

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Stymer
let's check on it

September 29, 1995

Paul Newman
Suite 1C
1120 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10128

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your letters of September 25 and for your invitation to me to visit The Barretstown Gang Camp at Barretstown Castle when I am in Ireland later this year. While I don't know what the schedule will hold, I have shared your letter with Billy Webster, my scheduler, for his consideration.

I appreciate, too, what you said about the work we're doing to keep our nation's important environmental protections in place. I'm glad to have your expert predictions!

Please give Joanne my best regards. I hope to see you both soon.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

cc scheduling

PAUL NEWMAN

Trey
cc Barry 9/26 ✓

September 25, 1995

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

Dear President Clinton:

In view of your upcoming visit to Ireland, I would like to invite you to visit Barretstown Castle in Co. Kildare, the stunning site of a remarkable and unique program for seriously ill children, *The Barretstown Gang Camp*.

As you are aware, The Hole In The Wall Gang Camp in Connecticut, which you visited as Governor of Arkansas, has been operating successfully since 1988. The camp is the first of a growing Association of Hole In the Wall Gang Camps, which now includes four other programs in America. So many children from Italy, France, Germany, Chernobyl, and the U.K. take advantage of the camps, it was clear that in order to serve every child in need, one camp had to be opened in Europe. In 1994 we began to expand internationally, opening the first European Hole In The Wall Gang Camp at Barretstown Castle, which you very kindly announced at the the first Washington Irish American Fund dinner.

The Barretstown Gang Camp offers seriously ill European children ten days of enriching, engaging and life-affirming experiences under 24-hour, unobtrusive medical supervision. Over the past two summers over 400 children from the Irish Republic, Northern Ireland, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Chernobyl in the Ukraine, as well as exchange campers from the United States, gathered together at Barretstown Castle in Co. Kildare to share friendship, courage, and comfort.

Barretstown is now mid-way through its campaign to create a facility equal to the program you visited in Connecticut, but with its own unique character and ambiance. Six of fifteen children's cottages are completed, a fully equipped medical center has been built, stocked and

President William J. Clinton
September 25, 1995
Page Two

staffed, and a program hall for woodworking, photography and arts & crafts has even been created through extensive renovation of buildings formerly used to stable horses for the Irish National Stud farm.

The facility is being constructed and funded through the cooperation of individuals and corporations in The United States and throughout Ireland, the UK and Europe. Major American contributors include Anheuser Busch, Baxter International, Pfizer, Johnson & Johnson, and Ford Motor, Co. Barretstown is an extraordinary example of cooperation between governments, corporations, and individuals, crossing all political, religious, cultural, social and economic barriers. Indeed, the very nature of the program is to break down barriers of all kinds for children of all nationalities, religions and economic backgrounds, providing clear access to the richness of life for children whose lives have been dominated by limitations and obstacles.

Located on 500 acres of rolling hills, fields and woodlands in the foothills of the Wicklow Mountains, Barretstown is also ideal for the other year-round programs which will be implemented once the building project is completed in 1997 - - - programs such as a Peace Camp for children from areas of religious, political or military conflict, bereavement programs, professional seminars, and other programs for children with special needs, their families and the professionals and policy makers who serve them.

On behalf of Barretstown's international board of directors, I invite you to visit the peaceful and beautiful site of The Barretstown Gang Camp, a program that translates a cogent American concept to the European context and exemplifies America's valuable leadership role in international relations.

Joanne joins me in sending best personal wishes,



PN/do

PAUL NEWMAN

Trey

September 25, 1995

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

Dear President Clinton:

On another subject:

The use of the budget process to mutilate years of environmental protection borders on the criminal. I do not think the public is prepared unconditionally to surrender clean air and water and give away timber and mineral rights to the interested parties which pay for the political campaigns of the lunatic right.

✓ There will be no price to pay for vetoing these appropriation bills because you will be blessed by massive public support. Only inexperienced people like myself can make such an expert prediction about public responses.

✓ I am prepared to lay down on railroad tracks for this (narrow gauge, please, to accommodate my stature.)

(I feel increasingly awkward about the Endowment Award but still determined to honor my 70th birthday resolution not to consider any further encomium unless, of course, I win the Boston Marathon.

Best personal wishes,



PN/do

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9.29.95

95 SEP 27 P5:17

27 September 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA

FROM: Harold Ickes *HI*

SUBJECT: October C/G '96 Re-elect direct mail "package"

Attached is proposed copy for the October C/G '96 Re-elect direct mail letter to be signed by you and a questionnaire. I would appreciate your comments by Friday, 29 September.

Let's discuss.

P. L. L. L.

MEMORANDUM:

TO: Harold Ickes, Deputy Chief of Staff
FROM: Kim Cubine, Director of Marketing and Direct Mail
DATE: September 26, 1995
RE: October "Survey Package"
CC: Laura Hartigan

95 SEP 27 P5: 17

Enclosed are copies of the reelect's October direct mail package for the White House approval cycle. This package has been reviewed and approved by Frank Greer. Clinton/Gore '96 legal is also reviewing the copy.

Package Concept: A donor survey to our house file is planned for October. This package type has been a tremendous success with the Democratic donor file. Surveys have brought in over 300,000 new donors and grossed over \$10 million for the DNC in 1995 alone. We plan to have the same success with the reelect.

A brief note from the President accompanies the survey.

Target Audience: Clinton/Gore '96 donors
Quantity: 130,000
Scheduled Mail Date: October 15, 1995
Approval/Edit Date: Tuesday, October ~~2~~₃, 1995
Projected Gross: \$300,000
Signature Request: President Clinton

I can be reached directly at (202) 496-4804 with any questions or via fax at (202) 496-4848. I can also be reached by pager at 1 (800) skygram pin# 175-7912.

**Clinton/Gore '96 Primary Committee
MEMORANDUM**

TO: John Sutton
FROM: Kim Cubine *JKL*
DATE: September 26, 1995
RE: October Direct Mail "Survey Package"

Please have the attached direct mail copy reviewed by the appropriate individuals.
Comments/Edits/Approval should be submitted to Kim Cubine by Tuesday, October 3, 1995.
Kim can be reached directly at (202) 496-4804 or via pager at 1(800) skygram pin # 175-7912.

Each person should initial his/her name to indicate authorization.

____ ok as is }
____ ok w/changes }

Jack Quinn: _____ Date: _____

____ ok as is }
____ ok w/changes }

Bruce Lindsey: _____ Date: _____

____ ok as is }
____ ok w/changes }

WH Counsel: _____ Date: _____

____ ok as is }
____ ok w/changes }

Doug Sosnik: _____ Date: _____

____ ok as is }
____ ok w/changes }

Harold Ickes: _____ Date: _____

Person returning this sign-off sheet and attached documents to Clinton-Gore '96:

Name: _____ Date Returned: _____

This copy has been approved by Frank Greer.

LETTER: 7 X 10, 60# IVORY STOCK

GRAPHIC OF WHITE HOUSE
BILL CLINTON

Mr. John Doe
123 Any Street
Smithville, NY 12345

Dear Mr. Doe,

I've asked James Carville to contact you concerning an important matter relating to our campaign.

As we develop our strategic plan for the coming election year, your opinions as a key leader in this campaign are critical to the process. As we plot our strategy, and tune our message, your input concerning the political climate in your local area, and the state of New York, is important to our success.

You understand what's going on in your neighborhood better than any of us here in Washington, and that's why we want your views. Enclosed, you'll find a short survey for your review. Please answer the questions to the best of your knowledge and return the survey to James as soon as possible.

Election Day 1996 is almost one year away -- and that twelve months will fly by so quickly. That's why it's important that we have your views as soon as possible.

And when you respond to James, if you can give whatever additional support you can afford, I will be very grateful. As we get closer and closer to the beginning of this historic election year, your support is even more vital.

Your dedication and friendship provides the fuel for this campaign, and we thank you for it.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

REPLY/SURVEY WITH POST-IT NOTE:

POST-IT NOTE: CANARY STOCK, 3 X 3

(Handwritten in blue ink. Ink should match that used for personalization)

Please complete and
return to me as soon
as possible. Thanks.

--James Carville

REPLY/SURVEY: 8 1/2 X 14, FOLDED INTO FOURTHS

(See next page for copy)

CLINTON/GORE '96 CAMPAIGN STRATEGY SURVEY

Please complete and return to James Carville
in the enclosed envelope no later than November 10, 1995

SURVEY PARTICIPANT:

(Handwriting Font, blue ink, to fly package)
Mr. John Doe
123 Any Street
Smithville, NY 12345

PARTICIPANT'S ID NUMBER:

1234567 (Also handwritten, blue ink)

() YES, I have completed this survey concerning my views about the political climate in my area and in my home state. Please use this information in formulating your campaign strategy plan for 1996. I understand that the information I provide will be confidential.

() YES, I am also enclosing an additional contribution to aid President Clinton and Vice President Gore as we approach the beginning of the Election Year. Enclosed, please find my contribution in the amount of:

() HPC () HPC + 50% () HPC + 100% () Other \$ _____

Please make checks payable to: Clinton/Gore '96 Primary Committee, Inc. PO Box 57277, Washington, DC 20037

The Clinton/ Gore Primary Committee may be eligible to receive federal matching funds of up to \$250 for contributions from an individual, personal account. Contributions from spouses drawn on a joint account may be matched up to \$500 if both spouses sign the check or the response card. The Campaign cannot accept PAC, Corporate or Union contributions.

QUESTION 1:

Please judge the popularity of President Clinton and Vice President Gore in your area:

- () Very Popular
- () Popular
- () Half and Half
- () Unpopular
- () Very Unpopular

Comments: _____

QUESTION 2:

Please rank the following issues according to their importance to the citizens in your state. (Use the numbers 1-10, with 1 meaning most important, while 10 means least important.)

4 Cuts in
Education
Programs

- ____ Threats to Medicare/Social Security 1
- ____ Affirmative Action/Civil Rights 8
- ____ The Deficit 2
- ____ The Economy 3
- ____ America's Foreign Policy 10
- ____ Threats to Reproductive Choice 9
- ____ Welfare Reform 7
- ____ Defense Spending 11
- ____ Threats to Environmental, Health, and Safety Standards 5
- ____ Crime/Gun Control 6

QUESTION 3:

Which campaign strategies would get our message out most effectively to the voters in your area?

1. Television advertising
2. Radio advertising
3. Personal Appearances
4. Mail
5. Other _____

QUESTION 4:

If the President and/or Vice President makes an appearance during the campaign in your state, what is the most important part of the state to visit?

QUESTION 5: Of the following combinations of current and potential presidential candidates, please tell us who would win the majority of votes in your area, IF the election were held today: (Please mark an "X" next to the candidate you think would win.)

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| ☐ Bill Clinton | ☐ Bill Clinton | ☐ Bill Clinton |
| ☐ Bob Dole | ☐ Phil Gramm | ☐ Lamar Alexander |
| ☐ Bill Clinton | ☐ Bill Clinton | ☐ Bill Clinton |
| ☐ Pete Wilson | ☐ Richard Lugar | ☐ Pat Buchanan |
| ☐ Bill Clinton | ☐ Bill Clinton | |
| ☐ Unnamed Republican | ☐ Unnamed Republican | |
| ☐ Colin Powell | ☐ Ross Perot | |

QUESTION 6: Who do you believe the Republican Party will nominate as its presidential nominee?

- | | | |
|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| ☐ Lamar Alexander | ☐ Pat Buchanan | ☐ Bob Dole |
| ☐ Bob Dornan | ☐ Richard Lugar | ☐ Alan Keyes |
| ☐ Pete Wilson | | |

QUESTION 7: Which Republican candidate poses the greatest challenge to President Clinton?

- | | | |
|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| ☐ Lamar Alexander | ☐ Pat Buchanan | ☐ Bob Dole |
| ☐ Bob Dornan | ☐ Richard Lugar | ☐ Alan Keyes |
| ☐ Pete Wilson | | |

QUESTION 8: Do you know of any friends, neighbors, or relatives who would be interested in joining you as a participant in the Clinton/Gore campaign?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

QUESTION 9: If you do, can you supply us with their names and addresses, so that we may contact them? (If yes, please use the spaces below to list the names and addresses.)

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

QUESTION 10:

Do you have any additional comments to offer us concerning the campaign? (If yes, please use the space below to write your comments.)

☐ Yes ☐ No

Thank you for your participation!

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9.29.95

SEPTEMBER 28, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT P5:09

FROM: DOUG SOSNIK

SUBJECT: DAILY REPORT / 3:00 PM

1996 Presidential

A Political/Media Research poll of New Hampshire voters released today reports that you have a 29% favorable/44% unfavorable ratio. Your re-elect score was 23%, with 32% saying they would consider another candidate and 45% saying they would vote to replace.

The poll's GOP primary match-ups are summarized in the table below. The poll tested the field with Powell, without Powell, with Powell and Gingrich and with Gingrich. Powell pulls heavily from Dole's support while Gingrich does not.

Candidate	W/ Powell	W/O Powell	W/ Powell and Gingrich	W/ Gingrich
Powell	23%	--	22%	--
Dole	22%	32%	21%	30%
Buchanan	12%	13%	10%	12%
Gingrich	--	--	6%	9%
Alexander	7%	8%	5%	7%
Gramm	5%	6%	4%	6%
Wilson	3%	4%	1%	2%
Lugar	1%	3%	1%	2%
Specter	1%	2%	1%	2%

In general election match-ups, Powell leads you 55%-23% while Dole leads you 49%-38%. You lead Gramm 41%-39%, Gingrich 47%-34% and Buchanan 51%-31%.

Thirty percent of those questioned said Dole displays "conviction and sincerity when discussing the issues," while 41% said Dole has been "pandering ... to the far right."

Secretary of State Bill Gardner reported that it is too late for Ross Perot's new political party to get on the Presidential primary ballot but that it could still get on the November general election ballot. In order for a political party to get on the primary ballot, it had to have had a gubernatorial candidate who received 3% of the vote in the previous election.

Bob Dole

Senator Dole is scheduled to have a "courtesy meeting" with NJ Governor Christine Whitman today. Dole, who is seeking Governor Whitman's support, sought a meeting several months ago. The rumor around Capitol Hill was that Dole was going to offer the Vice Presidency to Whitman, but there is no evidence that that has occurred.

Malcolm (Steve) Forbes

Forbes has "declared political war" on Senator D'Amato in an effort to get on the NY primary ballot on March 7. It is now possible that Dole will be the only candidate in the state's primary. The HOTLINE is reporting that Forbes is launching the following TV ad: [Full text] ANNCR: Words that shape our lives. The Declaration of Independence, 1300 words. The Bible, the Word of God, 73,000 words. The tax code, the words of the politicians, 7 million words and growing." FORBES: "Our tax code is monstrous, dishonest and choked with loopholes. I say scrap it, and replace it with a low simple flat tax with \$36,000 tax free for a family of four." ANNCR: "Steve Forbes for President."

Phil Gramm

Senator Gramm met with editors and reports at the NASHUA TELEGRAPH this week. He reported that his war chest is at \$18 million, more than half the goal of \$33 million.

California

The liberal left wing Democratic Party types (Fund for Feminist Majority et al in Southern California and the SEIU et al in Northern California) who are actively opposing the California Civil Rights Initiative are holding a news conference today denouncing the Initiative and announcing their opposition to it.

The California GOP has invited the Log Cabin Republicans to conduct a workshop at Saturday's state party convention. The convention will also host a prayer breakfast lead by Christian Coalition's Ralph Reed.

Louisiana

In an attempt to turn the race into a Buddy Roemer-Cleo Fields Contest, Roemer released to the media yesterday a Mason-Dixon/PMR poll claiming that the results show Fields to be surging in the wake of Bill Jefferson's withdrawal from the race. The poll reported Roemer in the lead with 27% support, followed by state Treasurer Mary Landrieu (D) with 17%, Rep. Cleo Fields (D) with 12%, state Senator Mike Foster (R) with 9%, Lt. Governor Melinda Schwegmann (D) with 8%, attorney Phil Preis (D) with 2% and state Rep. Robert Adley (D) with 1%. Twenty-four percent were undecided. Roemer's campaign did not commission the poll, which was officially released today.

The poll results also give Roemer reason to fear a run-off match with Landrieu. He leads her by only a 43%-42% margin. He leads Schwegmann 47%-35% and leads Foster 47%-32%. These results underscore the urgency of getting Landrieu into the run-off if we are to hold this seat.

Landrieu has \$1 million cash-on-hand, Roemer has about \$750,000, Schwegmann close to \$700,000 and Fields only \$86,000.

Massachusetts

A Boston Herald poll of 400 registered voters shows that Senator Kerry would face a tough challenge from Governor Bill Weld if Weld decides to run for the Senate. The poll, which has a margin of error of 5%, gives Kerry only a six point margin (46% to 40%) over Weld in a head to head match up. Weld has said that he will announce his intentions in either December or January. The poll revealed that six out of ten Massachusetts voters also think that Weld should resign as Governor if he mounts a bid against Kerry for the Senate.

New Jersey

As Torricelli continues to hold fundraisers and line up endorsements throughout New Jersey, Jim Florio is saying he will announce his intentions in the next couple of months. A couple of recent polls in the state, including one by the Democratic State Committee, show Florio leading Torricelli in a head to head primary challenge. However, a recent Star-Ledger/Eagleton poll showed that 47% of New Jersey voters still have an unfavorable impression of Florio. There is a clip attached on the WH discouraging a Florio candidacy which I will discuss with you in person.

Oregon

According to the AP, Rep. Elizabeth Furse dropped out of the race for the Democratic nomination for the vacant Senate seat, attributing her withdrawal to fundraising problems. Furse's withdrawal leaves Ron Wyden and Peter DeFazio in the race for the nomination. Wyden has a substantial fundraising lead over DeFazio and Wyden no longer must split the Portland vote with Furse.

