B) **Memo from Don Fowler on talk radio.** Forwarded by Harold. Norm Pattiz, whom you met with on Air Force One when returning from Portland last month, has undertaken three initiatives targeted to radio stations with formats -- music, news, sports -- that are different than stations that normally run right-wing talk shows. The idea is to reach a different, more persuadable audience than the one tuned in to right-wing shows.

(C) **Wall Street Journal/NBC poll.** Forwarded by Sosnik. Generally good news. Your approval rating is 47% -- better than Reagan's 43% at 30 months and about even with Nixon's 48%. Your "very negative" is 17%, down from last fall's high of 25%. The Republican Congress has a disapproval rating of 53%.

(D) **Newspaper and magazine clips.** From Harold or Doug. 1) Very critical *Boston Globe* article on DNC spending entitled "DNC books show White House extravagance -- White House spending depletes party funds." 2) *Washington Times* article on tobacco and 1996 politics headlined "War on tobacco risky for Clinton in South: Issue unlikely to recoup votes elsewhere". Quotes several Democratic Members or state officials. 3) *Washington Times* article about how "GOP Sells Access -- For Less." One can join the GOP Eagles Club for \$15,000 (\$5,000 more gets the spouse in) and get participation in special trade

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/7/95

95 AUG 2 P5:18

31 July 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
THE VICE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA
MAGGIE WILLIAMS
JACK QUINN
DOUG SOSNICK

FROM: Harold Ickes (H)

SUBJECT: Talk Radio

Attached is a copy of 6 July 1995 memorandum to the President from Don Fowler regarding the "radio initiatives" undertaken by Norm Pattiz, with whom the President met on Air Force 1 from San Francisco to Portland last month.

Mr. Patiz has been extra-ordinarily helpful in working with the DNC regarding its efforts to "get in the loop" with respect to talk radio.

I have the tape referred to in the second full paragraph of Mr. Fowler's memorandum if you are interested in hearing it.

Talk Radio

DEMOCRATIC ★ NATIONAL ★ COMMITTEEDonald L. Fowler
National ChairChristopher J. Dodd
General Chair

MEMO TO: President Clinton *Letcher*
FROM: Don Fowler
RE: Norm Pattiz Radio Initiatives
DATE: July 6, 1995

*Let
m
ser*
*and
discuss*

Yesterday I talked with Norm Pattiz, with whom you had a discussion on the flight from San Francisco to Portland last week. He indicated that the conversation went well. As a result, the following actions are contemplated.

First, on August 1, Dirk Van will begin a series of radio commentaries that will include both news and opinions about public policies. His five-minute program will be carried on the NBC Radio Network five days a week (Monday-Friday) on 225 radio stations. It will be a part of the NBC Radio Network's First Light program each morning. Norm has sent an audition tape that illustrates the kind of commentary that Dirk will do. Harold Ickes has a copy of the tape.

Second, Norm is moving directly with Frank Greer to set up the Presidential Radio Town Hall with you and Larry King. He indicated that there are four possible dates; Tuesday or Wednesday, August 15 or 16, or Wednesday or Thursday, August 23 or 24. This is being managed by the White House staff directly with Larry King's people.

Third, we are beginning to recruit several public personalities (some political, some not political) who will do a series of two to three-minute commentaries on subjects relevant to their careers and interests. These commentaries will address significant public policy issues and will contain a political message. Plans are to use these commentaries by these public personalities in much the same way as we will use the Dirk Van commentaries. They will be in addition to the Dirk Van commentaries, not in place of them.

If we get all three of these initiatives in place, we will have the beginning of an antidote to the right-wing talk shows. One of the interesting features of what Norm Pattiz is doing is running these programs on radio stations with different formats — music, news, sports, etc. -- and not head-to-head with the right-wing talk shows. Doing this will reach a different audience, one that is more persuadable than the right-wing talk show listeners.

CC: Harold Ickes
Senator Chris Dodd

8-7-95

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/7/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 5, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN ^{POS}
PHIL CAPLAN

SUBJECT: Recent Political Information Items

We have received the following recent political information items:

*Dist. to VP
w/ memo to Queen*

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BB & H. C. S. M. F.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	From Harold Ickes re: Time-buying for 1996 (3 pages)	07/24/1995	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7689

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files August 6-12, 1995 [4]

2019-0774-S

rs3293

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

missions, meetings with top officials, access to a "personal regional representative" in Washington, VIP accommodations at the Republican convention, and a "private" meeting with a newly elected President and Vice President. 4) *National Journal* article on Motor Voter by Bill Schneider claiming that a high proportion of newly registered voters are identifying themselves as "independent" or "no party" rather than Democrats although they are mostly young and poor. 5) Very favorable *Knight-Ridder News Service* piece on Don Fowler.

*cc: Blomberg
Loh to
Mun-*

(E) **Celinda Lake focus groups on women.** Forwarded by Sosnik. Chicago on May 31; Tacoma on June 1. Two groups in each city: ticket splitters with no more than two-years education and "drop-off" voters who voted in '92, but not '94. Key conclusions: (i) very worried about the economy and their personal economic security; (ii) responsive to language focussing on immediate economic needs rather than abstract notions of strengthening the overall economy; (iii) profound cynicism; (iv) believe nobody in on their side, not Democrats or Republicans; (v) respond most strongly to candidates who visibly understand and relate to their lives.

(F) **Washington State poll, end of June.** Forwarded by Sosnik. Your numbers were 55% strongly favorable/somewhat favorable. No Republican candidates were tested. Crime/drugs/violence was the most important problem by plurality of those polled -- 21%.

(G) **Focus groups on young African-American men.** Forwarded by Sosnik. Conducted for the DNC in Los Angeles on June 14 and Southfield, Michigan (suburban Detroit) on June 19. In each city, there were two groups of African-American men interviewed; 1) likely Democratic voters between the ages of 30 and 45, and 2) younger, infrequent Democratic voters between the ages of 21 and 30. These groups are disillusioned with the party although the Republican party is not attractive to them. They do not understand what the party stands for and feel that the lines have blurred between the parties. You run very strong with this group and they prefer you strongly to either Jesse Jackson or Colin Powell. They see no rationale for a Jackson candidacy.

(H) **Polls from Virginia, Oklahoma and Texas.** Forwarded by Sosnik. From the August 1 *Hotline*. Virginia: You trail Dole 42-47; favorable/unfavorable is 45-55. Oklahoma: you trail Dole 35-48; favorable/unfavorable is 33-67. Texas: you trail Dole 37-51; favorable/unfavorable 38-44.

4
Ickes
Mul
a comparison
Melley
to Rich
membership
my record
postcard
GOP/DEM

(I) **Selected Clips.** Forwarded by Sosnik.

We have also received the following information:

Ickes memo on National Education Association endorsement. The NEA could endorse either in September '95 or December '95; in December, you would probably pick up an additional 10% of the vote. Harold and Ken Melley of the NEA want to know your preference -- September or December. Also, an internal NEA membership poll conducted in May showed your favorability rating at 60%, but it dropped to the mid-50s when put head-to-head against Dole; Dole's favorability was in the mid-30s.

Summerville
before vote - can we get?
Dec. 1st

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/7/95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 AUG 11 12:15

~~95 JUL 11 12:14~~

JULY 31, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DOUG SOSNIK

SUBJECT: CLIPS OF INTEREST

Attached are a few clips from the weekend that may be of interest to you.



