THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-27-95

MEMO THE ENTERPRISE FOUNDATION

TO: **Mr. William Jefferson Clinton**
President of the United States

CC: **Mr. Leon Panetta**
White House Chief of Staff

FROM: **Mr. James W. Rouse**
Founder-Chairman

DATE: November 20, 1995

SUBJECT: Request for Assistance in Saving the Low Income Housing Tax Credit.

A few weeks ago when we were together and you so graciously presented me with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, you said that I should call on you for assistance if there was ever a need. There is now a need with which you can help. I wish I could call and discuss this with you; however, I am currently undergoing chemotherapy for lymphoma. With the assistance of my staff, I have been able to send you this memo instead.

As part of the budget reconciliation bill, the Congress has decided to terminate the Low Income Housing Tax Credit as of December 31, 1997. This was decided by the Republican Leadership, despite bi-partisan support from 75 Senators and 116 Representatives. If this program is ended, it will be a fatal blow for community stabilization and neighborhood revitalization. It will hurt the work of the Enterprise Foundation and nonprofits across the country.

Since its inception, the Tax Credit has helped produce approximately 800,000 units of housing for 2.4 million low income people nationwide. Moreover, the program has generated $12 billion in private investment in affordable housing and has helped create nearly 90,000 jobs annually, resulting in $2.8 billion in wages and $1.3 billion in tax revenue. This program is the perfect example of a tool that helps to fulfill your promise of rebuilding our cities and our country.

Bart Harvey, CEO of the Enterprise Foundation, has talked with Secretary Cisneros, Secretary Rubin, and the Office of Management and Budget regarding the status of the Tax Credit. They are very supportive. However, Bart feels it must be conveyed by you that the termination of the Low Income Housing Tax Credit is one of the reasons you are vetoing the budget reconciliation bill, if we are going to get the Republican Leadership to change its mind.

I ask that you do whatever you can to remove the provisions that sunset the Low Income Housing Tax Credit from Congress's bill. Our work for America's poorest citizens and our communities need our support. You make all of us proud in your stand for those who have the least.

cc NB
for
a Richard
Pearlman Book

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-27-95

BY JAKE SANDLIN
Democrat-Gazette Staff Writer

The tone starts quietly and builds. The driver slows as a red light on the small box clipped to his dashboard tells him that he's been spotted by police radar.

Or has he?

In a bid to slow speeders, Arkansas State Police mounted one of two test drones Monday on the David O. Dodd Road overpass on Interstate 430 in Little Rock.

The drones fool radar detectors by throwing out random signals matching those used by troopers' radar guns.

The drones, though, aren't meant to "catch" speeders, said Dale Ridge, a state police training instructor. The idea is to deter people from driving too fast without police resorting to ticketing.

"The guys with detectors, we know they're going faster than anybody else," Sgt. Keith Eremea of the state police said. "If they're going to slow down, three or four others are going to slow down, too."

The signals are indistinguishable from the real thing, a fact sheet on the devices says. Besides slowing drivers with detectors, it slows those pacing a car that's radar detector-equipped.

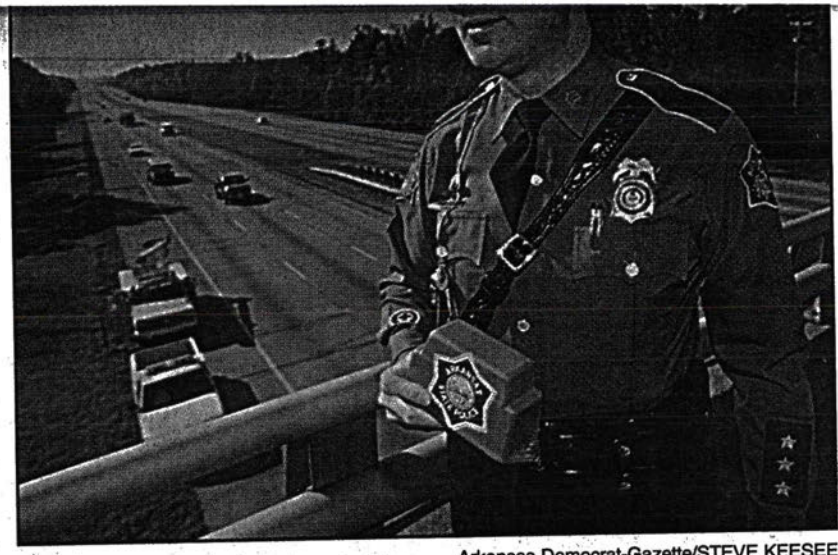
"We think it's going to help a bunch," Eremea said as he showed off the devices, on loan from PM Design Labs of Clemmons, N.C.

The experiment is being used with "Operation Safe Speed," an anti-speeding campaign begun in March.

"It's just something else we can do to make people drive slower and safer," Ridge said.

Studies on radar detector use in Maryland and Virginia — the latter banned radar detectors —

See **SPEEDING,** Page 5A

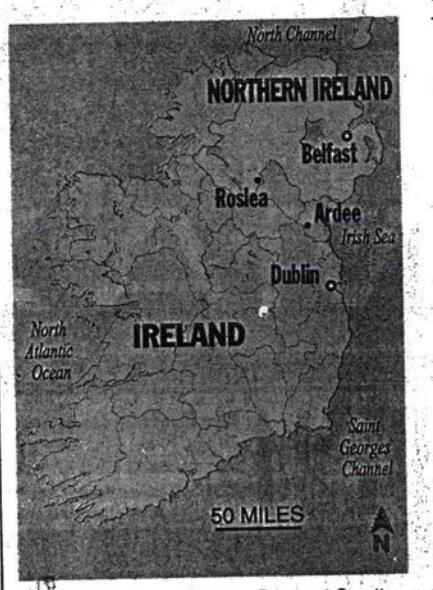


Arkansas Democrat-Gazette/STEVE KEESEE

Arkansas State Police Sgt. Keith Eremea holds one of two "radar drones" that the state will fasten to overpasses over the next few months. The devices send out a signal that activates radar detectors in cars even though troopers may not be present.

Luck o' the president: Irish feuding over visit

Villages in republic, north claim Clinton roots



Arkansas Democrat-Gazette

BY KATHY KIELY
Democrat-Gazette Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Clinton's visit to Ireland later this month is supposed to foster peace, but the Irish being Irish, the prospect of company has set off a noisy family brawl.

The whole point of Clinton's trip, which begins Monday, is to celebrate and strengthen the uneasy truce his administration helped broker in Northern Ireland.

Belfast's streets may be quiet, but elsewhere on the Emerald Isle, hostilities are breaking out. And an unwitting Clinton is the cause.

It's a battle between two tiny towns, about an hour's drive apart but on opposite sides of the border between mostly Protestant, British Northern Ireland and the predominantly Catholic Irish Republic to the south.

Religion has nothing to do with it. It's about roots. At issue is which little piece of the Auld Sod the president should visit to find his.

A Northern Ireland faction contends that Roslea, County Fermanagh, marks the spot.

But just across the border, an equally ardent group insists Ardee, County Louth, has the better claim.

The public relations battle is taking on epic proportions. From two of the barest specks on the map of rural Ireland emanate phone calls, faxes, e-mail and even dueling genealogical studies, all designed to prove that the president is the descendant of some distinguished local clan.

Never mind that most Irish who came to America arrived one step ahead of starvation or the bailiff, reams of research have been done to assure Clinton of his illustrious Gaelic roots. There are widespread rumors in Dublin that the Irish government has even worked up a coat of arms to give

See **IRELAND,** Page 8A

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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1995 rate pr to reach 7-y

BY NOEL C
Democrat-Gazette

Violent crime i declined 28 percer the overall 1995 rat to reach a seven-ye a perception that t populous city is cri officials said Mond

"It is incredibly me that we're talki back to 1988 crime a time when I kno community are foc as one of our No. 1 tle Rock Mayor Jim

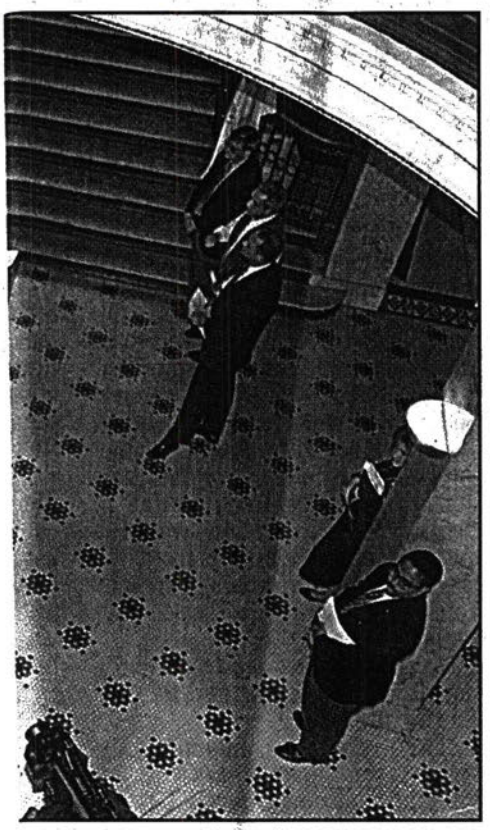
Dailey, Police Caudell and othe used a news confe pet those figures hoped to offset ar city such as that p 1994 HBO docum War: Bangin' in Li head off another tially troubling the FBI announce its national crime had declined 2 1993.

In analyzing th to compare crim metropolitan sta with populatio 100,000, *USA Tod* ranked Little Roc ly in overall crim residents.

The two other included in the a etteville-Springda Smith — ranked 2 respectively.

An *Arkansas D* analysis of prelim leased earlier th

See



Arkansas Democrat-Gazette/STATON BREIDENTHAL

e latest numbers show crime in the area is ining.

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more officers in schools, the new Southwest Little Rock police substation, daytime and nighttime youth curfews, increased truancy enforcement, and major police operations such as the Zero Tolerance Task Force.

According to the *USA Today* analysis, the metro areas with the highest crime rates in 1994 were Miami-Dade County; Gainesville, Fla.; Tucson, Ariz.; Myrtle Beach, S.C.; and Tallahassee, Fla.

Johnstown, Pa., turned out to be the safest, the analysis found.

Little Rock city officials may have some ammunition for their argument that the statistics are not an accurate picture of what is happening now. For instance, while the 1994 figures ranked Gary, Ind., 127th, that city has set a record for homicides with more than a month left in 1995.

Two unrelated shootings Saturday at a housing project pushed the number of homicides to 111 — one more than the previous record set in 1993, the year Gary was called the nation's murder capital.

The Associated Press contributed to this story.

Ireland

• Continued from Page 1A

him.

Pretty heady stuff for a kid who grew up in Hot Springs, Ark., and whose only previously known family connection with blue bloods was his mother's affinity for the sport of kings.

But while every Irish-American who's ever received one of those mail solicitations to send in $25 for the family crest might be skeptical of all this heraldic stuff, Eamon McKee, a spokesman for the Irish Embassy here, insists that it's not as far-fetched as it seems.

"The whole thing about every family in Ireland descending from a king is true," he said. But of course, there's kings and there's kings. As McKee explains it, there was a time in Ireland when "every petty chieftain called himself a king."

Clinton can blame all the fuss on his predecessors. Many Irish still thrill to the memory of President Kennedy's visit to his family homestead in County Wexford. And President Reagan's pilgrimage to Ballyporeen, where he quaffed a pint of ale in a pub, has left every other village in Ireland hoping it can share the limelight.

But alas, because Clinton's forebears left to seek their pot of gold on the other side of the Atlantic early, it has been much harder to trace his Irish ancestry.

The Roslea town fathers have homed in on the president's mother, Virginia Kelley, nee Cassidy. According to Edward MacLysaght's book, "Irish Families," considered a definitive source on Irish names and origins, "the O'Cassidy clan belong to Fermanagh" and can be traced to a Gaelic poet who wrote during the 1100s.

Another member of the line, Thomas Cassidy, was a defrocked friar who won renown for a "racy autobiography (that) has been likened to the work of Rabelais," MacLysaght wrote.

The Roslea/Aghadrumsee Community Association issued a statement last week darkly hinting that Irish "political considerations are now playing a role in denying Roslea and Fermanagh a U.S. presidential visit" and bemoaning the disappointment of "the local Cassidy clan," headed by a 66-year-old farmer named Michael Cassidy.

"Alleged cousins," sniffed the Ardee Heritage and Genealogical Society, which faxed its own release to newspapers in the United States the same day Roslea issued its statement.

Ardee counters Roslea's "Cousin Mick" with its own "Cousin Nancy," who, though she is 90 and living in a hospital, "is still quite lucid" and capable of giving "an account of many of the Clinton families from antiquity to the present day."

There's a wee problem with this, of course: William J. Clinton was born William J. Blythe. The surname he's known by is an adopted one, taken from his stepfather.

But what Ardee lacks in a blood connection to the president, the town perhaps wants to make up for with glamour. According to the research of one Kevin McKenny, a former Fulbright fellow now in residence at Queens University in Belfast, the Clytons, or Klytons were "among the Norman families that settled in County Louth."

McKenny contends that one branch of the family "arrived with King John in 1185." He has even dug up two family mottoes: "Tout vient de Dieu" (All things come from God) and "Loyaultte n'a honte" (Loyalty is never ashamed). His five-page treatise shows that members of the family played prominent roles in the Irish uprising against the rapacious British overlord, Oliver Cromwell, whose cruel policies of appropriating Irish land were ultimately responsible for "the Clinton diaspora."

How will the famously indecisive Clinton resolve his dilemma? Will he call on his humbler but perhaps authentic "cousins" at Roslea? Or pay respects to his stepfather's supposedly noble lineage in Ardee?

There's no official word from the White House, but the betting here is that he'll do neither.

Clinton being Clinton, the piece of the Auld Sod he's most likely to visit is one that has 18 holes on it.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-27-95

Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Now For the Hard Part

WASHINGTON

In announcing the Bosnian peace accord yesterday, President Clinton declared that the role of U.S. troops in implementing this agreement will be "a clear, limited, achievable mission," with minimal risks. I think that such a minimalist mission — but only such a minimalist mission — can be sold to the American public and Congress.

But before we can judge whether that is really the mission President Clinton is dispatching U.S. forces on, we need to know not only the fine print of this agreement, but what has not been printed at all, only whispered to the parties in the hallways of Dayton. There was obviously a lot of 11th-hour horse-trading.

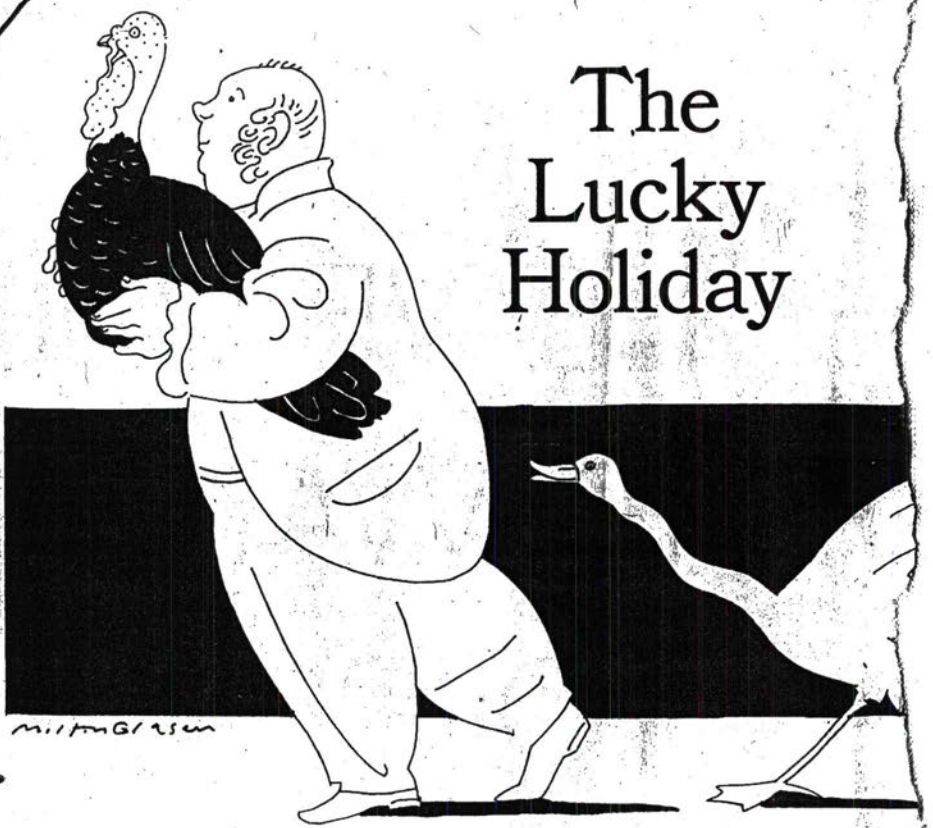
When American diplomats were negotiating the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam they accepted a lot of ambiguity in the accord, and told different things to different people — but that was in order to get U.S. troops *out*. It would be very worrying if we have adopted the same sort of diplomacy in Dayton to get U.S. troops *in*.

Here are the questions Congress should be asking:

1. Initial reports suggest that this deal came about as a result of a Croatian-Serbian squeeze play on the Bosnian Muslims. And no wonder. Croatia and Serbia, the two big powers in this theater, got virtually everything they wanted out of this deal — international recognition for the slices of Bosnia they have seized. It is the Muslims who wanted a reunified Bosnia, but got far less. The question is: What has the U.S. promised the Muslims in terms of military support and training for their army? And does Washington have the back-

Questions on the Bosnia accord.

The Lucky Holiday



By John Lanchester

LONDON

The British have imported many of the traditions and customs of the United States — Halloween, for example, and baseball caps worn backward. But we barely know what Thanksgiving is.

I was in my 20's before I ate Thanksgiving dinner for the first time, 11 years ago, in an Oxford University dining hall. An American graduate student had organized the meal, which horrified me. It featured the world's blandest vegetable (pumpkin), the blandest meat (turkey) and something I had never heard of — cranberries.

Since then, I can't say I've changed my mind much. I can see why Americans would give thanks for pumpkins if they kept you alive through the winter; but let's face it, the pumpkin doesn't belong on the list of God's top 10 ideas.

There is one thing you can say in favor of pumpkin pie: it's not roast turkey. The dry, clothlike flesh of the industrial bird, plump of breast and proud of feather, is as short of drama as it is possible for any food to be. The size of the fowl compounds the problem: after the roast turkey, key pie, turkey soup, turkeyburgers and even turkey soufflé. (For this last concoction, see "Mastering the Art of French Cooking," by Julia Child et al.)

In Britain, turkey is eaten mainly at Christmas. Both the bird and the holiday are imported. Christmas came from Europe and gradually displaced the old feast of Twelfth Night (Jan. 6); the turkey came from North America, probably in the 17th century, and displaced the traditional goose or game bird. Brillat-Savarin, the great 18th-century French gourmet, had a conspiracy

Cranberry mania sweeps England. What next?

theory about the European debut of the turkey: "It was imported by Jesuits, who raised a large number of them, particularly in a farm they owned around Bourges.... This is why the colloquial name for a turkey is still *jésuite* in many places."

Today the bird has established hegemony over the British Christmas dinner, not least in the revolting form

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playing the role of peacekeeper with one hand while arming the Muslims with the other?

The U.S. has to be very careful that it is not drawn into a process whereby the Muslims use the U.S. Army to get for them on the ground in Bosnia what they could not get at the negotiating table in Dayton. This is also a crucial point to sort out with our allies, because the Germans, British and French have never liked the idea of the U.S. upgrading the Muslim army while also serving as peacekeepers. Do Paris, Bonn, London and Washington share the same objectives under the NATO umbrella?

2. This agreement states that while Bosnia is being divided into self-governing Serbian and Croatian-Muslim states, these two halves are supposed to be united under an "effective" umbrella central government, central bank, national parliament and constitutional court. Also all refugees are to be allowed to return home. What role will the U.S. military play in achieving those difficult goals? What if the Serbs and Croats drag their feet in participating in these federal institutions or in letting refugees return?

3. How will we know when this mission has succeeded? Will we declare victory and bring the troops home only after all-Bosnian elections and a return of refugees to their original homes? Will we declare victory and bring the troops home after 12 months in which we have given the parties a legitimate breathing space to solidify peace, whether they have done so or not? Or will we declare victory after we have built up the Muslim army enough so that there will be a stable balance of power among the three parties? There has always been a trade-off in the Balkans between stability and justice. Which is our objective?

Finally, a question for President Clinton: In traveling around this country I am sure you have noticed that not only is there no public enthusiasm for this mission, there is virtually no public understanding of it. Even those inclined to support you on this aren't quite sure why.

The stakes for you could not be higher. If this peace mission succeeds, your whole foreign policy will be judged very differently than it has been up to now. But if you can't get the public's support for this mission, or if this mission fails on the ground because it turns out not to have been either limited or clearly defined, everything else you've achieved in foreign policy will be forgotten.

Putting 20,000 U.S. troops into a risky peacekeeping role in the Balkans, with relations with NATO and Russia on the line, is a major foreign policy endeavor. To make it a success will require you to exhibit something that you have never exhibited before — a sustained, personal involvement with foreign policy. That is the only way you can sell this.

But first, you have to tell us exactly what you're selling. □

John Lanchester, deputy editor of the London Review of Books, is the author of a forthcoming novel, "The Debt to Pleasure."

hours of basting.

This innovation has been joined in the modern larder by my mystery

What People Really Say About Bosnia

By Richard Sobel

PRINCETON, N.J.

Congressional leaders and most of the press seem to assume that the public adamantly opposes sending American troops to Bosnia. But opinion polls tell a somewhat different story.

The peace agreement announced yesterday calls for the deployment of 20,000 United States troops as part of a NATO force of 60,000 peacekeepers. Though surveys have consistently shown that the public opposes the idea of the United States going it alone, nearly a majority of Americans polled over the past year have said they could back a multilateral military effort.

Different survey groups, questions and timing produce varying results, but there is a distinct pattern: the American public has an open mind.

Many Americans support a multilateral force.

In an NBC/Wall Street Journal poll in December 1994, 57 percent of those asked approved of the idea of using United States troops to evacuate United Nations peacekeepers. A Yankelovich poll in June 1995 found 65 percent favoring the deployment of Americans to move United Nations peacekeepers to safer ground; a respectable 40 percent of respondents even said they favored the use of American troops in NATO efforts to punish Serb aggression. A July New York Times/CBS poll found 59 percent approving of NATO air strikes against the Serbs.

This fall, as the peace talks began in earnest, thus increasing the likelihood of military involvement, pollsters asked more detailed questions about committing American troops. Again the results varied, but a Gallup poll in September found 52 percent in favor of "contributing U.S. troops to a United Nations peacekeeping force." In mid-October, Princeton Survey Research Associates, New York Times/CBS and Yankelovich polls found only 27 percent, 39 percent and 42 percent, respectively, in favor of sending in troops for peacekeeping. But the latest Gallup survey again shows a virtually even split, with 47 percent in favor and 49 percent opposed.

This degree of support is quite high, considering the risks of committing ground troops and the vocal Congressional opposition to it. There is no exact precedent for what such opinions mean, but in the months leading up to the intervention in Haiti in 1994, for example, generally less than half of Americans polled approved of sending in troops.

With yesterday's agreement, continuing public support will depend a great deal on the leadership of President Clinton and Congress.

The President needs to persuade Congress to endorse his actions, in part because that approval will strengthen the public's resolve. But he and his Administration also need to take this case directly to the people: Mr. Clinton can say with authority that by failing to take part in a NATO-led effort, the United States would undermine its power and rock the very foundation of the Western alliance. Is this not a threat to national security?

Until today, the critical voices of members of Congress and some Republican Presidential candidates have not persuaded the public to oppose a military involvement in Bosnia outright. But Congressional disapproval would surely reduce public support for sending in American troops while weakening our leverage on the warring parties.

If, after demonstrating the moral and political imperatives behind his decision, the President asserts his constitutional prerogative to send in peacekeepers without Congressional approval, the public is likely to offer moderate support. Should the intervention be relatively short and successful, this backing would likely continue. If costs and casualties rose significantly, support would erode quickly, and the policy would have to be reversed again.

Military involvement in Bosnia carries serious risks. But Americans have thus far indicated more willingness to undertake those risks than politicians and the press have recognized. □

Richard Sobel teaches history at Princeton University.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 11/27

TO: Leon
Laura

FROM: **Staff Secretary**

FYI. I plan to forward this to POTUS.. probably this evening.