Rhode Island

Congressman Reed announced his intent to run for the Senate yesterday and picked up the endorsements of Rep. Patrick Kennedy and Senator Claiborne Pell.

Texas

UPI is reporting that Bob Slagle, the head of the Texas Democratic party, is refusing to step down despite pleas from the state's top Democrats. Supporting the move is Lt. Governor Bob Bullock, Comptroller John Sharp, Attorney General Dan Morales, Land Commissioner Garry Mauro, and Treasurer Martha Whitehead. The Bullock group is pushing for Bill White, the former Deputy Secretary at Energy to replace Slagle.

Million Man March

Leaders of the Progressive Baptist Convention and the National Baptist Convention said yesterday that contrary to Reverend Jesse Jackson's assertions, they do not endorse Louis Farrakhan's planned march on Washington on October 16. However, individual churches affiliated with these groups may choose to endorse the march even though their denominations do not.

FROM : Panasonic PPF

es... person baby-sat Zachary for about five hours.
 sor- During that time, Nickerson admitted to the

■ See BABY - Page A-10

9/28/95

Poll: Powell leads presidential field

Many voters still undecided

By JORDAN RAU
 Monitor staff

Retired general Colin Powell would lead the 1996 New Hampshire Republican primary and trounce President Clinton in the state if he chose to run as either a Republican or as an independent, according to a new *Concord Monitor* poll.

Among likely Republican voters, Powell would edge Dole 23 to 22 percent if the election were held today.

If Powell does not run, Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas would easily win the Republican primary. Without Powell in the race, Dole would win 32 percent of Republican voters, with Pat Buchanan winning 13 percent, Lamar Alexander at 8 percent and Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas at 8 percent.

But even if Powell stays out of the race, Dole's status as the early leader is not unassailable. Thirty percent of likely Republican voters still haven't made up their mind, the poll found. And 41 percent believe Dole is pandering to the right wing of the Republican Party. Only 30 percent believe he has "displayed conviction and sincerity when discussing the issues."

The poll, conducted by Mason-Dixon Political/Media Research, Inc., questioned 633 likely New Hampshire voters. Of the sample group, 351 were Republicans. The poll is 95 percent accurate to within 5 percentage points among Republicans and 95 percent accurate to within 4 percent among the wider group.

"This poll shows the weakness of the Republican field," said Del All, vice-president of the non-parti-

■ See POLL - Page A-10

Complete poll results are available through the NH Primary Monitor online.

Primary poll

Of 351 likely Republican voters

One-third of voters are looking today for the Republican nominee for the 1996 election. Clinton is the most likely to win, followed by Powell.

Primary poll results

Powell fans want him to run with the GOP

By CRAIG TIMBERG
 Monitor staff

Local leaders of the effort to prod Colin Powell into a presidential run made clear yesterday that they want him to run as a Republican, not as the candidate of some new third party invented by billionaire Ross Perot.

Nashua attorney Tim Bush, chairman of New Hampshire Citizens for Powell, said Powell's

"Perot's money notwithstanding," Bush said, "if he ran as an independent, he'd be running as a spoiler."

Perot, whose independent candidacy in 1992 is widely credited with helping to elect President Clinton, unveiled his plan for a new third party, called the Independence Party, on *Larry King Live* Monday night.

Perot said he would use his vast personal wealth and the

DAN HARRIS / Monitor staff

place for their stud-

POLL

Continued from Page A-1

CONCORD MONITOR Thursday, September 28, 1995

san, Washington, D.C., polling firm the *Monitor* commissioned for the survey. "They're really not head over heels over any current candidate. The poll shows if they have to, they'll go with Dole, but the support is very soft."

Ali said the survey shows strong support for Powell even though he has not said he will run for president. "Right now, he's a phenomenon. Colin Powell is more than a viable candidate, not just for the Republican nomination but in the general election. He would change the dynamic in the race."

Among the other key poll results:

- **Clinton is unpopular:** Forty-four percent of all voters in New Hampshire view the president unfavorably, while 29 percent like him. Only 23 percent say they are inclined to re-elect Clinton next year, while 45 percent want to replace him. While Clinton has the same percentage of opponents in the state as he did a month before he was elected president in 1992, many of his supporters - 8 percent - have dropped off.

In addition, only 31 percent of the state's voters believe Clinton has done an excellent or good job handling the economy. Sixty-six percent said he has done a fair job or a poor job.

- **Both Dole and Powell would defeat Clinton in a general election if it were held now.** Powell would win 55 to 23 percent, and Dole would win 49 to 38 percent.

Clinton would beat several lesser-known Republicans: He defeats Gramm, 41 to 39 percent; House Speaker Newt Gingrich, 47 to 34 percent; and Pat Buchanan, 51 to 31 percent.

Clinton, who narrowly won a three-way race here in 1992, would lose a new one against Powell and Dole, according to the poll. In that matchup, Powell would win 36 percent, Dole would win 26 percent and Clinton would win 23 percent.

- **Gramm is unpopular:** Among Republican voters, 37 percent view the Texas senator unfavorably, while only 33 percent like him. Among Republicans, only Buchanan is disliked by a higher percentage of Republicans: 38 percent of Republicans don't like the Washington columnist while 39 percent approve.

- **Character counts:** The character of the candidates is the most important issue to New Hampshire voters this year. Twenty-five percent listed character as most important to them; the economy was next, with 16 percent considering it most important. A balanced budget was listed by 11 percent of the voters surveyed.

Taxes and government spending registered at 9 percent, closely followed by crime and drugs and health care. Abortion, social welfare issues, education, the environment and affirmative action - issues that have been at the forefront of many of the campaigns - all registered even lower.

- **Republican voters approve of Gingrich's work in Congress:** Fifty-one percent have a favorable opinion of him, while 28 percent don't like him.

When his name is included in the primary election, Gingrich comes in ahead of everyone except Powell, Dole and Buchanan - although his support stays under 10 percent in any scenario. He is less popular among the rest of the public, voters as a whole disapprove of Gingrich, 44 to 27 percent.

- **Voters trust the Republican Congress:** Voters from all political persuasions said they trust the Republicans in Congress more than Clinton in handling the economy, dealing with crime, balancing the federal budget, handling the future of Medicare, reforming welfare and dealing with affirmative action.

Republicans have won the most confidence of the electorate on balancing the budget, with 49 percent of voters trusting them more than Clinton.

Only on one issue - helping the middle class - do more state voters place their faith with the president than the Republicans, by a margin of 42 to 39 percent.

Interestingly, voters were most split between Clinton and the Republicans when asked who better represents values that are good for America. Thirty-eight percent supported the Republicans, but 34 percent favored Clinton.

- **Voters dislike most Republican candidates:** Among the better-known candidates, only Powell, Dole and Alexander are liked by more voters than dislike them.

Sixty-four percent of voters have a favorable opinion of Powell, while only 10 percent have a negative opinion. Thirty-six percent have a favorable opinion of Dole, and 33 percent have an unfavorable opinion. Seventeen percent like Alexander, and 14 percent dislike him; 69 percent haven't made up their minds or don't know who he is.

- **Dark horses:** Alexander and Indiana Sen. Richard Lugar - the latter who would win only 3 percent in the poll of primary voters - both have lower negative ratings than Powell, with large numbers of voters lacking any opinion on the candidates. "You look at Alexander

and Lugar, they have incredible room for growth," Ali said.

David Carney, a senior adviser to Dole, said he was pleased to see Dole at the top of the current candidates. He dismissed Powell's popularity in the poll's primary, saying, "You can't be concerned about something that's not happening."

"I think it's irrelevant unless he gets into the race," Carney said. "We have broad support and we're very confident where we are."

Tom Rath, an Alexander adviser, said of the poll results, "This is really bad news for Dole." He said that despite months without adverse publicity, Dole's support has slipped from other polls taken earlier this year that recorded him with the support of more than 40 percent of Republican voters.

"No one's done anything to Dole. He's had endorsement after endorsement, he's got 100 percent name recognition," Rath said.

Both Rath and Ali predicted that Powell's popularity among the electorate will drop if he joins the race, undergoing more scrutiny from journalists and attacks from the Republicans in the race who are unlikely to hand him the nomination.

Jim Courtovich, Gramm's state campaign manager, said he expects Gramm will be better liked as he gets to be known. He said Gramm is one of the only candidates who has not launched a major advertising drive yet.

The *Monitor* poll was conducted September 19 through 22. Voters were surveyed by telephone after being selected randomly. The survey was weighted to reflect the counties most populated with voters.

Of those surveyed, 41 percent were Republicans, 31 percent were Democrats and 28 percent were independents. Half were men and half were women. This is the first of a series of polls Political/Media Research will conduct for the *Monitor* during the course of the primary.

CONCORD MONITOR Thursday, September 28, 1995

Additional poll results

Mason-Dixon Political/Media Research, Inc. polled 633 registered New Hampshire voters Sept. 19 through 22. Half were men, half were women. The margin of error is plus or minus percent. The survey included 351 likely Republican voters; the margin of error for their responses is plus or minus 5.3 percent.

Of all voters

QUESTION: If the 1996 election for president were held today, would you vote to re-elect Bill Clinton, or would you consider another candidate, or would you vote to replace Clinton?

	<u>Re-elect</u>	<u>Consider</u>	<u>Replace</u>
State	23%	32%	45%

Of 351 likely Republican voters

QUESTION: If Colin Powell and Newt Gingrich were not choices, and you were voting today for the Republican nominee for president in 1996, which of the following would get your vote?

	<u>State</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Bob Dole	32%	33%	31%
Pat Buchanan	13%	15%	11%
Lamar Alexander	8%	10%	6%
Phil Gramm	6%	7%	5%
Pete Wilson	4%	3%	5%
Richard Lugar	3%	5%	1%
Arlen Specter	2%	1%	3%
Alan Keyes	1%	2%	-
Malcolm "Steve" Forbes	1%	1%	1%
Bob Dornan	-	-	-
Morry Taylor	-	-	-
Undecided	30%	23%	37%

Of all voters

QUESTION: If the 1996 election for president were held today, whom would you vote for if the choice were between Bill Clinton, the Democrat, Bob Dole, the Republican, and Colin Powell, an Independent?

Powell	36%
Dole	26%
Clinton	23%
Undecided	15%

Of all voters

QUESTION: Which of the following comes closest to your view?

30%	Bob Dole has displayed conviction and sincerity when discussing the issues, <u>or</u>
41%	Bob Dole has been pandering to the special interests of the far right when discussing the issues
8%	Both
6%	Neither
15%	Not sure

counting \$1 million in gross sales from Christmas Farm Inc., which includes his resort, restaurant

cial disclosure forms provisions for more specificity and clarity in the reporting of income."

Clinton Campaign In NH: Not Like '92

CONCORD (AP) — President Clinton is not going to ignore New Hampshire during the election season, but state Democrats say his visits won't be like they were four years ago.

"When Bill Clinton came from Arkansas he flew USAir or whatever — it was a whole different story. He went to parties at people's homes," said Nick Baldick, the interim state director of the Clinton-Gore reelection committee. "Obviously you can't do that with the President of the United States."

Baldick said the White House recognizes the need for Clinton to maintain a high profile in New Hampshire.

Some Democratic activists had feared the President and their message were being lost in near-daily pilgrimages by Republican Presidential candidates, but House Democratic leader Rick Trombly said a recent trip to the White House for an 1996 election briefing reassured him that Clinton is on top of things.

State Democratic Party Chairman Joe Keefe said Clinton will visit more often after the fall congressional session, when Medicaid, Medicare, welfare reform and budget issues have settled down.

"There's no real reason for him to be campaigning in New Hampshire," he said.

Other state Democrats said Clinton should not waste time campaigning in New Hampshire because he likely will have no significant primary competition.

"I don't think the President needs to spend a lot of effort in New Hampshire," said former state Sen. Wayne King, who lost to Gov. Steve Merrill in 1994. "It would be a wasted effort, only because we're only a million people."

Terry Shumaker, a longtime supporter and friend of Clinton, said Clinton holds dear the state that made him "The Comeback Kid."

At a Glance

Too Late for New Party in NH Primary

CONCORD — The new political party that Ross Perot says he intends to organize won't be able to get on the New Hampshire first-in-the-nation Presidential primary ballot next February, according to Secretary of State Bill Gardner.

But the Granite State's top election official says Perot's party could easily earn a spot on the November Presidential general election.

Gardner explained that to gain a ballot spot in the Presidential primary, a party must have had a gubernatorial candidate in the previous election who attained at least 3 percent of the vote for governor.

Gardner explained that was how the Libertarian Party achieved ballot status.

But Gardner said getting on the general election ballot in November is comparatively easy. "All they have to do is collect 3,000 signatures on a petition," he said.

Buchanan Says New Party Good for Him

McLEAN, Va. — GOP Presidential candidate Patrick J. Buchanan said Ross Perot's plan to create an independent party is "a powerful argument for the Buchanan campaign."

Buchanan said that is good news because "Our campaign will take the agenda of United We Stand and write it right into the Republican platform."

CONCORD (NH) MONITOR
9/28/95

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OPINION

Jump in, General

► New Hampshire is the right place to start his presidential run.

This is not an endorsement. This is an encouragement. Retired general Colin Powell should run as a Republican in the New Hampshire presidential primary.

His entry would end Powell's tantalizing flirtation with a nation. It would lend a counterweight to a party that is leaning precipitously to the right. It would signify at least the hope of a desperately needed racial healing. And, most immediate, it would infuse energy to a primary race that is struggling against the dead weight of voter apathy and ambivalence.

You don't have to be a pollster to know that. Just talk politics in any diner. You can sense chronic uncertainty toward the Republicans in the race.

True, Pat Buchanan and Phil Gramm have their ardent followers. But their caustic idiosyncrasies do not represent most Americans or even most Republicans.

Bob Dole is the titular head of the party, with endorsements and money. But read between the lines of his poll numbers, and you'll find supporters hungering to change their mind. Dole's people are holding their breath.

The others — Pete Wilson, Lamar Alexander, Arlen Specter, Richard Lugar — mostly reasonable, non-doctrinaire Republicans, simply have not made a spark.

What a strange paradox. Nine months ago, the Republicans scored a landslide at the polls. They seized control of Congress and took a pickaxe and dynamite to the federal government. They're poised to rout the remaining Democrats in congressional elections next year. Yet they're no closer than a year ago to closing the deal and taking control of the White House.

One reason, we suspect, is that people are disgusted with the big money and cloying special interests that dominate politics. They distrust the process and therefore suspect politicians and the programs they pass.

Powell, for now at least, seems above all that, which in itself is ironic, considering that he spent much of his military career cultivating contacts inside Washington's power structure. His bearing and self-assurance convey strength, conviction and judgment. Columnist George Will dismisses this attraction as a cult of personality created by the news media and magnified by Powell's status as a war hero. Others see it as an intuitive sense of moral authority. People need a visceral confidence in a president in an era of economic insecurity and radical change. Electing a president remains, in the end, an act of trust, done with a handshake, not a contract.

The everyday give and take of retail politics can humble any candidate. Powell hasn't had to face that. He has

Editorial

and defined his politics in generalities and aphorisms: pro-choice, responsible gun controls, strong family values, fiscal conservative, social moderate. The challenge comes in clarifying and defending those positions.

Electing a president remains, in the end, an act of trust, done with a handshake, not a contract.

Yet already he has passed the first test. Many predicted that his standing would fall as soon as he said whether he was a Democrat or Republican for abortion or against. Oddly enough, the opposite is happening. His standing has risen among

many conservatives who disagree with his views.

Powell says he stands for the sensible center. That's as vague a phrase as any politician's promise. Yet it resonates among voters sick of a polarized politics, in which senators and congressmen abandon personal judgment for all-or-nothing party unity.

Powell may not have the will or the skill to run in a crowded Republican primary. In many respects, his politics is closer to that of Bill Clinton in 1995 than to Newt Gingrich's. By all rights, he should run as an independent, challenging both parties and their entrenched interests.

But the parties have stacked the rules against independents, and Powell is a cautious, not a quixotic man. A third-party challenge is not consistent with his nature. As the embodiment of American success, he wants to rescue and renew the system, not remake it.

His choice of running as a Republican would be in part convenience. Yet, as GOP strategist and conservative publisher William Kristol has pointed out, Powell's election would ensure Republican dominance well into the next century. The battle over its soul — between Powell moderates and the Christian Coalition — would come later.

We, like everyone else, want to know more about him before casting judgment. But we are sure of this: Powell should start his run in New Hampshire, where independents can vote in the Republican primary. Powell would find New Hampshire receptive to him.

Whether he would win is anyone's guess. But one factor would be the reaction of the one New Hampshire politician whose declaration of support could be critical.

Four decades ago, then-Gov. Sherman Adams led the drive to elect Dwight Eisenhower. Eisenhower's victory in the New Hampshire primary propelled him to the nomination and carried Adams to Washington as his righthand man.

Gov. Steve Merrill no doubt has been brushing up on history and con-

(KH)
Sunday Concord Monitor, September 24, 1995.

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An Editorial

NACKEY LOEB

Publisher

Who Is That Masked Man?

Colin Powell seems like a nice man. Chances are he doesn't beat his wife or take money from the collection plate. He would make a good next door neighbor, but the question is whether he would make a good President.

He has succeeded in the military, but that is not necessarily the best character builder for one who would sit at the desk where the sign says, "The buck stops here."

Advancement in the service often depends on following orders, living within rigid institutionalized limits, and above all, not sticking one's neck out. It benefits from the protection of an institution populated by yes men. His followers in the civilian world of politics would not necessarily be as dependable.