State of New Hampshire

House of Representatives

State House, Concord

RICK A. TROMBLY
Democratic Leader

TDD Access: Relay NH
1-800-735-2964

TELEPHONE
271-2136

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
July 31, 1995

Contact: Rep. Trombly
271-2136 (SH) / 228-1180

TROMBLY TO ZELIFF: QUIT BEING A STOOGES FOR THE NRA

Referring to Congressman Bill Zeliff's remarks on national television that he will try to show that President Clinton had a hand in the Waco tragedy as "a preposterous charade," House Democratic Leader Rick Trombly (D-Boscawen) today demanded that Zeliff "end a publicity stunt that is embarrassing the people of New Hampshire."

According to Trombly, "It is bad enough to have to suffer one Senator who thinks he is New Hampshire's version of Jesse Helms and another who takes money from elderly cancer patients, but now we have a Congressman acting as the front man for the National Rifle Association in their grand inquisition of the Clinton Administration."

Trombly continued, "With the memory of the bombing of the Oklahoma City federal office building still on people's minds, Bill Zeliff is either being duped by, or working in concert with, the National Rifle Association to put the Clinton Administration on the defensive. That strategy will not work and I implore Representative Zeliff to get back to more relevant and pressing matters before the Congress. I fear, however, that once these hearings are concluded, Bill Zeliff will move on to investigating the conspiracy theories still being hotly debated about General Custer's role at the Battle of the Little Big Horn."

No name game in Gingrich bid

What makes Newt Gingrich assume he can just waltz into the competition for the Republican nomination for president in mid-December and stroll off with the door prize?

For that matter, what makes anybody think he can't?

When he was in Iowa last weekend, Gingrich emphasized that, while he's not inclined to seek the nomination, he's keeping his options open. He's only been speaker of the House of Representatives for less than a year and says he likes the job.

On the other hand, despite months of intense campaigning by most of those already seeking the nomination, Gingrich is arguably the most identifiable active Republican politician in the country and could well have the inside track for the nomination should he choose to go for it.

But for him to give himself until Dec. 15 to make a decision is just a shade arrogant, a description that has been applied to the Georgia congressman on more than one occasion. Dec. 15 is only about eight months before Republicans will choose their candidate in San Diego. It's also about a year or more after most of the other wannabes began to make frequent visits to Iowa.

There could be severe implications for the Iowa caucuses should Gingrich take the plunge at that late date, then plow the rest of the pack under to become the nominee. It could be cause to pause and reflect on whether it's time to abandon the traditional approach in which candidates spend considerable time on the campaign trail, acquainting prospective supporters with their political philosophies and getting their names widely known.

With a few exceptions, the system has worked pretty well over the years. With extended stops along the way in such places as Iowa and New Hampshire, candidates are able to discover what's important to the people, and the people get to know the candidates.

Put a "star" like Gingrich in the picture and the process can be skewed. He presumably wouldn't be put through the inconvenience of trying to



Newt Gingrich
"Star" quality

build name recognition. Everybody who maintains even the slightest awareness of current events knows who he is and what he does for a living and has a fair grasp of his politics. Those are the things Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander, et al, have been devoting months to imbedding in voters' minds.

With an exemption from the name game, perhaps Gingrich is right. For somebody who is well-known, maybe Dec. 15 is plenty of time to begin shaking the bushes. Not saying he could win the nomination, of course, but a late entry would certainly spare him most of the drudgery and a lot of the expense other candidates have been experiencing for months.

POLITICAL NOTES



Ken Sullivan
Gazette
senior editor

Wc 7/27/85

Iowa Republicans fight challenge to first-in-nation caucus

By KEVIN POTTER
Courier Staff Writer

DES MOINES

Iowa's Republican precinct caucuses should remain the first presidential popularity contest in the nation after all.

By invoking the Voting Rights Act, the state's Republican Party has apparently fended off attempts by its counterpart in Louisiana to move that southern state's presidential caucuses six days ahead of Iowa's.

The Iowa caucuses, local precinct meetings scheduled for Feb. 12, offer the first official indication of presidential candidates' popularity. Because of that status, Iowa is squarely in the middle of the national media

spotlight for weeks before the event.

The Louisiana Republican Party wanted to move its delegate-selection event ahead of Iowa's, however, to give Texas Sen. Phil Gramm a better shot at finding momentum early in the presidential campaign.

That's because Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., has strong support in Iowa, having campaigned for president here in 1980 and 1988. Gramm will likely win more support in Louisiana, which neighbors his home state.

After a request for a ruling from Iowa's Republicans, the Civil Rights Division at the U.S. Department of Justice told the Louisiana GOP that it cannot replace its March primary with a February caucus without permission from the department or the

U.S. District Court of Appeals in Washington.

David Kochel, executive director of the Iowa Republican Party, said Wednesday the southern state will probably not earn the necessary clearance from the federal government.

The change discriminates "on the basis of race and language-based minorities," Kochel said.

The traditional Louisiana primary offered polls open all day to Republican voters, he said. The new system replacing it would rely on delegate-choosing conventions in each of the state's seven congressional districts, scheduled for Feb. 6.

That setup, Kochel said, would be less open to minorities.

"It will become restrictive. It's a

process which is an open process and then changed over to one in which the party controls it very closely," Kochel said.

Louisiana will have 60 days to get clearance from the federal government. If it makes changes without permission, its delegation to the national Republican convention will be declared void.

In the meantime, Iowa Republicans will prepare to move their caucus date forward, if the Feb. 6 Louisiana date is approved, Kochel said. A state law requires that Iowa's caucuses be at least eight days before any other state's delegate-selection event.

"I don't think anyone wants to see the process moved any farther ahead than it already is," Kochel said. "It's getting too long, it starts too early."

FARM & COUNTRY

Iowan taps vast market in Mexico

The Webster City man's used-implement business has found huge demand south of the border.

By JAY P. WAGNER
REGISTER RURAL AFFAIRS WRITER

Webster City, Ia. — As business trips go, Wayne Higgins' journey into northern Mexico was enough to make even the most seasoned traveler a little bit jittery.

Ten days with his new business partner, a virtual stranger. Twenty-hour days with meetings from 8 a.m. until midnight, followed by all-night trips to the next town in the passenger seat of a pickup truck.

"Even if I died tomorrow, even if we never got another order out of Mexico, I would consider this to be the absolute highlight of my life," Higgins said.

Calling Higgins, 50, an optimist might be a little bit like calling Mi-

chael Jordan a basketball player. But it's important to understand that Higgins prides himself on looking at the positive aspects of a situation, considering all he's been through trying to establish a used-machinery business in rural Mexico.

For years, farmers from Central and South America have been traveling to north-central Iowa for the monthly machinery auction at Webster City Equipment. Higgins began holding farm sales in 1983, with most of the equipment coming from implement dealers who were getting out of the machinery business. Used machinery sales have remained fairly steady during roller-coaster economic times, because the need for machinery remains constant.

Mexico Venture

Last year, he was contacted by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce about selling used farm machinery in Mexico. Higgins already does business across a wide territory in the northern United States and



agreed to travel to Mexico, not knowing what to expect.