Todd

NOV 24 [illegible]

95 NOV 25 All : 03

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: RBR

Re: **Budget Negotiations**

I hope you find the attached useful.

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING INITIALS: NJ DATE: 9/19/14

2019-0774-S

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM ON THE UPCOMING BUDGET NEGOTIATIONS

Date: **November 24, 1995**

The purpose of this memorandum is to suggest ways of emphasizing the distributive aspects of what is at stake.

1. Tactical bargaining versus strategic bargaining

At the outset, there will be a temptation (which the Republicans will encourage) to set a target for how much money must be added back from the budget resolution to fund domestic discretionary spending (say, $80 to $120 billion over 7 years). There will be a simultaneous temptation to seek a moratorium on all tax cuts until the spending cuts are agreed upon and a 7-year balance is achieved.

These may be wise tactical moves, but they may not be wise strategically. They tell the wrong story about what this Administration is trying to achieve for the country: They frame the issue as between the President's efforts to increase spending and taxes versus their efforts to cut spending and taxes. Bargaining (and eventually compromising) on this basis reinforces the Republican version of what's at stake (big government versus small government). At best, it will result in a compromise which provides some funds for several of our domestic discretionary priorities. But it establishes exactly the wrong predicate for the election, and for any mandate for the next four years.

Strategic bargaining would begin by establishing principles of equal sacrifice. The underlying question should be framed as how to fairly allocate the burden of balancing the budget, so that all Americans are called to pitch in. No segment of society should be especially burdened; none should be excused. The underlying story is the President's continued efforts to achieve a fair allocation, and the Republicans' efforts to advance their powerful and privileged friends by placing most of the burden on average working people and the poor. It is also a story of the President's continuing effort to ensure a strongly competitive nation in the future, which invests in the capacities of all our people.

The predicate for the election (and for the four years following the re-election) is this: The President believes that we should be growing together again. Instead, the Republicans have been exacerbating the forces that are pulling us apart -- in terms of income, class, race, and anger directed against one another. What's at stake is no less than the capacity of this society to pull together and grow together so that we may prosper together.

2. Starting with principles of equal sacrifice

They will begin the bargaining process by enunciating certain "non-negotiable" items (such as a capital gains tax cut), and they will demand that the President come forward with a list of spending cuts. They will seek to characterize the Administration's position as "tax-and- spend" and their own as "ending the welfare state."

We should begin the bargaining process by putting a radically different frame on it. The President would announce several principles of equal sacrifice that must guide the nation in seeking to balance the federal budget. Here are several possibilities:

(1). Tax cuts should be reserved for families earning under $100,000. There is no reason at this point in our nation's history for giving tax cuts to families that don't need them. According to the Treasury Department, 45 percent of the benefits of the Republican tax proposal will go to the top 12 percent of taxpayers – those making over $100,000. The conference agreement rewards wealthy individuals by providing a retroactive 50 percent deduction for capital gains -- $28.8 billion over 7 years -- plus estate and gift tax relief amounting to about $12 billion over 7 years.

(2). No tax increases on working families. The Republican conference agreement raises taxes on working families by reducing the EITC by $32.4 billion over 7 years. Treasury estimates that these cuts reduce the EITC for 12.6 million working families, by an average of $332 in 1996. Even accounting for the $500 child credit, and a proposed increase in the standard deduction, 7.7 million EITC recipients would pay, on average, $318 in higher taxes.

(3). No tax cuts for corporations. There is no reason to make additional cuts in corporate taxes. First, corporate taxes have shrunk dramatically over the past 15 years, as a percentage of total federal tax receipts. Second, corporate profits are now high; the Dow just crashed through the 5000 mark. Third, corporate "downsizing" continues unabated. Many Wall Street analysts (among them, Steve Rattner, David Shulman, Stephen Roach) attribute rising profits and stock prices directly to corporate America's ability to prevent wages and benefits from rising. Fourth, Wall Street's bullishness does not translate into higher incomes for most Americans. According to recent studies, there has been a steadily increasing concentration of unearned income (stocks and bonds) in the hands of wealthy individuals -- even accounting for pension funds.

The Republican bill contains a number of corporate tax cuts. It lowers capital gains for corporations by $6.8 billion over 7 years, and virtually repeals the alternative minimum tax for many corporations by $16.2 billion over 7 years.

(4). No pension grabs by corporations. For similar reasons, there is no reason to allow this. The Republican bill raises approximately $4.7 billion over 7 years from companies that it assumes will pocket about $18 billion in "excesses" from their pension plans. But this provision raises the risk that pension beneficiaries won't get the pensions they were promised, or that the PBGC (and taxpayers) will be left holding the bag.

(5). No corporate welfare. There is substantial overlap among lists of "corporate welfare" subsidies and tax loopholes provided by think tanks of all ideological persuasions. Now is a propitious time to set a target of, say, $100 billion in revenues over 7 years (to be plugged into the final budget compromise), and to seek Republican agreement to establishing a commission (modeled after the base-closing commission) to identify tax loopholes and spending cuts that total at least this much.

(6). No real cuts in investments in the standard of living of future Americans. Education and job-training, environment, and technology should, at the very least, remain at their 1995 post-rescission levels, adjusted for inflation. This is necessary in order to assure that all Americans prosper in the future, not just a few.

(7). Spending cuts must fall equally on rich and poor. According to our estimates, about one-third of Republican spending cuts (approximately $300 billion over 7 years) come out of the 12 percent of the current federal budget directed to the poor or near poor. That's simply unfair. Here again, the President should call for a budget that allocates the burdens more equally.

(8). The elderly should not pay disproportionately. The Republican Medicare and Medicaid cuts are unacceptable because they put a disproportionate burden on senior citizens. Note that 75 percent of Medicare recipients have yearly incomes of under $25,000.

(9). If welfare is to be cut, then work must pay. The President's proposed minimum wage hike continues to garner strong public support (a steady 75% to 80% in the polls). By 1996 the real minimum wage will be at a 40-year low. As a condition of signing any welfare bill that cuts funding for the poorest people in our society, the President should demand an increase in the minimum wage so that they may get jobs that pay a living wage.

3. Illustrating the theme through "pairing"

The Republican budget offers many opportunities to illustrate their failure to fairly allocate the burden of balancing the budget. One way to dramatize this failure is to pair up burdens they are placing on lower-income people with certain benefits they are bestowing on the wealthy.

To take just a few examples, they seek to --

cut:	which would finance their:
$7 billion from summer jobs for poor kids	$7 billion cut in corporate capital gains taxes;
$3.5 billion in low-income housing tax credits	$3 billion in new special tax breaks for corporations;
$32.5 billion from the EITC for lower-income families	$28.9 billion cut in individual capital gains for higher-income families;
$15 billion from retraining laid-off workers and $1 billion student loan interest deduction	$16.3 billion cut in the corporate alternative minimum tax;
$12 billion from Head Start and related programs for poor children	$12 billion in cuts in estate and gift taxes for wealthy children;
$1 billion from repealing the interest deduction for employment stock ownership plans	$1 billion extension of tax break for commercial aviation fuel;

4. Issues for later in the bargaining process.

The themes of "equal sacrifice" and "America growing together rather than growing apart" can take on added strength later in the bargaining process. As the going got tougher, the President could initiate or cooperate on the following additional issues:

(1) Means-testing of Medicare. The President already has noted that he would be open to this if it were absolutely necessary.

(2) Means-testing of farm price supports and subsidies. The small family-owned farmer should not bear an undue burden, but there is no reason to excuse large agri-businesses.

(3) Making any corporate tax cuts conditional on specific criteria for "good corporate citizenship." If Republicans insist on corporate tax cuts (alternative minimum tax, corporate capital gains), the President, as a fall-back, could propose that no corporation receive tax cuts unless it agrees to fulfill certain obligations to its workers and communities. Specific criteria might include (a) investing 2 percent of payrolls in training (this was in "Putting People First"); (b) sharing productivity gains with its entire workforce through a certified gain-sharing plan and/or stock options; and (c) refraining from laying off workers during years in which the corporation earns net profits.

(4) In exchange for indexing for inflation certain tax benefits going primarily to the wealthy (for example, the Republicans seek indexation of capital gains after 2002), the President would require that the minimum wage be indexed for inflation.

5. A cautious note on the CPI. Before we acquiesce to any change in the CPI for the purpose of raising revenue, it's important to consider the large number of lower-income Americans whose incomes are currently pegged to cost-of-living adjustments using the CPI. These Americans own little or no financial assets (whose values have been rising substantially), and depend to a large extent on COLA adjustments. The following is a rough calculation but suggests the right order of magnitude.

(1) Social Security recipients -- 42.9 million.

(2) Workers covered by collective bargaining agreements -- approximately 18 million (or about 17 percent of the labor force). Even multi-year contracts which do not have an explicit COLA are influenced by the CPI when contracts are renegotiated.

(3) Food stamp recipients -- 27.5 million.

(4) Retirees on private pensions -- approximately 300,00 current retirees in the private sector depend on annual COLA adjustments in their defined benefit plans. Several million have received at least one post-retirement COLA.

(5) Retired government employees (state, local, and federal) -- 2.5 million.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 12.4

TO: Rahm

FROM: **Staff Secretary**

Look ok to you?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

95 NOV 30 A10:06

FAX COVER SHEET

NOTE: THE INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THIS FACSIMILE MESSAGE IS CONFIDENTIAL AND INTENDED FOR THE RECIPIENT ONLY.

DATE: 11.30.95

TO: TODD

FAX #:

FROM: **JOCELYN M. JOLLEY**
456-7500 (TEL) **456-6221(FAX)**

RE: Sen. Conrad, et. al. welfare reform letter. Bruce Reed did the draft.

PAGE 1 OF 8

If there are any problems with this transmission, please call (202) 456-7500.

FAX SENT: ___

NOV-30 95 10:48 FROM: 2024566221 TO:PHIL PAGE:01

DRAFT

Dear 1~:

Thank you for your recent letter on Welfare Reform. I have forwarded your legislation to my Domestic Policy Council for review.

I share your concern that in reforming welfare to promote work and responsibility, we give the states not only more flexibility, but also the reasons and incentives to succeed.

In the coming weeks, as the Administration and Congress work to find common ground on balancing the budget, reforming welfare, and other vital priorities, I will be fighting to make sure that we protect and promote the values of the American people.

I look forward to working with you on this important issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable 2-
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

KENT CONRAD
NORTH DAKOTA
202-224-2043

COMMITTEES
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY
FINANCE
BUDGET
INDIAN AFFAIRS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3403

November 15, 1995

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Welfare reform is among the most significant issues confronted by Congress this year. Unfortunately, politics seems to be winning out. Members of the conference committee are piecing together a product they know is unacceptable and leaves only unsatisfactory choices. The time has come for Congress and the Administration to put politics aside, re-assess our positions and work together to ensure the enactment of significant welfare reform this year.

We are writing to suggest such a compromise. Our proposal will fundamentally alter our nations' welfare system to promote work and personal responsibility, protect states and children, and provide maximum flexibility to states.

We are disturbed by the Administration's new analysis indicating 1.2 million children will be impoverished due to the Senate-passed welfare reform bill. Given that the conference committee has already moved significantly toward the House position, we are concerned that the conference version may push even more children into poverty. Consequently, Congress and the Administration must seek new options to achieve significant reform while protecting the most vulnerable in society.

The American people want a welfare system that provides temporary assistance to those who have fallen on hard times. In return, those who receive assistance must take responsibility for their lives and their children. They must find work or prepare themselves for work. However, while welfare reform must emphasize work and personal responsibility, it must also protect the most vulnerable children in society from malnutrition, under-education and poverty.

The new analysis of the Senate welfare reform legislation demonstrates that both the Senate and House versions are flawed, because states will not be able to protect children from poverty and meet changing needs. Therefore, we propose a new approach to welfare reform that will both increase the flexibility of states to design and administer their welfare programs and fundamentally change welfare.

We propose that states be allowed to choose between two options, both of which completely transform the welfare system. States may choose the block grant approach passed by the Senate or a temporary, work-oriented program that completely overhauls welfare while providing a stable funding stream that changes with state need. Our proposal not only allows

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

NOV-30 95 10:48 FROM: 2024566221 TO:PHIL PAGE:03

Republican governors to test their theory that block grants will work, but gives those who are wary of block grants another option that provides a safety net for children and automatically stabilizes state economies during economic emergencies and downturns.

Throughout the welfare debate, we have maintained that the welfare system should be a partnership between states and the Federal government. It should not separate the responsibility for raising money from spending money. And it must recognize the need for our national community to assist states or regions that experience localized hardships.

None of us can predict the future. The new findings about the impact of the current welfare reform proposal demonstrates the enormous risk created by an exclusive block grant approach. In addition, a block grant does not account for emergencies if there is a flood in Mississippi, earthquake in California, drought in North Dakota or economic calamity in New Jersey.

The fact that the governors, themselves, have been divided about the best approach is also cause for concern. A significant number of states have expressed serious concerns that a block grant will hinder their flexibility to run innovative welfare programs. Therefore, we believe states should have the option to either use block grants or receive a flexible funding stream that automatically adjusts for state need.

States that elect the state flexibility option will have complete flexibility to design work and job training programs, determine eligibility criteria, work requirements, sanctions and other requirements, without abandoning the principle of joint federal-state responsibility. The states may set time limits of any duration, but cannot unfairly penalize those who play by the rules.

Our approach builds on the concept of state flexibility that so many have sought as a part of welfare reform. It maximizes the use of states as laboratories to develop effective, state-based welfare reform strategies. It sharply reduces federal oversight and provides states with virtually complete control over the design and implementation of welfare programs. But it acknowledges the Federal role in ensuring that fundamental welfare reform actually occurs in the states.

The pure block grant approach inevitably results in difficult fights over allocation formulas and additional contingency funds. Such debates are the inevitable result of taking a program that was based on need and basing it on arbitrary criteria. Our approach avoids these unnecessary zero sum struggles. It allows states to choose between the block grant and a funding mechanism that automatically adjusts for state need and effort.

Our approach requires work and personal responsibility, protects children, maximizes state flexibility, and promotes family. It retains a responsible role for the Federal government while discarding the micromanagement of the past. Although states will have the flexibility to design their own welfare programs, they will do so without the risk that a natural disaster or economic collapse will render them impotent to protect children and families.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, our approach also results in significant savings. If our amendment had been included in the bill that passed the Senate, that bill would have saved approximately $58 billion over seven years.

Congress and the Administration have a historic opportunity to reform our nation's welfare system this year. By combining our approach with the block grant approach passed by the Senate, we believe the welfare system can be fundamentally changed this year without thrusting 1.2 million children into poverty. We urge you to examine our plan as you determine how to proceed in negotiations on welfare reform.

Sincerely,

Kent Conrad

Bill Bradley

Patty Murray

Byron Dorgan

THE WORK AND GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT OPTION

FOR WELFARE REFORM

The Work and Gainful Employment option (WAGE) gives States unprecedented flexibility to design and administer work programs to move individuals off welfare. The legislation is based on four principles: work, protecting children, state flexibility, and family. The WAGE option totally reforms our welfare system while protecting the children of America against an abdication of federal responsibility. The purpose of WAGE is to transform welfare into an employment-based transition program while retaining a safety net for children and an automatic economic stabilizer for states.

WORK AND GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT BLOCK GRANT (WAGE)

- The WAGE block grant will give States the flexibility to provide job placement and supportive services to move individuals into jobs as quickly as possible.
- The WAGE block grant consolidates funding from JOBS, Emergency Assistance, AFDC Child Care, Transitional Child Care, and the administrative costs of AFDC.
- WAGE services would be available for all persons qualifying for the Transitional Aid Program, and, at state option, non-custodial parents.

State Flexibility

- States have complete flexibility to design employment programs, such as microenterprises, employment opportunity centers, work supplementation, temporary subsidized jobs, placement companies, etc.
- States provide monetary incentives to case managers for successful job placements and retention, as well as to out-source job services and use performance-based contracting.
- States determine eligibility criteria and participant requirements for the specific programs created under WAGE.
- States option to require non-custodial parents with child support arrears to participate in WAGE.
- States may establish time limits of any duration for WAGE participants. However, a State may not terminate participants from WAGE and the Transitional Aid Program if the participant has complied with the requirements set forth in the WAGE plan.
- States may establish participation rates at any level above the required WAGE rates and may establish specific rates for targeted groups, such as two-parent families, non-custodial parents, mothers with children of a certain age, etc.

NOV-30 95 10:49 FROM: 2024566221 TO:PHIL PAGE:06

State Requirements

- Administer a WAGE program that promotes moving parents into private sector employment.
- Develop a WAGE employability and personal responsibility plan with the recipient that indicates the requirements necessary to move off of welfare.
- Ensure that child care is available for WAGE participants.

Funding

- The WAGE block grant is a 5 year capped entitlement to states based on historical funding for Emergency Assistance, AFDC Child Care, Transitional Child Care, and the administrative costs of AFDC (at 1995 spending levels or the average of 1993, 1994, and 1995). The WAGE block grant includes additional funding each year to put people to work and to ensure that child care is available. The WAGE block grant grows 3% per year.
- States receive incentive payments for moving individuals off welfare and into employment as well as for improvements in the number of individuals combining work and welfare.

Participation Rates

- Participation in the WAGE program is phased in, reaching 55% in FY 2000.
- States focus specifically on getting people into work or work preparation activities for a minimum of 20 hours per week (more at state option). Half of the participation rate must be met by individuals who are working. After two years individuals must be working in order to meet state participation rate requirements.

TRANSITIONAL AID PROGRAM

A new work-related program, the Transitional Aid Program, maintains a basic safety net for America's children and provide an automatic economic stabilizer for states. States have significant flexibility to determine eligibility criteria, earned income disregards, resource and asset limits, time limits, and sanctions. Compared to the current AFDC program, which has 45 State plan elements, the Transitional Aid Program reduces the State plan to 14 elements, allowing states wide latitude to design a program that meets their specific needs.

- All recipients are required to sign a "Parental Responsibility Agreement" as a condition for receiving benefits, specifying that assistance is not a right, but a transitional privilege available to those attempting to regain or achieve self-sufficiency.

NOV-30 95 10:50 FROM: 2024566221 TO:PHIL PAGE:07

State Flexibility

- States have full authority to determine:
  - Treatment of earned and unearned income
  - Resource limits
  - Forms of support - benefits, wage subsidies to employers, wages to individuals in subsidized employment, etc.
  - Sanctions for individuals who fail to comply with State requirements
  - Payment or denial of benefits to children born to individuals receiving assistance
  - Time frames for achieving self-sufficiency
  - Extent to which child support is disregarded when determining eligibility and benefits

Eligibility

- A family must meet the following criteria to be eligible for the Transitional Aid Program:
  - Have a needy child, as defined by the State
  - Comply with the WAGE employability plan (if required to participate)
  - Cooperate and comply with paternity and child support measures

State Plan Requirements

States have substantial flexibility in the design of their Transitional Aid Program with only the following minimal federal requirements:

- Serve all families with needy children uniformly, as defined by the State
- Operate a WAGE program
- Operate a Child Support Enforcement program in accordance with Title IV-D
- Maintain categorical Medicaid eligibility for the Transitional Assistance Program and provide transitional Medicaid for at least one year (longer at State option) for participants leaving the Transitional Aid Program.
- Maintain assistance in some form to needy children in families in which the parent is complying fully with all WAGE and other requirements

Funding

- Current law match rates for benefit levels are retained.

NOV-30 95 10:50 FROM: 2024566221 TO:PHIL PAGE:08

11-30-95

Todd -
This was delivered
by Erskine Bowles -
Send to Counsel/
Griffin & McLarty?
Counsel Y__ N ✓
Griffin Y__ N ✓
McLarty Y__ N ✓
Tyson; Herman; Rivlin
Doerksen

Original to J. Dorsett

M

NFIB
National Federation of Independent Business

S. Jackson Faris
President & CEO

95 NOV 30 AM 8:38

November 30, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of more than 600,000 small business owner members of the National Federation of Independent Business (NFIB) I am writing to urge you to help implement the recommendations of the 1995 White House Conference on Small Business, by supporting the small business tax relief provisions of the Balanced Budget Act of 1995. As you enter into negotiations with the Congress over this bill, I hope you will fight to preserve these small business tax cuts.

In your 1995 Agenda for Small Business -- "Rebuilding America for a New Era", you expressed your commitment to deficit reduction and tax relief for small business owners. The Balanced Budget Act passed recently by the Congress presents an historic opportunity to achieve those goals. In fact, many of the top 60 recommendations of the Conference are addressed in this bill. These items are also among the highest priorities of NFIB members. They include:

1) Estate Tax Relief -- the recommendation with the fourth highest number of votes at the Conference was to repeal the federal estate and gift tax. The Balanced Budget Act of 1995 takes a significant step toward this goal by exempting $1 million in qualified family business assets from federal estate taxes, and cutting in half the rate on the next $1.5 million. The bill also phases in over 7 years an increase in the personal exemption from $600,000 to $750,000.

2) Health Insurance Deductibility for the Self-Employed -- the sixth top recommendation of the Conference called for a 100 percent deduction of this cost. The Balanced Budget Act gets us further toward that goal, by phasing in over 7 years an increase to 50 percent deductibility.

3) Expensing -- the 32nd top recommendation of the Conference was to permit a total deduction of up to $250,000 per year in expenses. The Balanced Budget Act raises the current expensing limit from $17,500 to $25,000, phased in over 7 years.

You and the Congress are now presented an opportunity to show America's small business owners that our elected officials recognize the need to reduce the tax burden and encourage growth for small businesses, and that all the hard work done by the thousands of America's small business owners who participated in the White House Conference on Small Business will not go to waste.

We look forward to continuing to work with you to achieve the small business tax provisions contained in the Balanced Budget Act, as well as the rest of the White House Conference on Small Business recommendations.

Sincerely,

Jack Faris
President

JF/jw

NFIB
National Federation of Independent Business

600 Maryland Ave. S.W., Suite 700
Washington, DC 20024

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

London, England

November 29, 1995

The Honorable James Brady
1802 South 24th Street
Arlington, Virginia 22202

Dear Jim:

Hillary and I wanted ~~to drop you a note to say~~ you to know that our thoughts and prayers are with you ~~I are thinking of and praying for you.~~ as you face this difficult time.

Like so many others, I'm grateful for all the ~~tireless, great~~ work you've done ~~for our country~~. Your spirit, your determination, and your courage inspire me.

Hillary and I send our love ~~and prayers~~ to you and Sarah. God bless.

Sincerely,

to make this nation a better and safer place.

Todd-

I spoke with Rebecca regarding this, and she said that the Vice President was calling Jim Brady and that a letter from the President is in order.

Thanks.
- Maureen

11/30 Maureen leaves

BACK to Maureen
~~Helen~~
done 11/30

11/29

1000 - Send to

Doris Kind to reply?

Coordinate

w/ Katie McGrath.

President William Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20500

95 NOV 29 P4:28

November 29, 1995

Dear President Clinton:

On behalf of Defenders of Wildlife, we are pleased to announce that the enclosed quarter-page ad will run in the Washington Post tomorrow, November 30, 1995, publicly thanking you for your strong positions in protecting the environment. Specifically, we are acknowledging your critically important support in committing to veto the budget reconciliation bill that would have permitted oil drilling in the Arctic. Apart from its unique wilderness values and its role in preserving the traditional culture of the Gwich'in people, the Arctic Refuge is one of our last remaining, fully-functioning ecosystems. It provides habitat vital to polar bears, caribou, and nearly 200 other species.

We think it is important to publicly recognize positive efforts on behalf of the environment, as much as speaking out against harmful initiatives. Thank you for your continuing commitment to protecting the Arctic Refuge. We will continue to do everything possible to support your efforts on this important issue.

Sincerely,

Rodger Schlickeisen

Rodger Schlickeisen
President

1101 Fourteenth Street, NW
Suite 1400
Washington, DC 20005
Telephone 202-682-9400
Fax 202-682-1331

cc: The Honorable Bruce Babbitt
Ms. Katie McGinty
Vice President Albert Gore
Ms. Alice Rivlin

Printed on Recycled Paper

for Washington Post
Thursday, November 30

It's Not Just Politics.

It's Our Wilderness.



If you think the President's veto of the budget reconciliation bill was just partisan politics, think again. Buried in that bill was a major attack on America's wilderness.