As to where Powell stands on issues, so far he has been able to get away with, "it needs study" or "but on the other hand." His stands on gun control, abortion and affirmative action seem to lean

toward the liberals and so far he is unclear on sticky issues like Social Security and Medicare. He has characterized the Contract with America as "a little too hard, a little too harsh, a little too unkind."

He has followers in the thousands, if not millions, though we don't know if this is due to Americans being people who love mysteries, whether in the unreal world of books and TV shows or the real world of O.J. Simpson and others.

Certainly Powell's current popularity is mainly due to an unprecedented campaign by the establishment national media, which has its own agenda. These folks have bad dreams about the election of a Republican President, and they have absolute nightmares over the possibility that it might be Pat Buchanan.

Should Powell decide to go for the brass ring, he will have to tell us a lot more about who he is. At least the question serves him well in the bookstores. Colin Powell does know how to sell books, but as a candidate he would have to sell himself.

Nackey Loeb

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White House discouraging race by Florio

**Aim is to avoid
primary battle
with Torricelli**

By ROBERT COHEN
and DAVID WALD



Robert
Torricelli



Jim
Florio

White House political aides do not want former Gov. Jim Florio to challenge Rep. Robert Torricelli in next year's U.S. Senate primary, Democratic Party sources said yesterday.

White House concern about the potential of a divisive party battle to succeed Democrat Bill Bradley comes as Florio, who lost his campaign for re-election in 1993, inches closer to a decision to enter the race for the Senate and challenge Torricelli for the nomination.

Torricelli, at the moment, has a clear shot at getting the party's nod, and a campaign war chest that exceeds \$1 million. Torricelli yesterday also staged the first of a series of endorsements around the state to demonstrate his political strength.

But Florio, forced into retirement nearly two years ago by Republican Christie Whitman, has heightened his interest in a possible run for the Senate in the wake of a number of public opinion polls that show he retains strong name recognition and can run a competitive race.

"We can't get in the middle of this,

but a divisive primary would not be helpful," a top-level White House official said yesterday.

The official, who spoke on condition he not be identified, said President Clinton has no plans to broker a race in New Jersey. But the official added: "Having no contest is better than a bloody, messy primary."

The White House aide said Clinton likes Florio but said challenging Torricelli would be a "hard row for him (Florio) to hoe."

A New Jersey Democrat close to both Torricelli and Florio said, "There's real concern down there about this. Their feeling is, 'Why do we need this disruption?'"

Clinton, who is close to Florio, was an early supporter and watched the former Governor's 1993 re-election campaign closely. Florio, whose popularity sank after he raised taxes a record \$2.8 billion, nearly held on against

White House discouraging Senate run by Florio

Continued from Page One

Whitman, losing by just one percentage point.

Torricelli also has ties to the White House and was under serious consideration by the President last winter to be the general chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Torricelli said he did not prod anyone at the White House to discourage a Florio campaign. "It was not at my doing," he said.

Avoiding a bitter primary is critical for Clinton, who was the first Democrat in 28 years to carry New Jersey in a presidential election. His strategists believe the state will be crucial again in 1996, particularly if there is another three-way race. Having a Democratic Party experience an internal struggle in a primary would not make winning the state again easy.

Torricelli said yesterday that Democrats don't want to go through another campaign arguing about Florio's tax hikes.

"Even those who were Florio supporters realize it is time for the Democratic Party to face generational change," Torricelli said. "Newt Gingrich and the Republicans in Congress present a formidable challenge that won't be defeated by looking back to old leadership."

Ex-governor leaning toward race despite key backing for Torricelli

Florio, in Washington yesterday, said he believed many people are beginning to understand his income tax program was aimed at decreasing local property taxes.

"I feel the need to be involved in public policy. I see things happening that trouble me very much and I don't see anyone picking up the slack in an effective way and addressing these issues," Florio said.

The former governor said he has "no problem with Congressman Torricelli and if he were nominated, I would have no problem supporting him."

"But people of the state are entitled to some sense of different visions of how we address the stress on families and other matters facing people every day," he said.

Torricelli has become increasingly concerned about the potential of a Florio challenge, but he insists in the end he believes Florio will decide not to run.

Key Democrats in South and Central New Jersey, including former Camden Democratic organization chairman

George Norcross 3d and Senate Minority Leader John Lynch (D-Middlesex), say it might not be a bad idea for Florio to challenge Torricelli. Such a race, they argue, would allow Torricelli to establish his credentials apart from Florio, and, presuming Torricelli would win, keep Florio in retirement.

However, Torricelli would rather not run that test. He wants to save his campaign funds for the general election.

Torricelli has more than \$1.3 million in a campaign account and a long list of Democratic Party fund-raisers signed up to help fuel his campaign; most of them have raised money in the past for Florio's gubernatorial campaigns.

Florio's consideration of the race comes as several polls have showed the former governor has considerable support.

A Star-Ledger/Eagleton Poll, which tested Torricelli and Florio against Rep. Dick Zimmer, the front-runner for the Republican Senate nomination, showed Florio ran slightly better against Zimmer than Torricelli did.

Zimmer led Florio 42 to 39 percent, while the Republican ran ahead of Torricelli 34 to 29 percent.

But the poll also showed Florio still had high negative ratings. Forty-seven percent of those surveyed said they had an unfavorable impression of the former governor, compared to 38 percent who said they had a favorable opinion.

A Democratic State Committee poll completed earlier this month showed him leading Torricelli among Democrats, 45 percent to 27 percent.

The National Republican Senatorial Committee says it also conducted a poll earlier this month which showed Florio leading Torricelli among Democrats 43 percent to 16 percent.

Florio said he will make a final decision about running "in a couple of months" as he gauges whether his effort is gaining ground.

The former governor said he will not worry about building an organization, or raising money, or relying on traditional party politics.

Torricelli, on the other hand, has been busy enlisting the support of the party leaders. Yesterday, Union County Democratic organization leaders lined up behind Torricelli at a news conference in Elizabeth.

The event was the first of series of political endorsements Torricelli has planned throughout the state.

Poll: Weld & Kerry tied up

By JOE BATTENFELD
and JOE SCIACCA

U.S. Sen. John F. Kerry will face a near-dead heat re-election battle if Republican Gov. William F. Weld jumps into the 1996 race, a new Herald/WCVB-TV-Channel 5 poll shows.

Kerry holds a slim 46-40 percent lead over Weld — far closer than previously believed — in a head-to-head matchup.

The Herald reported last August that Weld is seriously considering a Kerry challenge. The governor said yesterday he will make a decision on the race by De-

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14 THE BOSTON HERALD, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1995

POLL SHOWS WELD WOULD GIVE KERRY TIGHT RACE

From Page 1

member of January.

The new Herald/Channel 5 poll shows that Kerry, while retaining his well-liked by most Bay State voters — would face a formidable challenge for a third six-year term if Weld takes him on.

"The race is relatively close at this point," said R. Kelly Myers, director of the University of New Hampshire Survey Center, which conducted the poll. "Kerry has an advantage. But there's obviously an

opportunity for Weld to turn the race into a very competitive contest."

The poll of 499 registered voters, conducted Sept. 21-22, has a margin of error of plus or minus 5 percent.

The poll shows several potential pitfalls for Weld — including a risky decision on whether to stay in the governor's office while mounting a Senate bid.

Set in 10 weeks said Weld should resign to challenge Kerry, while nearly half said Weld would not do a

good job as governor while making a Senate campaign.

Weld also faces lingering issues — even though Kerry voters are also more likely to say Weld is "out of touch" with his constituents.

More voters agree that Weld spends too much time out of Massachusetts — even though Kerry voters are also more likely to say Weld is "out of touch" with his constituents.

Weld is "out of touch" with his constituents.

CELLUCI FALLING

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The perception of Weld has paying enough attention to his own state could have him during a Senate race, Myers said.

Both Weld and Kerry remain personally popular, with both drawing favorable marks from about 6 in 10 Bay State voters.

But Weld's unfavorable mark — 28 percent — is eight points higher than Kerry's, probably due to recent charges that the governor has lost interest in his job, Myers said.

"Weld has some negative personal problems," Myers said. The poll also shows that Weld may not be hurt by his support of

last year's Proposition 1, which would have allowed voters to pay rates for a new state lottery.

More than half of voters said last year's Proposition 1 was a good idea, but they got last year's last cutting voter anger has subsided over the issue.

There's not an overwhelming reaction against the pay rates yet, Myers said.

The poll results indicate both Weld and Kerry currently enjoy strong support within their own party, Kerry holds a slight 45-41 percent lead among independents.

Myers said it was unusual for two candidates to draw so much support even before a race has begun.

"There are very few people sitting on the fence," Myers said. "Opinion on the race is already beginning to crystallize. For most voters, both of these candidates are positive. It would be a difficult choice."

Kerry, despite a liberal voting record which clearly resembles that of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, is viewed as relatively moderate by Massachusetts voters, the poll shows.

Among self-described moderates, Kerry wins 50 percent of the vote, while only one-quarter of voters describe the Democrat as "too liberal."

Both are viewed as extreme candidates, Myers said.

Weld vs. Kerry

The race to 1996: Sept 21-22

■ KERRY	46%
■ WELD	40%
■ UNSURE/OTHER	14%

Source: Herald poll of 499 registered Massachusetts voters, conducted Sept. 21-22 by the University of New Hampshire Survey Center. Margin of error: plus or minus 5 percent.

Ranking Bay State's leaders

Favorability ratings for top candidates

	Favorable	Unfavorable	No opinion/never heard of
John F. Kerry	62%	20%	18%
William F. Weld	58%	26%	16%
Paul Celucci	42%	17%	41%
Joseph Blakes	64%	14%	22%
Scott Harshbarger	46%	13%	41%
Joseph Kennedy	58%	20%	21%

Source: Herald poll of 499 registered Massachusetts voters, conducted Sept. 21-22 by the University of New Hampshire Survey Center. Margin of error: plus or minus 5 percent.

Small graphic/chart description

Herrow

9/28/95

Gov needs \$6M to mount challenge

By ANDREW MGA

WASHINGTON — Gov. William F. Weld's bottom line for a challenge to Sen. John F. Kerry is hovering around \$6 million.

Weld would need to raise about \$1 million a month for the first half of 1996 to wage a credible race against Kerry, according to several Weld sources.

"That's clearly the magic number," said a Weld adviser. "It's a lot of money, even for a sitting governor."

Weld, who faces a self-imposed January deadline for a decision on a Kerry run, has begun informal talks with GOP officials across

the country, gauging potential financial support.

This week he huddled with former Republican Governors' Association executive director Chris Hennick at a Boston fund-raising event. Hennick is considered to have strong ties to the GOP's network of well-heeled donors.

Money looms as a critical factor in Weld's decision, given the impressive \$2.3 million war chest Kerry, a Democrat, has amassed. Kerry, who has softened his pledge not to use personal funds in the race, could also tap his wife Theresa Heinz's personal fortune.

Weld aides are concerned

many potential Bay State donors who normally contribute to him are Democrats who also give to Kerry.

Weld is also hampered by his inability to use any of the \$400,000 in his state campaign account for a Senate campaign.

In a radio interview yesterday, Weld remained coy about his intentions, insisting he's devoted to helping California Gov. Pete Wilson's sputtering presidential bid. He said any decision on a Kerry challenge would not come until December or January.

The governor, who scolded Kerry for practicing "the politics of the past," also lobbed a good-natured barb Kerry's way. "He's a tall, good-looking can of hair spray," Weld said of the junior senator.

Two recent moves have further raised speculation about a Weld run. Weld is shopping around for a speechwriter with experience in national politics. He also made a recent round of phone calls to Bay State GOP operatives, asking them to remain uncommitted until he announces his decision.

Reed declares candidacy for Senate seat held by Pell

■ The congressman says he will work to oppose proposed cuts in student loans and Medicare.

By SCOTT MacKAY

Journal-Bulletin State House Bureau

CRANSTON — With a pledge to stand up for working people and battle Republican attempts to cut such federal programs as Medicare and education aid, Congressman Jack Reed yesterday became the first Democrat to announce candidacy for the U.S. Senate.

At a brief, austere announcement ceremony in his home city, Reed, who has represented the state's 2nd Representative District since 1991, reminded the supporters of his deep Rhode Island roots and promised to row upstream against the prevailing Republican wisdom that government programs must be dismantled.

"In Congress and in the Senate, I have fought and will fight for the fundamental right of every child to a quality education," said Reed. "I have stood and voted against the Gingrich scorched-earth outbacks in education. I oppose — and will continue to oppose — massive reduction in student loans for those who have the talent but not the resources to go to college."

About 40 people, including friends who have known Reed since his childhood, jammed a small conference room at the Cranston School Department administration building for the event. The room is named for his father, the late Joseph A. Reed, who was a janitor in the Cranston schools.

Others in attendance included Reed's girlfriend, Serena Conley, a Providence school principal, and a clutch of longtime supporters, some of whom worked on his state Senate races in the 1980s.

The event drew very few members of the State House political crowd that usually dominates such announcements; there were no labor union presidents, very few state legislators and no Democratic Party officials.

Reed picked up endorsements yesterday from his two Democratic colleagues in the congressional dele-

Jack Reed



PARTY: Democratic
OFFICE SOUGHT: U.S. Senate

CURRENT POSITION: U.S.

House, 2nd District

AGE: 45

RESIDENCE: Cranston

PROFESSION: Lawyer

EDUCATION: La Salle

Academy; West Point.

B.S., 1971; Harvard

University John F. Kennedy

School of Government,

master's in public policy;

Harvard Law School, 1982

FAMILY: Unmarried

gation — Rep. Patrick J. Kennedy and Sen. Claiborne Pell, whose retirement has opened up the Senate seat.

"When I announced that I will not seek reelection, I pledged to do all that I can to support a forward-thinking Democrat to succeed me," Pell said in a statement. "Jack Reed fits the bill. He will continue the tradition of forward-thinking Democrats who have held this seat for six decades."

The seat has been in Democratic hands since Theodore Francis Green first captured it, in 1936. Pell succeeded Green, winning the seat in 1980.

Kennedy said: "Jack Reed will be

an outstanding senator, continuing the ideals and high standards established the past 35 years by senator Pell. . . . I wholeheartedly support my friend Jack Reed's candidacy."

Reed told his listeners: "Most of all, to this campaign, I bring a belief — learned here in the neighborhoods of Cranston, deepened in the Army and tested in the Congress — to speak plainly and to stand up for the hard-working families who are the heart, strength and the defense of our country."

Steve Lepre of Jamestown, a classmate of Reed at La Salle Academy who works as a physical therapist, said Reed is the type of person who doesn't forget where he came from and "is dedicated to the common person."

Mary Bicho, a retired East Providence schoolteacher who grew up in Providence's Fox Point neighborhood with Reed's mother, the late Mary Louise Monahan, was the first person to hug and kiss Reed after his speech. Bicho said she has known Reed since he was an infant and had been a lifelong friend of his mother.

Reed made it clear he is not going to stray far from the lunch-bucket liberal record he has carved since he was first elected to Congress, in 1990.

He reiterated his opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement, pushed through by President Clinton over the staunch opposition of organized labor.

And he used phrases not heard often today in the halls of the U.S. House run by Speaker Newt Gingrich.

Reed promised to "fight for jobs and economic justice" and fight cuts in Medicare that he asserts Republicans will use "to finance an unconscionable and irresponsible tax cut for the wealthy."

A Brown University poll released Monday gives Reed a big lead over state Gen. Treas. Nancy J. Mayer, the Republican who has so far has been most active. The survey of 448 voters statewide gave Reed a 48- to 26-percent lead over Mayer, with 26 percent undecided. The poll has an error margin of plus or minus 5 percentage points.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer • Thursday, September 28, 1995

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Washington Citizens for **COLIN POWELL**

**This is the right time...
Colin Powell is the right man.**



Washington Citizens for Colin Powell is a new, non-profit, non-partisan group which is being organized to encourage and support the candidacy of Colin Powell for President of the United States. We believe that of all the potential candidates, Colin Powell best reflects our American values, and that he has the integrity, the intelligence, and the experience to lead the American people.

For more information, call: 206.528.0630

To register, please send your name, address, and telephone number to

Washington Citizens for Colin Powell

Post Office Box 30108

Seattle, Washington 98103



Contributions are welcome

Colin Powell has not declared his candidacy for President at this time, nor has he approved or endorsed the activities of our organization, or any other campaign, on his behalf.

Paid for by Washington Citizens for Colin Powell, Post Office Box 30108, Seattle, Washington 98103. David Barber, Chairman.

INQUIRING MIND

Workers at Oregon's visitor center on the coast sometimes get odd questions from the state, but they say many have the funny bone.

The bureau's logbooks show the following questions have been asked:



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sist this one, answering: "During the season.")

And everyone's favorite: "What's the best place to go to the ocean?"

Open your eyes, darlin'; it's a beautiful day. And, have a nice day!

— Thanks.

WATERING HOLE

A popular Southwest Portland cafe had a problem Wednesday. A small zippod across the city street way to get inside the building.

A big fat drip started coming from the wood ceiling. It landed right in the bar. Ticked-off food server through it to get drinks for the crowd; the cooks stayed in the kitchen to get splashed.

Miko Caruso, bartender, used a sponge mop leaning against the bottles of Southern Comfort.

"Problem is," he said, "the ceiling is another drop to the ground. We've got a flat on its own level. I wanted to fix it in the summer, but, of course, that unless it rains."

Everybody was kind of understanding the problem. Which seems strange because this was the Leaky

Julie Barker, owner of the Blue Sky Cafe in Manzanita, says detouring traffic away from U.S. 101 cuts off 30 percent to 40 percent of her business.