There, Higgins met Victor Munoz, the 35-year-old owner of a lumberyard and feed store who speaks English and Spanish fluently. Munoz was born in San Diego and grew up across the border in Tijuana. He taught himself English by watching football games on television, he said.

As an adult, Munoz moved to Magdalena de Kino, a city of 40,000 in Sonora, one of three Mexican states, along with Sinaloa and Jalisco, in the western part of the country where agriculture has remained strong.

The region is known in Mexico for its production of corn, cotton,



JAY P. WAGNER/THE REGISTER
Wayne Higgins, left, and partner Victor Munoz are doing great sending used farm machinery from Iowa's fields to Mexico's

MEXICO Please turn to Page 4G

4G THE DES MOINES SUNDAY REGISTER ■ JULY 30, 1995 ★

Iowa farm machinery dealer taps market in rural Mexico

MEXICO

Continued from Page 3G

soybeans, fruits and vegetables. Farmers in the region are also adept producers of cattle, pork, and poultry, with large-scale livestock confinements that rival those in Iowa.

Farmers' Lot

Crop production is subsidized by the Mexican government, and the country's appetite for white corn — and a steady supply of inexpensive food — means that government officials at all levels are interested in improving the lot of Mexican farmers.

Mexican farmers are interested in used equipment from the Midwest because of its reputation for being well-maintained. Iowa farmers don't use their equipment year-round, which means it's in better shape by the time they're ready to sell it.

"We were fulfilling a natural need," Munoz said.

Munoz traveled the country in his pickup truck, meeting with farm implement dealers. Together, the two men also attended an ag exposition, using scale model toy tractors to show what kinds of machinery could be shipped to Mexico from the United States.

"There's nothing like a toy to make up for any problems you have understanding another language," Higgins said.

"A Major Setback"

Orders were just beginning to accumulate when the value of the peso plummeted. Orders that had already been made were canceled. New

orders dried up.

"The devaluation was a major setback," Munoz said.

But Munoz and Higgins agree that the Mexican agricultural market is untapped. Higgins said that during a 10-day trip around Mexico in January, people were calling his hotel room each day just moments after he arrived in town, asking for a chance to talk to him about available machinery.

This week, it was Munoz's turn to visit Webster City Equipment — the home office, if you will — to look over machinery, meet members of the staff and get a glimpse of the wonders of Iowa agriculture.

"I Am Awed"

"I am awed by the quantity of cornfields and soybean fields and agricultural equipment," Munoz said, his eyes widening and a smile crossing his face. "Every small town you go to seems to have an agriculture equipment dealer. The railroads and the rest of the infrastructure was designed with agriculture in mind."

Higgins and Munoz say they share an ever-present sense of optimism, which helps them stay on course. That's helped them establish such a strong presence in Mexico that they are beginning to represent other Iowa farm equipment companies.

"This is something that's just bound to pay off," Higgins said. "If you could see the reception we get down there... It's incredible."

"But this is something that is so much bigger than Webster City Equipment. We're going to handle it the best that we can."

Corderman elected Iowa AFSCME chief

Union members are working to repair the damage done in recent years, she says.

By WILLIAM PETROSKI

REGISTER STAFF WRITER



Jan Corderman
"Pulling together"

JMT 5/11/95

Jan Corderman, a veteran union leader from Iowa City, won a landslide victory Sunday to become president of the troubled state American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Corderman, 47, succeeds Don McKee, who headed Iowa's largest public employees union since 1982. McKee awaits sentencing after being convicted in May on 64 federal counts of embezzling \$43,000 in union money. His trial showed that the union had battled financial problems and infighting for years.

Despite these woes, many delegates to the state AFSCME convention in Des Moines said Sunday that morale is strong, with few divisions among members and aims of expanding their influence. Corderman easily defeated Rick Terrones, 36, a union activist from Huxley, in what was expected to be a close race.

Solidarity Pledge

In weighted voting by 198 delegates, Corderman received 6,635 votes and Terrones 2,101. Bruce Page, a union leader from Nevada, trailed with 461 votes.

Terrones and Page pledged to support Corderman, and the new president received a long standing ovation from delegates after her victory was announced.

"Our members have been pulling together, and I think we can repair the damage that we have suffered in the recent past here," Corderman said.

She promised to put AFSCME's problems behind it, vowing to work for an open union that will put a priority on participation by rank-and-file members.

She said some of her top concerns include a trend by government agencies to award contracts to private



Osceola, not Argosy Gaming Co., initiated the idea of a riverboat on West Lake.

Gaming vote is a slap at rural citizens

The decision of the Iowa Racing and Gaming Commission to deny a license to the Clarke County Development Corp. must be viewed as slap in the face to every rural citizen of this state.

By denying the license, the commission sent a message to all of us in rural Iowa that our state government believes we should not be allowed to participate in the same economic-development activities as urban areas.

As a state senator representing a large rural district in southern Iowa, I am outraged at this decision. If the Iowa Racing and Gaming Commission believes that there is no place for economic development in rural Iowa, then that commission should be replaced.

Since 1992 I have had the privilege of representing Clarke County and Osceola in the Iowa Senate. I have grown to treasure the community and the fine people who live there. With the highest unemployment rate and the lowest per capita income in the state, these people might have given up and watched their community die. Instead,

they decided to find a way to turn around their situation.

Osceola, not Argosy Gaming Co., initiated the idea of a riverboat on West Lake. It was exciting to watch the enthusiasm build throughout southern Iowa at the prospect of increased job opportunities. I have never witnessed so much pride and community spirit as the day the referendum was approved by almost 70 percent.

The people of Clarke County worked together to make that vote a reality, then rolled up their sleeves to make sure the application presented to the Iowa Racing and Gaming Commission was without question. Argosy plans included a 100-bed hotel, restaurant facilities and a RV park in addition to the riverboat that was to be built at the site. Future expansion may have included a golf course and an outlet mall.

The evidence clearly showed there was an adequate market to support the Osceola activity and Prairie Meadows in Altoona. Environmental concerns were answered by an inde-

pendent engineering firm and by the Iowa Department of Natural Resources. The financial capacity of Argosy was verified.

Imagine, then, our disbelief when three commissioners voted against granting the license. Nancy Whittenburg based her "no" vote upon concerns about the environmental impact of the riverboat to West Lake despite repeatedly being told by experts that there would be no impact.

Commissioners Richard Canella and Rita Sealock based their "no" votes on the possible impact of competition upon Prairie Meadows. Their votes are particularly disturbing in light of previous votes to grant licenses to operate riverboats in their own communities of Fort Madison and Council Bluffs. The attitude appeared to be "it's good for us, but not for you."

Decisions by bureaucrats and commissions, based on obviously flimsy arguments, in an attempt to provide protection to special interests must be challenged.

I have requested that Gov. Terry

Branstad ask for the resignations of Jack Ketterer, the administrator of the commission, and Commissioners Canella and Sealock. As residents of communities with gaming licenses, they appear to be unable to resolve issues of conflicts of interest in making decisions affecting healthy competition in the racing and gaming industry.

One of the commission's refusal was its problem of interpreting the Legislature's intent. I have reviewed the intent of that piece of the code and it is pretty clear — to allow for riverboat gambling activities on Iowa's rivers, lakes and reservoirs. The intent was not to provide for a gambling monopoly in the Golden Circle.