This measure would have permitted oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. One of our last great sanctuaries, it contains critical denning habitat for polar bears and the calving ground of the Porcupine Caribou herd. It's also critical to the survival of the Gwich'in native culture.

We extend our thanks to President Clinton for blocking this dangerous move with his budget veto.

Thank You, Mr. President, for Defending Our Environment.

DEFENDERS OF WILDLIFE

Paid for by Americans Mobilized to Protect the Environment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 11/29/95

TO: TIM KEATING

FROM: **Staff Secretary**

For your appropriate handling.

Thanks.

Sen. Kent Conrad

95 NOV 29 P5 : 12

724 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510
202-224-2043
Fax: 202-224-7776

FAX TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

Date: 11/29/95
To: Hon. Leon Panetta
Fax: (202) 456-1121
Re: Def. bill veto request
Sender: Dakota Rudesill / Tom Mahr

YOU SHOULD RECEIVE 3 PAGE(S), INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET. IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE ALL THE PAGES, PLEASE CALL 202-224-2043.

KENT CONRAD
NORTH DAKOTA
202-224-2043

COMMITTEES
AGRICULTURE NUTRITION AND FORESTRY
FINANCE
BUDGET
INDIAN AFFAIRS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3403

November 29, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to urge you to veto the FY96 Defense Appropriations bill because it spends too much money at a time when domestic priorities are severely underfunded, and in particular to make clear that you will not accept any defense appropriations act that includes funding for additional B-2s.

As you know, the House and Senate defense appropriations conference report contains $7 billion more than you requested for defense -- or closer to $9 billion if the National Reconnaissance Office carry-forward is counted. The most egregious example of unnecessary spending is the $493 million down payment toward the procurement of an additional 20 B-2 bombers.

Quite simply, we cannot afford the $30 billion it will cost to build 20 B-2s. This spending will crowd out other national security programs deemed vital by our top military leaders and could result in the diversion of resource from important investments in our economic future. For example, we can fund more than 100,000 Head Start kids for more than a year for less money than it costs to buy just one B-2.

Consequently, we hope your veto message on this bill will clearly indicate your opposition to any additional funding for the B-2. There is no reason to spend $30 billion on additional B-2s when we already have a combat-proven, fiscally responsible alternative in the B-52 if we decide we need more bombers. With their stand-off capabilities and precision guided munitions and nuclear capability, B-52s would be an extremely cost-effective alternative to building new B-2s.

We would be pleased to work with you in stopping further production of 20 airplanes we do not need and cannot afford.

Sincerely,

Kent Conrad

Byron L. Dorgan

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

Tom Harkin

Russ Feingold

Carol Moseley Braun

John F. Kerry

Editor

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-29-95

P5:37

copy given to Ginny Terzano

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 22, 1995

MR. PRESIDENT:

Herschel Gober has drafted a response to the John Wheeler column that ran in the November 12 Democrat-Gazette. The response would run under Herschel's name.

It has been reviewed by Ginny Terzano and Michael Waldman.

If you approve, Herschel will submit it for publication.

Todd Stern

cc: The First Lady

in Washington
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Editor

Arkansas Democrat Gazette

95 NOV 21 P5:37

As a native Arkansan who regularly reads the Democrat-Gazette while in Washington I was looking forward to seeing some Veterans Day sentiments in keeping with the spirit of this treasured national holiday. Instead, you gave space (column Nov. 12) to John Wheeler's shameful attack on the President's and First Lady's alleged slighting of veterans. His charges are absurd and it's time to label them as such.

Mr. Wheeler's torrent of anecdotes is straight out of a tabloid mentality designed to portray President and Mrs. Clinton as innately hostile to present and former members of the military. His vocabulary includes "degrades...disdain... looks down on ... hypocritical." Every turn of phrase by Mr. Wheeler leads to the bald face charge that anti-veteran sentiment is rampant in the Oval Office. It would be hoped that your discerning readers would suspect that perhaps Mr. Wheeler has a personal agenda here. This is not the first time he's managed to find a newspaper willing to publish his attack and it's reasonable to ask just what is his motivation?

Take for example his charge that veterans are not well-represented in the administration. Many senior advisors, including the Vice President, plus five cabinet secretaries and the White House Chief of Staff are military veterans. But even more telling is the entire pattern of veteran employment in federal jobs and a strong commitment to the principles of veterans preference. President Clinton's policies have raised the percentage of newly hired veterans by some 44 percent between 1992 and 1994; we now have a federal workforce with a ratio of veterans employed that is double the private sector. And all this

during a downsizing of the federal workforce of some 200,000. There are many veterans who have obtained jobs in this administration. Mr. Wheeler is not one of them. Maybe his disappointment explains his vitriolic behavior.

Mr. Wheeler's alleged "proof" and conclusion that "there is no other explanation" come in the form of imagined slights and irrational suspicion. But let the true record of this administration and its advocacy on behalf of veterans speak for itself. With policies transmitted direct from President Clinton we have implemented an expansion of disease-related benefits for Vietnam veterans exposed to Agent Orange, the push to establish a law allowing disability payments to Persian Gulf veterans with diagnosed illnesses, and efforts to substantially aid homeless veterans.

Veterans have also increased access to the councils of government and gained support for important causes over the last three years. The President and Mrs. Clinton have hosted veterans and military personnel at White House functions and regularly attend ceremonies and commemorative activities. Memorial Day, Veterans Day, World War II observances and even calls from the Oval Office to veterans' bedsides have been the marks of this President's respect. I was proud to lead this team of emissaries he appointed that gained new cooperation from Vietnam for an accounting of our missing-in-action. Instead of giving Mr. Wheeler's near-childish carping a platform, ~~why not to have~~ wouldn't it have been better to observed Veterans Day by applauding President Clinton for his push to properly fund VA health-care services and benefits? No one who heard the President's remarks at Normandy, Hawaii or Arlington National Cemetery can doubt the President's personal commitment to veterans.

Speaking as someone who had first-hand knowledge of President and Mrs. Clinton's profound and sincere respect for those who wear the uniform and who have served this

nation, I am bitterly disappointed that you gave Mr. Wheeler status as an "authority" on this subject. His hostile viewpoints contribute little to what should be the honest and informed discussion of issues that your newspaper typically brings to its readers

Sincerely,

Hershel W. Gober

(Mr. Gober is the Deputy Secretary of Veterans Affairs, headed the 1992 Clinton campaign's veteran constituency effort, and retired decorated veteran who served two tours of duty in Vietnam.)

call to Danny Abraham to discuss situation in the Middle East

did not do

Sara E. would be comfortable

before Saturday 11/25 afternoon

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-28-95

NOVEMBER 22, 1995

:OMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

Danny Abraham

Before Saturday (11/25) afternoon.

Doug Sosnik and Sara Ehrman

To touch base with Abraham and discuss the situation in the Middle East.

BACKGROUND:

Abraham is a very strong DNC supporter, and he recently sat at your table during a DNC dinner. As you may recall, he is the President of SlimFast.

He is traveling to Syria this weekend to meet with President Assad. Abraham will be accompanied on the trip by former Representative Wayne Owen (D-UT). You should also know that Abraham is a close friend of Shimon Peres.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION:

1. Brief discussion on the negotiations with Syria.

CONTACT PERSON AND TELEPHONE NUMBER(S):

407-822-2800 (work)
407-832-9467 (home)

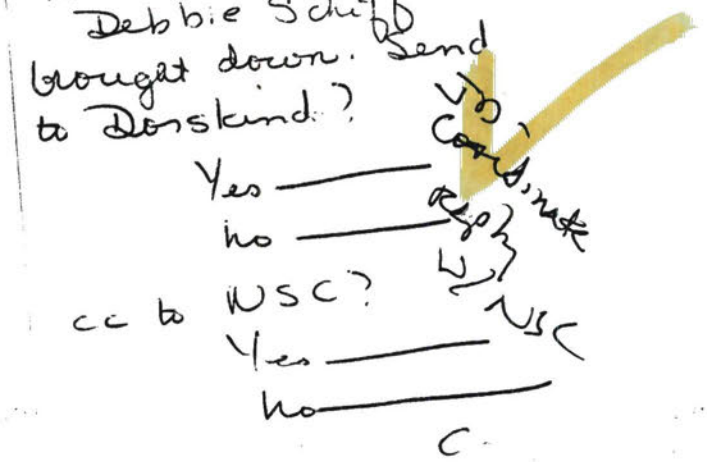
DATE OF SUBMISSION:

November 22, 1995

ACTION:_____

11-28-95

Todd -
Debbie Schiff brought down. Send to Donskind?
Yes ——— VD, Cond, mat
no ——— Rsp
cc to NSC? W/ NSC
Yes ———
no ———
C.



LAW OFFICES OF
WEINSTEIN AND HART
WELLS FARGO BANK BUILDING
433 NORTH CAMDEN DRIVE
SUITE 600
BEVERLY HILLS, CALIFORNIA 90210-4410

JEROME E. WEINSTEIN*
JOSEPH F. HART
*A PROFESSIONAL CORPORATION

AREA CODE 310
TELEPHONE 274-7157
FAX (310) 288-1884

95 NOV 28 P12 : 17

November 27, 1995

The Nobel Peace Prize Committee
Drammensveien 19
N-0255 Oslo
NORWAY

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen:

I want to be among the first to urge the Committee to award President Clinton the Nobel Peace Prize for his extraordinary efforts in causing the warring parties in Bosnia to sign a Peace Treaty at Dayton, Ohio.

I appreciate that you read the papers and watch television, and know what's going on in the world. But, perhaps you do not know how much our President is loved and admired by millions of his fellow countrymen for doing so much for the cause of peace in the world. Not since Franklin Delano Roosevelt has a President done more for world peace.

Now is the year for you to recognize the leadership of a United States President in the cause of world peace. You haven't recognized a US President since Theodore Roosevelt. It is about time the world honored the United States Presidency in the person of Bill Clinton. Not only has he taken a giant step in bringing about peace in an area plagued by war for 600 years. He has brokered peace in the Middle East. He has brought democracy to Haiti. He has been a major factor in bringing the warring parties together in Ireland.

I intend to work tirelessly to persuade you to award the President the highest honor the world can award to a human being. I pray that my efforts will be successful.

Thank you for your time.

Very truly yours,

Jerome E. Weinstein

cc: President Bill Clinton
The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
HRM King Gustav
HRM King Harald

LAW OFFICES OF
WEINSTEIN AND HART
WELLS FARGO BANK BUILDING
433 NORTH CAMDEN DRIVE
SUITE 600
BEVERLY HILLS, CALIFORNIA 90210-4410

JEROME E. WEINSTEIN*
JOSEPH F. HART
*A PROFESSIONAL CORPORATION

AREA CODE 310
TELEPHONE 274-7157
FAX (310) 288-1884

November 14, 1995

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I want to thank you once again for everything you are doing for our country. We are thrilled that you are giving those Republican SOBs hell with your handling of the budget. They are such mean, rebarbative, and vicious skinflints. They haven't changed in 60 years. Hang in there!

My client, March Schwartz, also believes in you and says you will come out of this victorious. He is usually right about these things. He also says that he will invite me to his office at the Courier to meet you the next time you visit him. I hope so.

Keep up the vetoes!

Sincerely,

Jerry Weinstein

P.S. I know you're busy, but whenever you can, I would love an autographed picture. I mean one <u>really</u> signed by you--not by the machine. Thank you.

Me # 1000-95
Oct.

11-28-95 01:33AM FROM JIM&DIANE BLAIR

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-28-95

Diane D. Blair
1011 Tanglebriar
Fayetteville, Arkansas 72701

Send from Mum
cc: [redacted]
DD Sun

November 28, 1995

To: President Clinton
From: Diane Blair
Re: Bosnia and Budget

Jim and I thought your Bosnia speech was brilliant, the most persuasive and the most "presidential" of your career. Congratulations! Jim does think you can make the historical point even more explicit: that our "withdrawal" after WWI eventually cost hundreds of thousands of American lives in WWII.

The budget stuff you sent is fascinating, and very powerful. Now, how to best package and present it. CNN had a clip on last night of Hillary speaking to a women's group about the budget, and it made the big point well and quickly: everybody wants a balanced budget, but there's a right way and a wrong way to do it. (In the 1992 campaign didn't you talk about how there's not a Democratic way or a Republican way but a right way and a wrong way; and isn't that exactly what needs to be said now?)

Briefly, why is ours the right way? Because

1. It's working
2. It invests in the future (That used to be a strong theme; shrinking the budget that paid off the past, but not the part that secures a better future)
3
4 It's based on much more realistic numbers
4. It shows some compassion.

We are so proud of you both. Have a wonderful trip.

Love,

Diane

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

sent
95 NOV 28 P8:35

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Sandy Berger

Fax Number: 363-7108 **Phone Number:**

FROM: Todd Stern

SUBJECT:

DATE:

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):

MESSAGE: Sandy — Pena just sent this memo/talking points on the US-UK aviation negotiations & at request of Cabinet Affairs because there isn't a briefing on this issue in the President's book. But I don't know whether Pena's effort passes NSC muster (look OK to you?)

Todd

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

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

THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

MEMORANDUM TO: The President

FROM: Federico Peña

SUBJECT: United Kingdom Aviation Negotiations

In contrast to their trade position in other economic sectors, the British maintain a protectionist approach on U.S.-U.K. aviation issues. Since the beginning of this Administration, we have been seeking to liberalize what is the most restrictive aviation agreement between the United States and a developed aviation partner. The present Agreement strictly regulates airline entry, U.S. cities that can receive service, the number of flights operated, access to London's premier airport (Heathrow), and pricing decisions.

We initially sought "up-front" British agreement to an open aviation regime, even if it had to be phased in. That initiative ended with a suspension of aviation liberalization talks in December 1993. In 1995, we switched to an incremental approach, and on June 5, the U.S. and the U.K. reached agreement on a first-step liberalization package that included, among other things, new U.S. air carrier entry on the Chicago-London route and additional rights for the British. Agreement on this first step also included negotiations on a second phase of talks, focused on cargo, pricing, and charter liberalization, limited Heathrow and/or Gatwick access, and access to U.S. Government-funded traffic.

After four rounds of negotiations, the second-phase talks were suspended on October 20, primarily because, after senior-level Administration consideration, the British offer on new Heathrow access was judged to be inadequate. The British had put forward a proposal for two new Heathrow opportunities, but one was highly restricted as to potential carriers and cities. The second, which would not be available until mid-1997, would have precluded U.S. authorities from even considering awarding a new Heathrow opportunity to one U.S. carrier (TWA) to begin a New York (JFK) - Heathrow route.

TALKING POINTS

- It is unfortunate that the restrictive U.S.-U.K. aviation relationship is at such variance with our approach in other economic sectors.

- We were pleased with the first step towards aviation liberalization agreed to in early June.

- I hope that your Government can show additional flexibility

to accommodate the U.S. need for three new services at Heathrow without restriction on which U.S. carrier can use them.

- Our request for one additional Heathrow service represents a small addition to what is a large and productive aviation relationship.

IF ASKED:

- U.K. negotiators have thus far only offered two new service opportunities at Heathrow, and those are substantially restricted.

- In addition, the offer was conditioned to preclude one U.S. carrier from even competing for the new rights.

- We are prepared to move forward on aviation liberalization incrementally. However, as our Transportation Secretaries have discussed, for the United States, individual deals can withstand the intense political scrutiny to which they are subjected only if they are perceived to meet the minimum U.S. needs.

95 NOV 27 A9:37

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
STATE OF MISSOURI
JEFFERSON CITY
65101

MEL CARNAHAN
GOVERNOR

STATE CAPITOL
ROOM 216
(314) 751-3222

November 22, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

During your upcoming meeting with British Prime Minister John Major, I urge you to discuss options for securing an additional airline route between New York-JFK and London-Heathrow airports. As we have discussed, successful resolution of this issue could determine the future of Trans World Airlines (TWA). I believe it is imperative that we do everything possible to assist TWA and the airline's 13,000 Missouri employees.

As always, I appreciate your support. I look forward to celebrating a victory for TWA and both of our administrations.

Very truly yours,

Mel Carnahan

MC/dk

11-27-95

Send to WSC for appropriate handling?

Yes ✓

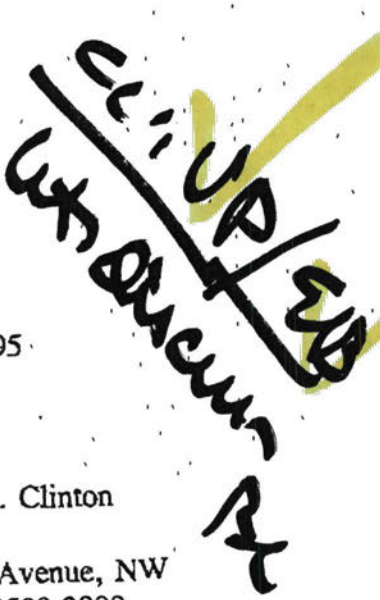
No —

cc: Marcia Hale
Harold Ickes
Higgins
Carol

TOTAL P.02

3637108

3637108



SOROS fund

November 28th, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-28-95

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President

I fully support your stand on Bosnia. Frankly I have been very critical of your administration for its lack of a coherent foreign policy but I see some improvement which I hope will continue.

The United States must assume a leadership position in creating a stable world order to fill the vacuum created by the collapse of the Soviet empire. I am hopeful that you may be ready to confront this task in your second term. If so I shall be ready to support your reelection campaign.

With best wishes

George Soros

GS/ys

SOROS FUND MANAGEMENT, 888 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10106 (212) 262-6300 FAX (212) 245-5154 TELEX 428289 SOROSFD

Todd.
Should copies go
to Baer
Shipley
+ Lindsey ?
yes

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-28-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 NOV 22 AM 9:49

November 22, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DON BAER, DAVID SHIPLEY

SUBJECT: THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

The New York Times Magazine is putting together a special issue entitled "The Lives They Lived." The issue will feature short essays from prominent Americans about people who inspired them and made a difference in their lives. For example, Senator Moynihan is writing about James Coleman, author of the Coleman Report on school desegregation in American education.

Jack Rosenthal, the magazine's editor, was hoping you would write a 250- to 500-word remembrance of Senator Fulbright. His only request is that it be a new story -- one you have not recounted in your earlier writings and remarks about the Senator.

Please let us know how you wish to proceed.

cc: Bruce Lindsey

I'll then answer Stan

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 11-28

TO: P.J. Glauthier

FROM: **Staff Secretary**

Greenspan is a friend of Pops. This letter is not very intelligible. Can you fix it?

Rob

cleared by Leg Aff.'s OMB, and Martha Foley

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 27, 1995

T.J.

Mr. Brian L. Greenspun
President
Las Vegas Sun
800 South Valley View Boulevard
Las Vegas, Nevada 89107-4411

Dear Brian:

Thanks very much for your letter. I understand your concerns about a potential interim facility for waste storage in Nevada.

As you may know, the Energy and Water appropriations bill significantly reduces funding for the study of Yucca Mountain as a possible site for a permanent geologic repository. Furthermore, it allows Congress to shift program resources to the development of an interim storage facility if an authorization bill is passed. I remain concerned about achieving our national goal of providing facilities for the permanent geologic disposal of the nation's spent nuclear fuel and high-level radioactive waste.

I am strongly opposed to undercutting the work on the permanent repository and to designating a specific site for interim storage at this stage in the process. I will continue to monitor this issue closely, and I will do everything I can to see that the outcome is fair and equitable and, more important, that it protects the health and safety of the people of Nevada.

I appreciate your active interest in this important issue, and I am grateful for your continued support.

Sincerely,

Jerry Paul Jr
asap
cc M. Hal

LAS VEGAS SUN

BRIAN L. GREENSPUN, President
800 S. VALLEY VIEW BLVD., LAS VEGAS, NV 89107-4411
702-259-4003

P.O. Box 4275
LAS VEGAS, NV 89127-0275
FAX: 702-259-4143

September 26, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President,

I know the Republicans are giving you fits but for what it is worth, you seem to be holding your own. As long as the issues are real and the position you take is reasonable, I believe the people in this country will continue to give you the benefit of the doubt. Especially since the other guys keep coming across as less than reasonable people.

I have a continuing issue to raise, yet again, because it appears that this week will tell the story on the temporary nuclear waste dump. The Appropriations conference committee is set to re-include the designation of Nevada as the nation's only temporary site for the storage of the nuke wastes.

All the rhetoric aside, no one actually believes that once the trucks and trains start rolling our way that there will be any desire to change the status quo. Hence, the temporary dump will become Nevada's permanent nightmare. We will be screwed without benefit of marriage and without benefit of the very basic scientific safeguards that were originally intended by Congress when this whole thing started.

Once the conference report contains the temporary dump language, you can just guess the odds on having it removed when every other senator and congressman will vote to keep it out of their own backyards.

That's where you and only you can be helpful. You informed Congress earlier that you were opposed to the singling out of Nevada at the time the issue was raised in the Senate. I don't see any evidence of good science or changed circumstances which would convince you to change your mind.

MEMBER: AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION • AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS •
• ASSOCIATED PRESS • NEW YORK TIMES SERVICE • NEVADA STATE PRESS ASSOCIATION •
• CALIFORNIA NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION •

LAS VEGAS SUN

In short, Nevada needs your help again. The right message to the conferees might keep this assault on our sovereignty and our health and safety from happening. I can't tell you this is a partisan effort because both Domenici and Johnston are pushing this effort. Rather, it is the result of some serious arm and wallet twisting by the nuclear industry that is no longer confident that good science will win the day for them.

Politics is their answer. And, regrettably, tiny Nevada has little with which to fight. What we do have is your sense of fair play and the desire to base any decision like this on good and proper science, neither of which is at play in this case.

Time is of the essence. Please let me know what we can do from our end to help you make the right decision.

Respectfully,

Brian

95 NOV 28 P2:29

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
STATE OF MISSOURI
JEFFERSON CITY
65101

MEL CARNAHAN
GOVERNOR

STATE CAPITOL
ROOM 216
(314) 751-3222

November 22, 1995

11-28-95
original to Phil
copy to Todd

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

Dear Mr. President:

During your upcoming meeting with British Prime Minister John Major, I urge you to discuss options for securing an additional airline route between New York-JFK and London-Heathrow airports. As we have discussed, successful resolution of this issue could determine the future of Trans World Airlines (TWA). I believe it is imperative that we do everything possible to assist TWA and the airline's 13,000 Missouri employees.

As always, I appreciate your support. I look forward to celebrating a victory for TWA and both of our administrations.

Very truly yours,

Mel Carnahan

Mel Carnahan

11-28-95
Send to NSC for appropriate action?
Yes ✓
No ___

cc: Marcia Hale?
Yes ✓
No ___

Colin Marshall, Chairman and CEO of British Airways, has recently expressed his view that further mini deals with the U.S. are unlikely.

However, he believes the two governments should support "open skies."

On the assumption that this is not feasible in the near term, the President should privately explain to Prime Minister Major there is indeed a feasible short term solution.

The selection of TWA, asking for a single daily flight from JFK to Heathrow, is a simple solution to a mini deal.

The British get a relatively small carrier to compete against, as opposed to Delta, N.W., or Continental.

Agreement on this deal would preclude the necessity of another negotiation for the immediate future.

BA's 8 to 10 daily flights would be little threatened by TWA's single daily flight.

It would be a win win situation.

LUNDE & BURGER

CAMPAIGN CONSULTING • COMMUNICATIONS

LUNDE & BURGER, INC. FAX TRANSMISSION

DATE: 11/28/95

TIME:

FROM: Brian Lunde

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER PAGE: 3

TO: Nancy Hernreich

ORGANIZATION:

FAX NUMBER:

COMMENTS: I've sent this to a number of people in the administration just to make sure the President sees it before his trip to Europe later today. I think it is important for him to see it.

SHOULD THERE BE ANY QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS REGARDING THIS TRANSMISSION, PLEASE CALL 703/749-0575. OUR FAX NUMBER IS 703/749-0595.

Thanks!

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-28-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 27, 1995

MR. PRESIDENT:

The issue presented by the attached Berger-Cutter memo is how many commercial space launches should be allocated to Ukraine through 2001. Note that the commercial space launch deal we enter into with Ukraine will be our third, following ones with China and Russia.

There are two options, which pit Boeing and McDonnell Douglas against each other. In each, Ukraine would get up to 20 launches through 2001. The real issue is how many would be conditioned on a strong market and how many would be allowed regardless of market conditions. **Option A** -- 8 unrestricted launches, 8 more in a joint U.S.-Ukraine joint venture, 4 contingent on a robust market. **Option B** -- 10 unrestricted, 10 contingent on a robust market.