GIFT OF LIFE

Can't part with your used

closed the 58-year-old earth movements and buckle. Repair

Please turn to

Furse drops out of race

■ The congresswoman, saying she can't raise enough money to be competitive, leaves two Democrats in the race to replace Packwood

By JEFF MAPES
of The Oregonian staff

Oregonian

09/28/93

The Senate Democratic primary turned into a two-person race Wednesday after Rep. Elizabeth Furse bowed out because she could not raise enough campaign cash to be competitive.

Furse, a second-term congresswoman from Hillsboro, had hoped her gender and liberal activism would open up the wallets of donors and propel her past the two other Democratic candidates, fellow Reps. Ron Wyden and Peter DeFazio.



FURSE

Instead, Furse found that many big contributors were sitting out the Dec. 5 primary. She couldn't raise the \$750,000 she needed to pay for an advertising campaign before ballots are mailed to voters in mid-November.

"That's a very short time-frame... and I just can't do it and still work in Congress, unfortunately," said Furse, who entered the race three weeks ago proclaiming there needed to be more than eight women in the U.S. Senate.

Furse's announcement, made at a Capitol Hill news conference, left Republican Norma Paulus as the only woman in the special election race to succeed Sen. Bob Packwood, R-Ore. Some analysts said a woman would have an edge with voters upset by the sexual-misconduct scandal that forced Packwood to resign, but it didn't unleash a flood of campaign money or support for Furse.

"I truly don't think Oregonians are going to vote for a person just because she's a woman," said K.C. Cowan, a spokeswoman for Paulus. "I think Elizabeth was deeply mistaken in making that assertion."

Furse, who said she intends to seek re-election to her House seat in 1996, said she would endorse the winner of the Democratic primary in the Jan. 30 general election.

OCA gets behind Gordon Smith

■ The endorsement raises the question of whether the group's ideologies will help or hurt the GOP candidate for the Senate.

By GAIL KINSEY HILL
of The Oregonian staff

The Oregon Citizens Alliance, known for its sponsorship of a series of controversial anti-gay rights initiatives, has endorsed Oregon Senate President Gordon Smith, R-Pendleton, in his bid for the U.S. Senate.

The endorsement, made early in the campaign, raises the high-stakes question of whether the OCA's conservative ideologies will help or hinder Smith's effort to replace Sen. Bob Packwood, a Republican. Packwood resigned, effective Oct. 11, rather than face expulsion on charges of sexual and official misconduct.



SMITH



On the one hand, the OCA, with its emphasis on family values and its ability to mobilize thousands of voters, has become an increasingly dominant player in the Republican Party. The OCA is organized, focused and, in local elections, experienced in the nuances of vote-by-mail campaigns.

On the other hand, the OCA is seen by many as a harsh player in the state's social makeup. Its tactics and conservative ideologies may alienate moderate voters.

Dan Lavey, Smith's campaign manager, said Smith appreciated the endorsement even though he opposed some OCA stands, including the organization's statewide anti-gay rights initiatives: Measure 9 in 1992 and Measure 13 in 1994. Both measures failed.

Lavey said Smith is against "special rights" for homosexuals. Smith, as is

Smith's campaign is about mobilizing people, not excluding people," Lavey said. "The OCA has endorsed our campaign, and we will welcome their support."

The OCA threw its weight behind Smith because "he believes the family is the bedrock unit of society," OCA Chairman Lon Mabon said.

Mabon said he intends to mobilize more than 8,000 volunteers in a broad grass-roots campaign to aid Smith. Also, letters of endorsement will be sent to everyone on a mailing list of 800,000, Mabon said.

The other GOP candidates are Jack Roberts, the state labor commissioner,

Smith: Paulus sees it as negative

■ Continued from Page B1

and Norma Paulus, the state superintendent of public instruction. Paulus is the best known of the three and is considered the most moderate.

"I don't see this as a positive for him," Paulus said of the endorsement. "Most Oregonians, I think, are put off by OCA tactics."

The Democratic candidates are Elizabeth Furse, Peter DeFazio and Ron Wyden. All are members of Oregon's congressional delegation.

All candidates are scrambling to organize campaigns and begin what promises to be an intense push to election day. The primary is set for Dec. 5, and ballots will be mailed to voters in mid-November.

Meanwhile, former gubernatorial candidate Denny Smith said he is in no hurry to decide whether he will join the Republican primary race.

"I'm just going to sit and watch this race for awhile," he said, noting that he could file as late as Oct. 12.

Jeff Mapes of The Oregonian staff contributed to this report.

The Oregonian
09/22/95

Furse: Wyden appears to benefit most

Continued from Page C1

Wyden appeared to be the chief beneficiary of Furse's decision to get out of the race because the veteran Portland congressman no longer has a competitor from the metropolitan area. DeFazio strategists had hoped that Wyden and Furse would split the Portland vote while DeFazio, who is from Springfield, racked up big majorities elsewhere.

DeFazio said he might win more support from organized labor because he is the only candidate left who opposed the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico. Unions have been among the leading opponents of NAFTA.

Furse's decision further underscored the importance of having ready access to a campaign bankroll in the special election. Candidates must have their television advertising campaigns in full gear by the time mail ballots for the primary start going out to voters Nov. 15.

Wyden has the big advantage because he had more than \$500,000 in his campaign bank account last July, compared to \$118,000 for DeFazio and less than \$50,000 for Furse.

"In this one, you need to have your money early," said Paige Richardson, Furse's campaign manager. "With the fast-track need for cash, it was just an insurmountable obstacle."

Richardson said she did not know how much Furse actually raised, but it was far short of the campaign's

Here are the major campaigns still in the running for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by the resignation of Sen. Bob Packwood, R-Ore.

DEMOCRATS: U.S. Rep. Peter DeFazio, Springfield; U.S. Rep. Ron Wyden, Portland.

REPUBLICANS: State schools superintendent Norma Paulus, Salem; State Labor Commissioner Jack Roberts, Eugene; State Senate President Gordon Smith, Pendleton.

goals. Furse also started out with modest name recognition among voters statewide. A poll conducted for Wyden showed her far behind both of the Democratic congressmen.

DeFazio called Furse's decision "a tragedy" that underscored the need to "get the money out of politics." He called for Wyden to accept a voluntary spending limit of \$500,000 in the primary race.

"This election shouldn't be determined by which candidate has the biggest campaign war chest," DeFazio said. "This election should be decided by Oregonians informed by a positive, issues-oriented debate."

As candidates who have the money advantage typically do, Wyden rejected DeFazio's proposal. The Democrat, who emerges from

the primary is going to have to compete with an extremely well-funded Republican opponent," Wyden said.

Wyden praised Furse's ability and said he hoped his work on women's health issues would win him many of her supporters.

The Republican race has a similar dynamic between a financial have and two have-nots. Oregon Senate President Gordon Smith, a millionaire food processor from Pendleton, already is running TV ads and is paying for much of his campaign out of his own pocket.

In contrast, Paulus, the state superintendent of public instruction, and Jack Roberts, the state labor commissioner, are scrambling to

raise cash. "The fact is that the political action committees are not giving," Cowan said. "They will not be giving until after the primary."

Furse said she would turn her attention to holding onto her House seat, which she almost lost to Republican Bill Witt last year. Richardson acknowledged it would have been harder for Furse to run for re-election if she stayed in the Senate race and had a bad showing in the primary.

Furse did not rule out the possibility that she would run for the Senate in 1996 if Sen. Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., decides to retire after 30 years in Congress.

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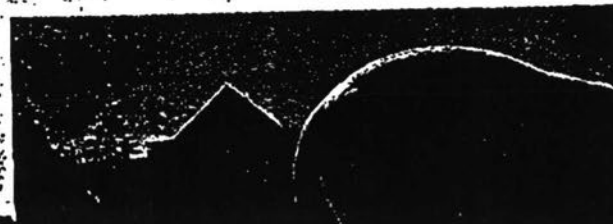
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6, not 53

out a doubt," Thomas says. "I'm concerned because I do good (financially) as long as everybody around me does good."

Thomas says the area businesses are all interconnected. He says there are some businesses in town that are marginal economically speaking and if one goes, others could suffer.

"Some places are seasonal," added Thomas. "Some are year-round."



P2

The Oregonian

09/28/95



Center on Addiction
and Substance Abuse
at Columbia University

Original to
Dorskind
9/29 JRA

9/28

September 13, 1995

Memorandum for Leon Panetta

From Joe Califano *J.C.*

Subject: Presidential Participation in the Concert of Hope

152 West 57th Street
New York, NY 10019-3510

phone 212 841 5200
fax 212 958 8020

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Linda Johnson Rice
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George Rupp, Ph.D.
Michael P. Schulhof
Frank G. Wells (1932-1994)

Following up on our conversation this morning, I attach my Memorandum to the President on the Concert of Hope to be held in Los Angeles on October 16, 1995.

This event will give the President an audience larger than any press conference and a chance to speak directly to the American people about the war on drugs during the show. CBS will broadcast the show in prime time on December 1, 1995. During the broadcast in 3,500 towns and cities across America, Community Anti-Drug Coalitions will hold events to watch the broadcast and honor individuals for combatting drug abuse in their communities.

Attachments

ok
9/26



Center on Addiction
and Substance Abuse
at Columbia University

September 13, 1995

Memorandum for the President

From Joe Califano 

Subject: Presidential Participation in the Concert of Hope

62 West 67th Street
New York, NY 10019-3310

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E. John Rosenwald, Jr.
George Rupp, Ph.D.
Michael P. Schulhof
Frank G. Wells (1932-1994)

Following up on our conversation at lunch on July 7, 1995, here are the latest details on the Concert of Hope to raise public consciousness about drug and alcohol abuse and to give individuals and families struggling with the problem hope that they can battle it successfully.

The Concert will be held on the evening of October 16 in Los Angeles at the Pantages Theater, with an audience of 2300 people. It will star Tony Bennett who will sing duets with female vocalists including Mary Chapin Carpenter, Patti Labelle, Liza Minnelli and (we hope) Whitney Houston.

On the evening of the Concert, CASA Distinguished Service Awards will be given to Betty Ford for her battle with alcohol and pill abuse and for establishing the Betty Ford Center for drug and alcohol treatment, former Disney President Frank Wells (posthumously) for his defining role in establishing CASA, and Tony Bennett whose popularity spans from preteens to grandparents for his dedication in helping individuals and families struggling with drug and alcohol abuse and addiction.

All former presidents and first ladies are honorary chairs. All television network presidents, Michael Eisner, Norman Lear, Sherry Lansing, Arnold Schwarzenegger and Maria Shriver are chairs and vice chairs, along with others listed on the attached information sheet.

CBS is taping the Concert to broadcast it as a prime time special on the evening of December 1, with substantial advance promotion: all local affiliates will be asked to do substance abuse stories on the news during the week of the broadcast, CBS Good Morning, CBS Evening News and other broadcasts will do anti-drug segments as well. (CBS is donating the broadcast time.)

On the evening of the network telecast, local Community AntiDrug Coalitions in 3,500 cities and towns across America are organizing events at town halls and in high school auditoriums to watch the broadcast and to make awards to individuals in their communities who are working to combat drug abuse.



Center on Addiction
and Substance Abuse
at Columbia University

We want you not only to be a guest at the Concert, but to close it with words of congratulations to the thousands of individuals in these communities who are receiving awards for fighting the daily battle against drug abuse, to remind Americans that the battles will be fought child by child, family by family, neighborhood by neighborhood, police force by police force, school by school, city by city, and to let them know how committed you are to provide leadership and an environment in which each child and family can win its battles in the war on drugs.

I believe this is a great event for you. It will give you extraordinary exposure on this issue in a highly favorable light and will have an enormous impact on the nation.

Our objective is to make this a major national event to raise awareness of the American people about drug and alcohol abuse, to remind them that our children are at stake and to let them know that together we will win this war--all the things you have been saying.

Enclosures

cc: Rahm Emanuel
Carol Rasco



CONCERT OF HOPE INFORMATION

Date: October 16, 1995, 7:30 p.m.

Place: The Pantages Theatre, Hollywood, California

Starring: Tony Bennett singing duets with top female vocalists.

To be taped by CBS for December 1 prime time network special.

Honorary Chairs:

President and Mrs. George Bush, President and Mrs. Jimmy Carter,
President and Mrs. Gerald Ford, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, and
President and Mrs. Ronald Reagan

Chairs:

Hilary and Joe Califano, Connie and Bob Eaton, Jane and Michael Eisner,
Barbara Jordan, Joy and Kent Kresa, Sherry Lansing, Debby and Peter
Magowan, Pat and John Rosenwald, Paola and Mickey Schulhof, Maria
Shriver and Arnold Schwarzenegger, and Joan and Sandy Weill.

Vice-Chairs:

Willie Davis, Lyn and Norman Lear, Suzanne and Tom Murphy, Margaret
and John Robson, The Lord Antony Rufus Isaacs, Billie and Larry Tisch,
Linda Wachner, and Suzanne and Bob Wright.

Benefit Committee:

Thea and Merv Adelson, John Branca, Marguerite and Norman Brokaw, Sally
and Bob Burkett, Barbara and Marvin Davis, Barry Diller, Patty and Roy
Disney, Melissa and Harrison Ford, Beatrice and Roger Morrison, Rikki and
Fred Rosen, Christina and Richard Rosenberg, Diane and Neil Simon,
Elizabeth Taylor, Jennifer and Al Teller, Deborah and Jeff Wald, and Bobbi
and Walter Zifkin.

Honorees: Betty Ford, Frank Wells posthumously, and Tony Bennett.

This will be a major national event, as important as any in the battle against drug and alcohol abuse in America. CBS is donating the air time for a prime time special that will air December 1st, with lots of promotion and programming around it. In 3,500 communities across the nation, Community Anti-Drug Coalitions will organize local events and, just as we are honoring Mrs. Ford and Messrs. Bennett and Wells, they will also present an award to someone in their communities for outstanding work in combating drug and alcohol abuse.

The goals of the Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse (CASA) are to inform Americans of the social and economic costs of all substance abuse and its impact on their lives; to assess what works in prevention and treatment; and to encourage all individuals and institutions to take responsibility to combat substance abuse and addiction.

Phil,

You are incredibly generous to deal with yet another request from us. Let me thank you from the start! Attached, you will find ~~more information~~ ^{more information} on Stuart Altman that you probably ever will want or need, but... I hope it is helpful.

The situation is that there will be a dinner honoring STUART ALTMAN on Saturday, October 28. As you can see, he has served at Brandeis in the following capacities: DEAN of the Heller School, Interim President and currently as the Sol C. Chaikin Professor of National Health Policy. According to Tom Glynn, he is probably one of the five most respected national healthcare authorities in the country.

We would like to have a letter congratulating Stuart as he steps down as Dean. According to Tom, the President knows him and he was helpful to the Administration during the latter stages of healthcare.

Will you please help us out on getting this letter done??? PLEASE feel free to call me at 219-2455 if you have any questions or need any additional information. The letter can be sent here to me (200 Constitution Ave, NW, Room 2018 South, WDC 20210), or you can call me and I'll send a messenger over for it. Either Tom or the Secretary, who are both attending the tribute dinner, will make sure it is read at the dinner, if appropriate, or can get it to him in the most expeditious manner.

THANKS AGAIN!

Thanks,

Beth Alpert

Jim - (Doriskind)
Could you do a nice
Presidential message for this --
I'm guessing you might want to
run it by him. Thanks.
Phil
9/28

February 1995

STUART H. ALTMAN
11 Bakers Hill Road
Weston, MA 02193

PERSONAL: Married, 3 children

EDUCATION: B.B.A.- City College of New York, (Economics 1959)
M.A. - Univ. of California, L.A. (Economics 1961)
Ph.D.- Univ. of California, L.A. (Economics 1964)
Ph.D. (Hon.)-Brandeis University, MA (Humane Letters 1991)
Ph.D. (Hon.)-Rush University, IL (Humane Letters 1992)

EDUCATION:

Sol C. Chaikin Professor of National Health Policy, The Heller School, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA 1977-present.

Dean, The Heller School, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA,
9/77 - 6/93.

Interim President, Brandeis University 1990-September 1991.

Chairman of the Board, Institute for Health Policy, Heller School, Brandeis University, 1977 - present.

Visiting Lecturer, Graduate School of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley, 9/76 - 6/77.

Associate Professor of Economics, Brown University, 1968-1970.

Assistant Professor of Economics, Brown University, 1966-1968.

Visiting Assistant Professor, Institute of Labor, University of Illinois, Spring 1968.

GOVERNMENT:

Chairman, Prospective Payment Assessment Commission, mandated by the U.S. Congress 1984-1987, reappointed for fourth term, 1993-1996.

Senior member of President Clinton's Health Policy Transition Team.

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation/Health, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, DC, 7/71-8/76.

Deputy Administrator, Office of Health, Cost of Living Council, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, DC, 4/73-5/74.

Economic consultant and Manpower Economist, Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense, Washington, DC, 1964-1966.

Labor Market Economist, Federal Reserve Board, 1962-1964.

PRIVATE SECTOR:

University Fellow and Director of Health Studies, The Urban Institute, Washington, DC, 1970-1971.

HONORARY SOCIETIES

Member of the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences.

Who's Who in America.

Who's Who in Health Care.

ADVISORY BOARDS

GOVERNMENT:

Chairman, Committee to Study the Organization of University of Massachusetts Medical Center, Office of the Governor, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1988.

Co-Chair, Blueprint 2000: Human Services Support Subcommittee, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1988.

Blue Ribbon Panel on Sizing, Department of Defense Medical Treatment Facilities, Department of Defense, 1985.

Consultant, President's Commission for a National Agenda for the Eighties, 1980.

Chairman, Health Institution Reimbursement Methodology Panel, New York State, 1978-1983.