However, if the law is unclear it is the legislators' responsibility to correct it. The Legislature working with the governor and a new, objective commission should prevent this problem from recurring again.

PATTY JUDGE of Albia is assistant majority leader of the Iowa Senate.

7/31/95 DMR

OFFICIALS HAVE RESISTED

7/29/95 DMZ

Study: State has no standards for students

'It's a misnomer,' says Iowa's education director. 'I think part of it depends on how you define standards.'

By MARK SIEBERT

REGISTER STAFF WRITER

Iowa remains the only state in the nation that hasn't developed academic standards for its students, according to a new survey by the American Federation of Teachers.

"It's a misnomer," Iowa Department of Education Director Al Ramirez said Friday. "I think part of it depends on how you define standards."

While the other 49 states have responded to a push from the nation's governors to develop statewide achievement goals, Iowa officials have resisted and instead left the responsibility with local districts.

Iowa requires districts to set achievement goals and have local assessment plans to measure progress. The Iowa Department of Education monitors that progress, but the agency does not dictate the goals.

The idea of setting statewide or federal standards for what students should know has become popular in recent years.

The standards movement began at

a 1989 meeting of governors in response to the "Nation at Risk" report. The study — put out by the National Commission on Excellence in Education — found that schools had failed to teach adequate math, science or English skills and were graduating unprepared students.

Some states have made major educational reforms.

According to the teachers union report, seven states require students to meet 10th, 11th or 12th grade standards to earn high school diplomas. Fourteen states require students to pass minimum competency tests before graduating. Those minimum requirements are typically on eighth or ninth grade material.

For Iowa to pursue similar statewide reforms, Ramirez said, would be a "waste of money" for information that would not be particularly helpful.

Ramirez said few states have the lengthy history that Iowa has in recording student achievement through the Iowa Test of Basic Skills. Iowa also continues to remain at the top in state-by-state comparisons of student achievement.

And while every other state — at the urging of the U.S. Department of Education — has started developing such standards, Ramirez said some were beginning to look at Iowa's methods as an alternative.

7/29/95 DMR

HARD BY STORMS

3 counties named state disaster areas

By JACK HOVELSON

OF THE REGISTER'S WATERLOO BUREAU

Three eastern Iowa counties were declared state disaster areas Friday as one person died after storms churned through them Thursday on the northwest and attacked the city of Monticello like a giant weed eater.

A retired Manchester priest died Friday morning from injuries he suffered when a tree fell on him Thursday evening. The Rev. John Hargrave, 70, was helping his nephew in Hopkinton Thursday night clean up a tree damaged in the storm, according to Sister Veronica Schaeferis of Mount St. Francis Convent in Dubuque.

Livestock losses were light compared to the damages inflicted on barns, sheds, silos and other farm buildings, including some homes.

Several people reported funnel clouds as the intense storm moved shortly after 4 p.m. from the northeastern tip of Buchanan County southeast through Delaware and Jones counties and into Illinois.

Governor Inspects Damage

Gov. Terry Branstad signed a disaster declaration for the three counties, then flew to northeast Iowa to view the destruction.

Baseball-size hail smashed car and building windows in Galamus in Scott County before the storm moved out of Iowa, narrowly missing the Quad Cities.

A barn near Castalia in Winnebago County was destroyed by fire after a lightning strike.

In hard-hit Delaware County, Consolidated Farm Service Agency manager Kent Kluyer estimated building damages at \$2.5 million in an area approximately 1 1/2 miles wide and 4 to 5 miles long between Dundee and

Manchester. Seven farm sites had heavy to "nearly total" damage, he said.

Corn Crop Damaged

Kluyer said 5,000 acres of corn suffered a 90 percent to 100 percent loss, while another 10,000 acres had slight damage. In all, the storm affected an estimated 20,000 acres of crops in Delaware County, he said.

Approximately 50 hogs and 10 cattle were killed in Delaware County.

In neighboring Jones County, Gary Larson of the Consolidated Farm Service Agency said at least two dozen farms were damaged.

In Monticello, a home occupied by Tom Hughes was destroyed, but most of the damage in the community was to large trees and power lines. Electrical service was still out late Friday in some areas.

"It looks like someone took a giant Weed Eater through the town," Larson said.

High Winds, Hail

Hail fell in most of the affected areas, but the strong, sometimes tornadoic winds did the damage.

Larson said 5,000 acres of corn in Delaware County suffered at least a 50 percent loss. Soybean fields fared better.

"In some cornfields it looked like an eggbeater had gone through. The width of the damage was so wide — about 2 1/2 miles — that it couldn't all have been a tornado, although it appeared there could have been a tornado down the middle of the swath," Larson said.

Jones County Emergency Management Coordinator Dianna DeSotel said three mobile homes in one Monticello mobile home park sustained damages that rendered them unlivable.

HHS's Shalala hears welfare concerns

By MARY HILL

REGISTER STAFF WRITER

Donna Shalala, the top administrator for the nation's welfare programs, listened intently Friday as five women and one man talked in Des Moines about their struggles to get an education, a job — and off welfare.

"I still can't afford to pay child care and health assistance for my daughter," said Debbie Burden.

"In many instances, funding has run out. Support services are needed so the working poor don't fall into the welfare system."

Burden is now the business manager for Hawthorn Hill, a Des Moines shelter and social services organization.

Jean Jones, a former welfare recipient, said policy-makers are making decisions based on myths about welfare recipients.

Shalala, U.S. secretary of health and human services, was in Des



Shalala
In Des Moines

Moines Friday at the invitation of the National Association of Social Workers, Iowa Chapter. After her session with the parents at Mercy Center, she and social service policy-makers, providers and advocates discussed welfare reform.

"I would really like for people to understand that welfare recipients are everyday people," said Victoria Bruner, spokeswoman for the social workers organization. "They have the same dreams, concerns and aspirations as anyone else. I don't think people know that. I would like them to question the myths that are perpetuated about welfare recipients."

In a meeting with reporters prior to the gathering, Shalala said she realizes that welfare reform will have to bring a range of programs together to work. Moving people off of welfare and into jobs will take a combination of tax credits, food stamps, child-care programs, medical services, affirmative action and a national program to pursue deadbeat dads, she said. "We need to think about the low-income workers and what they need."

She said some welfare-reform proposals by Republicans in the Contract With America are just attempts to shift the welfare burden to the states.

7/29/95
2M/2

Lightfoot: Hearings stir hate

Congressman denides public attacks on law officers

Putting some distance between him and the House leadership, the Iowa says televised Waco hearings are just a 'media circus.'

BY KENNETH PINS

OF THE REGISTER'S WASHINGTON BUREAU

Washington, D.C. — Rep. Jim Ross Lightfoot, R-Ia., made a blistering attack on some of his Republican colleagues Friday, calling the televised Waco hearings "an ego trip" and a "media circus" that will only make the jobs of federal law enforcement officers harder.

"Unfortunately, it's become a media circus for a few people to drive a political agenda and for some new members of Congress to gain a degree of notoriety at the expense of a lot of others," he said.

"I don't think it's really accomplishing a lot other than it's kind of stirring the hate cauldrons, and we've got too much of that in this country already," he said.

Lightfoot first issued his rebuke in a telephone interview with Iowa broadcasters early Friday. Later in the day he reaffirmed his views and amplified upon them.