Boeing favors Option A as critical for its "Sea Launch" program, a joint venture with Russia, Norway and Ukraine. The other U.S. launch provider, Lockheed-Martin, and all U.S. satellite manufacturers, also favor Option A. MD favors Option B, saying too high a Ukrainian quota would threaten the viability of MD's planned Delta III rocket.

NSC, NEC and all agencies other than DOT support Option A, believing that U.S. government payloads can keep MD's Delta III viable. NSC believes Option B would not meet our commitment to Ukraine. The Vice President, OMB and OSTP also favor Option A. DOT favors Option B.

Option A✓ Option B____ Discuss____

Todd Stern

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-28-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 NOV 14 P2:23

November 11, 1995

DECISION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Samuel R. Berger
W. Bowman Cutter

SUBJECT: Commercial Space Launch Quota for Ukraine

SUMMARY. The direct issue you are asked to decide is the size of the quota that the U.S. provides to Ukraine for commercial space launch. But this issue also involves a direct trade-off between different U.S. commercial interests. Two options are presented for your consideration:

-- Option A would provide Ukraine with 8 completely unrestricted launches; another 8 launches limited to a U.S.-Ukraine joint venture; and a further 4 launches if the demand for commercial launches proves to be more robust than anticipated. This quota would be just large enough for Boeing to proceed with its U.S.-Ukraine joint venture, and thus would reward Ukraine for its responsible security policies. McDonnell-Douglas will argue, however, that this option would threaten their proposed Delta III rocket program, and thus would threaten MD's participation in the commercial launch market. In our judgment, however, this option would give MD an adequate opportunity to compete in the commercial launch market. Moreover, the fact that MD would remain a major launch provider to the DOD and other government agencies makes us inclined to doubt that MD would withdraw from the commercial market. Finally, limiting a portion of the quota to a joint venture would give MD added protection in the event that the Boeing-Ukraine alliance did not proceed. All agencies except DOT support Option A.

-- Option B, which DOT supports, would provide Ukraine with 10 unrestricted launches, and an additional 10 launches if the demand for launches is more robust than expected. This smaller quota would preclude the Boeing-Ukraine venture, and thus would reduce U.S. foreign policy and economic gains, perhaps significantly, but would ensure that MD went ahead with Delta III.

The rest of this memorandum provides a longer explanation should you wish to consider these issues in more detail.

We recommend that you endorse Option A.

BACKGROUND. In November 1994, you and President Kuchma issued a joint declaration pledging to negotiate a commercial space launch agreement (CSLA) that would allow Ukraine access to the international commercial space launch market. The key unresolved issue in those negotiations is the launch quota that will be allocated to Ukraine through 2001.

Rationale for Allowing Ukraine into the Commercial Launch Market. The decision to grant Ukraine access to the commercial space launch market was taken in recognition of the decisive and responsible steps Ukraine had taken to meet key U.S. security concerns by agreeing to: sign the Trilateral Statement, return nuclear weapons to Russia for dismantlement, abide by the MTCR guidelines, and accede to the NPT. Allowing Ukrainian participation in the launch market also was intended to provide a stabilizing influence for the Ukraine economy at a time when Ukraine is coping with the difficulties of a transition to a market economy. Ukraine participation in the commercial launch market also would encourage Ukrainian rocket production to convert to peaceful uses. Finally, because roughly 40 percent of the Ukraine rocket is made from Russian components, Ukraine participation in the launch market would provide an economic boost for Russia.

The U.S. also would gain *economically* by allowing Ukraine into the commercial launch market. The economic gains would occur as increased competition in the launch market lowered the price of putting U.S. satellites into orbit, and thereby increased the demand for U.S. satellites. The U.S. enjoys a significant advantage in satellite technology; this advantage provides not only a large export market, but also a significant advantage in certain telecommunications and remote sensing markets. The U.S. satellite industry provides the U.S. economy with value-added totalling many times the value-added provided by the U.S. commercial launch industry.

Rationale for CSLAs. The U.S. currently has CSLAs with China (signed in 1989 and 1995) and Russia (signed in 1994). The agreements were designed to allow economies-in-transition into the market in a way that protected U.S. launch providers against unfair competition from companies that were not subject fully to the disciplines of competitive markets. Since price disciplines are difficult to enforce, the agreements also include explicit quotas on the number of launches. This Spring the Administration decided to transition away from quotas toward an environment characterized by free and fair trade among market economies when the current CSLAs expire in 2000-2001.

Industry Views on Quotas for Ukraine. Boeing wants the largest possible quota for Ukraine. Boeing initially claimed that it needed 22 launches over the period 1998-2001 in order for its proposed "Sea Launch" to be commercially viable; it has since indicated its willingness to accept 17 launches. Sea Launch would combine a Ukrainian rocket with a Russian upper stage; Boeing would assemble the rocket and satellite at the soon-to-be-closed Long Beach Naval Station, and then tow the rocket on a barge for launch at sea. Equity would be held by Boeing (40 percent), and by companies from Norway (20 percent), Russia (25 percent), and Ukraine (15 percent).

McDonnell-Douglas, the only major U.S. launch provider to rely solely on U.S.-manufactured vehicles, fears that a significant Ukraine quota would threaten the commercial

viability of its planned Delta III rocket. Program development for Delta III began this Spring; the rocket is scheduled to become operational in 1998. MD claims that it will not pursue Delta III, and could exit the commercial launch market, if Ukraine quotas are too high.

The other major U.S. launch provider (Lockheed-Martin) and all U.S. satellite manufacturers (including Hughes and Loral) support more expansive quotas.

OPTIONS. All agencies agree that the U.S. should offer Ukraine "parity" with the PRC and (assuming a new agreement is reached) with Russia by allowing Ukraine up to 20 launches through the year 2001. As with the PRC and Russian agreements, a certain number of launches would be allowed regardless of market conditions; the remaining launches would be allowed only if the market were robust. In dispute is the number of launches that should be allowed regardless of market conditions.

Option A (supported by all agencies except DOT) -- Provide Ukraine with 8 completely unrestricted launches; an additional 8 launches limited to a U.S.-Ukraine joint venture, but otherwise unrestricted; and another 4 launches only if the launch market proves to be more robust than anticipated.

Pro

-- Would make clear to Ukraine that its responsible policies on nuclear weapons and missiles will be rewarded and would underscore U.S. interest in Ukraine.
-- Sea Launch would be assembled at Long Beach Naval Shipyard, providing a prime example of base re-use in an area of the country hardest hit by base closure.
-- Would bring another U.S. company into the launch market, increasing competition and lowering launch costs for the U.S. satellite producers.
-- Protects MD if Boeing's Sea Launch project does not proceed.

Con

-- DOT believes that this option would not offer MD sufficient assurance that its Delta III program will be successful. DOT agrees with other agencies that Delta III would have sufficient opportunity for commercial success under all but a "low-growth" market scenario. DOT is concerned, however, that MD might forego the Delta III program unless it could be assured of commercial success even in a low-growth market. (Other agency views are noted immediately below.)

-- McDonnell-Douglas will argue strongly that quotas of this magnitude would make its prospective Delta III program commercially inviable and could drive MD out of the commercial launch business (although MD would continue to be a major provider of space launch for government payloads); that Delta III would create 5,000-6,000 jobs, principally in Florida and California, over the life of the project; that it embarked on this project in Spring 1995 in the expectation that quotas would not be expanded substantially;

that the 1994 National Space Transportation Policy, which reaffirms support for CSLAs (but not for any specific quota), binds the Administration to quotas at a level that would ensure the economic viability of Delta III; and that the Administration set the quotas without giving MD an adequate chance to explain its views.

Rebuttal: All agencies agree that this option poses some risk to MD's prospective Delta III rocket program. All agencies except DOT, however, believe this risk to be acceptably small -- because even in a low-growth market, U.S. government payloads could provide the margin needed to make Delta III commercially viable. In addition to these different judgments about the market:

-- Over the last several months, USTR has organized several briefings at which McDonnell-Douglas presented its views to staff from all relevant U.S. agencies. MD has met with Micky Kantor, Secretary Peña and other senior advisors.
-- The National Space Transporation Policy (NSTP) did not indicate that quotas would be kept fixed. After the Space Policy was issued, MD *accepted* the U.S. proposal to expand launch quotas for the PRC. At the time that MD decided to invest in Delta III, the new PRC agreement was in place, the U.S. had publicly committed to allowing Ukraine into the launch market, and MD had been informed that the Administration was likely to expand quotas for Russia.
-- The effect on jobs is uncertain. On the one hand, larger quotas are likely to reduce the demand for Delta III; on the other hand, new jobs will be created by Boeing and by satellite manufacturers.
-- The NSTP reaffirmed a U.S. government policy of reserving government payloads (a significant portion of the total launch market) for vehicles manufactured in the U.S. (generally, vehicles produced by MD and Lockheed).
-- DOD supports this option because it would broaden the U.S. industrial base. DOD notes that this option would not affect its ability to launch government payloads at reasonable prices on U.S. providers (MD and Lockheed), nor would it put at risk DOD's efforts to develop a cost-effective next-generation launch vehicle.

Option B (supported by DOT) -- Provide Ukraine 10 launches without restriction, and an additional 10 launches if the market proves more robust than expected.

Pro

-- McDonnell-Douglas's Delta III program would be more likely to enjoy commercial success, even under a "low-growth" scenario for commercial space launch (McDonnell-Douglas would oppose even quotas of this magnitude, but would be somewhat less vociferous in its complaints).
-- Though slightly less than what we anticipate being able to provide to Russia in upcoming talks, this level of quota is more than was given initially to Russia.

Con

- -- The NSC believes that this level of quotas would not meet the U.S. commitment to Ukraine, and would cause Ukraine, which is very interested in Sea Launch, to question U.S. reliability and perhaps to reconsider its policies on missile export control.
- -- Would provide fewer economic benefits to the U.S. economy overall. In particular, the Boeing venture would not proceed, limiting the benefits to U.S. satellite producers.

RECOMMENDATION. All agencies except DOT support Option A. We recommend that you endorse Option A.

____ Approve

____ Disapprove

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 11-25

TO: Leon
George

FROM: Staff Secretary

FYI. I am forwarding to Boris.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 NOV 27 P3:29

27 November 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: HAROLD ICKES
JENNIFER O'CONNOR

RE: AFL-CIO ENDORSEMENT

AFL-CIO President John Sweeney has asked for our input on the timing of an AFL-CIO endorsement. Currently, they are planning an Executive Council Meeting in January; they could broaden this meeting to include the entire AFL-CIO board, who must vote on the endorsement. This would enable us to nail down the endorsement in January.

If you would prefer the endorsement to be later in the year, they are willing to work around our timing. But we need to get back to them soon about the January possibility. What is your preference in the timing of an endorsement?

____ Endorsement in January.

____ Endorsement late in year, preferably, during: _____

Fax tran pages

cc: JD
LPanetta
Hyg, ws

UI T!

The National Safety Council*, representing 17 thousand businesses and citizens, urges President Clinton to veto S. 440, National Highway System Legislation.

95 NOV 28 PM 1:35

* The National Safety Council, chartered by act of Congress, is a nongovernmental, not-for-profit, public service organization devoted solely to educating and influencing society to adopt safety, health, and environmental policies, practices, and procedures that prevent and mitigate human suffering and economic losses arising from preventable causes.

National Safety Council

A nongovernmental, not-for-profit, international public service organization protecting life and promoting health

November 28, 1995

Reply to:

WASHINGTON D.C.
OFFICE
1019 19th Street, N.W., Suite 401
Washington, DC 20036-5105
(202) 293-2270
FAX (202) 293-0032

Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

On behalf of the National Safety Council, I am writing to you to express our concern over National Highway System (NHS) legislation soon to be sent to you for signature. The NHS designation bill, S.440 and H.R. 2274, is intended to improve the nation's highways but instead will have serious negative consequences for the safety of all Americans.

There are three provisions in the NHS bill which, if allowed to become law, will undermine decades of progress in highway safety. The legislation would repeal the National Maximum Speed Limit, eliminate federal incentives for states to adopt motorcycle helmet laws and exempt thousands of trucks from federal motor carrier safety standards.

All three of these repeal provisions jeopardize the safety of the travelling public, but the impact of higher speed limits will have the most significant immediate result. Motor vehicle crashes already are the leading cause of death for all Americans between the ages of one and thirty-five. Across the country, nearly 41,000 people died in motor vehicle crashes last year, a number that has increased for the second year in a row. According to the U.S. Department of Transportation, if the national speed limit law is repealed there will be 6400 additional deaths each year, at a cost of over $19 billion annually.

At least nine states already are poised to automatically raise their speed limits should the national law be repealed. Many more can be expected to follow suit over the next several months. Not only will speeds increase on federal interstates; this NHS bill would allow speeds to increase on non-federal roads with some of the highest fatality rates. For the first time, Mr. President, Congress has approved a federal-aid highway bill that will lead to more, rather than fewer, highway deaths and injuries.

The National Safety Council respects the importance of legislation which will provide billions of dollars to states to improve our national highway system. Regretfully, however, we cannot support a bill which will do more to threaten the safety of travelling Americans than it will to enhance it.

Highway safety is a national problem, and federal leadership is needed if we are to continue this country's progress in saving lives on our highways. The price for "states' rights" in this area will be more highway tragedies, more young lives lost and a greater financial burden on all taxpayers. We therefore respectfully ask you to veto this NHS bill in favor of a bill that provides this essential highway funding but does not contain these costly anti-safety provisions.

Finally, we also urge you to call on the nation's governors and establish a Presidential commission to address the question of highway safety. With highway fatalities increasing and efforts under way to roll back life-saving programs, it is crucial for us to pull together and find ways to sustain the important advances that have been achieved. We offer to help you in this endeavor in any way we can.

Sincerely,

Gerard F. Scannell / jr.

Gerard F. Scannell
President

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-28-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 NOV 27 P4:03

November 27, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT & ANNE WALLEY

SUBJECT: SCHEDULING DECISIONS

Accept:

Date of Event:	Description of Event:
11/27/95	Interview With Sarah Staley of WAGB-TV of Greenville, MS
12/5/95	Nickelodeon Taping
Dec. 12/1/95-12/14/95	Meeting With Campaign Attorney & Notary **You have already had one meeting. We will schedule another meeting in the first two weeks of December.**
Dec. '95	We have agreed to the following interviews: 1) People Magazine Year End Issue (12/7/95) 2) Phone Interview With Carl Anthony 3) Editors of Time Inc.Magazines 4) Associated Press 5) Los Angeles Times DC Bureau
Jan. '96	Roundtable With Women and Families

Regret:

Date of Event:	Description of Event:
11/17/95 - 1/31/96	Drop By Tour of DOT Connection Customer Service Center
12/11/95	Attend the Inauguration of Kentucky Governor-Elect Paul Patton **You are currently scheduled to meet with Prime Minister Peres in DC on this day.**
12/20/95	Drop By of NSC Holiday Party **If you commit to one holiday staff party, it will be difficult to regret other staff parties. We suggest that you do not agree to attend individual holiday staff parties.**

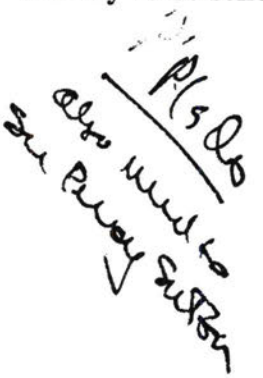
Pending:

Date of Event:	Description of Event:
12/4/95 - 12/8/95	**Optional** Drop By Swearing in of Judge Leon Higginbotham
12/6/95	**Optional** Drop By WH Conference on AIDS Reception **You are committed for a 2 hour block of time for the conference. Therefore, we would like to leave this as an option for you.**
12/10/95	Participate in Leah Rabin Visit to the United States (Ceremony at Madison Square Gardens in NYC)
12/11/95 - 12/15/95	Meeting With Democratic Officials From Texas and From the State Party
tbd	Tree Planting Ceremony in Honor of Yitzhak Rabin With Leah Rabin (DC)

tbd

Meeting With Bob Johnson of Black Entertainment Television

This was previously scheduled but was cancelled due to the Rabin funeral. We will try to re-schedule in the near future.



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-28-95

Summary p.2

NOVEMBER 27, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: DOUG SOSNIK and KAREN HANCOX 95 NOV 27 P7:54

SUBJECT: DAILY REPORT / **5:00 P.M.** Q: Have you got a map w/ Electoral votes? — BC

1996 Presidential

In case you missed it, the NY Times and Time Magazine reported that seven pols held discussions about an independent run. The group included Bill Bradley, Lowell Weicker, Paul Tsongas, Gary Hart, ex-CO Governor Dick Lamm (D), ex-Rep. Tim Penny (D-MN), and ME Governor Angus King (I). Bradley's chief-of-staff has played down the conversations, characterizing them as issues discussions. Attached is a Newark Star Ledgar article.

Republican Candidates

Attached is Bob Novak's article lamenting the lack of a strong Republican challenger for the 1996 Presidential race.

Bob Dole

Wisconsin Governor Tommy Thompson endorsed Bob Dole today. He becomes the 16th (of 31) Republican Governors to endorse Dole, and no other candidate has the support of more than 2 Governors. During Dole's visit to Wisconsin, he asked for your answers on 5 questions on Bosnia: what America's vital national interests in that country are, how many soldiers will go, how long they will be there, how much will it cost, and what the strategy of America's eventual exit from Bosnia will be.

The Weekly Standard reported the Dole campaign may fire the campaign manager (Scott Reed) after a relatively poor showing in the FL straw poll.

Steve Forbes

The Arizona Republic reports that Forbes is "pouring beaucoup bucks into Arizona these days, buying up so much radio and TV ad time that even non-attentive listeners can recite his commercials." The Forbes campaign is continuing with a new TV ad. FULL TEXT: ANNCR: "He's been called a champion of economic growth and a visionary. He is Steve Forbes and under his leadership Forbes magazine has become the most successful business magazine in the world. A conservative leader, he devised the bold tax cut plan for New Jersey that is creating new jobs and economic growth. He was appointed by Ronald Reagan to lead Radio Free Europe, which played a crucial role in the fall of communism." FORBES: "I'm Steve Forbes. America has the potential for the greatest economic boom and spiritual renewal in our history. But we're being held back by Washington politics as usual. It's time we move forward. Start with a low flat tax, put term limits on politicians and restore control of our schools to parents. Let's return opportunity to all Americans. Do that and our best days are ahead."

Newt Gingrich

Gingrich definitively ruled out a Presidential run and said he would not endorse a candidate. He also stated his desire to serve as chair of the Republican convention next August.

New York

Tomorrow will be the first day that candidates seeking spots on the March 7 GOP primary ballot can begin circulating qualifying petitions. They must be completed by January 4. The Dole campaign is expected to blanket the state, and Forbes is the only Republican with a chance of also qualifying. Forbes will be in New York City and Albany tomorrow and Buffalo, Rochester, and Syracuse on Thursday to promote the petition.

Forbes' campaign headquarters in New York was burglarized on Saturday, and computer information was rifled through. Forbes attributed the event to urban living, but campaign sources said the burglary was an attempt to gather information.

STATE-BY-STATE REPORT

Oregon Senate

As of late last week, 29.7% of all ballots mailed to registered voters have been returned to county drop off sites or mailed in, according to the Oregon Secretary of State's office.

Conservative Christian groups have printed nearly a half-million voter guides to help voters choose a candidate in the vote-by-mail primary election. The groups printed one page guides summarizing the positions of Democratic candidates Peter DeFazio and Ron Wyden and Republican candidates Norma Paulus and Gordon Smith. In addition, 31,000 postcard-size guides have been sent to Oregon homes on the group's mailing list.

A second conservative group, the Oregon Family Council, a Portland-based political action committee, has mailed 40,000 guides directly to voters and plans to distribute 120,000 more through a network of 1,500 churches. The Council does not endorse candidates for office, however, they do attempt to summarize a candidate's positions on social issues such as tax-funded abortions, gay rights, homosexuals in the military and prayer in school. The Christian groups are not endorsing either of the Republicans in the primary.

Republican candidate Gordon Smith received the endorsement of the National Taxpayers Union Campaign Fund. The group cited Smith's support for a balance-budget amendment and a tax cut as key to their endorsement of his candidacy.

Arizona

Jimmy Carter has joined a group of Navajo leaders in asking for a Presidential pardon of former Navajo Nation Chairman Peter MacDonald, currently serving a 14 year sentence in a federal prison for conspiracy and bribery. Navajo President Albert Hale has asked President Clinton to consider pardoning MacDonald, who is 67 years old. Hale says he has yet to receive a response from the White House.

Steve Forbes will be allowed to place his name on the February 27 presidential preference primary, according to Arizona Attorney General Grant Woods. Forbes did not technically qualify because he was refusing to accept taxpayer funds for the race, but Woods ruled that leaving him off the ballot for such a reason is unconstitutional.

California

A recall election for the Orange County Assembly seat currently held by Speaker of the House Doris Allen (R) is being held tomorrow. This is a pivotal election -- not only is it a recall of Allen but her successor will be elected simultaneously. Allen, you may recall, was the Republican placed in the Speaker's seat by Willie Brown upon his term limited departure and is not a inter-party favorite. There are three Republicans and one Democrat running for the seat. There has been substantial infighting amongst the Republicans and while Republican registration overwhelms Democratic registration by 40,000, speculation is that the Democrat, Linda Moulton-Patterson, may take the seat. This race is being watched as another referendum on the right and it could mean the Republicans will have a struggle in the Legislature with their one vote majority.

Illinois

The special election primary to replace Rep. Mel Reynolds (D) will be held tomorrow. The major Democratic candidates are Jesse Jackson, Jr., Senate Minority Leader Emil Jones, State Senator Alice Palmer and State Rep. Monique Davis. Jackson and Jones are the leading contenders and the race between them is a toss-up.

Voter interest in the race is extremely low and with poor weather forecast tomorrow, a minimal turnout (12-15%) is expected. This should benefit Jones, who has a strong edge in organizational support. Jackson, meanwhile, benefits from significantly higher name recognition than Jones. He also surprised some observers by outraising Jones and he may be planning on combatting Jones' organizational edge by using as much as $100,000 in street money on election day.

The first real controversy of the contest took place on Friday when gang member-turned-political activist Wallace "Gator" Bradley said he supports Jackson. Jackson declined to disavow Bradley's support and was criticized by the other candidates for not doing so. Bradley is affiliated with 21st Century Vote, a political action group associated with the Gangster Disciples.

Massachusetts

A private Boston consulting firm released a poll on Sunday showing that 80% of Bostonians approve of the job Mayor Menino is doing while only 16% disapprove. Respondents also gave Menino higher marks for delivering city services than his predecessor Ray Flynn.

New Jersey

Governor Christie Whitman made good on her campaign promise to cut taxes by 30% when she signed New Jersey's 1996 budget in June bringing tax rates 15% below what they were in 1993. On January 1, 1996, an additional 15% reduction will become effective. A Star-Ledger/Newark Eagleton poll released Sunday surveyed 803 New Jersey residents regarding their thoughts on Governor Christie Whitman's 30% tax cut. Only 31% of those questioned felt they had benefited from the tax cut.

At the beginning of Whitman's term, 48% said in a similar poll they believed they would benefit from the tax cut. The new poll did show that even though most residents are skeptical about the tax cut, 55% are satisfied with Whitman's efforts. While 66% felt that the tax cut has helped wealthy New Jerseyans, 49% felt the cut helped middle-class residents, and 29% felt that the cut helped New Jerseyans on welfare.

The poll also asked New Jersey residents about their thoughts on the federal budget: 55% feel they will not benefit from proposed federal tax cuts and 62% disapproved of Republican plans to cut Medicare funding.

Virginia

Last week, Attorney General James Gilmore (R) ruled in favor of Virginia's current law which allows incumbent Senators to choose their own method of nomination. The ruling will allow Senator John Warner the primary he wants instead of the convention that the Republican State Committee would prefer. A convention would allow Republicans the chance to amass enough votes to bring Warner down. The VA GOP Chair said the VA Party may choose to ignore Gilmore's ruling and go ahead with a convention although Gilmore said they would do so "at their peril." Senator Warner has hinted in the past that if the Republicans are successful at holding a nominating convention, he may quit the party and run as an independent.