Member, Technical Advisory Panel on Financing of Graduate Medical Education, Dept. HHS, 1981.

The Presidential Commission for an All-Volunteer Armed Force, 1969.

The National Commission for the Study of Nursing and Nursing Education, 1969.

The Presidential Commission on Income Maintenance, 1968-1969.

The National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, 1966.

The Department of Defense Study of the Draft, 1964.

PRIVATE SECTOR:

Member of the Board of Directors, The Health Data Institute, 1981-1986.

Member of the Board of Directors, Medstat, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1989-present.

Member of the Board of Directors, American Biodyne, Inc., San Francisco, CA, 1991-1992.

Member of the Board of Directors, LifePlans, 1992-Present.

NOT-FOR-PROFIT ACTIVITIES:

Member of the Board of Trustees, Alpha Center, 1989-1993.

Member of the Board of Directors, The Better Homes Foundation, Help for Homeless Families, 1989-1991.

Chairman, Advisory Committee, Massachusetts Saving Lives Program, Commonwealth Fund, 1988-1991.

Member, Board of Trustees, Beth Israel Hospital, 1977-present.

Executive Board, American Jewish Committee, 1986-1991.

Member, The National Coalition for Health Care Reform, 1990-present.

Member, The National Leadership Commission on Health Care, 1986-1990.

Member, Board of Directors, The Social Policy Research Group, 1986-1988.

Governing Council, Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences, 1982-1983.

Member of the Board, The Robert Wood Johnson Clinical Scholars Program, 1977-1983.

EDITORIAL BOARDS

The Medstat Report, MEDSTAT Systems, MI.

Wyeth-Ayerst Digest of Hospital Economics, HLS, NJ.

Nursing Economics, Anthony J. Jannetti, Inc. Publisher.

Compensation and Benefits Management, Aspen Systems.

Health Policy, Elsevier Science Publishers.

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PAPERS AND PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS:

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Ambulatory Care: Problems of Cost and Access, with Joanna Lion and Judith LaVor Williams (Lexington, MA.: Lexington Books, 1983).

Federal Health Policy: Problems and Prospects, with Harvey M. Sapolsky, eds. (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1981).

Medical Technology: The Culprit Behind Health Care Costs? with Robert Blendon, eds. Proceedings from 1977 Sun Valley Forum on National Health (Washington, DC: Department of HEW, 1978).

Present and Future Supply of Registered Nurses, Bureau of Health Manpower Division, Dept. HEW (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1972).

Factors Affecting the Unemployment of Married Women, Doctoral Dissertation, Spring 1964.

ARTICLES:

"Controlling Payment for Hospital Services", in Critical Issues in U.S. Health Reform, with Donald A. Young, edited by Eli Ginzberg, (Westview Press, 1994)

"Halfway Competitive Markets and Ineffective Regulation: The American Health Care System," with Mark A. Rodwin, in Health Policy and Nursing: Crisis and Reform in the U.S. Health Care Delivery System, edited by C. Harrington and C. Estes, (Jones and Bartlett Publishers, 1994)

"Paying for Hospital Care: The Impact on Federal Policy", with Ellen K. Ostby, in Health Services Research: Key to Health Policy, edited by Eli Ginzberg (Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA, 1991).

"Halfway Competitive Markets and Ineffective Regulation: The American Health Care System," with Mark A. Rodwin, in Competition in the Health Care Sector: Ten Years Later, edited by Warren Greenberg (Durham, NC and London, Duke University Press, 1988).

"Impact of the Changing Medical Payment System on Technological Innovation and Utilization," in New Medical Devices: Factors Influencing Invention, Development, and Use, edited by Karen B.

Ekelman (Washington, DC: National Academy of Engineering, Institute of Medicine, 1988).

"The Growing Physician Surplus: Will It Benefit or Bankrupt the U.S. Health System?" published in In Search of a Public Policy, edited by Eli Ginzberg and Miriam Ostow (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allenheld, 1982).

"Constraining the Medical Care System: Regulation As a Second Best Strategy," with Sanford Weiner, in FTC Conference Proceedings, Competition in the Health Care Sector.

"Strategies for Health Care Cost Containment," in Stuart O. Schweitzer, ed, Policies for the Containment of Health Care Costs and Expenditures, Dept. HEW (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1978). Proceedings of Conference sponsored by John E. Fogarty International Center for Advanced Study in The Health Sciences, 1976.

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"The Mix of Physician Manpower and its Effect on U.S. Health Care Expenditures: The U.S. Versus Other Industrialized Nations" S. Altman, Proceedings: The National Primary Care Conference, March 29-31, 1992, HRSA, Spring 1993.

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December 16, 1993, Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives.

March 18, 1993, Before the Subcommittee on Health, Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives.

June 17, 1992, Before the Subcommittee on Investment, Jobs, and Prices of the Joint Economic Committee, U.S. House of Representatives.

May 7, 1992, Before the Finance Committee, U.S. Senate.

April 8, 1992, Before the Subcommittee on Health, Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives.

March 4, 1992, Before the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, U.S. Senate.

November 19, 1991, Before the Committee on Governmental Affairs
and Special Committee on Aging

October 17, 1991, Before the Subcommittee on Health and Environment, Committee on Energy and Commerce, U.S. House of Representatives.

October 9, 1991, Before the Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives

July 21, 1991, Labor and Human Resources Committee, U.S. Senate.

May 20, 1991, Before the Subcommittee on Health, Committee of Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives.

February 27, 1991, Before the Subcommittee on Health, Committee of Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives.

May 10, 1990, Before the Subcommittee on Health, Committee of Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives.

February 28, 1990, Before the Senate Appropriations Committee.

January 22, 1990, Before the Subcommittee on Health, Committee of Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives.

March 17, 1989, Before the Senate Appropriations Committee.

March 1, 1989, Before the Subcommittee on Health, Committee of Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives on Payments to Hospitals.

March 1, 1988, Before the Subcommittee on Health, Committee of Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives on Overpayments to Hospitals During the First Year of PPS.

February 26, 1987, Before the Subcommittee on Health, Committee of Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives on Overpayments to Hospitals During the First Year of PPS.

February 25, 1987, Before the Senate Budget Committee on Acute Catastrophic Illness.

January 29, 1987, Before the Senate Finance Committee on Possible Changes in Medicare/Medicaid Problems.

January 12, 1987, Before the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, U.S. Senate, on Helping the Uninsured and Unemployed.

July 29, 1985, Before the Subcommittee on Health, U.S. Senate, Committee on Finance, on Adjustments in the Medicare PPS for Disproportionate Share Hospitals.

December 15, 1981, Before the Subcommittee on Health and the Environment, Committee on Energy and Commerce, on Health Costs.

May 8, 1980, Before the Subcommittee on Oversight, Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives, on Research, Demonstration and Evaluation Activities of the Health Care Financing Administration.

August 21, 1978, Before the Small Business Subcommittee, U.S. Senate on The Containment of Health Care Costs.

April 26, 1978, Before the Subcommittee on Health and Environment, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

March 11, 1977, Before the Committee on the Budget, U.S. Senate on control of Health Care Costs.

- (D) **Mikva/Kagan memo on savings and loan case.** On August 30, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit issued a ruling that could add significantly to the cost of cleaning up S&Ls. The court ruled that failing thrifts could not use "supervisory goodwill" -- the difference between their liabilities and assets -- to meet minimum capital requirements. Early 1980s efforts by the FSLIC had encouraged healthy S&Ls to merge with ailing ones and use supervisory goodwill to meet capital requirements. Legislation passed in 1989 specifically repudiated the practice and many S&Ls (including three in this case) suddenly found themselves in violation of capital requirement guidelines. The S&L plaintiffs claimed the 1989 legislation amounted to breach of contract over agreements between the government and S&Ls entered into at the time of the mergers. They sued for damages and the court agreed. Although no formal decision has been made, the Solicitor General intends to appeal to the Supreme Court -- the case is likely to be accepted. Proceedings in 90 other similar cases have been stayed. If the government ultimately loses, damage estimates are in the \$10-20 billion range.

- (E) **Rep. Lane Evans's letter to the editor on mine-clearance.** Favorable letter appearing in the *Washington Post*, forwarded by Tony. Evans praised DoD for its efforts to improve our humanitarian de-mining capabilities. Evans has been the leading voice on the landmine issue in the House and co-sponsored the \$10 million DoD received last year for research and development of new de-mining technologies.

- (F) **Gingrich on the World Wide Web.** Harold forwards a description and samples of information available about the Speaker on the Internet.

- (G) **Clips.** From your trip to Colorado and Florida.

We have also received the following information items:

- **COPS grant to Little Rock.** In response to your question. There has been no delay of any kind in processing the Little Rock grant. The money is available whenever the police department submits requests for reimbursement. The money has been available to them since October 1, 1994, but they did hire new police officers -- and therefore have payments to be reimbursed -- until very recently. DOJ notes the article you saw never actually says there has been a delay in funding, but that funding is now beginning.

- **Peru Counternarcotics Initiative.** Follow-up to recent Cabinet Report. ONDCP has reached an agreement with DoD, State, NSC and CIA to provide the needed parts for A37 aircraft to conduct counternarcotics missions to Peru.

Bowles

Higgins

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Smart Sec to
J20 RVS*

SEPTEMBER 18, 1995
95 SEP 18 P5:52

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM;

KITTY HIGGINS
LEEANN INADOMI

Kitty

SUBJECT:

COUNTERNARCOTICS AIRCRAFT FOR PERU

As a follow up to a comment the President made on a recent weekly report, ONDCP has reached an agreement with DoD, State, NSC and CIA to provide the needed parts for A37 aircraft to conduct counternarcotics missions to Peru.

Please let us know if you have any additional questions.

- **Secretarial Event Highlights Next Week:** On Wednesday, September 13, Secretary Brown will participate in a Red Ribbon kick-off event with you and Attorney General Reno. You will make a crime and drug statement and major press coverage is expected. On Thursday, Secretary Brown addresses an Ethics in Policing conference sponsored by the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

- X* *Don't* *Peru*
- **Peru Counternarcotics Initiatives:** A-37 aircraft used in counternarcotics efforts are in need of parts and there have been blockages in getting those parts to Peru. The NSC is working with ONDCP to resolve issues preventing freeing of needed parts for distribution to Peru. The President of Peru is threatening to stop aircraft deployment because of US inaction.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

- U.S. Dept. of Education*
- **Guidance on Religion in Schools:** Next week, Secretary Riley will send a letter to superintendents providing guidance on religious expression in schools.
 - **Back to School:** On September 7, Secretary Riley delivered a speech at the National Press Club to highlight family involvement in education and the importance of families going "back to school." During the week of September 11, Cabinet members and celebrities will participate in back-to-school activities to encourage parent and community involvement in education. Secretary Riley has additional back-to-school events scheduled in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Kentucky, Indiana, South Carolina, and Illinois later this month and throughout September.
 - **Upcoming Floor Action:** In September, the House may consider the CAREERS job training bill as well as H.R. 1720 which would privatize Sallie Mae and Connie Lee.

- Do not let go*
- **School Superintendent for Boston:** Tom Payzant, Assistant Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education, has been selected school superintendent for Boston. Dr. Payzant is expected to assume his new duties this fall.

DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR

- ugh*
- **The Mining Law of 1872:** On Wednesday, September 6, Secretary Babbitt held a press conference in which he signed over title to 108.8 acres of Federal land containing more than \$1 billion in minerals to a Danish mining company for \$275. Under the current law, mining companies receive title to the surface land and minerals rights for \$2.50 to \$5 an acres and pay no royalties on any hardrock minerals they find. The House has approved the continuation of the current moratorium on the patenting of Federal lands but the Senate has not included an extension in its spending legislation for DOI. There is a Senate proposal that would require DOI to speed up the approval of mining claims already in the pipeline. Secretary Babbitt emphasized the Administration's support for genuine reform of the Mining Law which brings this 1872 law into line with present-day fiscal, environmental and technological reality.

- (D) **Mikva/Kagan memo on savings and loan case.** On August 30, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit issued a ruling that could add significantly to the cost of cleaning up S&Ls. The court ruled that failing thrifts could not use "supervisory goodwill" -- the difference between their liabilities and assets -- to meet minimum capital requirements. Early 1980s efforts by the FSLIC had encouraged healthy S&Ls to merge with ailing ones and use supervisory goodwill to meet capital requirements. Legislation passed in 1989 specifically repudiated the practice and many S&Ls (including three in this case) suddenly found themselves in violation of capital requirement guidelines. The S&L plaintiffs claimed the 1989 legislation amounted to breach of contract over agreements between the government and S&Ls entered into at the time of the mergers. They sued for damages and the court agreed. Although no formal decision has been made, the Solicitor General intends to appeal to the Supreme Court -- the case is likely to be accepted. Proceedings in 90 other similar cases have been stayed. If the government ultimately loses, damage estimates are in the \$10-20 billion range.

- Do
Really
follow
W. M. R.
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- to VP's office to
couple of own -

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- 7
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-26-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

19 September 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HAROLD ICKES *H.I. Ickes*
JENNIFER O'CONNOR *J.O'Connor*

SUBJECT: NEWT GINGRICH'S "WORLD WIDE WEB"

Attached is a description of the speeches and other information available about Newt Gingrich through the "World Wide Web" on the Internet. Information attached includes:

- Tab A: "Yahoo" - initial web entry which includes a directory of all Gingrich information, both positive and negative
- Tab B: "The Right Side of the Web" - general conservative web information with access to other information
- Tab C: "The Right Side of the Web: The Speaker's Corner" - Information regarding the Speaker
- Tab D: Gingrich's homepage



Write Us



Add URL



Search



Info

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-26-95

Government:Legislative Branch:House of Representatives:Representatives:Newt Gingrich

Gingrich Speeches

Mother Jones Magazine Special Supplement on Newt Gingrich - The articles from 1984 and 1989 that started the controversy about Newt Gingrich. See also Jeffrey Klein's Editor's Note in the Jan/Feb 1995 issue concerning Gingrich.

Newt Gingrich WWW Fan Club

NewtWatch - Your source for (not particularly favorable) information on House Speaker Newt Gingrich

Progress and Freedom Foundation - a focal point for Newt Gingrich's Renewing American Civilization course

Stop Newt (Working Assets Long Distance) - calling cards good for 30 minutes of calling anywhere in the US

What's Newt? - the latest on Newt Gingrich and his antics

Usenet - alt.fan.newt-gingrich

admin@yahoo.com

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THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE WEB

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-26-95

The Speaker's Corner



The Newt Gingrich WWW FanPage

What do you think of our new name?

Welcome to all who read about us in USA Today. Don't forget to check out The Right Side of the Web's Front Page to see everything we have here at The Right Side.

ALL NEW! You can now read a Random Thought from Speaker Newt - a different quote will appear each time you get the page.

See our new feature - sound bytes of Newt himself - in RealAudio format - at the bottom of the page!

This is just a page for all those out there who admire one of the few people in modern politics who will say what is on his mind - and won't hesitate to set the media straight when necessary!

We also have information here on the 104th Congress as well!

Does anyone out there have any documents refuting the groundless charges against the Speaker?

If so - let us know. We will post them here.

There are organized efforts out there to make the frivolous and the absurd into 'issues' by people who can't defeat the ideas of conservatism any other way.

According to a recent column in the Washington Post, these organized efforts extend to the highest levels of the Democratic leadership in the House.

🎧 Read and post in our BBS topic on Congress and Speaker Gingrich. Read and post!

🎧 Baen Books, the publishers of 1945, the new historical fiction book by Newt Gingrich & William R. Forstchen, now has a web site with excerpts from the book.

🎧 **NEW!!!** Go visit Mr. Newt's good buddy - and the House Majority Leader - Congressman Dick Armey's Homepage

🎧 **NEW!!!** Check out the To Renew America homepage at HarperCollins with audio and text excerpts

🎧 Check out the August WIRED magazine for a great interview with the Speaker on the Net and the future - and for

🔊 We have a [response from the chairman of GOPAC](#) to the supposed "ethics charges" against GOPAC and the Speaker

🔊 [An exclusive Newt Gingrich photo essay](#) at Time's PATHFINDER

🔊 The [Progress and Freedom Foundation](#) is the think tank that sponsors the show that Speaker Gingrich does on National Empowerment Television. At this Web site you can find the transcripts to Prof. Gingrich's college lectures.

🔊 Rep. Gingrich's [remarks to the Washington Research Group](#) on November 11, 1994.

🔊 Speaker Gingrich's [speech as he took the Speaker's chair](#) on January 4, 1995.

🔊 Speaker Gingrich's [speech at the Republican National Committee](#) meeting January 20, 1995.

🔊 [The Washington Weekly](#) has archives of lots of speeches from Mr. Newt, as well as being a good source of other information on the Web.

🔊 A link to THOMAS with Speaker Gingrich's [7 April 1995 speech](#) to the Nation

🔊 The [Contract With America](#).

🔊 [THOMAS](#), the Web service for the Library of Congress Speaker Gingrich introduced recently - you can look up the bills in the Contract With America there, as well as the email addresses for members of Congress.

🔊 [Speaker Gingrich's Home Page on the www.house.gov Web server](#).

🔊 An excellent site with the [writings of conservative George Gilder](#) on the so-called "Information SuperHighway." These are of interest to anyone who thinks that it's great that Speaker Gingrich is stressing the importance of the 'Third Wave.' Gilder is one of the first "cyber-conservatives" and someone who has given ideas to the Speaker.