A combined House subcommittee wrapped up a second week of hearings Friday into the 1993 raid by federal agents on the Branch Davidian compound outside Waco, Texas.

Lightfoot is chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee that controls funding for the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms,

which launched the initial assault at Waco.

The hearings have been controversial from the start because of reported involvement by the National Rifle Association with the committee staff. An NRA fund-raising letter has described ATF agents as "jack-booted thugs."

While Lightfoot said the ATF made serious mistakes at Waco, those errors have been aired in earlier hearings and reports, and disciplinary actions have been taken. The present hearings, he said, have been more about making speeches.

"From what little I've seen, the level of venom and hatred that I hear coming from some members of Congress obviously leads someone to believe they have some very strong preconceptions and they're not really going to be deterred one way or another by what the truth is," said Lightfoot.

Asked if the "ego trip" and other comments referred to the hearings' Republican co-chairmen — Bill McCollum of Florida and Bill Zeliff of New Hampshire, Lightfoot indicated they did not.

A spokesman for the House Republican leadership said Lightfoot's views do not reflect those of the leadership. Neither McCollum's nor Zeliff's office responded to Lightfoot's comments.

As he offered a defense of the ATF and other federal officers Friday he stopped himself and said, "Gosh, here I go sounding like I've gone off on the liberal side of the world."

A former police officer, Lightfoot said he was struck by the comment of one ATF agent that the hearings were "just like coming home from Vietnam again."

"It's a tough danged profession. And it's a dangerous one," Lightfoot said. "They're doing a job just like the people who sit over at USDA and write out farm checks."



Lightfoot
Sees "venom"

missions, meetings with top officials, access to a "personal regional representative" in Washington, VIP accommodations at the Republican convention, and a "private" meeting with a newly elected President and Vice President. 4) *National Journal* article on Motor Voter by Bill Schneider claiming that a high proportion of newly registered voters are identifying themselves as "independent" or "no party" rather than Democrats although they are mostly young and poor. 5) Very favorable *Knight-Ridder News Service* piece on Don Fowler.

*Ce: Phoenix
Ch to Min*

(E) **Celinda Lake focus groups on women.** Forwarded by Sosnik. Chicago on May 31; Tacoma on June 1. Two groups in each city: ticket splitters with no more than two-years education and "drop-off" voters who voted in '92, but not '94. Key conclusions: (i) very worried about the economy and their personal economic security; (ii) responsive to language focussing on immediate economic needs rather than abstract notions of strengthening the overall economy; (iii) profound cynicism; (iv) believe nobody in on their side, not Democrats or Republicans; (v) respond most strongly to candidates who visibly understand and relate to their lives.

(F) **Washington State poll, end of June.** Forwarded by Sosnik. Your numbers were 55% strongly favorable/somewhat favorable. No Republican candidates were tested. Crime/drugs/violence was the most important problem by plurality of those polled -- 21%.

(G) **Focus groups on young African-American men.** Forwarded by Sosnik. Conducted for the DNC in Los Angeles on June 14 and Southfield, Michigan (suburban Detroit) on June 19. In each city, there were two groups of African-American men interviewed; 1) likely Democratic voters between the ages of 30 and 45, and 2) younger, infrequent Democratic voters between the ages of 21 and 30. These groups are disillusioned with the party although the Republican party is not attractive to them. They do not understand what the party stands for and feel that the lines have blurred between the parties. You run very strong with this group and they prefer you strongly to either Jesse Jackson or Colin Powell. They see no rationale for a Jackson candidacy.

(H) **Polls from Virginia, Oklahoma and Texas.** Forwarded by Sosnik. From the August 1 *Hotline*. Virginia: You trail Dole 42-47; favorable/unfavorable is 45-55. Oklahoma: you trail Dole 35-48; favorable/unfavorable is 33-67. Texas: you trail Dole 37-51; favorable/unfavorable 38-44.

(I) **Selected Clips.** Forwarded by Sosnik.

We have also received the following information:

*4
Ickes
and
a comparison
Melley
to Rich
membership
my record
postcard
GOP/OTC*

Ickes memo on National Education Association endorsement. The NEA could endorse either in September '95 or December '95; in December, you would probably pick up an additional 10% of the vote. Harold and Ken Melley of the NEA want to know your preference -- September or December. Also, an internal NEA membership poll conducted in May showed your favorability rating at 60%, but it dropped to the mid-50s when put head-to-head against Dole; Dole's favorability was in the mid-30s.

*Summation
before vote - can we get? Dec. study*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/7/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 AUG 1 P 9:23

AUGUST 1, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DOUG SOSNIK

SUBJECT: FOCUS POLLS AMONG YOUNG AFRICAN-AMERICAN MEN

Attached please find a report on focus group polling conducted for the DNC on voter attitudes among young (ages 21 to 45) African-American men. This is a group that tends not to vote with great frequency and tends to be a critical part of the Democratic base.

While this group is disillusioned with the Democratic Party and is willing to look elsewhere, they see little possibility of moving to the Republican Party. They do not understand what the Democratic Party stands for and feel that the lines have blurred between the parties.

On the positive side, you run very strong with this voting group and they prefer you strongly to either Jesse Jackson or Colin Powell. These voters see no rationale for a Jackson candidacy.

Attachment

cc: Vice President
Leon Panetta
Harold Ickes
Erskine Bowles

LESTER & ASSOCIATES

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President

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**YOUNGER AFRICAN-AMERICAN VOTERS AND
DEMOCRATIC PROSPECTS IN 1996:**

A Focus Group Study Conducted for the Democratic National Committee

July 1, 1995

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VI.	The Mood of the Voters.....	Page 12
V.	The Republicans in Congress....	Page 13

PURPOSE AND SCOPE

This report presents the combined findings of four focus groups conducted by Lester and Associates, Inc., on behalf of the Democratic National Committee. Two focus groups were conducted in Los Angeles, California, on June 14, 1995; and two were conducted in Southfield, Michigan, a suburb of Detroit, on June 19, 1995.

These focus groups were conducted to explore the opinions and attitudes of both likely and infrequent voters towards the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Democrats and the Republicans in Congress, and the President of the United States. In the focus group consisting solely of Detroit voters, an additional section was added to explore voters' attitudes towards and perceptions of Mayor Dennis Archer.

One Los Angeles focus group consisted of likely voters who were "baby-boomers" between the ages of 30 and 45 years old. The other Los Angeles focus group consisted of younger, infrequent voters between the ages of 21 and 30 years old.

In Detroit, one focus group consisted of "baby-boomers" between the ages of 30 and 45 years old who were also likely voters who lived and voted in Detroit. The other focus group consisted of likely voters from Oakland and Wayne counties, suburbs of Detroit. This group consisted of younger voters between the ages of 21 and 35 years old. All interviewees were recruited from a list of registered voters and were screened as voters who usually vote "Democratic."

Younger voters and "baby-boomers" were chosen as targets of the research because these two groups represent a disproportionately large segment of all African-American voters. Almost two-thirds of all African-Americans (64%) are under the age of 45. Yet voter registration and turnout among this huge segment of potential Democratic base voters lags far behind African-Americans over 45 years of age and whites of the same age category according to the 1990 census. So the enormous potential for this segment to be a powerful voting block for Democratic candidates is not being realized. The 1990 census data reveals the following age breakdown for the African-American population.