OTHER POLITICAL NEWS OF NOTE

Black Political Convention

African American political activists are planning a political convention to be held next summer following both the Democratic and Republican National Conventions. The idea behind the convention is to allow African American voters the opportunity to evaluate the major parties' platforms and nominees. Possible locations include Birmingham, Detroit, Memphis and St. Louis -- all cities with black mayors. We will be watching the development of this convention, although we do not think it warrants much attention just yet.

Inside Politics - CNN Show

Pat Buchanan

Although he continues to oppose placing any U.S. troops in Bosnia, Buchanan praised you for "putting your Presidency on the line" for the policy.

Robert D. Novak

WPost 11/27/95

Slim Pickings for President

As Washington emptied for the Thanksgiving holiday, two Republican notables who have refused to run for president and a GOP political operative whose candidate also has bowed out gathered to ponder a question: Must it be Dole?

The participants were Jack Kemp and William Bennett, who would have been major presidential contenders had they chosen to run, and Kenneth Duberstein, the Washington consultant who failed to persuade his friend Gen. Colin Powell to run. They quickly began consideration of whether Sen. Robert J. Dole has a hammerlock on the nomination and whether it could be loosened.

Fragments of what they discussed have leaked out: February might not be too late for a new candidate, perhaps Bennett or even Kemp. That prospect excited Republicans who fear Dole cannot defeat President Clinton. In fact, possibilities for a new challenger are ephemeral. The GOP's deck is stacked, with Dole the ace of spades and no new cards. Last week's meeting, therefore, was a confirmation of frustration rather than a prelude to action.

The meeting was called by Kemp to discuss the Republican tax-study commission, which he heads. They met in his offices at Empower America, the conservative organization that Kemp and Bennett founded in 1993. A fourth participant was a low-profile but important voice on the conservative scene, Michael Joyce of the Milwaukee-based Bradley Foundation.

The talk turned to presidential politics. Duberstein, Ronald Reagan's last White House chief of staff, predicted that Dole would win the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary. But he added that the prospective Republican nominee could then be running 17 percentage points behind Clinton.

Thus, Duberstein mused, a new face on the scene might be in order next March. Could it be Kemp or Bennett? How this would be possible in view of today's strict filing deadlines—which will have expired long before March—was not thoroughly explored. But Joyce indicated there was still time for Bennett to become a candidate now.

As word of the meeting spread, admirers of Bennett indicated they would urge the former drug czar to revisit his non-candidacy decision. Would he at least consider running for president? "No," Bennett told me when I asked, "I considered it earlier."

Kemp is even less likely to reverse himself. He has not hidden his desire to become secretary of the Treasury in a Dole cabinet. At the meeting, he was the most positive voice toward Dole, suggesting that the senator would be strengthened by Powell or Bennett as vice president.

The malaise at the Empower America offices is not unique in GOP circles. Reflections on the inevitability and non-electability of Dole were heard at the Republican Governors Association meeting in Nashua, N.H.. It is no secret that highly respected Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson has been uneasy about the Dole ascendancy, but he is expected soon to join the caravan of the senator's endorsers.

Since House Speaker Newt Gingrich has definitely joined the ranks of avowed non-candidates, the field is set. If the four Republicans musing about a new candidate really want to stop Dole, they might look at who is running.

Oddly, none was interested in Sen. Phil Gramm, even though he closely follows the Empower America conservative line.

Lamar Alexander has asked Bennett, his fellow former secretary of education, to campaign with him as his vice presidential running mate; the answer was no, but Bennett could yet support Alexander.

The most intriguing possibility as an alternative to Dole is the former president of Empower America, publisher Steve Forbes. When they met last April in Phoenix, Forbes asked Kemp to run. He said he would not, but promised to support a Forbes candidacy—never thinking that there actually would be one.

Kemp has delayed any endorsement until his tax commission reports its recommendations in December. Will he then answer the question, must it be Dole, with a "yes" by endorsing him? Or will he fulfill his seven-month-old commitment to longtime ally Forbes by putting his considerable prestige behind the political neophyte?

His course will determine whether last week's conversation was so much hot air.

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The Star-Ledger

MIDDLESEX EDITION

PARTLY SUNNY AND MILD Details on Page 2

THE NEWSPAPER FOR NEW JERSEY

25 CENT



Bill Bradley

Bradley among group of 7 exploring 'radical center'

WASHINGTON (AP) – Seven prominent politicians, including New Jersey Sen. Bill Bradley and former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas, have been quietly discussing the nation's problems and, according to a published report, may be considering a challenge to the two-party system.

Tsongas said the seven make up a kind of "radical center" that feels "disenfranchised at this point" by current major party trends.

The group shares "a similar philosophy that is socially inclusive, fiscally conservative," Tsongas said in a broadcast interview yesterday.

He said the group is "talking about the fact that the two major parties seem to be pandering, in one case to the left, in another case to the right, and leaving a huge vacuum in the center."

Meanwhile, a published report said the seven – five Democrats and two independents – are planning an independent presidential campaign.

The group has discussed in telephone conference calls the need for a new voice to alter the current political spectrum, according to Time magazine.

Tsongas and a Bradley spokesman both downplayed the magazine report.

"It may well be the end of the day all this group does is articulate on paper where this country should be going," Tsongas said, "but I would not read very much into this. It's just an early date for this group."

A spokesman for Bradley said the seven have been discussing issues – but not an independent presidential candidacy.

"I don't think the discussions have focused on that, but I don't know that for a fact," said Bernie Toon, Bradley's chief of staff.

In editions going on sale today, Time identified the seven as Democrats Bradley; Tsongas; former Colorado Sen. Gary

Please turn to Page 8

2 of 2


Paul Tsongas


Gary Hart


Dick Lamm


Tim Penny


Lowell Weicker


Angus King

Bradley among group exploring new party

Continued from Page One

Hart; former Colorado Gov. Dick Lamm and former Minnesota Rep. Tim Penny; and two independents, former Connecticut Gov. Lowell Weicker and Maine Gov. Angus King.

Toon said Bradley "has been participating with that group, discussing issues facing the country generally."

Toon said Bradley has participated in two telephone conference calls to discuss key issues facing the country. "It is not about a candidacy from the senator's perspective. He's been participating to share ideas."

Toon emphasized that Bradley "made it clear from his standpoint it was not about a candidacy."

Toon said he did not know if any of the others are interested in an independent campaign. "I can't comment on the others who are participating," he said. Bradley did not initiate the discussion group, but Toon said he believed he was invited to join by Lamm. Toon also did not know where the next meeting is supposed to be.

Bradley's participation in the group was not well-known among his staff. Bradley was not available for comment, but was visiting his ailing mother in Palm Beach.

Bradley has just completed a new autobiography that follows up his now 20-year-old Life on the Run, a book about playing basketball with the New York Knicks. The book is supposed to be published later this winter.

Dennis Bailey, a spokesman for King, said the governor had participated with the group in "just general discussions about problem-solving and the direction of the country," but not a presidential race.

"I can't say anything about it. I just can't," said Lamm, when asked for comment.

None of the others were immediately available for comment.

"There is a center in this country whether you call it the passionate center, the radical center, the sensible center, that is basically socially inclusive, fiscally conservative, pro environment, pro campaign reform and those people feel rather disenfranchised at this point," said Tsongas.

Several members of the group have expressed interest either in running for president or backing an independent candidacy but it would be unusual for so many political figures with diverse ideological backgrounds to discuss it together.

Both Hart and Tsongas unsuccessfully sought the Democratic presidential nomination. Weicker was originally a Republican.

Time said the group's next meeting, scheduled for next Sunday, would go a long way toward deciding which of the seven might run for president.

"I don't know if that's what they've really been talking about," said Bailey, adding the talks were mainly about "the direction of the country."

"Government reform, the economy and job creation have come up in this group," said Toon, Bradley's aide.

Time reported that the group's first conference call, on Oct. 22, lasted nearly two hours and that the participants agreed to write position papers to be circulated among themselves.

In their second two-hour conversation last week, according to Time, the group debated the papers and agreed there is a "huge" hunger for a party that is fiscally conservative, socially liberal, pro-environment and favoring campaign reform.

The article noted that none of the group's participants wanted to join Texas billionaire Ross Perot's fledgling independent party for fear of seeming a Perot puppet.

Bradley has announced he is resigning from the Senate after his term expires. For a while, there was speculation he might run for president as an independent candidate after his denouncement of both the Democratic and Republican parties. He announced in September, however, that he was not going to enter the race for the nation's highest office.

Star-Ledger political writer David Wald contributed to this article

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL SENTINEL
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POSSIBLE PRELUDE TO '98 GUBERNATORIAL RACE

Norquist-Kunicki feud upsets Democrats

Split causes concern not only here but also in the White House

BY CRAIG GILBERT
of the Journal Sentinel staff

See John.

See John run.

See Wally back John's opponent.

See Wally run.

See John back Wally's opponent.

See John run again.

See Wally back John's opponent again.

See the bitter feud between two of Wisconsin's most powerful Democrats — John Norquist and Wally Kunicki — rage on, to the frustration or annoyance of many in their party, from Milwaukee to the White House.



Kunicki



Norquist

"If the Palestinians and Israelis can get together, I would hope that John Norquist and Wally Kunicki could get together," said ex-governor, former mayoral candidate and fellow Democrat Marty Schreiber, a friend of both. "I don't know what the cause of it was. I do know they don't click."

Once they were friends and fellow members of the state Assembly from the south side. Now Norquist, the mayor, and Kunicki, the Assembly minority leader and ex-speaker, have one of Wisconsin's most rotten political relationships.

Last year, Norquist supported a challenger to Kunicki. In the summer, the two took opposite sides in a heated election over leadership of the state party. Today, Kunicki is backing Norquist's challenger in the non-partisan mayor's race, Milwaukee County Sheriff Richard Artison.

"Now it's sort of volley and serve. It's Wally's serve," said Norquist's friend Tom Crawford, who worked closely with both men in the Legislature a

Please see **FEUD** *page 6*

Feud/Kunicki, Norquist at odds in mayoral race

From page 1

decade ago.

And it's all playing out as a prelude to the 1998 campaign for governor, a race in which Norquist is a probable entry and Kunicki a possible one.

Neither Norquist nor Kunicki would comment for this story.

The split is serious enough to catch the attention of the White House. According to several Democratic sources, members of President Clinton's re-election team are annoyed by the prospect of waging a campaign in a state where two top party figures are so estranged.

It's also serious enough that many of the 15 Democratic insiders and elected officials interviewed for this story talked only on the condition that they not be named.

"I hear on both sides they really cut each other up in very personal ways," said one such source, a prominent Milwaukee Democrat. "They bring it out in very bitter commentary on each other. It's quite deep and likely to stay that way."

State party Chairman Mark Sostarich, himself drawn into the fray, downplayed the split.

"I don't think it has all that great a significance. There are many things they agree on and work together on," Sostarich said. "Any disagreements they have are always blown clear out of proportion. People view it as personal and I don't think that's the case at all."

His is a distinctly minority view. Most Democratic activists see the conflict as very real, though they differ over its impact on the party and the city.

"It complicates the lives of a number of people," said former state party Chairman Jeff Neubauer, who said he got along well with both men. "(But) it will not really have a significant negative impact on the city, or on the party, or on the re-election of the president, because it's in Wally's and John's interest that the city be well cared for, that the party prosper and the president get re-elected."

Yet H. Carl Mueller, a lobbyist and former Norquist chief of staff who is also friendly with Kunicki, said the feud was a growing source of exasperation.

"I sense a frustration and strong desire on the part of a lot of people to put an end to this and declare a truce and get on to serving the best interests of the community and the people of this state," he said.

A top Kunicki aide, Charlie Gonzales, blamed the schism on Norquist's gubernatorial ambitions.

"It's all about the future," Gonzales said. "Norquist wants to run for governor, and Wally is thinking about (running)."

Norquist political adviser Bill Christofferson said he believed Kunicki was "jealous of Norquist's success and popularity." And he said Norquist had made it clear that he believed Kunicki "has wasted the talent he had . . . and used it to become an inside wheeler-dealer who doesn't really stand for anything."

Many who know them point to differences in their political styles and constituencies. Kunicki is a traditional labor Democrat, a political pragmatist and power broker. Norquist is more intellectual, more ideological, and more idiosyncratic in his politics: liberal on such issues as public transit and the environment, conservative in his support for religious school choice.

Kunicki counts as allies the public employee unions — especially the teachers' union — that Norquist counts as adver-

saries. Kunicki is close to the road builders; Norquist has attacked the highway budget.

Of course, that leaves plenty of common ground.

"I have yet to bump into anything that would indicate a deep philosophical difference," Schreiber said.

Kunicki partisans tend to regard Norquist as arrogant, difficult to deal with, someone who makes enemies when he doesn't need to, picks fights with party allies (public employee unions) and cozies up to some party adversaries (the business community).

Norquist partisans, on the other hand, portray the feud as "independent thinker" vs. "tool of the special interests." They tend to view Kunicki as being sloppy ethically, resentful of Norquist's media profile, consumed by political mechanics and lacking ideas and vision.

Crawford said that when Norquist was in the Legislature, he used to criticize Kunicki for being too close to lobbyists. "That began to draw the wedge... Wally felt it was unwarranted criticism, that he wasn't doing anything anybody else wasn't doing, that it wasn't affecting his vote."

Both camps attribute to each other some of the same negative characteristics: nursing a grudge, being obsessive about the relationship, smarting because the other party hasn't been sufficiently helpful or respectful.

It wasn't always thus.

In their first few years in the Legislature in the early 1980s, the two worked together without serious problems, and had similar voting records and common political interests, said Crawford, senior staff attorney on environmental issues for the Milwaukee Metropolitan Sewerage District.

When Norquist began planning a mayoral bid in the mid-'80s, Kunicki sat in on the meetings. Then he withdrew. According to one story that has circulated, the two had a memorably bitter screaming match one night in Madison. But by many accounts, they simply never clicked, and their relationship eroded gradually due to political and personal differences.

Kunicki toyed with a mayoral bid of his own, and at one point in 1987 he and Norquist held campaign fund-raisers on the same day. Eventually, Kunicki became chairman of Schreiber's 1988 mayoral campaign. Gonzales was Schreiber's campaign manager. Norquist beat Schreiber, by a larger margin than most people expected.

"I think they hated each other even then," said one Democrat involved in that race.

Yet whatever ill will existed did not prevent Norquist from getting much of the city's legislative agenda passed at a time when Kunicki was a member of the Assembly leadership.

Kunicki became speaker in 1990, and four years later was challenged in a primary election by Victor Larriuz, a sewerage district employee. Kunicki was convinced that Norquist recruited his opponent. Norquist denied that, and the mayor's allies said his role in the race was minimal and half-hearted.

There is no disputing that Norquist supported Larriuz and allowed a staff member to help run his campaign. Kunicki had to invest more time in his re-election and less in raising money for his legislative colleagues. He won his primary, but in November his party lost the Assembly to the Republicans. Some Democrats in Madison blamed Norquist, saying he helped divert the speaker at a critical point in the campaign.

Things didn't end there.

After the fall 1994 election, Norquist supported Shirley Krug of Milwaukee against Kunicki in her unsuccessful bid to become Assembly minority leader. The mayor also supported Milwaukee physician Rick Boxer for state party chairman in the summer against Sostarich, a longtime party activist. The race became bitter, with Norquist and Kunicki again on opposite sides. And when Artison announced his candidacy against Norquist on Nov. 1, his supporters included Kunicki and Sostarich.

Where does it go from here? Kunicki is up for re-election next fall. And two years later there's the governor's race, the event around which all state politics are organized.

After this mayoral race, Mueller said, "There will be a lot of people working to bring the truce off."

But few of them will be banking on it.

The uncertain front-runners

Clinton and Dole share an uneasy edge in polls

The Democrats

President acting as an 'independent'

By William Neikirk
WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON—Emerging from the first round of the balanced budget debate with higher popularity, President Clinton is finally getting some respect as a candidate for re-election.

Six months ago, few in the political cognoscenti gave him much of a chance. The Republican majority in Congress had all but taken over the reins of government. Clinton was frustrated and floundering due to his political standing and the increasing prospect that he could be another one-term president. Now that prevailing impression has changed, thanks to his relentless battering of the GOP over Medicare cutbacks during the balanced-budget brawl that shut down the government.

Clinton's tenacious hugging of the political center ("common ground" is an oft-repeated theme), along with a Republican field that so far has not spurred great public excitement, have contributed to his rise in the polls.

What was just a whisper a few weeks ago is now spoken openly by many political experts: Clinton could win in 1996.

They are just as quick to add that it will not be easy, despite the fact that the president is running ahead of the GOP front-runner, Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-

SEE CLINTON, PAGE 28

The Republicans

A sense of 'something missing'

By Michael Tackett
WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON—After more than 40 years in elective politics, a career that spans Republican presidents from Dwight Eisenhower to George Bush, Bob Dole's presidential campaign message can be whittled down to this: It's my turn.

Following in what one conservative activist calls the party's "royalist tradition" of orderly succession, Dole has lined up almost every important endorsement of fellow Republican office-holders. Money has rained into his campaign at a rate of well over $50,000 a day.

With less than a year before the 1996 presidential election, Dole stands far ahead of his eight challengers. He is trying to avoid his own tendency toward self-destruction in his third run for the White House, saying there is "one more mission" of service for the generation defined more by World War II than Vietnam.

His difficulty has been voicing a theme beyond his resume, a problem underscored by his struggle to fill in the blank of the essential sentence "I want to be president because. . . ."

When asked what he would do first as president, Dole, 72, told author Richard Ben Cramer, "Haven't thought. . . . If I get elected at my age, you know. I'm not going

SEE GOP, PAGE 27

Chicago Tribune 11/24/95

Clinton

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Kan.), in some states—such as Arizona and Kentucky—that months ago were considered in the Republican camp.

Though encouraged, the White House is trying to play down such rising expectations, knowing how quickly attitudes can shift in today's highly volatile political climate—and how seldom during his presidency he has not scored an approval rating of more than 50 percent. He was elected with only 43 percent of the vote, and his approval ratings rarely went above that mark until recently.

"We're ahead in most of the states we carried in 1992, but I think the election is going to be closer than that," said White House political dircetor Doug Sosnik. "We're in pretty good shape right now, better than I thought we would be a year ago."

Clinton's vulnerability as a candidate for re-election has always been apparent in the electoral map. James Thurber, a political science professor at American University, said the GOP candidate has an advantage in that the South is becoming increasingly Republican, with the mountain states and farm states also likely to vote GOP.

This leaves the president with the necessity of carrying the key coastal states (including California and New York) and the industrial Midwest along with a Southern state or two, he said."That is a very hard thing to do," Thurber added.

Political analyst Stuart Rothenberg said in an analysis written before the budget controversy that the president faced an uphill fight in carrying virtually all these swing states, many of which were in the tossup category.

But White House officials said placing too much emphasis on the political map is premature, considering how Clinton surged after the budget battle.

Despite claims of many other analysts, administration officials say they have a good chance to win some Southern states, notably Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee, and they cling to the hope that they can spring an upset and pull Florida into the Democratic fold by criticizing the GOP's overhaul of the popular Medicare program.

Mark Mellman, a Democratic consultant and Clinton supporter, said the president can put together an electoral majority by winning "the East, the industrial Midwest, and the Pacific West, and by cherry-picking out of the Mountain West and the South . . . I wouldn't place a big bet on Florida myself."

Mellman added that if a third-party candidate such as Ross Perot got into the race, he would have a "minor impact on the election, but it would favor Clinton. The president clearly has a rock-solid grip on 43 to 45 percent of the electorate. A third-party candidate helps divide the rest."

Too many things could happen that could reverse Clinton's current good fortune, such as heavy casualties of U.S. troops in Bosnia, new Whitewater disclosures or missteps in the budget fight with Congress.

With Republican Dick Morris dispensing political advice urging him to move to the center and position himself independently of Democrats in Congress, Clinton has pulled himself back into contention in the race. His not-so-subtle message is that he is the moderate Democrat who will curb Republican extremism in Congress.

Presidential scholar Charles Jones of the University of Wisconsin said Clinton is, in effect, an independent running on the Democratic ticket. Many Democrats in Congress do not trust him and do not hesitate to criticize him openly. They were angry when Clinton told a wealthy Houston audience that he had raised their taxes too much in 1993. In the 1994 mid-term elections, some did not want Clinton to come into their districts to campaign.

But Clinton's thoroughgoing centrism may be where the country is right now, Thurber said. "They don't like the wing nuts, as some Republicans in the House are called, or extremists on the left. They want their president to govern from a pragmatic middle."

From the Democratic standpoint, Dole has two major liabilities: His age and his failure to excite the most activist wing of his party, the Religious Right. Clinton does not plan to make Dole's age an issue, the White House said, but Mellman said it clearly will be. If the Religious Right stays home during the election, Thurber said, that will help Clinton.

The GOP will try to exploit one of Clinton's greatest weaknesses, the widespread perception that he wavers and flip-flops on issues. It is part of the more general "character" issue that was used in 1992, that Clinton doesn't possess the leadership qualities to be president.

"If the Republicans nominate Bob Dole, we win the flip-flop issue," Mellman said. White House aides are eager to point to Dole's shifting positions on issues during his long career in Congress. Nonetheless, they say Americans have what one called a "lower threshhold" for personal attacks.

While much of modern presidential politics is about such intangible issues that speak to whether a candidate is qualified to be president, the candidate's message is important too. In 1992, Clinton's was potent: "It's the economy, stupid."

Now the president's message is more complex. It is about beating back the impersonal forces of technology and the global economy with education and opportunity.

In this way, Clinton hopes to finesse the unease that many Americans feel about their jobs and the fact that their wages have remained stagnant or declined despite lower unemployment, a surging stock market and high corporate profits.

He hopes to trump the GOP balanced-budget plan by pointing out that he favors a balanced budget, too, but also stands behind preserving education, the environment, Medicare, Medicaid and the federal safety net.

The "common ground" theme invented by Morris has had some resonance with Americans, but Thurber said it is not as solid as the White House might think when it comes to the budget negotiations starting next week.

If voters come to the conclusion that Clinton is not serious about reforming welfare or balancing the budget, "that may hurt him in a marginal race," Thurber said. By contrast, the GOP could be harmed in close races if it is seen as too tough on education or heartless in cutting social programs.

Substance will matter more in this election than in any in modern political history, many analysts believe. That suits policy wonk Clinton just fine.

GOP

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

anywhere. It's not an agenda. I'm just going to serve my country."

Because of that lack of a clear vision for the nation, and a field of competitors who have failed to make a compelling case of their own, many Republicans are left wondering: Is this all there is?

"Usually on the Republican side the obvious front-runners have run," said William Kristol, editor of the Republican-minded Weekly Standard. "That has not been the case this year."

Ticking off a list including former Vice President Dan Quayle, former Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, former Education Secretary William Bennett, House Speaker Newt Gingrich and retired Gen. Colin Powell, Kristol said, "Any one of them would be close to even with Dole right now. That's created the sense that there is something missing."

The primary season started with a number of assumptions that scared some on Kristol's list out of the race. The first was that the Republican primary process had been captured by the Religious Right. Second, any credible candidate had to raise $20 million in 1995 to successfully compete.

The issues have been driven largely by the House Republicans' "Contract with America"—a document that received far more attention after the 1994 elections than it did before—and by antipathy toward President Clinton.

All the Republican candidates have back most of the provisions of the contract and Clinton has endorsed several of its principles, leaving little room for profound disagreement.

Dole's role in shepherding the contract through the Senate, particularly the balanced-budget proposal, will be either his benefit or burden in the campaign. Few doubt Dole's prowess in the Senate. Even Democrats express great affection for his mastery of both process and result.

But the presidency is fundamentally different, and the ability to use an inspiring vision to make the personal connection with the electorate is vital, particularly when Republicans will face the estimable campaign and communications skills of Clinton.

Dole's age also will become an issue both in the indirect asides from his challengers and from a voting public that must confront the prospect of voting for a man seven years beyond the typical retirement age.

Whatever Dole's shortcomings, none of his competitors for the Republican nomination have offered an alternative attractive to mainstream voters.

Outside Washington, and the narrow precincts of Iowa and New Hampshire, few are paying attention to the presidential election. But that will change with the turn of the new year, and Dole's challengers must either tear him down or offer such an impressive course for the nation that GOP voters will overthrow tradition and throttle their front-runner.

For now, Dole has eight challengers, with Sen. Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania withdrawing from the race Wednesday. Aside from Gingrich, Dole probably would like to invite a lot of people onto the stage to take Specter's place. The more candidates in the race, the less likely that anyone will be able to make a bright line distinction from Dole.