🔊 More Newt info, including his famous reading list and PhD dissertation at the [Berkeley Internet Connections Conservative WWW Server](#)

🔊 The Speaker's email address is GEORGIA6@HR.HOUSE.GOV

🔊 INTERACTIVE...USENET newsgroups [alt.politics.usa.newt-gingrich](#)... [alt.fan.newt-gingrich](#)

"All The Newt
That's Fit to Print"

"The fact is that a liberal Democrat doesn't want to talk about ideology because they don't want to explain publicly what they're really doing."
- Newt Gingrich, 12/1/91



Sound Bytes

We will have sound clips of the Speaker himself on various topics - now thanks to the [RealAudio](#) format - so go get the player for your Mac or PC and listen!

(Our server does NOT do the neat listen-as-you-download trick...yet)

Our first is Newt on the Oliver North show this week talking about liberal reaction to Oklahoma City
sorry about the skips in the recording! - 70k

About the new name:

Thanks to Randy Gragg from Mr. Newt's district for the suggestion. It just seemed to fit in a number of ways!

The "speakers' corner" is a region in the northeast corner of Hyde Park in London, England where very interesting speakers congregate to espouse a variety of views. Tourists generally flock around the speakers to listen or heckle. It is compulsory that each speaker bring his or own soapbox or platform to be elevated above the masses for more effective projection.

It seems to be appropriate to name a fanpage for Newt Gingrich after a place where people can say controversial things and get attention for them! Besides, we are "in his corner."



Back to [The Right Side Front Page](#) | [Feedback](#)



THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE WEB

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-26-95

since May 1994

[Thought for the Day](#) | [What's Hot](#) | [What's New](#) | [Interactive](#)

[Where You've Seen Us](#) | [Give Us Feedback](#)

[Rush Limbaugh Info Page](#) | [The Right Side's Audio Clip Library](#)

[Conservative College Organizations and Publications](#)

[The View from The Right Side](#)

Larry King, eat your heart out...dot dot dot...a column from Barely Inside the Beltway...

[The Speaker's Corner](#) -

The Newt Gingrich WWW FanPage, with stuff on the 104th Congress

[Culture and Society](#)

[Second Amendment Issues...Christian Sites...Prolife Information...First Amendment Issues...U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child](#)

with our links related to the conservative fight in cultural and societal issues

[Economics and Foreign Policy](#)

[Ronald Reagan...Other Economic Sites...Foreign Policy](#)

with our links related to the conservative fight in economic and international issues

[Reading Room](#)

[Rush to The Right Side...Clinton Scandals...Online Conservative Publications...Satire...Other Conservative WWW Indexes...Conservative Non-WWW Internet Info](#)

with links to other conservative W3 sites and Net reading, like the Whitewater site, National Review, Rush pages...

['96 Conservative Election Central](#)

All Election Information at the Right Side of the Web can be found here - including our famous lists of people we DO and DON'T want on the '96 GOP ticket, and links to other sites with candidate info

[The Right Side's BBS](#)

The perfect place for exchanging messages, ideas, and flames!

[DeMOCKracy](#)

an excellent new conservative comic strip which is a creation of one of our readers - updated every few days



Don't a Don't know
where you can hear some great song parodies that you have heard on Rush's radio show

Stamper's News Nuggets

Nuggets of all kinds of news conservatives need...updated every week

Alan Keyes for President '96

The Unofficial Page

Traffic Stats for the Right Side

The Homepage

of the mastermind of The Right Side of the Web

Click on the smiling Gipper to hear a piece of nostalgia from the good ole days!

 We have in beta a new Home Page with new, dynamic, interactive features. Try it out and let us know what you think!

 Or - see our Alternate Home Page. If you've seen the White House Home Page you will appreciate ours. It can take a while to download.

 We are based at Clark Internet Services. While our views may or may not be shared by them (we don't really know!), they ARE the best Internet provider in the Washington D.C. / Maryland area. Please check out their services!

Interactive

 Read our Question of the Week and the answers we get in our new one-page format!

 Check out the Right Side Message Wall! You can post a message and Web link for other Right Side readers to read!

 Help cast Whitewater: The Mini-Series!

 Our Feedback Form

 On our Monument to the Clinton Presidency you can add your own inscription....and if it is really good we will chisel it in! *all new animation*

Thought for the Day:

Against tax cuts? Don't take one!

What's Hot:

 We have our own periodic column...The View from The Right Side...

 The Speaker's Corner page has lots of new links there. You've got to check them out.

 We are featured in WiReD magazine this month! Read all about it!

 NET - The Political NewsTalk Network now has its own home on the World Wide Web!

You can get programming information there and copies of commentaries by Paul Weyrich. We are very happy to have helped give NET a Web-start, and are looking forward to seeing much more to come from NET.

You can now read a [Random Thought from Speaker Newt](#) - a different quote will appear each time you get the page.

In the interest of bipartisanship, we have set up a page with our ideas - and yours - for a [Monument to the Clinton Presidency](#).

This one is especially enjoyable if you have Netscape.

House Majority Leader Dick Armey has set up a [Flat Tax Home Page](#) where you can learn all about the flat tax. A great site set up at the www.house.gov server.

Check out the [What's New on the Right Side](#) page that automatically lists the pages here most recently updated.

How has The Right Side of the Web made a difference in politics in the "real world"?

Has anything here ever changed your mind? Have you passed info from here out to others?

[A journalist interested in politics and cyberspace](#) would like to hear from you if you have any such stories for him.

The Right Side of the Web exists to counter all the socialism and moral anarchy you'll find on the Net and to provide a home on the World Wide Web for what most people would call the conservative point of view.

You **Right Side** readers - ever feel like you're alone?

Well you're not...this page is accessed tens of thousands of times a month...

thanks to word of mouth and all the publicity we've gotten lately! Check out our stats page. Thanks to you for making this a success!



Email us at

RightSide1@aol.com

(but please use our New Feedback Form first - it'll get there faster!)



The Right Side of the Web is a member of the Conservative Internet Connections Group

Click on the button above to access CICG!

The Right Side is now enhanced for [Netscape 1.1!](#)

Our awesome new graphics are by [Blue Mountain Graphic Design](#)

U.S. House of Representatives Member Directory

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-26-95

Representative Newt Gingrich (R) Georgia, 6th District

Office Information:

Washington Office
2428 Rayburn
(202) 225-4501

E-Mail Address:
GEORGIA6@HR.HOUSE.GOV

Service History:

Service Start Date: 01-03-79
Congress(es): 96th - 104th

Committees/Subcommittees:

Legislation Sponsorship and Cosponsorship:

Legislation Sponsored
Legislation Cosponsored

Prepared by House Information Resources on 07/06/95

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9.20.95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
September 18, 1995

95 SEP 18 P8:09

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE 

SUBJECT:

Congressman Evans' Letter to the Editor on Mine-Clearance

In light of your earlier query about the Washington Post Op-Ed on an explosive net mine-clearing concept, I thought you might be interested in the attached letter to the editor from Congressman Evans, in which he offers DoD rare praise for its efforts to improve our humanitarian demining capabilities. Evans has been the leading voice on the landmine issue in the House and co-sponsored the \$10 million DoD received last year for research and development of new humanitarian demining technologies.

Attachment

Tab A Letter to the Editor

09/26/95

NSC: 

Per the President's request, please prepare a response for him to sign and forward it to this office.

Thanks.

Staff Secretary's office

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-26-95

WASHINGTON POST

September 14, 1995

Pg. 22

Mine Clearing: The Defense Department's on the Job

James E. Wright ["Land Mines: Destroy Now or Pay Later," op-ed, Aug. 31] hits the mark in identifying the threat that roughly 100 million buried land mines pose to unsuspecting civilians worldwide, but he misses widely when he accuses the Defense Department of stalling development of mine-clearing efforts.

Over the past two years, Congress has provided the Defense Department with roughly \$30 million to provide countries with training, equipment and mine awareness programs. A separate \$10 million initiative Rep. Ron Dellums and I established last year

provides research and development money to identify new technologies to help clear mines. Rather than sit on its hands, the Defense Department has put these resources to work.

These initiatives will also lead to more effective mine-clearing systems than the "explosive-net" approach Mr. Wright advocates. Like many purely military solutions to land mine removal, explosive-net is fine for opening lanes so forces can move safely through areas. But it won't achieve the 100 percent clearance needed to allow children to again play in the fields and permit farmers to till their lands.

Mine clearers around the world recognize that metal detectors and mine probes will be the tools of their business for years to come. Yet we can develop new technologies and refine old ones that will make their job much easier and more efficient. The Defense Department is making worthwhile progress in this regard.

LANE EVANS

U.S. Representative (D-IL)

Washington

Editor's Note: The op-ed referred to appeared in the *Current News Early Bird*, September 1, 1995, Pg. 10.

Do
to
out

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

9.26.95
Chron

September 25, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PHIL CAPLAN *Phil*
SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

I am forwarding the following recent information items:

(A) **Rubin memo on Ways and Means tax bill.** Last week, the House Ways and Means Committee, adopted by party line vote, a package of tax changes to be included in budget reconciliation. The package raises net revenue about \$38 billion over seven years -- about \$36 billion of these new taxes will have a direct impact on low- and middle-income families, and result from three provisions: 1) EITC - reduces EITC by nearly \$23 billion through FY 2002 by adjusting the formula and repealing it for low-wage workers who do not reside with children; 2) low-income housing tax credit - repeals after 1997; and 3) pension asset reversions - permits companies that sponsor pension plans to remove plan assets and use them for any corporate purpose, provided that a minimum cushion is retained; represents a massive expansion of a narrow provision currently available.

(B) **McLarty memo on National Transportation Safety Board.** Mack attaches a memo to him from Bob Nash. While he doesn't disagree with Bob's recommendations, he thinks you should give pause before not reappointing John Hammerschmidt, Jr.. Congressman Hammerschmidt has avoided opportunities to be critical of you and has been supportive. The appointment of his son is important to him. Mack understands both sides and can be persuaded either way, but wanted to make you aware of the matter.

(C) **Memo from pollster Geoff Garin on a speech idea.** Following up on your conversation with him, Garin suggests a speech, or series of speeches, based on the theme of "we're all in it together" -- that America can succeed in meeting the challenges we face, but only if we approach these challenges with an understanding that we're all in it together. Garin suggests delivering the speech to an audience of corporate leaders and "challeng[ing] the leaders of corporate America to act with a sense of purpose that goes beyond the bottom line on their next profit and loss statement." Memo details many ideas for additional sub-themes and important points to be made in the speech.

*GS
Died Morris
A. Lewis
D. Baer
C. T. H.
N. H. to GS,
D. H. H.
A. H. H.
B. H. H.
a lot of other
community in a crowd*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-20-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 SEP 18 P12:43

17 September 1995

MEMORANDUM TO

~~THE~~ PRESIDENT

cc Sullivan

CC

LEON PANETTA
ERSKINE BOWLES
DON BAER

GS

Amateur

FROM

HAROLD ICKES

RE

GEOFF GARIN'S PROPOSED SPEECH IDEAS

Attached is a memorandum to the President from Geoff Garin, dated 12 September 1995, with suggested themes for a speech.

I like this a lot
could do to get
WHP or get in club
or similar audience

BC

Garin-Hart Strategic Research Group

1724 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20009, (202) 234-5570

TO: The President
FROM: Geoffrey Garin
DATE: September 12, 1995
RE: "We're All In It Together"

As I mentioned at the end of our conversation last week, I hope you will consider giving a speech, or even a series of speeches, built around the theme that America can succeed in meeting the challenges we face, but only if Americans approach these challenges with an understanding that "we're all in it together."

This kind of a speech would provide you an opportunity to address what I believe is the public's yearning for a higher standard of conduct in our society today. Americans clearly reject the idea that people can just sit back and wait for government to solve their problems for them, but they also are offended by the Republican premise that we'll solve all of our problems if we just liberate corporations to pursue their financial interests in a marketplace where the watchword is, "It's every man for himself."

My thought is that you should deliver a speech on this subject to an audience of corporate leaders--at a National Association of Manufacturers meeting, for example. The speech might begin with a brief discussion on the challenges we face in America as we make the transition to a new world of global economic competition, and on the pressures that this transition has put on middle-class families.

I would continue the speech by having you express your sense of confidence that America can get back ahead of the curve in this changing world in a way that provides

Memo to the President
page 2

more security and opportunity for all Americans (indeed, this is how I would describe the central, overarching purpose of your presidency)--but only if every American acts in the recognition that "we're all in this together."

What does it mean to recognize that "we're all in it together"? I'd propose that you stress the following ideas.

- o *As Americans, we all must be givers and not just takers.* In these times, we cannot afford for any American to sit back and expect government to solve his or her problems. While government ought to do what it can to make sure people have the tools they need, individuals must take personal responsibility for doing as much as they can with the opportunities they have.
- o *As Americans, we cannot separate our individual well-being and security from the well-being and security of our country.* At its best, America has always been bigger and better than just a collection of private, selfish, individual interests. Unless we value the common good as well as our personal interests, we will never achieve our personal interests in the long run. Our test of government cannot just be "what's in it for me," but "what's in it for our community, our country, and our future."
- o *As Americans, we have to reject the politics of division and polarization, and start giving each other the benefit of the doubt again.* In order to overcome the challenges we face together, Americans cannot afford to be divided from one another, as if we were warring parties in a zero-sum game. Those who would divide America by race, or by ethnic origin, or by religion, or by generation, or by economic status, are doing America a grave disservice. We need to treat each other with **respect**, and look for the best in people instead of expecting the worst of them.

Having laid this basic foundation, my idea would be to go on and say that acting from the belief that "we're all in it together" cannot just apply to the average man and woman on the street, *but it also must apply to people who are in positions of leadership,*

Memo to the President
page 3

responsibility, and privilege in our society. In fact, those in positions of leadership have a special obligation to set the right example--because the rest of America often feels, sometimes rightly so, that ideas such as sacrifice and loyalty have become too much of a one-way street in our country.

At this juncture, you can talk briefly about what you believe the special obligations of political leaders are: doing what is right rather than just what provides a moment of partisan advantage, and looking out for the future rather than for short-term expediency.

The real heart of this speech, however, would be to challenge the leaders of corporate America to act with a sense of purpose that goes beyond the bottom line on their next profit and loss statement.

For example, you might say to these corporate leaders that when they have a choice about whether to make something here in America or instead to make it overseas, it is better for America if they choose to make it here.

You might tell them that when they have a choice between a full-time job that provides benefits and pays a parent a living wage, or two part-time jobs that do not, it is better for America if they choose the full-time job, and that it is better for America's long-term economic success if they treat their employees as resources who deserve safe working conditions and the training to keep their skills up-to-date.

Finally, you might urge them to think twice about the moral statement they are making when they lay off hundreds or thousands of loyal and able employees at the very same time that they are earning record profits and paying million-dollar bonuses to those

Memo to the President
page 4

at the top, and ask them to consider what conclusions they expect Americans to draw from that kind of a statement.

At this stage, you might close the speech by saying there are a lot of corporations that already live up to this standard (and they deserve to be recognized), but there are too many that do not, and that each and everyone of us in America--employers and employees, parents and children, public servants and citizens--need to hold ourselves to a higher standard if America is to meet the challenges of our times.

There are several major benefits to giving this kind of speech.

First, it gives you a new opportunity to talk about the economic problems of working people in America, and a chance to restate your commitment to recreating an economy in which middle-class people have a chance to get ahead.

Second, it provides a vehicle for you to talk about what the public would describe as the "crisis of values" in our society, in a way that puts your own brand on the discussion of values.

Third, it continues the process you began earlier this year of defining your presidential leadership by using the "bully pulpit" that is uniquely yours.

Finally, it helps define your leadership character by having you tell an audience something it may not want to hear (when the common view of politicians is that all they ever do is just the opposite).

I hope these thoughts are helpful to you.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-26-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 SEP 18 P12:43

17 September 1995

MEMORANDUM TO

~~THE PRESIDENT~~

cc *Blum*

CC

LEON PANETTA
ERSKINE BOWLES
DON BAER

GS

Amber

FROM

HAROLD ICKES *(initials)*

RE

GEOFF GARIN'S PROPOSED SPEECH IDEAS

Attached is a memorandum to the President from Geoff Garin, dated 12 September 1995, with suggested themes for a speech.

*I like this a lot
could do to try
WASH or Nat'l Club
or similar audience*

BC

Garin-Hart Strategic Research Group

1724 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20009, (202) 234-5570

TO: The President
FROM: Geoffrey Garin
DATE: September 12, 1995
RE: "We're All In It Together"

As I mentioned at the end of our conversation last week, I hope you will consider giving a speech, or even a series of speeches, built around the theme that America can succeed in meeting the challenges we face, but only if Americans approach these challenges with an understanding that "we're all in it together."

This kind of a speech would provide you an opportunity to address what I believe is the public's yearning for a higher standard of conduct in our society today. Americans clearly reject the idea that people can just sit back and wait for government to solve their problems for them, but they also are offended by the Republican premise that we'll solve all of our problems if we just liberate corporations to pursue their financial interests in a marketplace where the watchword is, "It's every man for himself."

My thought is that you should deliver a speech on this subject to an audience of corporate leaders--at a National Association of Manufacturers meeting, for example. The speech might begin with a brief discussion on the challenges we face in America as we make the transition to a new world of global economic competition, and on the pressures that this transition has put on middle-class families.

I would continue the speech by having you express your sense of confidence that America can get back ahead of the curve in this changing world in a way that provides

Memo to the President
page 2

more security and opportunity for all Americans (indeed, this is how I would describe the central, overarching purpose of your presidency)--but only if every American acts in the recognition that "we're all in this together."

What does it mean to recognize that "we're all in it together"? I'd propose that you stress the following ideas.