Years of Age	Blacks	%	Whites	%
18-24	3,543	17	19,682	12
25-34	5,295	25	34,640	22
35-44	4,515	22	33,644	21
45-54	2,861	14	24,017	15
55-64	2,181	10	18,208	13
65-74	1,634	7	16,400	10
Over 75	1,010	5	11,192	7

Our own polling data, as well as that of several other polls conducted for the Democratic National Committee, have found that Democratic identification among African-American voters under the age of 45 has declined significantly in recent years. Both female African-Americans and older, less educated African-American voters generally identify themselves as Democrats in higher percentages than do male African-Americans and younger, better educated African-Americans.

This decline in Democratic identification and voter turnout among African-America's potential voter "base" has already resulted in negative consequences for Democratic candidates, particularly in the November 1994 midterm elections. Further alienation and erosion of support among these voters will mean even greater losses in November 1996 for Democrats at all levels.

Because registration and participation among younger, black voters is significantly lower than among whites -- and the African-American population, on a whole, is young -- a very large pool of potential Democratic voters are not participating in the electoral process. If African-American voter turnout is to be maximized, successful voter education and persuasion efforts must be directed at the baby-boomers and younger voters in the African-American community. These young, black voters must be motivated to turn out and vote for Democratic candidates; otherwise, African-American support for those candidates will be marginal.

A statement of methodology follows this section. An Executive Summary outlines the most significant findings of the four focus groups. This report discusses three issues in particular: the focus groups' opinions on President Clinton, The Mood of the Voters, and The Republicans in Congress. The Moderator's Guide, outlining the discussion for the focus groups, is included as an appendix.

METHODOLOGY

The most effective method of studying voter opinion and attitudes utilizes qualitative research in tandem with quantitative research. Through focus-group research, a more complete understanding of likely voters' attitudes and perceptions can be achieved than through quantitative research alone.

Qualitative research addresses the nature or structure of attitudes and motivations rather than their frequency and distribution, which falls within the scope of quantitative research. Fewer people are interviewed, allowing more time for thoughtful, detailed responses from each. Participants are interviewed in person, which eliminates the potential problems associated with telephone sampling and allows for follow-up questioning.

Focus groups can provide valuable insights into the feelings and motivations behind human action. Respondents are free to elaborate on their own thoughts and to generate their own ideas in response to questions. Respondents are encouraged by professional moderators to discuss issues among themselves, a strategy which often generates synergy and accelerates the opening-up process.

Finally, focus groups afford interviewees the opportunity to explore any conflicts in their attitudes and to discuss their opinions; survey research often forces respondents to resolve those conflicts without as much thoughtfulness.

Qualitative findings should not, however, be construed as scientific or objectively representative of the population, as quantitative findings are by being framed within statistical limits. Some care needs to be exercised, therefore, in analyzing these focus-group findings; but used judiciously and particularly in combination with quantitative research, they can provide valuable direction in strategic planning to maximize African-American voter turnout and support for Democratic candidates and President Clinton in 1996.

The interviewees who were chosen for this study were all recruited from voter lists by Lester & Associates, applying predetermined criteria in coordination with staff from each of the two facilities where the groups were conducted. All four focus groups were moderated by Ron Lester. The findings and conclusions expressed in this report are the opinions of Lester & Associates and are not necessarily shared by the other parties involved in the planning, execution, and analysis of the focus groups.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The major problem looming on the horizon for Democrats is that political discontent and alienation among younger, African-American voters will lead to low voter turnout in next year's elections. Because the current Republicans in Congress have alienated younger, African-American voters, any shift to Republicans, particularly at the congressional level, is doubtful. However, while vote-switching to the Republicans is unlikely, the potential for low voter turnout is also a real, and threatening, possibility.

In general, African-American voters display a highly skeptical attitude towards "politicians" as a whole. Their top concern about Democrats and Republicans alike is that neither party really cares about, nor delivers for, African-Americans. Both younger, African-American and "baby-boomer," African-American voters perceive little difference between Republicans and Democrats. Some talked of the need to form a third party that would more effectively address the issues and concerns of most African-Americans.

Clearly, these voters were willing to consider alternatives to Democratic candidates, although they reluctantly admitted that most Democrats are better than Republicans. Some voters said they are "looking away from" the Democrats now, but see very little possibility of moving over to the Republicans. Others said individual candidates, not political parties, should be emphasized because there is little discernable difference between the two parties.

In order to avoid this low voter turnout, clear lines of demarcation must be drawn between Democrats and Republicans. Even though the Republicans in Congress have set an agenda that can solidify Democratic support at the congressional level and up, voters do not have a clear picture of who the Democrats are right now and what they stand for. A great deal of public education and political attention will be needed to focus the political picture for them.

Interviewees did not perceive local Democrats in Detroit and Los Angeles as having any significant advantages over Republicans. They frequently described the lines between the parties as "blurred." Both local Democrats and local Republicans were viewed as "taking blacks for granted." A few focus-group members even indicated that they would consider voting for Republican candidates because "there is very little difference between the parties."

In Detroit, a small minority of voters offered support for local Republican initiatives, such as welfare reform in Michigan. However, while they agreed that welfare reform is needed to correct widespread abuse of the system, they perceived the Republicans' approach to be "anti-black" and "racist" at its core.

At the national level, the party contrasts are much clearer. The voters we interviewed were very familiar with budget cuts put forward by the Republicans in Congress; they viewed President Clinton and congressional Democrats as steadfastly resisting those cuts and offering sensible legislative alternatives. When voters were asked to name some specific Democratic initiatives in Congress, however, they were at a loss -- nonetheless, they quickly pointed out the importance of Democratic opposition to Republican policies.

When younger, African-American voters were challenged with specific information about such Democratic initiatives as empowerment zones, the crime bill, and the economic stimulus package, they grudgingly admitted that the views of most Democratic candidates are closer to their own than are those of the Republican candidates. They needed prodding to recognize some of the clear differences between Republicans and Democrats on most issues.

These voters rated President Clinton above most politicians, including most Democrats; but they knew very little about his legislative accomplishments. These voters liked the President because he appears to be "on their side" in the fight against "Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich." Their personal, warm feelings for the President transcended the normal frustrations they felt for most politicians. The interviewees also believed that President Clinton can relate to their personal concerns and that "he cares." The fact that he is of their generation was also important to them.

Even though some of these focus-group members were skeptical about the President's commitment to African-Americans, they viewed him as "trying hard" to deal with a recalcitrant Republican Congress which they perceive as "anti-black" and "anti-working class."

The interviewees evaluated the President's first two-and-one-half years with overall high marks for his efforts and were willing to give him time to "deliver." Voters who initially offered weak support for the President warmed up considerably after being presented with specific information about his accomplishments.

Most important of all, the context in which these voters see the political process works to the President's advantage -- and against the Republicans' -- in Washington, D.C. The focus-group members we interviewed knew a great deal more about the specific cuts the Republicans in Congress have put forward than about the President's legislative accomplishments and proposals. They perceived the President's efforts in fighting Republican cuts, such as school lunches, as his strongest selling point.

These interviewees were very familiar with Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich, whom they viewed as a "dangerous duo" intent on injury to African-Americans. They were familiar with specific Republican legislative initiatives to cut school lunches,

child immunization, and welfare. They blamed the Republicans in Congress for the defeat of national health insurance; and they gave the President credit for "standing up for working people," like themselves, in supporting national health insurance.