A cluster of true believers continues to pine for Gingrich, saying that only his articulation of the Republican agenda can be a successful match for Clinton, despite Gingrich's astoundingly high negative ratings among the American people.

"There is that so-called royalist tradition (in the GOP), but it's a tradition we need to challenge," said Arianna Huffington, a senior fellow at the Gingrich-inspired Progress and Freedom Foundation. "It's basically an entitlement mentality. We are now doing it with Dole, really sleepwalking through the nomination process."

"When Newt speaks and expresses the real message of the revolution, nobody can do it better," she said. "If nobody emerges to articulate this message, 1996 could bring many painful surprises."

The remainder of the challengers have shown an ability to raise and spend money but have little to show for it.

Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas portrays himself as the "true conservative" in the race. He has spent more than $15 million so far this year and consistently has dropped in national opinion polls.

An inexhaustible campaigner, Gramm has tried to use his second place showing behind Dole in a Florida straw poll last week to declare the campaign a two-man race. Gramm will have the money to compete in nearly every state, and his campaign plan projects a victory even if Dole wins Iowa and New Hampshire.

A crucial primary between Dole and Gramm will be South Carolina, which holds a primary March 2 in which both campaigns have predicted victories.

If Gramm loses there, he must score a resounding victory in Southern primary states March 12.

Unlike Dole, Gramm is a clear and emphatic speaker. Unfortunately for him, few people seem moved by either his style or his substance so far. And other conservatives, such as pundit Pat Buchanan and radio talk show host Alan Keyes, have drawn support away from Gramm.

The candidate with the most style, and the vaguest sense of substance, is former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander, the third-place finisher in the Florida straw poll. His campaign has been remarkably successful in portraying him as a credible candidate while his support remains stuck in single digits.

Alexander's message is that his outside-the-Beltway zip code gives him the singular clarity needed to change the encrusted culture of Washington.

He has a pleasant bearing but fails to stir crowds. Instead, he has exploited his abundant campaign skills with gimmicks such as wearing a checked flannel shirt and walking across New Hampshire.

He enters the next year sufficiently financed for the early states, with the hope that he will break through as an alternative to Dole. He will have to get over Gramm to do that, and the two are expected to clash.

Another problem with the Republican field, which nonetheless inures to Dole's benefit, is that it is packed with candidates who offer little more than entertainment for these over-caffeinated times.

Buchanan, perhaps the most effective communicator in the field, is no inheritor of the Reagan legacy, no matter how well he makes his case. Nonetheless, he will maintain a hard core of support of about 10 percent of primary voters, but with such a large field will not be able to expand his base.

Rep. Bob Dornan of California, notable so far for his uncanny ability to speak at length about anything that pops into his head, insists he will keep running. But he has little support and is likely to withdraw after New Hampshire at the latest.

Keyes is an undeniably gifted speaker, but his campaign appears to be little more than a platform for him to enhance his speaking engagements and perhaps expand his radio audience. It's anyone's guess how long Keyes stays in the race.

Publishing millionaire Malcolm "Steve" Forbes brings a high-profile family name and a seemingly limitless checking account to the contest.

Already, he has had an effect with millions of dollars worth of television advertisements in which he criticizes Dole and promotes his idea of a flat tax.

In addition to the entertainers, there remains one other serious candidate in the race, Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana.

Lugar, who has a voting record more conservative than Dole or Gramm, has tried to appeal to more moderate elements of the Republican Party, to little avail. And so long as the field remains so crowded, there seems little prospect for him to get a credible hearing from voters.

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Analysts divided on Dole's N.H. bid

By Michael Rezendes
GLOBE STAFF

New Hampshire voters have a reputation for upsetting front-runners, or at least shattering their expectations.

Lyndon Johnson in 1968, Edmund Muskie in 1972 and Bob Dole in 1988 were all pushed off the presidential track by independent-minded voters in the nation's first primary state.

With almost three months remaining before the New Hampshire primary, political specialists are once again wondering whether Granite Staters will surprise the nation by turning against Dole.

Opinion is sharply divided.

Although Dole has held a commanding lead in New Hamphire polls all year, his unfavorability ratings remain high. And many of those who say they are likely to support the Senate majority leader also say they could change their minds.

"It's not a done deal," said Linda Fowler, a Dartmouth pollster who cited a recent survey showing that 28

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■ DOLE
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percent of those likely to vote in the state's Republican primary view the Kansan unfavorably.

Mark Kuhn, a University of New Hampshire professor, pointed to another poll showing that only 19 percent say they will vote for the candidate who is now their first choice. "The potential for voters to change their minds is great," Kuhn said.

Nevertheless, some analysts are increasingly tempted to utter the word "inevitable" when asked to assess Dole's chances for winning the New Hampshire primary and going on to capture the GOP's presidential nomination.

Dole's status as the front-runner in the Republican race was preserved in the Florida straw poll Saturday – the last presidential event before the primaries next year. And the budget showdown in Washington appears to have enhanced his role as party leader.

"The odds very strongly favor him based on everything we know about how the system works," said William Mayer, a Northeastern University professor and the editor of a new book on the presidential nominating process.

According to Mayer, Dole is on the verge of fitting the preprimary profile of candidates who have won the presidential nominations of both major parties in six of the last nominating contests.

In each of those battles, Mayer said, the candidate who raised the most money in the year before the primaries became his party's candidate for president.

And in every contest except one, the candidate leading the last Gallup poll before the Iowa caucus went on to win his party's nomination.

By both measures Dole is now the most impressive Republican candidate.

At the end of September he was the clear leader in fund-raising, having generated $19.4 million in the first nine months of the year, compared with $14.3 million raised by Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, his nearest rival.

And Dole remains far ahead of eight other Republican contenders in most national polls.

In addition, Mayer said, primary upsets have become less likely as presidential aspirants have come to master a nominating process that underwent significant changes in the 1970s, when the current system of public campaign financing and spending caps went into effect.

"It's much more difficult to get a leg up on the field today because everyone knows how the process works," Mayer said.

Ron Kaufman, White Ho
litical director under Pre
George Bush, said Dole's lead
polls, along with his fund-raisi
organizational strengths, are
a self-fulfilling prophesy.

"Now that the Florida stra
is over, what opportunity do
er candidates have to get the
that will convince campaign co
utors that they're worth an
ment?" Kaufman said. "Dole
inevitable, but his campaign
tainly formidable."

John Sasso, who steered M
Dukakis' 1988 presidential bid,
said time is running out for
rivals.

"This may be one of those
when there's less than meets
eye," Sasso said. "We're all loo
for the big surprise, but it may
be that Dole is going to capture

THE BOSTON GLOBE • FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1995

2/2
Dole



SEN. BOB DOLE
Leads in fund-raising

may be that simple."

Like several other analysts, Sasso said Dole seems formidable in large part because other candidates have failed to impress voters – despite early campaigning and costly television advertising.

Gramm, for example, has visited New Hampshire often, aired television advertising and mailed campaign literature to every Republican household in the state. But he has yet to catch on.

And though he surprised many observers by tying Dole in the Iowa straw poll earlier this year, Gramm's showing never translated into a marked improvement in national public opinion polls.

Fowler, the Dartmouth pollster, said Dole's rivals are hobbled in New Hampshire by unfavorability ratings that soar even higher than Dole's.

For instance, commentator Patrick Buchanan, who has surprised many by placing second or third in several statewide polls, was viewed unfavorably by twice as many as those who viewed him favorably in the most recent Dartmouth survey.

By the same token, magazine heir Steve Forbes, who has won a contender's position with expensive television advertising, was viewed unfavorably by the same number as those who viewed him positively.

According to Fowler, the high unfavorability ratings of both candidates show that, although they may enjoy the enthusiastic backing of a significant number of voters, there may be a ceiling to their popularity.

Yet the apparent shallowness of Dole's support, coupled with a deepening cynicism toward government in Washington, could still make 1996 a year when New Hampshire underscores its reputation for upsets.

"The history of the state shows no one is ever inevitable," said Dickinson Bennett, a New Hampshire pollster with American Research Group. "Lightning could always strike."

Blacks Planning Political Convention After Democrats Meet in 1996

By Kevin Merida
Washington Post Staff Writer

Black political scientists and activists are organizing a national black political convention next summer that could affect the relationship between African American voters and the Democratic Party.

The convention, which is in the early planning stages, would be held after the Republican and Democratic national conventions in August and serve as a forum for evaluating the major parties' platforms and their presidential nominees.

"I can see Bill Clinton having goose bumps about the possibility of a convention after his that would intervene into his relationship with black voters and maybe steer them in another direction," said Howard University political science professor Ronald Walters, one of the leaders of the effort.

Whether a black political convention would be broadly embraced is unclear. Details are sketchy and most of the planners are relatively unknown figures in the African American community.

It is also uncertain how many black elected officials, most of whom are Democrats, would participate in a convention that could put them at odds with their party. An aide to Atlanta Mayor Bill Campbell, for instance, said the mayor would reserve comment until he had an opportunity to examine the idea more closely.

Organizers of the black political convention say it would follow a spring policy conference that would bring together many of the leading intellectuals in the African American community to develop a political agenda. The convention then would be used to ratify the agenda and to devise a voting strategy for African Americans. Organizers will meet soon to decide on a location. Possibilities include Memphis, St. Louis, Detroit and Birmingham, all cities with black mayors.

Black elected officials "are not going to drive the process. That's one of the reasons we are in the fix that we're in now."

— Robert Starks, political scientist, Northeastern Illinois University

The convention, organizers said, would be the most significant gathering of black political activists since 1972, when many of the nation's most prominent black elected officials and grass-roots leaders gathered in Gary, Ind.

If next year's convention is successful, organizers said, it would greatly move forward the development of an independent political movement in the African American community. Democrats usually win approximately 90 percent of the African American vote in national elections. Black voters comprised more than a third of the 43 percent of the electorate President Clinton won in the 1992 general election, according to the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.

But there have been signs of strain in the alliance over the past decade as the Democratic Party has struggled with how to appeal to more moderate-to-conservative white voters while retaining its traditional liberal base. Even some loyal black Democrats think it is time to send the party a message about independent political thinking.

"If you're not for black folks, it doesn't matter what party you're from," said Alvertis Simmons, an aide to Denver Mayor Wellington Webb and a Clinton campaigner in 1992 who has grown disillusioned with his party.

Rep. Donald M. Payne (D-N.J.), chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus and a supporter of the convention, said: "Anything that can move people toward identifying what is in our best interests as African Americans would be useful."

Walters, the Howard professor, said that preceding the convention would be an agenda-setting conference at which black sociolo-

See CONVENTION, A11, Col. 1

CONVENTION, From A10

gists, political scientists and others from think tanks and academia could offer their guidance.

"Most of the agenda setting has been done by politicians," Walters said. "There is a feeling by most of us that we ought to assemble the intellectual power that we have. These folks are rarely brought into the political arena and asked, 'Okay, what do you think we ought to be doing?' "

Plans for a black political convention come as black politicians are becoming increasingly worried about erosion of their gains at the ballot box and in the courts.

Several major cities have lost black mayors, for instance, and the boundaries of majority-black voting districts are being challenged in courts across the country.

"It appears we're sliding backwards," said former Gary mayor Richard G. Hatcher, who was a central player in the 1972 convention. He said another convention in 1996 is "a good idea for no other reason than black politics are under assault and we're a little disorganized to tell you the truth."

The idea, which has been quietly developed in meetings among activists and scholars since November 1994, has gained momentum since the Million Man March. It was one of several proposals endorsed at a recent conference of the National African American Leadership Summit, an umbrella group of black organizations led by former NAACP executive director Benjamin F. Chavis Jr. and Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan.

It appears that the summit will be the engine for the convention, just as it was for the march.

"The reality is that the Million Man March unleashed a grass-roots energy that will overrun any attempts to stop it," said Robert Starks, a political scientist at Northeastern Illinois University in Chicago and a planner of the convention.

Starks said that while it is important to have black elected officials at a black political convention, the gathering is not intended to showcase them. "They are not going to drive the process," he said. "That's one of the reasons we are in the fix that we're in now."

Payne said the constant criticism of black elected leaders is unfair. "All of the onus should not be on black elected officials," he said. "You find other communities use their economic arm to empower themselves. Other communities use their religious arm to empower themselves."

These disputes are not new. In fact, the 1972 Gary convention highlighted the difficulty of achieving political consensus among the varied tentacles of black leadership: elected officials, civil rights organizations, nationalists, government appointees, academics, social organizations and community groups.

Attended by 8,000 delegates and guests, the 1972 convention featured condemnations of school busing and the two-party system and recommendations to form an independent political movement and dismantle the state of Israel.

The convention's tone and portions of the agenda caused discomfort for some black elected officials and mainstream civil rights leaders.

Rep. William "Bill" Clay (D-Mo.) wrote in his 1992 book, "Just Permanent Interests: Black Americans in Congress, 1870 to 1991," that calling for a national black political convention and then "losing control of the administrative apparatus" was probably the "most regrettable blooper" in the history of the Congressional Black Caucus.

"The event turned into a tactically indefensible fiasco that threatened to render us politically ineffective," Clay wrote.

But much has changed in more than two decades. In the wake of the Million Man March, some black politicians are reassessing the conventional methods of mobilizing African American political power.

"As much energy that can be put into the whole concept of evaluating candidates, selecting platforms and motivating people to vote is all positive," said Payne, who was at work on a book about the 1972 gathering. "I think that a convention would certainly add to the attention that has to be refocused on political participa-

Detroit News (MI)

11-26-95

NOV 27 '95 12:37 FROM WAYNE COUNTY CEO PAGE.003

With Clinton's popularity on rise, state GOP plans counterattack

11/26/95 3B Detroit News

President Clinton is on the rebound with Michigan voters, mainly because he's winning the PR war with Congress. The state GOP is so concerned it will launch a TV ad Monday accusing him of budget "double-talk."



GEORGE WEEKS

Democrats say Clinton's improved job rating bodes well for his 1996 campaign in Michigan — planned to start in Detroit by February — as well as for re-election of Sen. Carl Levin and the state's Democrats in the U.S. House.

Clinton has had a "quite phenomenal" improvement in approval ratings during recent weeks, says Ed Sarpolus of the EPIC-MRA polling firm in Lansing. It does monthly surveys on how 600 "active voters" rate politicians' job performance.

For only the second time in more than two years, Clinton had a positive rating in the Nov. 15-21 survey. Fifty-two percent think he's doing a good job, while 47 percent didn't. His last positive rating in Michigan came in February 1993, when the split was 47-37 percent. The surveys have an error margin of 4 percentage points.

In the mid-November matchup of Clinton and GOP front-runner Bob Dole, Clinton led 53-40 percent — slightly better than his 12-point lead in October.

As noted here previously, matchups long before an election are relatively meaningless. Of more timely interest, considering present Washington battles, is that the EPIC/MRA poll shows 61 percent of Michiganians giving Congress a negative job rating, compared to 34 percent positive.

Sarpolus says Clinton has made impressive gains in Michigan among "seniors, women and moderates.... He's been able to paint Republicans as extremists."

GOP State Chairwoman Susy Heintz says Clinton "has done a good job of scaring seniors" on Medicare, and that Democratic TV ads attacking Congress have an impact "in the short term."

On Monday, she'll unveil an ad, paid for by the Republican National Committee, with video clips of Clinton changing his estimates on how many years it should take to balance the budget.

The ad asserts: "The truth is, Bill Clinton has never presented a balanced budget to Congress."

Levin watch

The EPIC/MRA poll gives Levin a 58-33 percent lead over Ronna Romney, front-runner for the GOP Senate nomination to challenge him in 1996. But Levin's positive job rating of 44 percent is down from 50 percent in October and 52 percent in September.

Engler watch

Considering the governor's successes at home and nationally, it's not surprising that John Engler gets a positive job rating from 64 percent of respondents and a negative rating from 35 percent. That's slightly better than in recent months.

Dingell watch

Twenty-term U.S. Rep. John Dingell, D-Dearborn, who long was Michigan's muscle in Washington, remains a power even though Democrats now are in the minority on Capitol Hill. He's raising money like never before for re-election.

Nonetheless, the Michigan GOP insists Dingell is vulnerable, and is confident that Wyandotte Mayor James DeSana, a former Democratic state senator, will switch parties and challenge him.

Republicans are flashing an Oct. 23-24 poll they commissioned from Lansing's Marketing Resource Group. Among 300 registered voters in Dingell's district, only 39 percent favored his re-election. The margin of error is 5.8-percentage points.

And after being told Dingell voted for Clinton's "largest tax increase in U.S. history," says Mark Pischea of the Lansing firm, 63 percent of respondents said they're more likely to vote against the congressional veteran.

Both parties conduct such polls to test themes and come up with results that lure candidates and contributors.

George Weeks is The Detroit News' political columnist.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-28-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 21, 1995 95 NOV 24 P12:49

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON HRC

CC: SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER
NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR TONY LAKE
USAID ADMINISTRATOR BRIAN ATWOOD

SUBJECT: REPORT ON LATIN AMERICA TRAVEL
OCTOBER 12-17, 1995

Thank you for asking me to travel to Latin America. The purpose of my six-day visit to Nicaragua, Chile, Brazil and Paraguay was to advance the Administration's goals to alleviate poverty; promote universal, quality education; provide wider access to health care; and protect the rights of women and children throughout the Western Hemisphere. These United States goals were endorsed in Miami at the Summit of the Americas by the hemisphere's thirty-four democratic leaders and addressed directly by the hemisphere's First Ladies at the Symposium on Children.

During the trip, I stressed that only with persistent progress on social goals will the region be able to attain and sustain democracy and economic prosperity. This message was received with enthusiasm. I sensed a real commitment to tackle difficult but critical social issues and saw firsthand the region's incredible recent progress. As I traveled, I found that representatives of the entire political spectrum -- even in countries with a recent history of severe political polarization like Nicaragua and Chile -- now understand the compelling arguments for social progress. Media coverage on this message was universally positive.

Political leaders repeatedly made reference to the commitments made in Miami. This is particularly true for the social issues. The Latin American representatives had pushed the hardest in the preparatory sessions leading up to Miami for a strong focus on poverty eradication. It was in fact the Central Americans, working with a hemispheric coalition of private-sector and NGO leaders, who first proposed what became the Summit's initiative on women's

rights. There were also repeated references to the United Nation's Fourth World Conference on Women and the issues of the Conference -- microenterprise; comprehensive health care, including family planning; education; programs that value women as full and equal partners in society; freedom from violence; full political participation for women. These themes were underscored again and again.

Schedule of Speeches and Site Visits

In each country, through public remarks and site visits, I sought to focus attention on one or more critical social issues:

Nicaragua

In Nicaragua, I focused on the theme of the rights of women and children. President Violeta Chamorro had been the leading sponsor of the Summit's initiative on women's rights. In an economically depressed barrio, I visited a community-run bank which makes small loans to women microentrepreneurs. There, I observed the transforming impact that credit has had on lives and livelihoods. I also visited a primary health care clinic which is part of Nicaragua's new decentralized public health delivery system, and I engaged in a discussion with patients and staff. Both of these projects are supported by USAID. My speech in Nicaragua drew linkages between social investments and durable democracy through the metaphor of family:

> "We see that through better health, education, and good jobs, women are building stronger families. We see that through democratic reconciliation and investments in people, Nicaragua is building a stronger national family. And we see that, as the Nicaraguan family unites and your economy grows, your nation will continue to be a vital partner in building a hemispheric family of democracies."

I also had the opportunity to visit with President Chamorro at her residence and talk informally with her about Nicaragua and its challenges. Mrs. Chamorro hosted a luncheon to which she invited members of her Cabinet, particularly those who oversee social programs.

Chile

In Chile, my focus was the value of education and educational reform. I visited a World Bank-supported model vocational training school, where I saw a demonstration of education through computers and learned of plans to equip the schools with interlinking technology. As an example of Chile's education reform agenda, I was told of a proposal to

keep the schools open on weekends to allow children to pursue interests and help parents who are working. Mrs. Frei introduced me to her work with publicly-funded foundations which serve poor families by providing head-start-like day care and equipping women with marketable skills. The foundations also have innovative programs to involve fathers so they can realize the full potential of parenthood. Also in Chile, I participated in a forum on the importance of microcredit with representatives of community-based lending institutions and borrowers who had become economically self-reliant.

My speech at the University of Chile praised Chile's strong educational system and highlighted our common goals for educational reform that strives to improve high school completion rates, promote quality training to enable workers to compete in the global marketplace, and nurture civic virtues to encourage participation in democratic decision-making. The University's rector noted that Teddy Roosevelt had spoken in the same Hall of Honor in 1917 and had outlined the many collaborative efforts that link the institution to the United States. I also had the opportunity to meet informally with President Frei at the Presidential Palace.

Brazil

In Brazil, I focused on the health of women and children. We visited modern Brasilia as well as Salvador de Bahia, the capital of the poverty-ridden northeast. Site visits in Salvador included a circus which aims to save street children by enhancing their teamwork and self-esteem, a community center which provides health, education and vocational skills to at-risk adolescents, and a hospital which assists in birth and also cares for women who have performed self-induced abortions. The hospital's programs emphasize how critically important health education and family planning are to the poor community, and the programs I saw provide a model for replication. The Minister of Health is hoping to extend this successful USAID-supported program to rural areas in the region.

In Brasilia, I had an excellent meeting with President and Mrs. Cardoso. In Brasilia and Salvador, I participated in discussions with prominent women who are involved in addressing challenges in the areas of jobs, health, education, family life and other careers. President Cardoso discussed an education initiative he was about to announce that would address the problem of school drop-outs by putting more federal resources in schools below the university level.

Paraguay

In Paraguay, I participated in the Fifth Conference of Wives of Heads of State and Government of the Americas, an annual Conference which brings together the spouses of the leaders of our hemisphere. This Conference marked the first year that North America has participated, and therefore the first year that it was a hemisphere-wide gathering. The Conference focused heavily on follow-up to the issues we had discussed at the Symposium on Children in Miami. We called attention to three concrete initiatives stemming from the hemispheric Summit: the eradication of measles by the year 2000, reduction of maternal mortality by one-half by the year 2000, and education reform. I was proud to announce USAID support for a new Partnership for Education Revitalization in the Americas (PERA), which is designed to help identify, disseminate and replicate innovative education reform programs throughout Latin America. Also, as I had helped launch the measles eradication campaign initiative at the PAHO headquarters last April, it was especially gratifying to learn of the activities of the hemisphere's First Ladies in support of the measles project. The First Ladies of this hemisphere are actively engaged in their own countries on these important social issues.

In my keynote address on the opening night of the Conference, I stressed that the conferences in Miami, Copenhagen and Beijing have made clear that democracy and prosperity cannot be attained or sustained in countries that do not value women as full and equal partners in society. President Wasmosy spoke eloquently about the important role that a First Lady can play in working to better life for the people of her nation. He lauded Mrs. Wasmosy's work and stressed how complementary he viewed their efforts.

The success of the Conference was noted by representatives of international organizations, such as UNICEF, PAHO, and IDB, who participated in the Conference as resources. They remarked that the Conference was one of the most impressive discussions in which they have participated, highlighting innovative developments to enhance progress on pressing social concerns. As First Ladies, we signed a declaration and agreed to be actively engaged in the issues we discussed, ranging from microenterprise and family planning to innovative education programs.

Also in Paraguay, I met with representatives of the Peace Corps in Paraguay, which was holding a training session for its volunteers. Paraguay has the largest number of Peace Corps volunteers in the world, and it was a pleasure to hear from the American men and women who are on the front lines trying to make a difference in the quality of life in Paraguay.

Conclusions

Throughout my visit, it was striking how very small amounts of money, when placed in the hands of dedicated, well-organized institutions, can transform people's lives. USAID programs, working in partnerships with international and local NGOs and with official entities at federal, state and local levels, are having a positive impact. The World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, Organization of American States, the Pan-American Health Association and the Inter-American Foundation are all investing in people in innovative ways. We need to do more to publicize these success stories so that they can be replicated widely, including in the United States. Development assistance is a critical component of our broad-based, active engagement in the hemisphere and it calls for our continuing strong support.