- o *As Americans, we all must be givers and not just takers.* In these times, we cannot afford for any American to sit back and expect government to solve his or her problems. While government ought to do what it can to make sure people have the tools they need, individuals must take personal responsibility for doing as much as they can with the opportunities they have.
- o *As Americans, we cannot separate our individual well-being and security from the well-being and security of our country.* At its best, America has always been bigger and better than just a collection of private, selfish, individual interests. Unless we value the common good as well as our personal interests, we will never achieve our personal interests in the long run. Our test of government cannot just be "what's in it for me," but "what's in it for our community, our country, and our future."
- o *As Americans, we have to reject the politics of division and polarization, and start giving each other the benefit of the doubt again.* In order to overcome the challenges we face together, Americans cannot afford to be divided from one another, as if we were warring parties in a zero-sum game. Those who would divide America by race, or by ethnic origin, or by religion, or by generation, or by economic status, are doing America a grave disservice. We need to treat each other with **respect**, and look for the best in people instead of expecting the worst of them.

Having laid this basic foundation, my idea would be to go on and say that acting from the belief that "we're all in it together" cannot just apply to the average man and woman on the street, *but it also must apply to people who are in positions of leadership,*

Memo to the President
page 3

responsibility, and privilege in our society. In fact, those in positions of leadership have a special obligation to set the right example--because the rest of America often feels, sometimes rightly so, that ideas such as sacrifice and loyalty have become too much of a one-way street in our country.

At this juncture, you can talk briefly about what you believe the special obligations of political leaders are: doing what is right rather than just what provides a moment of partisan advantage, and looking out for the future rather than for short-term expediency.

The real heart of this speech, however, would be to challenge the leaders of corporate America to act with a sense of purpose that goes beyond the bottom line on their next profit and loss statement.

For example, you might say to these corporate leaders that when they have a choice about whether to make something here in America or instead to make it overseas, it is better for America if they choose to make it here.

You might tell them that when they have a choice between a full-time job that provides benefits and pays a parent a living wage, or two part-time jobs that do not, it is better for America if they choose the full-time job, and that it is better for America's long-term economic success if they treat their employees as resources who deserve safe working conditions and the training to keep their skills up-to-date.

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Memo to the President

page 4

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At this stage, you might close the speech by saying there are a lot of corporations that already live up to this standard (and they deserve to be recognized), but there are too many that do not, and that each and everyone of us in America--employers and employees, parents and children, public servants and citizens--need to hold ourselves to a higher standard if America is to meet the challenges of our times.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-26-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 SEP 14 P5:40

September 13, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MACK McLARTY

SUBJECT: NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD

Attached is Bob Nash's memorandum to me regarding the National Transportation Safety Board. While I don't disagree with Personnel's recommendations, I think you should give pause before you not reappoint John Hammerschmidt, Jr. Congressman Hammerschmidt has consistently denied interviews and opportunities to be critical of you and, in fact, has been supportive. This appointment of his son is important to him, as you would expect. However, I fully understand the other side of the equation and can be persuaded either way, but I did want to bring this matter to your attention before a final decision is made.

Waf

Attachment

cc: Bob Nash

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 7, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO MACK MCLARTY

Bob J. Nash

FROM: BOB J. NASH, Assistant to the President and
Director of Presidential Personnel

RE: NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD (PAS)

The purpose of this memorandum is to update you on the appointment status of the National Transportation Safety Board. As you may know, the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, has the authority to appoint five members to the bi-partisan board. To date, the board is comprised of the following persons:

Jim Hall, Chairman (D-TN)	appt'd 10/15/93	term expires 12/31/97
Bob Francis, Vice-Chair (D-MA)	appt'd 8/14/95	term expires 12/31/99
John Goglia (I-MA)	appt'd 8/14/95	term expires 12/31/98
John Hammerschmidt (R-AR)	appt'd 6/26/91	term expires 12/31/95
vacancy		

We have been working on filling the vacant position with a Republican candidate. Senator Larry Pressler (R-SD), Chairman of the Commerce Committee strongly recommended Mr. George Black (R-GA). Mr. Black possesses strong technical expertise, specializing in surface transportation. For the past twenty-two years he has served Gwinett County, Georgia in a variety of transportation positions, including Director of Engineering, County Traffic Engineer and presently as Director of Transportation. Although Senator Pressler strongly recommended Mr. Black, it should be noted that Senator Dole has not yet signed off on the potential candidacy of Mr. Black for this position.

Mr. John Hammerschmidt's position on the board will expire at the end of this year. We would like to fill this upcoming vacancy with a Democratic candidate. The railroad labor unions have repeated their strong recommendation that we fill Mr. Hammerschmidt's slot with a rail or rail safety expert. The two candidates we are presently considering are Anne Bormolini and Jolene Molitoris. Ann Bormolini is currently serving as the Chief of Staff at the U.S. Department of Transportation. Ms. Bormolini has for the past three years, acted as Secretary Pena's chief disaster coordinator for accidents and natural disasters such as the Mississippi River floods, the Los Angeles earthquake, railroad and aviation accidents.

Jolene Molitoris is presently serving as Federal Railroad Administrator at the U.S. Department

of Transportation and has also worked on rail and rail safety issues at the State level.

Presently our strategy is to select two candidates (a Republican and a Democrat) as quickly as possible and move forward, nominating both individuals simultaneously to the Senate. Finally, our intent when nominating John Goglia to the Senate for confirmation as a Independent from Massachusetts, was to use one of the next two slots for another Democratic nominee.

We have also been in communication with Don Beavers, from Arkansas, on his interest in serving on the NTSB and for his feedback on possible candidates. At this time he cannot leave his position with the railroad because of a pension issue.



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9.22.95
DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

received 9/22/95

4:00pm

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

September 22, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Leslie B. Samuels *LBS*

THROUGH: Secretary Rubin *w*

SUBJECT: Ways and Means Tax Bill

*Le. on. FCC. Am. letter
we have a copy of
analysis of the bill
B*

On September 19, 1995, the House Ways and Means Committee adopted, by party-line vote, a package of tax code changes to be included in budget reconciliation, in addition to the tax-cut package that passed the House in March. The new package raises net revenues of about \$38 billion over seven years. About \$36 billion of these new taxes will have a direct impact on low- and middle-income Americans, and result from these three provisions:

1. Reductions in the earned income tax credit (EITC). The bill would reduce the EITC by nearly \$23 billion between fiscal years 1996 and 2002, by adjusting the EITC formula and by repealing the EITC for low-wage workers who do not reside with children. Taxes would increase by \$211, on average, for 14.5 million working families currently receiving the earned income tax credit.

2. Repeal of the low-income housing tax credit after 1997. This tax credit helps finance rental housing units for low-income tenants. In 1993, the Administration was successful in extending this program permanently.

3. Pension asset reversions. The bill would permit companies that sponsor pension plans for their employees to remove plan assets and use them for any corporate purpose, provided that a minimum asset "cushion" is retained in the plan. This represents a massive expansion of an existing narrow provision that allows employers to use certain pension assets to pay retiree health benefits under a strict set of conditions. The proposal's minimum "cushion" may prove inadequate, because employers have significant flexibility in making the calculation. Also, the proposal runs counter to last year's GATT legislation that improved pension funding. *yes*

The package also repeals section 956A, which the Administration proposed and Congress enacted in 1993. Section 956A reduces a U.S. corporation's tax incentives to locate business abroad and to accumulate the resulting earnings in the form of passive investments.

Finally, the Committee adopted other changes, including provisions to sunset the section 936 possessions tax credit after 10 years; to eliminate certain alternative energy tax incentives; and to extend through 1997 various expiring provisions (including the research tax credit). These and other changes are described in the attachment.

Attachment

ATTACHMENT

Major Provisions in Ways and Means Tax Bill (approved September 19, 1995)

Earned Income Tax Credit Reductions

- Over \$23 billion in reductions in the EITC, representing increased taxes on low-income working Americans, would result from:
 - reducing the EITC for individuals who receive otherwise nontaxable social security, pension, retirement account, and annuity payments;
 - ✗ repealing the small credit available to very low-income workers who do not reside with qualifying children, and
 - ✗ increasing the rate at which the EITC is reduced for taxpayers with income in excess of \$11,620.

None equal

"Corporate Reforms" and Other Revenue Raisers

- ✗ ● The pension asset reversion provision would permit transfers to an employer -- for any purpose -- of pension assets in excess of 125% of a defined benefit plan's "current liability." Currently, an employer cannot recover pension assets without terminating the plan and paying a substantial excise tax (of up to 50%). Under this proposal, no excise tax would be imposed on transfers prior to July 1, 1996, and only a 6.5% excise tax would be imposed thereafter.
- ✗ ● The low-income housing tax credit would sunset after December 31, 1997, ostensibly to facilitate a review of whether the credit should be retained.
- The Puerto Rico and possession tax credit (section 936) would be repealed as of the end of 1995, with a generous grandfather rule for existing beneficiaries of the credit. This proposal would reduce or eliminate the job-creating incentive effect of the provisions, including an economic activity limitation, that were enacted in 1993 in response to Administration efforts to reformulate the credit.
- ✓ Deductions for interest attributable to the purchase of so-called corporate owned life insurance (COLI) policies would be denied. COLIs are primarily a tax-advantaged corporate investment that arbitrages the interest deduction and the tax-free death benefits.
- ✓ The tax deferral enjoyed by certain closely held farming corporations relating to changing from cash-method to accrual accounting would be eliminated and generally recovered over a 20-year period.

*on 11/19/95
on children cos.*

- The "income forecast" method of depreciating the cost of motion picture films, video tapes, sound recordings, and other similar property would be modified to slow down the rate of depreciation.

- X • The tax credits for wind energy and "closed loop" biomass would be phased out by limiting the credit to electricity produced from facilities placed in service before September 14, 1995.

- ~~power~~ • The exclusion from income for subsidies provided by a utility for the purchase or installation of an energy conservation measure would be repealed, except with respect to subsidies targeted to dwelling units.

- X • The tax benefits for ethanol and methanol from renewable sources would be significantly modified to raise \$9.5 billion over 7 years. The 54-cents-per-gallon ethanol income tax credit would be reduced to 51 cents-per-gallon, while the small ethanol producers credit would be increased from 10 cents per gallon to 13 cents per gallon. ETBE and similar ethers would not be eligible for either ethanol or methanol tax benefits, as permitted in recent Treasury regulations. Fuel alcohol generally would be subject to the same excise tax rules as gasoline, thereby eliminating reduced excise rates for gasohol.

Assess contributions can't go to BIA?

• Income earned by Indian tribes from the conduct of certain gaming activities would become subject to federal income taxes.

contributions?

• The exclusion from income for damages received on account of personal injury or sickness would be limited to damages received on account of physical injury or physical sickness. No exclusion would apply to damages received on account of nonphysical injuries (such as those resulting from discrimination or related to emotional distress) or to any punitive damages received.

✓ • The Ways and Means Committee's version of the expatriation tax is included (H.R. 1812). These provisions impose income taxes on certain expatriates on their U.S. source income for a period of ten years, without regard to the motivation for their expatriation, and generally are intended to override contrary provisions in U.S. tax treaties.

X • The tax credit for contributions to community development corporations (CDCs) authorized by OBRA 1993 would be repealed for contributions or loans made after the date of enactment.

✓ • Tax-exempt organizations would be subject to intermediate sanctions for violating the prohibition against private inurement, in lieu of the current sanction of revoking the organization's tax-exempt status. This provision is similar to an Administration proposal.

Expiring Provisions

✓ The research and development (R&D) tax credit would be extended, in slightly modified form, from July 1, 1995, through 1997.

✓ The Targeted Jobs Tax Credit (renamed the Work Opportunity Tax Credit) would be modified, including a reduction in the credit rate from 40% to 35%, and extended for 1996 and 1997. It would not be made retroactively available for 1995.

? • The exclusion for employer-provided educational assistance would be extended through 1997. However, for 1996 and 1997 the exclusion would not apply to post-graduate education.

✓ The tax credit for clinical testing expenses (the so-called orphan drug credit) and the special fair market value deduction for contributions of appreciated stock to private foundations would be extended for 1995 through 1997.

? • The FUTA exemption for alien agricultural workers would be made permanent retroactive to January 1, 1995.

✓ The effective date of the 4.3-cents-per-gallon tax on commercial aviation fuel would be delayed from October 1, 1995, to October 1, 1997.

✓ The airport and airway trust fund excise taxes on air passenger and air freight transportation and the expiring portion of the tax on noncommercial aviation fuel would be extended through September 30, 1996.

Increase in Statutory Limit on the Public Debt

✓ The statutory limit on the debt limit would be increased from the current \$4.9 billion to \$5.5 billion, with no expiration date.

Medical Savings Accounts (MSAs)

cont? 1st time ok
The bill would create a new IRA-type account called a Medical Savings Account (MSA), that could be used to pay health benefits only for individuals covered by catastrophic (and not comprehensive) insurance. Employees and other individuals would get a tax deduction (or exclusion from income) for their or their employer's contributions to an MSA up to \$2,500 for an individual (\$5,000 for a family). MSA distributions would not be taxed if used to pay for medical care. Earnings within the MSA would be taxable.

Coal Industry Retiree Health Provisions



Under the 1992 Coal Act -- which was a priority for Senator Rockefeller -- liability for financing coal-industry retiree health benefits was spread broadly among companies that had signed bargaining agreements since 1948. The bill would shift the liability entirely to the 1988 signatory companies.

Pension Simplification



The bill incorporates numerous items from the Administration's pension simplification proposal that you announced on June 12, 1995. A majority of these provisions were also included in the pension simplification bill passed by the House in 1994. The bill also includes new items proposed by the Administration, although it does not include the Administration's proposal for a new, simple retirement plan for small business, the National Employee Savings Trust (or "NEST").

Taxpayer Bill of Rights 2



The bill contains a number of provisions intended to enhance taxpayer safeguards in dealing with the IRS. The Administration has worked with Hill staff to develop and improve many of these proposals.

**Talking Points on GOP Finance Committee
Proposal to Reduce Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC)**

- Just a few hours ago we learned the specifics of the Republican Finance Committee proposals to raise taxes on low-income working Americans by reducing the EITC.

We think it is wrong to increase taxes on millions of low-income workers -- and to cut Medicare and Medicaid -- to finance tax cuts for the most affluent.

- According to the proposals' sponsors, this EITC-related tax increase will total \$40 billion over 7 years.

-- Included in this package is a proposal to tax social security payments received by approximately 1 million widowed, retired and disabled taxpayers who care for about 2 million of their own children, grandchildren, or other children. These social security recipients will be subject to an average tax increase of \$859.

-- It would also eliminate the modest EITC that was first made available last year to very low-income workers who do not reside with qualifying children.

This component alone will subject 4.3 million taxpayers to an average tax increase of \$173.

-- The proposal would eliminate the final phase of the 1993 EITC increase for workers with 2 or more qualifying children. This increase is currently scheduled to become effective in 1996.

-- In addition, all EITC recipients with annual income currently in excess of \$11,630 will be subject to creeping tax increases every year as the so-called phaseout rates are increased. As a result, many recipients will see their EITC reduced simply because of inflationary increases in their income.

-- Lastly, working parents who receive child support payments will, for the first time ever, suffer a tax increase simply because they are fortunate to actually collect those payments intended solely for the benefit of their children.

- We are carefully analyzing the impact of this new proposal. We will be opposing it vigorously when the Finance Committee takes up the bill early next week.

Office of Tax Policy
September 22, 1995

*fin the
newest
of the code*

1 Report

New York Times



ment problems. Julie and Gary Oak, England, watched the blastoff at space center in Florida.

to order a detailed engineering review and improve the heat shielding at these critical joints. A defective O-ring at a booster joint caused the Challenger explosion in January 1986, killing the crew of seven.

If the nozzle problems prove to have been corrected, officials of the Kennedy center said, the next shuttle launching could come as early as Sept. 28.

Loren J. Shriver, the launching integration manager at the Kennedy center, said that engineers had still determined the cause of last

Grim Forecast Is Offered On Rising Juvenile Crime

New Study Challenges Prevention Programs

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

If current trends continue, the number of arrests of juveniles for violent crimes will double by the year 2010, the Justice Department said today in the most comprehensive report ever assembled on crimes committed by young people.

The report based its projection on a finding that arrest rates among juveniles ages 10 to 17 for violent crimes jumped 100 percent between 1983 and 1992, and the number of teen-agers in the population was expected to increase 20 percent over the next decade.

The report also calls into question some of the most popular crime prevention programs adopted by cities, states and the Federal government in the past few years, including curfews and midnight basketball leagues. The report found, for example, that the peak time during which youths age 6 to 17 commit violent crimes was from 3 to 6 P.M., between the end of the school day and dinner.

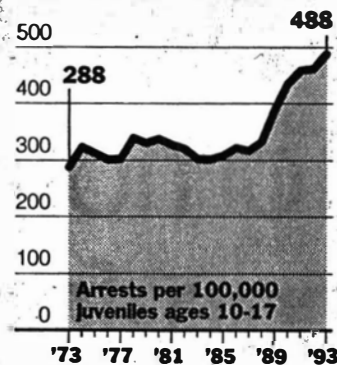
James Alan Fox, dean of the college of criminal justice at Northeastern University, said the new figures on the time at which young people commit crimes showed that "we can't leave it to families" to solve the problem of juvenile violence. "The families aren't available, and it's often not out of choice," Professor Fox said. "They are off working out of economic necessity and it leaves kids idle, unsupervised with little to do except hang out with their friends."

Professor Fox said the report showed a clear need for more after-school activities at a time that the public and politicians have been cutting financing for athletics and after-school arts and music classes.

The report, "Juvenile Offenders and Victims: A National Report," was put together by the National Center for Juvenile Justice in Pittsburgh. It amounts to an encyclopedia

KEEPING TRACK

Arrests of Juveniles For Violent Crimes



Source: National Center for Juvenile Justice

money to put 100,000 additional police officers on the streets over the next few years. That program has come under attack by Republicans in Congress, who have pledged to convert the Federal money intended to hire the new officers into block grants for the states.