None of the focus-group members mentioned the President's position on affirmative action in a negative context. These voters blame the courts and the Republicans for the assault on affirmative action and have not linked the President to affirmative action one way or the other.

The interviewees gave the President high marks for his performance versus their respective Republican governors, for whom they expressed a great deal of disdain. Even though they lacked significant knowledge of the President's specific legislative accomplishments and other efforts, these voters intrinsically felt that the President is on their side -- while they were certain that their Republican governors and congressmen are not.

Crime and jobs rank as the top concerns of these voters. However, they were not familiar with President Clinton's crime bill, nor did they connect the President with any crime-fighting initiatives. Only after prompting did these voters credit the President for taking on the National Rifle Association with the assault weapons ban.

The interviewees were surprised to learn that 4.27 million new jobs were created within the first 18 months of the Clinton administration. This surprise apparently arises from their pessimistic perception of the economy and of their own job prospects as dim. Even after prompting with information about the creation of new jobs and other economic development initiatives such as empowerment zones, the voters remained highly skeptical about the future possibilities in turning the economy around and creating economic growth.

President Clinton is in a strong position to maximize voter support among this group, but most local Democrats do not enjoy the same level of support Clinton can garner.

PRESIDENT CLINTON

President Clinton's overall standing among the younger, African-American voters is relatively strong and unchallenged by any other politician on the national level. Surprisingly, the overwhelming majority of these voters said they would prefer President Clinton over Jesse Jackson or Colin Powell. Not so surprisingly, all voters said they would prefer President Clinton over Bob Dole.

These voters were uncomfortable with Jesse Jackson's electability and afraid that his candidacy might imperil the Clinton Presidency. Younger, African-American voters saw no substantive rationale behind a Jackson candidacy in 1996. Potential support for Jesse Jackson's candidacy as a "Democrat" or "Independent" is also tempered by the fear that it could lead to a wholesale Republican reign in Washington -- a scenario these voters want to avoid at all costs.

Given their views of the Republicans in Congress, they believed losing Bill Clinton will be disastrous both to African-Americans' prospects for advancement and to general prospects for social and economic change. They like his style and his challenge of the Republicans, but they know far too few specifics for their voter support to be maximized. President Clinton's biggest challenge will be to communicate one or two specific accomplishments with which these voters can identify him.

In all of our focus groups, voters indicated surprise after they were read a short statement summarizing the Clinton administration's accomplishments. After hearing the statement below, interviewees warmed considerably to supporting the President, and they indicated that they felt their peers would support him as well.

In a short 28 months, President Clinton has accomplished more than most Presidents have in a full term. The President's economic policies have fostered economic reform and lifted a sagging economy. In his first 18 months alone, President Clinton created 4.27 million new jobs, 93 percent of which are in the private sector.

The NAFTA bill, which the President got passed, will greatly increase the number of new jobs in the years ahead. 15 million low income workers now receive a tax cut of \$1000.00 per year under President Clinton's Earned Income Tax Credit. Education has been greatly enhanced with the passage of the Education Goals 2000 under the President's leadership.

The President's crime bill has also put more than 100,000 police officers on our streets to protect our citizens. And the President fought for "preventative programs" in his crime bill, because he knows the best way to deal with crime

is to prevent it in the first place.

When the Republicans in Congress tried to cut school lunch programs and child immunization programs – while they were also trying to reduce taxes to the rich and wealthy– President Clinton took them on and stopped them dead in their tracks.

Fifty-nine percent of all Clinton appointees to the federal bench have been women and minorities. Four of the President's initial cabinet members are black. Some people talk a good game, but in two years President Clinton has delivered. The facts speak for themselves. President Clinton is making a difference.

The focus-group members identified the creation of 4.27 million new jobs and the crime bill as the most important accomplishments mentioned in this statement. This is highly significant because before voters were prompted with the statement, they focused almost exclusively on the President's personal characteristics for positive leadership identification.

In every focus group, a word-association exercise was conducted to explore individuals' perceptions of the President's image. In one of the Los Angeles focus groups, the following ten responses were offered:

Aggressive
Sensitive
Tries
Real
Smile
Fighter
Compassionate
Perseverance
Openness
Honest
People-Oriented

In addition to the personal observations and warm "gut" feelings they had for the President, which inoculate him from the alienation they feel for other politicians, these voters equated Clinton with change. Two Los Angeles voters observed:

We needed change and he's trying to bring it

It's not that he's so great, but he's better than Reagan and Bush

These voters felt a political kinship with President Clinton; they viewed him

as an activist President who is taking on the Republicans and the Congress while pushing ahead a strong national agenda for change. They discounted the negative publicity from Whitewater and Paula Jones as "mudslinging." One Detroit voter observed:

The American public needs to get beyond that!

While these voters spoke admiringly of the President, they also offered some suggestions they believed could benefit him:

He [President Clinton] needs to be more disciplined, more stern, more focused

He needs to quit trying to please everybody and take care of business

He tries to do too much

In only one of the four focus groups [Detroit city residents] that we conducted were voters highly critical of President Clinton. The majority of these voters initially lumped President Clinton into the category of most politicians who "really don't care about people." However, when they were prompted with President Clinton's record, each one indicated he or she "could" vote for him in 1996.

Interviewees singled out personal characteristics to describe what they like best about the President. When asked to identify his greatest strength, voters pointed to:

His ability to communicate and articulate

He's definitely a people pleaser

He looks honest, he's an honest person

Hillary, she speaks her mind and doesn't care

Most of these voters felt comfortable with a review of affirmative action because it has been on the books for a long time. As indicated earlier, none of the voters we interviewed made any negative comments on the President's position on affirmative action, nor were they familiar with any statements he has made on the subject. At this point, these voters blame the courts and the Republicans for the assault on affirmative action; yet, any association of the President with the erosion of affirmative action would undoubtedly erode some support for him among this group.

However, because the President has established himself in the minds of these

voters as an advocate for their causes and concerns, he has secured a strong reservoir of support that might offset potential damage arising from any linking of him to this issue.

THE MOOD OF THE VOTERS

Younger, African-American voters are very pessimistic about the overall direction of the country. These voters talked a great deal about crime and drugs in their communities and the loss of jobs due to downsizing. Job losses in the aerospace industry of the greater Los Angeles area and in the automotive industry of Detroit were primary concerns to them.

Most of these voters agree with some of the Republicans' ideas in Congress, such as streamlining the budget and reforming welfare, but they do not trust the Republicans to make those cuts fairly. They recognize the dangers of runaway spending and are keenly aware of their own personal tax burdens, but they believe the Republicans' cuts, as they understand them, will cause more damage than good.

They are concerned that wholesale budget cuts will foster more hopelessness and increased crime and violence. They also believe that the impact of the budget cuts will fall disproportionately on them because they live in close proximity to the "poor people who will be most affected."

These focus-group members look less to government for solutions to society's problems than did their preceding generations. They talked about "those people using and dealing drugs" as being responsible for wreaking havoc on their neighborhoods -- not blaming the government in particular. However, they did not completely discount the role of government in remedying the problems and felt that law enforcement could do a much better job of protecting their communities.