Latin America is a very diverse region undergoing dynamic change. The countries I visited are diverse in size, living standards and political development. Nicaragua and Paraguay are two small countries emerging from decades of repressive rule. President Chamorro has made great strides in consolidating democracy and restructuring the economy, even if Nicaragua is still traumatized by years of internal conflict and remains desperately poor, with over half of its population under the age of twenty-one. The United States can continue to work to promote national reconciliation. While the military still casts a shadow over political life in Paraguay, the current government appears to be working to strengthen democracy and make government accountable to its people. In his remarks at the opening of the First Ladies Conference, President Wasmosy focused his comments on the commitment to democracy.

Brazil enjoys the strong, enlightened leadership of President Cardoso, who reiterated his determination to stabilize the economy and is working with his wife, Ruth, to invigorate civil society and reform the health and education systems. The Cardosos noted that they very much enjoyed their State Visit last April and seek to forge a new partnership with the United States. Chile appears to be a spectacular success story, combining economic stability, democratic politics and a concern for social equity that has lifted many of its citizens out of poverty since democracy was restored in 1990. The Chilean government appears to be on track to attain the developmental status of southern Europe and become an articulate leader that other countries will seek to follow. The government and private sector continue to be very concerned about NAFTA fast track, and I reiterated the President's support.

Latin America continues to make progress, but the

region still confronts severe problems -- some of which we also face in the United States. Poverty is widespread and overwhelming in some areas and governments are handicapped by fiscal constraints and inflexible bureaucracies. Educational systems are badly in need of reform, both to reduce the high drop-out rates and to graduate students who can compete in the marketplace of the twenty-first century. Women are still undereducated and underpaid and many, many poor children crowd the streets of the continents' poor barrios.

Future Engagement

The United States has made a difference in ensuring hemispheric progress. It is my observation that Latin America seeks close working relations with the United States on a wide range of important issues, relations based on a genuine exchange and mutual learning. Finally, I believe we need to continue to help our neighbors strengthen their emerging democracies, expand market economies, and promote social integration.

The annual First Ladies' Conference offers another instrument to advance social progress.

Attached are copies of the speeches I gave in Nicaragua, Chile and Paraguay.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release October 12, 1995

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE NICARAGUAN INSTITUTE FOR WOMEN
MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you all for gathering here this afternoon and honoring me with your presence. It is the first time I have been to your country, and it is one year to the day that Vice President Gore was here to attend the Central American Environmental Summit. We both happened to come to Nicaragua on Dia de la Raza, a day of celebration commemorating both the voyage of Columbus and the rich indigenous cultures of this hemisphere. I did not know before I planned my trip that your American visitors from Washington chose the same day in October to be here. But I am delighted to be able to come to this country, to see with my own eyes, the progress that you are making. This country and all of Central America is both the bridge that unites the continent and the crossroads of our many ethnic histories and traditions.

I feel especially privileged to have spent time talking with your President. She embodies the spirit and the will of the people of Nicaragua and of Central America, as all of you work together to find a future of peace understanding and cooperation.

We are living in a time of momentous change around our world, as dictatorships and tyrannies give way to more open, tolerant societies and new respect for human rights. Nicaragua is a vital force in the march to democracy that has transformed this continent and is transforming the world.

Over the past five years, your country, under the leadership of your President, has guided this nation from war to peace, from division to reconciliation, from conflict to tolerance, from economic stagnation to recovery. During the President's tenure, democratic institutions are taking root, instances of human rights abuses by security have greatly diminished and political violence has virtually disappeared. All Nicaraguans can be very proud of the progress that has been achieved in the face of great economic obstacles.

I know I speak for many in the United States and truly around the world when I say how much I admire your President's spirited and compassionate leadership and your people's courage and commitment to following this path.

I have come here today to convey in the strongest terms the United States' commitment to the people and government of Nicaragua. Many of you in this room have made great sacrifices to launch your country on the path to democracy, freedom, and prosperity.

Many of you have endured great hardship as your nation has struggled to shift from a closed economy to a market economy. You have shown the resilience and determination needed to achieve true economic progress and political freedom. And I want to assure you today that the United States and the President will continue to stand by you as your nation works to improve the lives of all of its people and of the prosperity here and throughout our hemisphere.

I will be in Paraguay for a meeting in a few days with women from all over our hemisphere. The first time we met together was almost a year ago in Miami during the Summit of the Americas.

It was at that summit that the democratic nations of North, Central, and South America and the Caribbean region set forth an agenda to promote prosperity through trade initiatives, investments in people, and more effective government.

The United States' objective was expressed in the Summit's Declaration of Principles and Action Plan: support for democracy and democratic reform; the implementation of free market reforms; the alleviation of poverty; investment in people and the protection of the environment -- all principles to which our country remains committed today.

It was also at that Summit, and I think it was no accident, that the only woman President in the hemisphere, your President, urged her colleagues to commit to a goal of strengthening the role of women and girls throughout the hemisphere.

I want to thank your President and all of you for supporting her in that effort -- for reminding our political leaders that prosperity, democracy and social progress cannot be sustained in countries where women and girls are not valued as full and equal partners in society.

As the Miami Summit made clear -- and, as the recent United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women made clear again -- democracy, economic prosperity, and social justice go hand in hand.

Today, too many nations waste precious resources on building weapons of mass destruction, staging wars, and doing violence to basic human rights. Too often, natural resources are destroyed, and human ones exploited through socially irresponsible behavior. Today, too much time is spent in pursuit of power instead of in pursuit of peace and prosperity.

No single nation is to blame. Every nation needs to do more for its people -- especially for girls and women. And that means ensuring that women -- along with men -- have access to health care, education, jobs, credit, and are free from violence and allowed to participate fully in the political life of their countries.

Some of you, like me, had the opportunity to attend the women's conference in Beijing last month. It was an extraordinary coming together of women and men from all over the world -- an historic gathering that succeeded in bringing world attention to the issues that matter most to the lives of women and their families.

In doing so, it gave voice to the voiceless -- women in every country who are the backbone of their families, yet are denied the basic opportunities of comprehensive health care, education and training, jobs, decent wages, and access to credit, and even the chance to enjoy basic legal and human rights.

There were some -- even in my own country -- who doubted that anything significant would be accomplished in Beijing. But the conference did achieve a remarkable consensus about what is needed to improve the lives of women around the world.

The document that more than 180 nations endorsed reflects a new understanding that improving the lives of women makes for strong, healthy, and loving families -- and that, in turn, if families are strong, communities and nations will be strong as well.

As I said in Beijing, the single most important message echoing forth from that conference is that human rights are women's rights -- and women's rights are human rights.

Now, we must take that consensus and move forward with it. The vision of the women's conference will be realized only if we commit ourselves in our daily lives to addressing the challenges that still confront us here in Nicaragua, in my own country, and around the globe. Governments play a vital role in improving the lives of women, especially children, boys and girls. But governments cannot act alone. Strong partnerships with the private sector, the NGO community, have been essential in the past, and they will be even more so in the years ahead.

Individual citizens will have to play their role in families, work places, and civil society to support democracy's promise of positive change.

But I believe if we are committed to working together, much as your delegation in Beijing worked together, we can succeed in improving lives for all people, but particularly for girls and women and assure that they finally attain their rightful place and position in society.

Here in your country, strong women, like you, through your many accomplishments in the areas of microenterprise, education, health, business, government, academia have been instrumental in national reconciliation, democracy, and economic growth.

And your government, under the leadership of your President, has made a strong commitment to the kind of human investments in people endorsed in Miami and in Beijing.

Reducing maternal and child mortality through improved primary health care and prenatal care is a national priority of your government, and I am proud that the United States, through the Agency for International Development, is supporting that effort. That is a critical first step to ensure that all children are born as healthy as they can be and all mothers lives are protected.

Opening the doors of learning to girls and women is a critical step that Nicaragua has taken more quickly and boldly than many other countries. At the same time, I have learned that keeping children in school remains a problem. For that reason, one of our countries largest projects here is in working with the Ministry of Education, to improve the quality of primary education.

Because so many nations in our hemisphere share a concern about the quality of education, particularly that available for poor and rural children, it was agreed at the Miami Summit to create a hemispheric Partnership for Education Reform. It is called PERA, and it will create a network of public and private institutions working in concert to assure that children not only receive schooling, but are trained to compete in the modern global economy.

Your government has also committed itself to protecting and respecting human rights-- which includes the right of all women to live free from violence inside and outside of their homes. I was very glad to learn recently that the Ministry of Public Health has established a special commission to address the issue of domestic violence, which affects women not only in this country, not only in my country, but in every country around the world.

We are discovering here in Nicaragua and in many other countries, that investing in people, particularly girls and women, and I repeat that because this a relatively new lesson for many in the world to have learned, but those investments in girls and women, in their health care and in their education, yields greater dividends than any other kinds of investment a nation can make.

Earlier today, I visited a community bank here in Managua. That bank is controlled by 34 women who borrow modest amounts of money to invest in their own businesses. They also make sure

that everybody pays back what is owed. And, in stark contrast to the payback rates in my own contra, all these women have paid their loans back, their repayment rate is 100 percent, which should be the envy of any commercial bank.

On a small scale, but very significantly, these women are taking control of their own lives, and the destinies of themselves and their children. And in so doing, they are not only bringing greater prosperity to themselves, to their families, and their communities, but I could see the pride in their eyes, I could hear the accomplishment in their voices as they told me what they had achieved, as they had made these loans turn into businesses for themselves.

Women like that will become not only income earners, but will be more committed to their own families and their communities and will want to make a difference through the political process and in civil society.

The program I visited is run by a non-governmental organization that USAID is proud to support. It has proven that women are not only good credit risks, but that those small businesses can grow and adding one to the other, can contribute to national economic growth. Nearly 100 community banks, like the one I saw, have been established in only 18 months and some 6000 individuals, mostly women, are benefiting.

I have seen this kind of public-private partnership replicated in many other countries, including my own. This morning here in Managua, when I asked the women with whom I was meeting if they had any questions, one women said, I know you met with women in India who are doing what we are doing, tell us about them. I could hardly catch my breath because for me the idea that women here were thinking about what was happening half-way around the world, that they were finding common ground, that they were seeing that women everywhere have so much in common as we attempt to make our own lives with dignity and pride, was very moving to me.

We took a picture of all the women I was with and I told them I would send it to the women I met in India, because I wanted the women in India to see the faces of the women in Nicaragua who themselves are building their own futures.

This is just one example of what we can do together, when we get beyond conflict, when we put away the terrible tragedy of war, when we overcome the obstacles that too often divide us, then we are able to work together to find ways to help lift each other out of poverty and dependency, and into self-reliance.

Nicaragua is also moving forward in another area, the participation of women in political life. Many women now claim places in the halls of government-- from the top, with your President, on down. This bodes well, not only for women, but for

the entire democratic process, because it does rely on the participation and experience of all its citizens.

My country has been an active partner of yours because we believe in the democratic mission you have begun. We also believe that as democracies in this hemisphere we share many of the aspirations and concerns for the future.

Our two nations, along with our neighbors, depend on each other in ways large and small. Decisions, for example, about the Central American forests can have serious consequences to the north and the south. An outbreak of cholera in Peru can threaten Central America just as outbreak of dengue fever here can threaten the health of tens of millions of people in the United States or Canada. Open markets and free trade contribute to the prosperity of all nations. The success of democracy in each country strengthens democracy in all countries.

Throughout the 1980's, Central America struggled to overcome the human suffering that accompanies war, injustice, and economic deprivation. Vast sums of money were spent to try to return stability to this region.

Now peace is here. Now democracy faces its truest test.

Now is no time for those here and abroad who support the Nicaraguan struggle for democracy and freedom to turn their backs on this brave country. We must remain steadfast in support of your efforts.

We must take the message that through better health, education, and good jobs, men and women can build stronger families, stronger communities, a stronger Nicaragua.

We must see that through democratic reconciliation and investments in people, Nicaragua is building a stronger national family.

And we must see that as the Nicaraguan family unites, and as your economy grows, your nation will continue to be a vital partner in the hemispheric family of democracies. We admire your courage and your conviction. We applaud your commitment as you move through these processes, that are not easy, cannot be accomplished overnight. But, as women, perhaps we have more of an understanding of how time sometimes must be given its due, that we have to continue working through the difficult times because we believe so strongly in the vision of the future we are trying to create.

Girls and women throughout the world are responding to the challenges of economic opportunity and democratic participation. I have seen in this very very short visit some of what you are doing here. I hope some day soon, to be able to return to see for myself even more.

I bring to you not only the strong appreciation, but the word of friendship and partnership, not only from women in the United States, but from all people who support and admire your country's passage and will stand with you as you make it.

God bless you all and thank you very much.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release October 16, 1995

REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON AT THE FIFTH CONFERENCE OF WIVES OF HEADS OF STATE AND OF GOVERNMENTS OF THE AMERICAS ASUNCION, PARAGUAY

MRS. CLINTON: I am privileged to have the opportunity to represent my country, the United States, for the first time at this Fifth Conference of First Ladies from the Western Hemisphere. It is also a great honor for me to be here in Paraguay with all of you.

We have gathered together to discuss the futures of women and children in all of our countries. Whether we live in North, Central, or South America or the Caribbean region, we are united in our belief that women everywhere share common aspirations and concerns.

Yet, as we meet here in this beautiful hall this evening, we also know that a vast reservoir of human potential is now being wasted across the Americas.

No nation in our hemisphere can say that all of its children are fed, clothed, housed, schooled, and raised by loving parents. No nation in our hemisphere can say that all of its women are treated with dignity, respect, and given the chance to fulfill their God-given potentials. And no nation can say that each and every family within its borders is healthy, strong, and stable.

Our world, as we know, is far from perfect. But even though enormous challenges remain, we have come here hopeful about our future. Hopeful because, somewhere in our hemisphere right now, a baby in a local health clinic is being immunized against a serious disease. . . a little girl is going to school and is learning to read and write . . . a woman is taking out a small loan from a neighborhood bank that will enable her to start her own business in her home. We know that every problem we face in our hemisphere is being solved somewhere in our region at this very moment.

We are also hopeful because of the progress made at last year's Summit of the Americas in Miami, at the United Nations Conference on Social Development in Copenhagen earlier this year, and more recently at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on

Women in Beijing. I think it is very fitting that we meet after those three historic gatherings, which drew world attention to the plight of women and children and, in so doing, to the plight of families as well.

Since Miami, we have seen cooperation grow among our nations, and our political leaders. The Summit not only recognized every nation's duty to invest in its people, but also the special role that girls and women play in the economic and social development of the Western Hemisphere.

That theme was reiterated again in Copenhagen, which focused on the alleviation of poverty as an essential factor in political, social and economic progress.

Many of us also attended last month's women's conference in Beijing, where it was again made clear that democracy and prosperity cannot be attained or sustained in countries that do not value women as full and equal partners in society.

The conferences in Miami, Copenhagen and Beijing showed the world that issues involving children and women are not secondary issues. They are keys to building democratic institutions, strengthening market economies, and achieving social justice.

They are also among the hardest issues we face.

That is why the agreement reached in Miami last year was an historic first for countries of this hemisphere. For the first time, there was universal recognition that no nation can compete in the global economy if half its population cannot read or write, cannot find a job, or cannot rise out of poverty.

And that is why it is also heartening that, despite assurances from skeptics that nothing would be accomplished in Beijing, more than 180 nations endorsed a platform for action that lays out specific ways to expand the rights and opportunities of women around the world.

This is particularly critical today, given the growing gap between the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated, the skilled and the unskilled.

Those among us who enjoy the opportunities of education, health care, jobs, credit, legal and political rights are flourishing in the new global economy. Those without such opportunities are lagging farther and farther behind. And more often than not, those lagging behind are women and poor children.

This trend, if it continues, threatens to undermine the very institutions we are seeking to uphold: strong families, strong economies, and strong democracies. All will be in jeopardy if women

continue to be denied the opportunities they need to thrive and compete in the new century.

So, what must change?

First, values and attitudes.

In our everyday lives, we must begin to respect the dignity of each person, no matter where that person lives or what he or she looks like. To do that, we must be willing to overcome many assumptions, presumptions, prejudices and prejudgments.

Because, to truly respect a child means to respect every child in every family, boy or girl. To respect a child means to give that child the love, attention, and discipline he or she needs to grow up with confidence and competence. To respect a child means to nurture that child with the health care and schooling that he or she needs to get the right start in life.

Every time we dismiss the potential of a child because of skin color, parental income, or family background, we betray our own futures.

We must also appreciate the contributions of every woman, instead of pigeon-holing and categorizing women in ways that limit their potential. To truly respect a woman means to respect and protect her human rights; it means to respect the choices she makes for herself and her family; and it means to value the experience she brings to all facets of life.

Second, institutions must change, and so must the ways we go about our everyday business.

If programs and policies have outlived their usefulness, we should admit that they no longer solve the problems they were meant to solve. We must fix programs that don't work with reforms that are efficient and inexpensive. And we must insist that institutions -- whether government, schools, or health care systems -- overcome bureaucratic intransigence and put people first.

We must also take advantage of the many innovative programs that do exist throughout our hemisphere. Prior to arriving in Paraguay today, I was in Brasilia, where President and Mrs. Cardoso told me about Brazil's efforts to improve the quality of primary education.

I then traveled on to Salvador da Bahia, where an extraordinary effort is underway to channel the potential and energy of thousands of street children. One program I saw was a circus in which the performers were children, some as young as eight, who had been recruited off the streets where they lived.

They were not being trained for circus jobs; their performances were merely a vehicle for learning the value of discipline, teamwork, and hard work. Along the way, these children develop confidence, self-esteem, and pride in their accomplishments. Part of a program called Project Axe, they also receive schooling and vocational training, as well as counseling to reunite them with their families.

I asked one 15-year-old boy, who had been with the project since it began five years ago, whether it had made a difference in his life. If not for the project, he said, "I would be dead or in prison now."

Programs like this one, which receive support from the public and private sectors and some international organizations, can be replicated widely. But that requires us to share information, exchange ideas, discuss honestly our successes and failures, and learn as much as we can from each other.

Government has a vital role in all of this. But government is only effective if it listens to the voices of the people it serves, instead of making decisions based on political convenience or whim. And government must be held accountable for meeting human needs.

At the same time, government cannot address every problem alone. We must not look on government as a panacea, but as an able partner of business, non-governmental organizations, and other private institutions committed to investing in the promise of every person, including those who are poor, disadvantaged, and politically powerless. And one of the best things government can do is to make it easier for outside groups, non-governmental groups, to do the work they are willing to do.

Finally, as societies, we must be willing to move beyond inertia to action. And all of us -- individuals and institutions -- must heed that call to action.We must start by taking responsibility within our own families and then spreading that responsibility to the communities in which we live.

Every segment of society has a stake in this issue. And every segment of society can affect positive change.

Schools, for example, can be more flexible in responding to the needs of their students, young and old.

A few days ago, in Santiago, Mrs. Frei took me to a school that embodies the Chilean commitment to building an educational system for the future. I saw boys and girls busy working on computers hooked up to the Internet.

I learned from the Minister of Education that schools may begin to keep their doors open on Saturdays and Sundays to

accommodate the children of working parents who have no alternatives for child care, and for children who wish to acquire new skills for themselves.

I saw that Chile has not been content to stick with old methods that do not work. The government and people of that country are devising new ways of training teachers, involving parents and communities. All of this is happening now in many countries throughout the Americas and more can happen if we are willing to learn from each other's experiences.

Heeding the call to action also means that financial institutions must serve all people, even if they are poor, live in remote areas, or are women. How much more evidence do we need that women are a good credit risk? I have seen the proof myself at the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, where the poorest of the poor in the world have transformed entire villages by taking out small loans for cows, rickshaws, and other items they use to earn an income.

I have even seen it in my own country, where poor women at a project called Mi Casa, in Denver, Colorado, have banded together to take out small loans to help themselves. And they told me very,very directly how difficult it is for women even in the United States to have access to credit. One woman said: "Too many great ideas die in the parking lots of banks."

But all over this hemisphere, women are overcoming these obstacles. In Nicaragua, which I visited at the beginning of my trip, I saw how hard President Chamorro has worked to strengthen democratic institutions and promote a market economy. And I met thirty women from a very poor barrio in Managua who run a bank in their neighborhood, borrowing small sums of money to start their own businesses, to start a bakery, to make mosquito netting, to be a seamstress.

Not only had these women organized themselves to improve their own circumstances, they were also improving the circumstances of their families and communities.

Furthermore, they have, like every bank I have ever visited, a high loan repayment rate. In that particular neighborhood bank, the repayment rate was 100 percent. And from what I know about banking, that would be the envy of many commercial lenders.

Individual men and women need to change attitudes and then act, just as every branch of society.

Businesses can initiate policies, such as flexible work schedules, child care,
and the use of modern technology, that enable employees to perform well on the job and continue to fulfill their family obligations. Businesses also can value women by paying women equal salaries for

equal work with their men employees.

The media can assume greater responsibility for the values it transmits by avoiding negative advertising and television programming that sensationalizes violence and glorifies the exploitation and degradation of women and children.

At this conference, we will examine these issues, and we will focus specifically on what can be done to address the pressing health and education of women and children.

We will discuss initiatives to ensure the elimination of diseases that primarily affect women and children, reduce maternal mortality and provide comprehensive health care to women throughout their lifetimes, including family planning. We will talk about what every nation must do to ensure that girls are guaranteed the right to an education and that all citiz
ens acquire the knowledge and skills they will all need in the new global economy.

And we will explore ways to end the problem of domestic violence, which has destroyed the lives of too many women and their families in every country represented here.

I would like to make one final point about our agenda. Because we are talking about the issues that matter most in the lives of women and children does not mean we are not talking about the lives of men and boys.

When I was in Nicaragua, I noticed billboards along the side of the road. They showed the face of a crying child with the caption: "My father has left the home." The problem of the absent father is as tragic as the problem of the undervalued mother and wife. It is a problem that, in the United States, we are urgently trying to address.

If, as a hemisphere, we truly care about strong families, strong communities, and strong societies, we have to recognize that men and women can and must complement each other inside and outside of the home. We should not be at opposite poles; we should be partners in a common enterprise for the good of all of us, and particularly our children.

Because of the roles that the women here and many of you in this hall have, we know we can help initiate the changes that must take place if we ever want to realize the great potential of this hemisphere.

Like the women I have met all over this hemisphere in Canada, in my country, in Mexico, in Nicaragua, in Chile, in Brazil and here in Paraguay, we come together to pool our experiences and

ideas to improve conditions for our individual families as well as our national family and the family of nations.

I was not present at the earlier conferences, but I want to thank and applaud all of the women who took part in those conferences and who have moved this agenda forward. I was privileged to host our meeting in Miami and I look forward to the work ahead of us. It is the most exciting and challenging work any of us can imagine or be engaged in. And it is work in which we can make a difference.

Thank you very much.

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USIS

AS DELIVERED REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE

Santiago, Chile
October 13, 1995

Thank you Señor Rector for that very informative review of the relationships between our two countries and the special relationship with this university. I want to thank you and all of the distinguished platform guests, as well as this audience for the invitation to be here today.

It is a great honor for me not only to be at the university, but to be here in Santiago. This is my first trip to South America, and I am delighted to have the chance to spend time here in this country, which represents so much hope and promise for democracy and prosperity in our region of the world.

And I must say that I would like a copy of the speech that President Theodore Roosevelt gave here, because the challenge to sustain democracy continues. It is a challenge that we all must meet every day in our own countries, and I would like to learn from the wisdom of President Roosevelt.

When I woke up this morning and looked out my hotel window at the beautiful Andes, I understood immediately why every visitor to this country is so taken with its natural beauty. Everyone with whom I spoke before I started this trip told me that when I got to Chile, I would be overwhelmed, both by the beauty of the country, and the warmth of the people. That was certainly a prophecy that has come true.

I want to thank particularly President and Mrs. Frei for their gracious hospitality, for the time they have both spent with me, and for their interest in issues that directly affect the lives of women, children and families.

Being here at this university, I am reminded of what someone once said to me. That is that Chile's greatest export is its ideas. My first thought when I heard that was that every young person I know, by the time he or she graduates from high school, has read a poem by Neruda or by Mistral. In fact, my husband and I just celebrated our twentieth wedding anniversary a few days ago and one of the gifts he gave me was Neruda's twenty love poems, one for each year. And I brought them with me on this trip (applause).

Although the idea that your exporting of ideas refers first in the minds of so many to your great writers, poets, philosophers, and teachers who are known around the world, it also refers to an approach that you have developed here to political and economic reform, that has become a model for many nations on this continent and beyond. What we see occurring in Chile is the kind of progress that can be achieved when there is a genuine commitment to investing in people. And that means investing in education and training, health care and jobs, and respecting the right of every citizen, including women, to participate fully in the political life of a country.