Attorney General Janet Reno said today that she was particularly dismayed by the finding that the homicide rate among 14- to 17-year-olds had increased 165 percent in the past 10 years.

"This report is a road map to the next generation of crime — unless we do something now," Ms. Reno said. "This is not the time to let up and it is not the time to turn back."

The report, showing the huge in-

The problem is beyond families, an expert says.

Thursday's fuel-cell malfunction, the most recent setback to Endeavour's plans. The fuel cell mixes liquid oxygen and hydrogen to produce electricity for the shuttle. The malfunctioning unit was replaced, Mr. Shriver said, and the replacement "appears to be running just fine."

lides as Well

cline had continued, although he could not give precise figures.

Apartment vacancy rates in the area that includes the plaza and the city's historic core have risen to 10.9 percent in the second quarter, compared with no vacancies two years ago, according to the Apartment Association of New Mexico. Apartment complexes are offering incentives for renters, and cardboard For Rent signs are starting to appear, even on Canyon Road.

Fred Lopez, the investment and cash manager for the city Finance Department, said gross receipts from construction were down 14.5 percent in July and 2.5 percent in August, compared with the same months in 1994.

Faced with these disturbing portents, businesses hoped that the summer would bring an injection of tourist money. But the latest figures from the New Mexico Hotel and Motel Association show Santa Fe's occupancy rates down to 82.1 percent in July, compared with 86.7 percent in the same month last year. Art Bouffard, director of the association, predicted that the August figures would be down from July's.

Some of the decline in tourism and real estate is probably cyclical. Tight occupancy levels and high rental and occupancy rates led to a wave of motel and apartment house construction. Continuing economic problems in California, the source of many of the visitors and newcomers, have rippled to New Mexico. High lumber prices could be depressing housing construction.

But the possibility remains that as Santa Fe grows from a town into a city, it is inevitably losing some of its only real commodity, its charm.

"We're starting to have all the negatives of a big city without the pluses," said Leo Romero, a poet and bookseller who grew up in northern New Mexico and has lived in Santa Fe since 1983. "There has been a big change just within the last year and a half. It's like night and day."

Fiesta will end on Sunday night, as always does, with a Mass of Thanksgiving at the St. Francis Cathedral downtown and a candlelight procession to the top of a nearby hill where the Cross of the Martyrs commemorates the local Franciscan priests who died in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The red and yellow graffiti on the stuccoed base of the monument was painted over today, just in time for the celebration.

Of information on youth crimes, victims and how the juvenile justice system functions.

Among other findings in today's report were these:

¶ From 1980 to 1992, reports of children abused and neglected almost tripled, to 2.9 million from 1 million. The report cited several studies that showed a clear link between child abuse and neglect, and future juvenile delinquency and adult criminality. But Howard Snyder, one of the authors of the report and director of systems research for the National Center for Juvenile Justice, said it was unclear how much of the increase in cases might be attributed to better reporting of child abuse.

¶ Between 1984 and 1993, the number of homicides among juveniles involving handguns increased fivefold. Eighty percent of juvenile homicides now are committed with a gun. A spokesman for the White House, Rahm Emanuel, said that President Clinton found the projection of a doubling in arrests for juveniles by 2010 "very disturbing."

The spokesman said that it was because of concerns like this that President Clinton had pressed for

crease in violent crimes by juveniles, comes as many cities, particularly New York and Houston, have reported a sharp drop in their homicide rates over the past three years. The reason that the national violent crime rate has recently declined overall while it is up among young people, Professor Fox said, is that there has been a sharp decrease in homicide by adults. From 1990 to 1993, the homicide rate among people age 25 years and older dropped 10 percent, he said.

Professor Fox has long been among those criminologists who have predicted that the national violent crime rate will go back up as the number of teen-agers begins to increase again after a dropoff in the 1980's. "This is the calm before the crime storm," he said. "Enjoy it while it lasts."

But he questioned whether the stark prediction in today's report of a doubling in arrests for violent crime among juveniles would really be that high. The reason it might not, Professor Fox said, is that after the juvenile arrest rate increased 100 percent from 1983 to 1992 "it would be hard to keep on going straight up."



Associated Press

A Drought of Olympian Proportions

Dry, cracked earth covered part of the construction site of the Centennial Olympic Park on Wednesday in Atlanta, where the 1996 Summer Olympic Games will be held. In the last 11 days, the Atlanta area has had only one day with measureable rainfall, seven-tenths of an inch, and the area has a rain deficit of 8.47 inches for the year.

Charter Schools—Beware Imitations

By CHESTER E. FINN JR.
AND DIANE RAVITCH

As the school year begins, tens of thousands of young Americans are enrolling in "charter" schools, independent public institutions that are publicly financed and accountable but not run by a government bureaucracy. This promising new form of education is spreading fast. Nineteen states have passed enabling legislation—eight during the past six months—and several hundred such schools are now operating. More are being planned. Charter schools are no panacea—not in a country with 85,000 public schools—but this movement is the second-most exciting development on the education reform front, surpassed only by vouchers for low-income children in Milwaukee and Cleveland.

Not all charter laws are created equal, however, and several recent ones are so weak that they are unlikely to do much good. We think of them as "Potemkin-style" charter programs, featuring an impressive facade but no substance. Some of these laws were supported by people who actually oppose charter schools on principle and decided that the best way to defuse support for the idea was to promote a bill that pretended to create them. This is visible now in New Jersey, where the state teacher's union supports a weak bill in the Assembly, while Education Commissioner Leo Klagholz and Gov. Christine Todd Whitman are pressing for the far stronger Senate version.

True Accountability

What are charter schools? Some were regular public schools that seceded—their counterparts in England are called "opt-out" schools—and became self-governing. Others are new schools started by teachers, parents, private firms, universities, girls' clubs and an astonishing array of other organizations. They are generally free to budget their own resources, select their own teachers, schedule their time and create their own curriculum. They charge no tuition, have no admissions requirements, and are attended only by students whose families choose them.

Charter schools gain this independence in return for a promise to achieve certain results. The school's charter, issued by a local or state agency, is typically valid for five years. If the promised results are produced, the charter is renewed. If the school fails to deliver, it closes. Thus it is truly ac-

countable, which is almost never the case with ordinary public schools.

No promising reform strategy can fulfill its potential, however, when undermined by its own creators. Weak charter laws suffer from at least one of three prominent failings:

- They require the prior assent of too many "stakeholders," such as a majority of teachers currently teaching in the affected schools, and they contain no mechanism for creating brand-new charter schools that do not already possess such

universities have authority to issue charters. In Arizona, besides vesting this authority in both local and state school boards, the legislature created a new "charter school" board exclusively for this purpose. That's why more than 40 such schools have opened in Arizona in less than a year.

- They fail to exempt charter schools from enough of the laws, regulations, and contractual provisions that burden conventional schools. The whole point of a charter school, after all, is to gain true au-

Not all charter laws are created equal. Several recent ones are "Potemkin-style" charter programs, featuring an impressive facade but no substance.

stakeholders. Of course, it would be wonderful if existing schools converted to charter status with the support of a majority of teachers and parents, and that is happening in some places. But there are also situations in which parents and community leaders want to start a new school, and they should be allowed to do so—with the staff they want. Currently, California's charter law requires the approval of a majority of teachers, as do those in Georgia, Hawaii and New Mexico.

- They place the local school board in sole charge of granting charters. Wyoming and Louisiana have recently enacted such laws, and all but a few of the charters authorized in Texas face the same constraint.

This limitation, invariably a key political goal of school board lobbyists, can be fatal for charter schools, because the strangling policies of a benighted local board and risk-averse superintendent are usually what charter-seekers are keenest to escape. That is why strong charter laws either lodge the charter-issuing decision with a different entity (such as a state official) or—better yet—create multiple windows or an appeals mechanism so that no single entity has the absolute power to deny a charter application. In Michigan and Minnesota, state

tonomy of action in return for accountability. The only regulations that charter schools should be expected to comply with are those governing health and safety and protections against racial discrimination. But many states leave numerous other rules in place.

If a state still mandates when U.S. history must be taught, how many students must sit in each classroom and which textbooks to purchase, while imposing rigid seniority rules and tenure requirements, there's little point in calling an entity so regulated a "charter school." Such a charter is unlikely to be worth the paper it is printed on—and few will bother of seeking such a document.

Why have so many states created Potemkin-style charter programs? The explanation, of course, has to do with power and politics, catalyzed by the education establishment's fierce resistance to changes that threaten its monopoly. Though many teachers and principals crave opportunities to opt out of the system and run their own schools without the incessant oversight, time-wasting regulations, and innumerable mandates of the bureaucracy, their professional organizations seldom see it this way.

Thus teachers' unions, school board

associations, and superintendents, if they cannot defeat the charter bill altogether, do their utmost to keep it weak. (A tight cap on the number of charter schools in the state is another favorite trick.) So do advocacy groups—special education, for example—whose stock-in-trade is rule-bound uniformity. The Southwest Regional Laboratory recently leveled a novel criticism: that charter schools—precisely because many of them demand a high degree of parent involvement—are unfair to children with bad parents!

Like baby turtles that manage to hatch from their nests despite the plundering of predators, schools that manage to obtain a charter still face hazards. One ubiquitous challenge is finding a place in which to operate. To our knowledge, no state provides charter operators with buildings or capital financing. Though this is no huge burden for existing schools that convert to charter status, it poses a great obstacle to the creation of new charter schools. Another problem is that many charter school founders and managers have little prior experience in financial management, purchasing and marketing.

English Lesson

Our hunch, however, is that these are birth and growing pains associated with a feisty, infant reform strategy that will, in time, turn into a strapping youth. In England, where state schools have been allowed for several years to opt out from the control of the local school board, nearly one-fifth of all secondary schools have gained independent status. Even the Labor Party must come to terms with such schools, not least because party leader Tony Blair now sends his own child to an opt-out school.

We doubt that opponents of American charter schools will be able to halt their spread, even though they will certainly try to curb their independence and cap their numbers. Where real charter schools exist, they are over-subscribed. The public demand for better schools, fewer regulations and stronger results will keep this movement alive.

Mr. Finn, a fellow at the Hudson Institute, and Ms. Ravitch, senior research scholar at New York University, direct the Educational Excellence Network. This article is adapted from their Network report "Education Reform 1994-1995."



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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/26/95

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN

9/24/95

By Mike Males

Rescuing adolescents from their own depraved behavior is increasingly dominating the Clinton Administration's health policy. But the White House's campaigns against teen-age smoking and drug abuse obscure its own agencies' reports showing that the crisis is among adults. Ninety-eight percent of Americans die from illegal drugs are over 20. And parents' smoking causes deaths of thousands of children's lives every year and is the big single factor influencing teens to smoke. Yet officials have diverted attention from the grown-up and onto the never-popular, non-smoking teen-agers — exactly the age group showing the largest declines

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It's the Adults, Stupid

in, and lowest rates of, drug and cigarette abuse.

The National Institute on Drug Abuse's household surveys show that in 1993, smoking among youths aged 12 to 17 was 62 percent lower than in 1979 and 17 percent lower than in 1990. Since 1985, though tobacco companies spent \$40 billion on ads, smoking among teen-agers declined 37 percent, twice as fast as among adults. In 1993, only 10 percent of 12- to 17-year-olds had smoked at least one cigarette the month before the survey was done, a rate one-third that of adults.

Though ardent to protect adults from smoke in public places, officials have not even publicized the much greater hazards to children of parents smoking at home. A 1992 E.P.A. report blamed parents who smoke for causing or aggravating at least 350,000 respiratory diseases in children every year. Dozens of studies document increased lung disorders, delayed development and even cancer among children whose parents refused to quit or smoke outdoors to avoid exposing children to airborne toxins. Incredibly, President Clinton,

A flawed war on drugs and smoking.

at his recent news conference announcing the campaign against teen-age smoking, defended "adult" smoking as "a reasonable decision."

It is hypocritical to condemn youths for smoking if officials won't shield them from secondhand smoke. "Seventy-five percent of all teen-age smokers come from homes where parents smoke," the Health and Human Services Department reported in 1989. A study I did of 400 Los Angeles middle school students confirms past research: Compared with children of nonsmokers, children of parents who smoke are three times more likely to be smoking weekly by age 15, and they are much more resistant to anti-tobacco education.

Similarly, the Administration has

exaggerated teen-age drug abuse. In fact, teen-agers have not been a significant part of the drug-abuse problem in 20 years. Drug-related deaths among teen-agers declined sharply from 1970 to 1983 and, though increasing in the late 1980's, remain relatively rare. A tabulation of coroners' reports of 8,500 drug deaths in 1993 found just 200 were teen-agers compared with 6,100 adults aged 30 to 54. Teen-agers accounted for only 17 of 3,885 cocaine deaths and 12 of 3,789 heroin deaths. A 40-year-old is 15 times more likely to die from drugs than is a 17-year-old.

Oddly enough, the drug that sends the most teen-agers to emergency rooms — four times as frequently as with cocaine or heroin abuse — is aspirin and aspirin substitutes.

The portrayal of teen-age smoking and drug use has become a cliché. Officials select a few survey figures to prove that teen-agers are reeling ever further out of control, even though research has repeatedly disproved their point. Ignored is that the worst peril to youth are parents who smoke and abuse drugs.

cut their own pay, commit mass suicide by taking to the air in their private jets and flying into each other?"

They would have, lad, had they all been dumb enough to follow the end-of-the-world scenario I have been sketching. Fortunately, one far-sighted executive dynamo was left.

"So Cal was not downsized in the end?"

You think Michael Eisner would have put up with an unhappy ending like that in a Disney show?

"You are now writing a scenario in which Disney takes over baseball?"

Baseball was one of Disney's minor holdings by the time Ripken arrived at Ballpark World that day to

The day Cal Ripken was downsized.

play his 4,262d game. By that time Eisner had made monkeys out of such aging boy dynamos as Barry Diller, Michael Ovitz, Sumner Redstone, Rupert Murdoch and Kirk Kerkorian. How? By putting together an empire that included 5,000 channels, reprint rights to "The Bridges of Madison County" and all of Russia east of the Urals.

To show he was no piker when it came to rewarding loyalty to the job, he showered Cal Ripken with gifts that included the Empire State Building, lunch with David Letterman, and five atomic bombs from his Kazakhstan Nuke World.

And more: Remember the talking Abraham Lincoln who used to deliver speeches at the Anaheim Disneyland? Eisner had had the talking Lincoln rewired and elected President. This was not as remarkable as it sounds when you realize the other candidates were Phil Gramm, Ross Perot, Pat Buchanan and Barbara Boxer.

For Ripken's historic game Eisner had the talking Lincoln reprogrammed to ask Cal for his autograph.

China's Power to Harm the Planet

By Elizabeth Economy

China's spectacular economic success has produced an environmental disaster. While the Chinese themselves suffer most from the

significance of other issues over the long run.

China is now the third largest contributor to global climate changes, after the United States and Russia. By 2050, if current trends continue, China will likely be the leader by far, emitting a projected 40 percent of the world's carbon dioxide, the most

A pollution time bomb.

The United States should not succumb to pressure, but it should reinstate China as a member of the U.S.-Asia Environment Partnership, which supports technology transfer in Asia. (China was denied American environmental assistance after the 1989 crackdown in Tiananmen Square.) The United States should also

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The Billings Gazette**TUESDAY**
May 30, 1995**PRESIDENTIAL VISIT**

Farm families get Clinton's ear

President will visit Broadview farm, talk ag policy

BY NICK BHL
Of The Gazette Staff

Les Auer has no idea how his farm near Broadview was selected for a presidential visit this Thursday afternoon. He's just glad that it was.

Auer said a representative from Sen. Max Baucus' office called Saturday, asking if he would be interested in hosting President Bill Clinton for a talk with a handful of area farmers. Clinton will be in the Billings area Wednesday evening and Thursday following his participation in graduation ceremonies at the U.S. Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colo.

"I said, 'Yeah, I think we could work that out,'" Auer said.

"Having the president here will be a real honor, no question about it."

Clinton is scheduled to arrive in Billings at about 6:15 p.m. Wednesday. He will speak at Montana State University-Billings Wednesday night and will conduct an hourlong town meet-

66 We're just going to try to be ourselves and visit."

—**Jeannette Nelson**
Levine farmer

ing at KTVO-TVision Thursday night.

On Thursday afternoon, he'll be at Auer's farm, a 7,000-acre spread off Montana Highway 3 north of Billings.

The meeting is not open to the public, and only a few farming families in the area have been invited to meet and speak with the president, according to the White House planning staff.

"From what I understand, he wants to sit down with an average agriculture family," said Keith Schott, who with his wife will also attend the meeting with the president. The Schotts farm 10 miles west of Broadview.

The president is scheduled to stay at

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Auer's place for a couple of hours, but Auer, who operates the farm with his wife and 15-year-old son, said that Clinton's advance staff told him not to be surprised if the president stays longer.

"From what they've told us, he's very easy to talk to," said Auer, who hopes to talk with Clinton about budget cuts in the national farm program.

Jeanette Helman, who has farmed between Broadview and Lavinia with her husband Steve since 1969, said she is excited to meet with the president, especially among such a small group.

"It's something you would never expect to happen to you," she said. "We're just going to try to be ourselves and visit."

Auer said he doesn't plan to polish up the farm for the president's visit, except that a Laurel firm, Top Hand Air Sprayers, will spray, at no cost, to try to control the mosquitoes that have taken to the standing water in the area.

"It will be the same as it always is," Auer said.



Photo by David Bliss

LES AUER, who grows wheat between Anton and Broadview, will be President Clinton's host Thursday.