Politicians who will connect with these voters must squarely address these concerns and emphasize the need for government to do its job in tandem with concerned citizens doing theirs. These voters feel strongly that concerned citizens need to take more personal responsibility for improving their communities. They are tired of being harassed and victimized by "hoodlums and thugs" and they feel strongly about the need for communities to take action against crime and drugs independently of government. All they want government to do is help them.

THE REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS

Younger, African-American voters were not very familiar with the Republican "Contract With America," but they knew a lot about the proposed budget cuts. These voters were very familiar with both Newt Gingrich and Bob Dole and could cite specific actions each has taken, such as budget cuts and opposition to Dr. Henry Foster's nomination for Surgeon General.

These voters displayed a basic distrust of the Republicans in Congress, even though several indicated support for some of the Republicans' ideas. They believed that the Republicans have "touched on some good ideas," such as family values and welfare reform, but that they "go too far with budget cuts." The voters we interviewed also believed an element of racism to be at work among Republicans -- a motivation which they did not attribute to most Democrats. One interviewee worded it as follows:

Most of the programs the Republicans want to cut affect black people, but they aren't in touch with the people whom they are cutting off

While younger, African-American voters distrust the Republicans in Congress, they respect their political abilities and successes in the November 1994 elections. They view the Republicans as "dangerous" and "with no conscience." They are also concerned that the Republicans could take over the White House in 1996. Further, they see the Republicans as setting the agenda and the Democrats as always on the defensive.

✓ Ickes memo on "Jesse's Right" by Tom Friedman. The *New York Times* has rescinded its permission to reprint this op-ed for distribution to contributors and supporters. The paper does not allow such reprints of articles that contain political content since that could give the appearance that it endorses a particular candidate or issue.

OK ✓ Ickes memo on DNC direct mail. According to Don Fowler, the direct mail program will result in approximately 250,000 new donors by the last week of August. Fowler would like to get "good media coverage" including a picture of you with the 250,000th donor. Harold would like to discuss this with you.

SCVP ✓ Ickes memo on meeting with Mayor Daley. Harold met with Daley last week in Chicago and he was very positive about the Convention. Daley wants to make the Convention interesting so people will watch. He suggests limiting the number of speakers and stressing entertainment. He also (i) urged you to consider a series of events over the next several months announcing a reduction in rules and regulations as he thinks most Americans feel they are over-regulated; (ii) suggested moving the White House operations out of Washington to specific cities on a one-week basis three or four times before '96 to show that you want to make close contact with the American people; (iii) was critical of the "transaction tax" imposed on the Chicago Board of Commodities; and (iv) stressed the economic importance of O'Hare.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 AUG 14 P5:33

31 July 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Harold Ickes *(HIS)*
SUBJECT: Mayor Daley

On 26 July, I met with Mayor Daley at his office in Chicago. he was very positive about the Convention.

He thinks the most important thing is to figure out how to make the Convention something that people will want to watch in order to get the President's message out. The traditional Convention format is too boring and people won't watch it.

He would stress a positive story, and have as few speakers as possible. He would also stress entertainment.

He urged that the President think about a series of events over the next number of months in which every month he would announce the reduction or elimination in rules and regulations that directly effect Americans and American business. He thinks most Americans feel they are way over regulated and that this is a very key issue with the American public and American business.

He also suggested moving the White House operations out of Washington to specific cities on a one week basis. He suggests doing this 3 or 4 times before the 1996 general election, although he admits it is probably very difficult to implement. This would show, however, that the President wants to make closer contact with the American people.

He is highly critical of the "transaction tax" imposed on the Chicago Board of Commodities.

He stressed the importance of O'Hare Airport. He estimates that some 500,000 people are working directly at or in connection with the airport.

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31 July 1995

95 AUG 12 P 6:01

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
THE VICE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA
MAGGIE WILLIAMS
JACK QUINN
DOUG SOSNIK

FROM: Harold Ickes 
SUBJECT: DNC direct mail

According to Chairman Fowler, the DNC's direct mail program will result in approximately 250,000 new donors by the last week of August. He would like to get some "good media coverage" including a picture of the President with the 250,000th donor.

Let's discuss.

missions, meetings with top officials, access to a "personal regional representative" in Washington, VIP accommodations at the Republican convention, and a "private" meeting with a newly elected President and Vice President. 4) *National Journal* article on Motor Voter by Bill Schneider claiming that a high proportion of newly registered voters are identifying themselves as "independent" or "no party" rather than Democrats although they are mostly young and poor. 5) Very favorable *Knight-Ridder News Service* piece on Don Fowler.

Ca: D.M. (ch to run)
(E) **Celinda Lake focus groups on women.** Forwarded by Sosnik. Chicago on May 31; Tacoma on June 1. Two groups in each city: ticket splitters with no more than two-years education and "drop-off" voters who voted in '92, but not '94. Key conclusions: (i) very worried about the economy and their personal economic security; (ii) responsive to language focussing on immediate economic needs rather than abstract notions of strengthening the overall economy; (iii) profound cynicism; (iv) believe nobody in on their side, not Democrats or Republicans; (v) respond most strongly to candidates who visibly understand and relate to their lives.

(F) **Washington State poll, end of June.** Forwarded by Sosnik. Your numbers were 55% strongly favorable/somewhat favorable. No Republican candidates were tested. Crime/drugs/violence was the most important problem by plurality of those polled -- 21%.

(G) **Focus groups on young African-American men.** Forwarded by Sosnik. Conducted for the DNC in Los Angeles on June 14 and Southfield, Michigan (suburban Detroit) on June 19. In each city, there were two groups of African-American men interviewed; 1) likely Democratic voters between the ages of 30 and 45, and 2) younger, infrequent Democratic voters between the ages of 21 and 30. These groups are disillusioned with the party although the Republican party is not attractive to them. They do not understand what the party stands for and feel that the lines have blurred between the parties. You run very strong with this group and they prefer you strongly to either Jesse Jackson or Colin Powell. They see no rationale for a Jackson candidacy.

(H) **Polls from Virginia, Oklahoma and Texas.** Forwarded by Sosnik. From the August 1 *Hotline*. Virginia: You trail Dole 42-47; favorable/unfavorable is 45-55. Oklahoma: you trail Dole 35-48; favorable/unfavorable is 33-67. Texas: you trail Dole 37-51; favorable/unfavorable 38-44.

(I) **Selected Clips.** Forwarded by Sosnik.

We have also received the following information:

4
Ickes
must
a comparison
between
to this
membership
my record
positions
GOP/DEM
(J) **Ickes memo on National Education Association endorsement.** The NEA could endorse either in September '95 or December '95; in December, you would probably pick up an additional 10% of the vote. Harold and Ken Melley of the NEA want to know your preference -- September or December. Also, an internal NEA membership poll conducted in May showed your favorability rating at 60%, but it dropped to the mid-50s when put head-to-head against Dole; Dole's favorability was in the mid-30s.

Summonting
before vote - can we get?
Dec. 1st

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

JULY 31, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/7/95

95 JUL 31 P 2: 41

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

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 women 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.¹

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.

¹ 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."

summary) but not
report
② CC ~~for~~ ^{could} memo to
WEC, VP, DMB

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 3, 1995

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Copies to
Tyson
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VP
- Jessica
6/8/95

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN H. GIBBONS *JHG*
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.