Chile and the United States share a commitment to democracy, social justice, and equality of opportunity. And we are working together in many endeavors. And we have, as you have already heard from the Rector, been partners here at this university in the creation of the school of geology and the labor and organization department, and in faculty exchanges. Many of the efforts in joint scientific research are symbolic of the deeper partnership between our peoples.

Improving the quality of teaching and schooling has been a principal focus of investment in both our countries. And that makes sense, because education universally is a cornerstone of any strong and lasting democracy. I feel very strongly about this issue. Not only because education has played such an important role in my life and in the life of my husband. But because around the world we have seen how the acquisition of knowledge and skills can lift whole groups of people out of poverty and dependence and into self-reliance and prosperity.

I learned about this first hand when my husband was governor of his home state of Arkansas, one of the poorest states in our country. At the time he was first elected in 1978, Arkansas ranked almost at the bottom in national measures of education. For decades, there had been very little public support for schools. And there were very few resources with which to initiate reform.

When my husband asked me to become the chair of an education task force, I spent many days, and weeks and months traveling throughout the state, talking with parents and teachers, community and business leaders. And an extraordinary thing happened as the attention to education became better understood, as to how it related to providing for better lives and the livelihood for people who themselves had not had first hand experience with the full range of education. Businesses joined together with citizen groups to lobby the State Legislature in support of a special tax to raise money for education. That was unheard of, to ask for any kind of tax, let alone one for the public schools. But businesses, as they learned in Arkansas and around America, and as you have learned here in Chile, know that future success depends heavily on the availability of an educated and skilled workforce. And so businesses began to understand that better schools would mean better workers. And better workers would mean greater prosperity for individual families, communities, states, and nations.

Within a few years of that reform measure being approved, there were differences in the quality of teachers and schools. And students' performance began to improve, and eventually even the standard of living for many people. I tell you this story, because it mirrors so much of what we see going on around the world today, and what you have committed to doing here in Chile. What makes your situation so unusual and inspiring is that your country succeeded in returning to democracy, achieving lasting economic growth, and reducing the number of people living in poverty --all at the same time.

Would any of this have been possible if your nation had failed to invest in the education of its people?

You have kept alive the dream of upward mobility for people, and that will continue with the education reforms I heard about today from the Minister of Education. And your continued access to new markets where not only the ideas but the products of Chile will be joining the world economy. And your future accession to the North American Free Trade Agreement, which President Clinton is committed to achieving will strengthen the partnership not only between our two countries, but among the countries in this hemisphere.

Education has played a critical role in all of those movements, and also in our own country. I do not think the United States would have endured as the longest democratic nation without an educational tradition that began with the earliest colonial settlers, expanded to one-room schoolhouses on the western frontier and then created a nationwide system of public universities.

Throughout our hemisphere, we will continue to depend on today's students, and we will have to continue to invest in them. Because increasingly, education is central to all of our goals for a more prosperous, peaceful 21st century. But if we look honestly at our hemisphere today, we have to admit that barely half of the children in Latin America now finish elementary school. And far too few graduate from secondary school. For those of us from the United States and from Chile, where education is a priority and where so much progress has been made, we do have a stake in what happens in the childrens' lives throughout our hemisphere.

For that reason, government leaders participating in the Summit of the Americas in Miami last year agreed to create a hemispheric Partnership for Education Reform Alternatives. It is called PERA. It will bring together governments, development organizations, non-governmental organizations, and businesses to help reform education policies. That means that all nations will be pursuing a plan similar to the one you have adopted here to improve the quality of teaching and schools to raise educational standards, to improve the management of schools and, to strengthen the education of women and girls, which is a key to economic prosperity everywhere.

I am pleased to announce that the United States will help provide technical and financial support for this five-year project. And I know what that can mean throughout our hemisphere.

This morning I visited the M.E.C.E. (ed. note: Project to Improve Educational Quality and Equity) school not far from here with Mrs. Frei. It is a wonderful example of how the Chilean reform movement has improved the quality of education for students at all levels. I saw the computers and watched the children working on those computers. I heard a briefing about how the schools are now going to be open on Saturdays and maybe Sundays as well so that children and families where parents are working, or who have no alternatives for productive use of their time will be able to come back to school to learn some new and additional skills. This kind of reform movement and the kind of investment it represents is absolutely as clear a statement as any could be made about what your country really believes is important.

You have also been willing to experiment with new methods of teaching. You have not been content to stay with the old methods but to try new ways of persuading teachers to become more involved and committed, I hope that the model I saw today and others that are taking place throughout Chile will be replicated across the Americas. Because if we work on this issue together then we will see the quality of life and the standard of living throughout the hemisphere raised.

This is not just an issue for countries that are not concerned or have not been able to invest in education for all people. It has to be a constant concern even for countries like ours, where education has taken root. My husband believes that our nation must continue to invest in education and is determined to continue his efforts to promote life-long learning --pre school through university into the work force. Because the skills required in today's global economy are constantly changing, and people must be willing to change in order to be competitive.

Now, of course, we know that education alone, even reformed education, such as you are undertaking here and that my husband is committed to in the United States will not guarantee social and political progress. As was made clear at last year's Miami Summit -- and made clear again at the International Women's Conference in Beijing -- democracy, prosperity and social progress cannot be sustained in countries where women and girls are not valued as full and equal partners in society.

Some of you, like me, had the privilege of attending the U.N. conference last month. It was an extraordinary coming together on issues that are critical to the lives of women and children.
There were some --in my country and elsewhere -- who doubted that such a conference could result in any call to action. But it did achieve a remarkable consensus about what is needed

to improve the lives of women around the world. More than 180 nations endorsed a document that sets forth specific proposals that if followed could make a difference.

As I said in Beijing, the single most important message echoing forth from that conference is that human rights are women's rights -- and women's rights are human rights. But we have to take that statement and the plan of action and move beyond both in order to implement what it is we know needs to be done to ensure that women and girls have the opportunities to fulfill their God-given potential in their homes, their schools, communities and workplaces.

This is particularly urgent because we have a diverging economy in the world today. Those who are educated, who are able to manipulate language and symbols will do very well in this new economy. Those who are not, will be left behind, and even further behind. Seventy percent of the world's poor are women; and women are two-thirds of those who cannot read or write. At the same time, women are busy every day doing much of the world's work -- everything from raising children to cooking meals, washing clothes, cleaning houses, planting crops, working on assembly lines, running companies and even running countries.

Women need and deserve what I sometimes call the tools of opportunity: access to education, to health care, credit and jobs, as well as legal protections and freedom from violence in their own homes as well as in the streets.

Education answers all of these needs, because it provides the basis for so many other opportunities in life. Women who are schooled are better able to take care of their own health and the health of their families; they are able to compete for better-paying jobs; they have more say over the direction of their own lives.

Just yesterday I stopped in Nicaragua, a nation that has started down the path to democracy and a market economy. The transition has been difficult and about half the population continues to live in poverty. The first stop I made though was a tiny bank in a barrio in Managua. It is run by 30 poor women who borrow modest amounts of money to invest in their own businesses. One woman told me she had started a bakery; another made mosquito netting; a third was a seamstress. Not only had these women organized themselves to improve their own circumstances, but by doing so they were improving the circumstances of their families and communities. One sign of their new self-esteem and determination was that they have a loan repayment rate of 100 percent. That would be the envy of many commercial banks that I am knowledgeable about.

These small and seemingly insignificant steps are changing lives and they will change nations. In fact, one of the women at the bank in Managua asked me about my trip to India last spring, because she knew I had visited a similar bank there. What she didn't know was that I will also be visiting a bank like that here in Santiago tomorrow before leaving.

The movement for micro-credit, micro-enterprise, the capacity for credit to become available to women so that they themselves can become entrepreneurs, start small businesses is one of the most important opportunities any nation has to build its economy from the grassroots up while it is making macro-changes that will have national and international effects.

If we invest in people, while we continue to move forward with respect to democracy and prosperity, the rewards for all people will be spread more evenly and justly throughout the society.

A few hours ago, I had the opportunity to visit with Mrs. Frei a community center where I saw in action programs working with pre-school youngsters, with women and with couples to strengthen families, to make marriages more open and stable, so that couples together will commit themselves to their children's future. It was a wonderful example of how foundations here in this country are working to better the lives of children, women, and families by making these investment where it matters in their relationships, in their capacities, in their futures.

Mrs. Frei and I will be in Paraguay in a few days to participate in a conference of First Ladies from our hemisphere. Foremost on our minds, and the minds of our fellow participants, will be the very issues that have been so instrumental in your nation's return to democracy, its economic ascent, and the examples of social progress I have witnessed during my brief stay here.

And I know while I am at this conference I will think back to my visit here at this university, because the ideals that it represents are ideals that need to take root and take flower in every nation of our hemisphere. Ideals of education, free inquiry, public discourse. Those ideals are embodied firmly now in Chilean society. Your country is an example and a model for many others who are struggling still for their own democracies to take root and flower. It is a privilege for me to see what has been achieved, but I was especially honored to see that you are not resting on the laurels of the successes that can be pointed to. But that every day, whether it is a plan to reform education or to strengthen families, you understand that there are three legs to the stool for progress in the twenty first century: democracy, free market economies, and social investment. And this is one place the world can look to see a stool that is firmly grounded and that will provide a setting for future progress for all the people of this country.

Thank you for what you are doing, the example you are setting and for the partnership and friendship that you have with our country. Thank you very much. (Applause)

****

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-28-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 27, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN

SUBJECT: Pena memo on infrastructure initiatives

At your request, Secretary Pena has prepared a memo on the potential use of $2 billion of the gas tax -- 2 of the 4.3 cents -- for an infrastructure initiative. His ideas have drawn a strong response from OMB, CEA and NEC.

State Infrastructure Banks. According to Sec. Pena, two cents of the gas tax would generate $2.8 billion which, used at the state level, could leverage an additional $10-12 billion. This would add $2.8 billion to the deficit in the first year, though the banks would be self-sustaining after that. Pena thinks reconciliation is the best vehicle for creating SIBs.

OMB supports the SIB idea, but not as part of reconciliation, which would require offsetting cuts. OMB is exploring, in its FY 97 budget deliberations, how to expand on the pilot SIB program which will hopefully be enacted for FY 96. Joe Stiglitz and Laura Tyson support the idea of trying to expand SIBs, but point out that States would be much more receptive if the SIBs were funded with new money as distinguished from reprogrammed money.

Lines of Credit. A less costly alternative to SIBs would be to establish lines of credit or loan guarantees to expand state and local borrowing capability. Pena says $100 million in scored dollars could support some $1.2 billion in credit.

OMB questions whether guarantees could really provide leveraging of 10-12 times the federal investment. Laura thinks this is a good, but fairly minor idea. Stiglitz believes State responses would be lackluster.

Taking Trust Funds Off Budget. Sec. Pena proposes taking the Highway Trust Fund and Aviation Trust fund off budget and spending down the surpluses.

OMB, Laura and Joe vigorously oppose this idea because it is contrary to Administration policy; would significantly increase transportation spending, adding to the deficit; and would increase the burden of deficit reduction on the remaining "on-budget" programs. OMB argues that a unified budget displaying all government fiscal operations in one place allows tradeoffs between competing priorities to be highlighted and resolved. Removing resources and programs from this calculus leads to ignoring these tradeoffs and increased spending.

On the FAA, OMB supports reform, but disagrees that taking the Aviation Trust fund off budget is a good answer. OMB favors the Administration FAA proposal of replacing aviation taxes with user fees.

Stiglitz alternative. Joe proposes a different idea -- a National Revolving Fund -- that he believes would have some of the advantages of SIBs with less budgetary impact. States would be given entitlements to draw on the Fund for transportation purposes. The Fund would have three components: (i) a tranche of funds available to States at rates comparable to what they pay when they issue tax-exempt bonds; (ii) a tranche available to States that accept restrictions on their use of tax-exempt debt; (iii) a tranche available at the Federal cost of funds.

THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

October 24, 1995

95 OCT 25 P7:56

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Federico Peña
Secretary of Transportation

SUBJECT: Proposals for Infrastructure Initiatives

You recently asked me to explore the potential use of two billion dollars of the gas tax (2 cents of the 4.3 cents) for an infrastructure initiative that would not affect the deficit. I have examined that proposal, along with some others, for your consideration.

The DOT is soon to release a report to Congress, which concludes that we face a $15-20 billion annual shortfall in funding highway and transit in our country even after counting all federal, state and local investments. A Presidential infrastructure initiative would be grounded in that report.

Unfortunately, all the proposals affect the deficit in some fashion. However, one or more could be considered in the overall context of the Reconciliation negotiations that will soon occur. The two most promising proposals are: 1) use $2.8 billion of the current $3.5 billion of gas tax revenue applied to deficit reduction in FY 1994 and create infrastructure banks or lines of credit; 2) take the highway and aviation trust funds "off budget" and spend down the surpluses.

I. Infrastructure Banks and Lines of Credit

Infrastructure Banks. Two cents of the gas tax generates about $2.8 billion. However, if you use this $2.8 billion to fund "infrastructure banks" at the state level for loans or other leveraging instruments, an additional $10-12 billion is generated for investment. Infrastructure banks would provide extraordinary flexibility for states and preserve the principles of DOT "reinvention," but only the $2.8 billion needed to capitalize the banks initially would add to the deficit. It is important to note that after the initial payout the banks become self-sustaining and are not part of future deficit calculations. The best vehicle we see to address the creation of such banks is the Reconciliation negotiation. Adjustments in tax reduction or deficit targets could be part of the Reconciliation. The National Highway System legislation, which should pass soon, includes provisions for several pilot State Infrastructure Banks.

Lines of Credit. A less costly approach would be to create new authority for lines of credit or loan guarantees to reduce borrower costs and expand state and local credit capability. The program could be funded at a substantially lower level, perhaps $1 billion annually. Financing could extend over thirty years for as little as 50 basis points above Treasury borrowing rates. Because of credit reform legislation, $100 million in scored dollars supports $1.2 billion in credit support, a leveraging of 10 to 12 times the investment. This program would fund major projects that cannot be financed with grant funds because of their cost and complexity. We have had experience over the last two years in putting together innovative financing packages that demonstrate that this kind of financing does expand investment. Its negative impact on the deficit will be between $100 million and $200 million annually.

II. Taking the Trust Funds "Off Budget"

The Highway Trust Fund today has an $18.2 billion cash balance (EOY 95) because of spending limitations imposed by Congress over the years. The Aviation Trust Fund has a cash balance of $12 billion, and $5.1 billion in true surplus for the same reason. In 1987 then Congressman Howard and Congressman Shuster came very close to persuading the House to vote the Aviation Trust Fund off budget.... they lost by 5 votes. This year, Congressmen Duncan and Oberstar are requesting off budget status to fund the FAA bill. In the Congress, Chairman Shuster has proposed taking the Highway Trust Fund off budget and the Speaker has agreed to allow a vote that will likely succeed in the House. Likewise Senators Baucus and Lott have introduced legislation to have the Highway Trust Fund off budget. It is unclear whether the Senate would enact an off budget provision.

Taking the trust funds off budget would restore "trust" to the American people who pay these taxes. Either of these approaches could impact negatively the deficit or tax reductions because spending level for transportation investment would likely be increased.

With respect to the Aviation Trust fund, taking it off budget could be the compromise that could merge the FAA reform bills pending in the House and Senate. Many airlines oppose the "fee based" financing provision in Senator McCain and Senator Ford's bill, but may be willing to support a slight increase in the current 10 percent ticket tax as long as the entire Aviation Trust fund was taken off budget.

These are options we have formulated after much analysis. Please let me know how you would like to proceed.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 11-28

TO: Leon

FROM: **Staff Secretary**

Assume you've seen.

Todd

C. EVERETT KOOP, M.D.

95 NOV 28 A10:54

November 27, 1995

The Honorable William J. Clinton
THE WHITE HOUSE
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

S.440 contains a provision to raise or eliminate speed limits in the states. Is there any way that this can be deleted from the bill?

If you sign the bill the way it stands, it could cause 5000-6000 more highway deaths and untold numbers of permanent disabling injuries every year. The cost is incalculable, but somewhere in the billions.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Chick Koop

C. Everett Koop, M.D.

6707 DEMOCRACY BOULEVARD, SUITE 107, BETHESDA, MD 20817-1129 (301) 493-6603 FAX (301) 493-8160

"President Clinton: Veto the NHS bill (S.440). Prevent 6400 deaths, save $19 billion in health care costs annually."

Advocates for Highway and Auto Safety
Alliance of American Insurers
American Academy of Pediatrics
American College of Preventive Medicine
American Insurance Association
American Trauma Society, Washington Division
Arizona Consumers Council
Association of Schools of Public Health
Brain Injury Association
Brain Injury Association of Connecticut, Inc.
Brain Injury Association of Missouri
Center for Auto Safety
Charleston, West Virginia Highway Safety Program
Citizens for Reliable and Safe Highways (CRASH)
Coalition for School Bus Safety
Connecticut Childhood Injury Prevention Center
Connecticut SAFE KIDS Coalition
Consumer Federation of America
Department of Health and Human Services (Anchorage, Alaska)
Emergency Nurses Association
Epilepsy Association of Nebraska, Inc.
Epilepsy Foundation of America
General Federation of Women's Clubs
GEICO
HEADS UP! Injury Prevention Program
Iowa Insurance Institute
Iowa Medical Society
ITT Hartford Insurance Group
Kemper National Insurance Companies
Marine Safety Education Association (Alaska)
Massachusetts Brain Injury Association
MCR Technology, Inc.
Ralph Nader
National Association of EMS Physicians
National Association of Pediatric Nurse Associates and Practitioners
National Commission Against Drunk Driving
National SAFE KIDS Campaign
Nationwide Insurance Enterprise
North Carolina Pediatric Society
Progressive Insurance
Public Citizen
Society for Academic Emergency Medicine
Trauma Foundation
Wisconsin Advisory Council on Highway Safety
Wisconsin Association of Women Highway Safety Leaders

November 22, 1995

95 NOV 28 A10 : 54

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

Last week 42 organizations representing health, safety, consumer, victims, environmental and business concerns from across the country wrote to you urging your veto of S. 440, legislation designating a National Highway System (NHS). While this legislation is intended to improve our nation's highways, it comes with an unacceptable price tag for American families, workers and business. We would appreciate the opportunity to meet with you to discuss the true economic and personal costs of this bill before you decide whether or not to sign this bill.

For the first time since 1956, when President Eisenhower signed into law legislation creating an interstate highway system, you are being asked to sign a federal-aid highway bill that will kill more Americans than it will save. S. 440 repeals important highway safety laws including the National Maximum Speed Limit and a federal program encouraging, but not requiring, state enactment of motorcycle helmet laws. It also includes broad and unwarranted exemptions for medium and certain heavy trucks from federal safety rules that protect truck drivers and the travelling public. If this legislation becomes law Secretary of Transportation Federico Peña has stated that 6400 more Americans could die All told, the economic drain of this bill will exceed $19 billion annually.

The human suffering this bill will cause is reason enough to oppose it. But the inevitable increases in deaths and injuries will force insurers to raise automobile insurance rates and workers compensation costs will also rise.

Highway safety has a long and distinguished history of presidential leadership. Every President, whether Republican or Democrat, has advanced the fight against the epidemic of highway deaths and injuries -- the leading killer of young Americans and children and the number one cause of work place deaths and injuries.

The National Maximum Speed Limit was established by President Nixon and played the major role in reducing fatalities by almost 9,000 the first year it was in effect. President Ford signed legislation improving school bus safety and authorized the government to require the recall of defective automobiles. Auto safety was significantly advanced by President Carter's decision to require air bags in cars which are saving thousands of lives each year. President Reagan signed into law the 21 minimum drinking age, abolishing

blood borders between states with differing drinking ages and resulting in an immediate decline in teenage drinking and driving deaths. Because of President Bush's leadership, a federal program encouraging states to enact safety belt and motorcycle helmet laws was established in the most recent 1991 highway bill. In only a few years all the states but one have a safety belt law, and half have all-rider motorcycle helmet laws, thereby reducing government costs totaling billions of dollars for the lifetime care of head-injured motorcyclists and unbelted motorists.

Every day 115 Americans die on our highways. Every year more than 41,000 Americans are killed in motor vehicle crashes at a cost to our nation of $137 billion. We support a clean National Highway System designation bill that will enhance rather than endanger the lives of families and working Americans. We urge you to veto this bill and continue three decades of progress in reducing deaths and injuries on our highways. Please allow us to meet with you and discuss this important decision you will make affecting Americans across the country. Your staff can respond to Peter Lewis, in Cleveland, Ohio, at (216) 446-7676.

Sincerely,

Peter Lewis
Chairman, President & CEO
Progressive Insurance

D. Richard McFerson
President & CEO
Nationwide Insurance Enterprise

O. M. Nicely
Chairman & CEO
Government Employees Insurance Company

November 21, 1995

95 NOV 28 A10:54

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

We are requesting a meeting with you to discuss S. 440, legislation designating a National Highway System (NHS). The NHS legislation is intended to improve our nation's highways but comes at an unacceptable cost to working men and women across the country. If allowed to become law, this legislation will reverse three decades of successful progress in reducing unnecessary deaths and injuries on our nation's highways as well as eliminate important workplace safeguards for Americans across the country employed in the trucking industry.

Without any hearings on the devastating safety or environmental implications of repealing the national speed limit or removing critical truck safety standards, the Congress blithely passed the NHS bill, focused primarily on the public works funding. Members rightly bemoan the deaths and injuries in the horrible Oklahoma bombing, but ignore the trauma and heartbreak from far greater losses to be suffered by families all over America with higher speeds, removal of truck safety standards, and the absence of motorcycle helmet laws.

Yet poll after poll in every section of the country shows the public opposes raising the national speed limit above 65 mph, favors helmet laws, and fears unsafe trucks. You must not be beguiled by the hypocritical arguments about states rights to set supersonic speed limits. Speeding deaths, already a factor in one third of all fatal crashes, do not recognize state borders. And members do not flinch when voting for federal authority where it suits their interests.

Your moral leadership is needed once again to bring the Congress back to its senses. It is clear that a number of members will be moved by a decision by you to veto this killer bill. Further, the public does not measure such leadership by congressional votes, and indeed respects it more when the political choice is difficult and the human values are obvious. Some of your political advisors might suggest you expediently sign this defective legislation and urge the governors to hold firm against raising speed limits. But why should a governor listen to such advice which is passing the buck rather than stopping it here?

The legislation repeals several significant highway safety laws including the National Maximum Speed Limit and a federal program encouraging state enactment of motorcycle helmet laws. S. 440 also includes broad and unwarranted exemptions for medium and heavy trucks from federal safety rules established to protect against fatigued truck drivers and ensure the safe operation and maintenance of interstate trucks. These critical safety rules protect American workers as well as families using our nation's highways.

There is no question that this bill should be vetoed in the interest of millions of Americans who travel daily to work, to school, to church, to visit friends and relatives and to move goods on our highways. Everyday 115 Americans lose their lives on our highways. Every year more than 41,000 Americans are killed in highway crashes and the number is already climbing after years of decline. Highway crashes cost our nation at least $137 billion annually. Many costs are ultimately paid by federal and state welfare and public assistance programs such as Medicaid, Medicare, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children. S.440 will increase the financial burden on the very same programs that are targeted for severe cuts.

According to Secretary of Transportation Federico Peña, this bill could increase yearly fatalities by 6400 and injuries by tens of thousands at an additional annual cost of $19 billion. For every dollar spent on highway improvements, under this bill, our nation will have to spend an additional $3 dollars in social and medical costs as a result of the increased death and injury on our highways.

You have been a leader in the fight for enacting tougher impaired driving laws, for improving auto and truck safety and for guaranteeing men and women decent working conditions. Please do not turn your back on Americans who will surely die, or ignore federal dollars that will be wasted if highway safety programs are repealed, and wipe away federal safety rules protecting truck drivers.

Highway crashes exact a terrible financial and emotional toll on victims and their families, as you and millions of Americans know from your own personal loss. We request an opportunity to meet with you to discuss this important legislation. Judith Stone, President of Advocates for Highway and Auto Safety, will be happy to work with your staff in arranging a meeting. She can be reached at (202) 408-1711.

Sincerely,

Joan Claybrook
President
Public Citizen

Judith Lee Stone
President
Advocates for Highway and Auto Safety

Clarence Ditlow
Executive Director
Center for Auto Safety

Steve Brobeck
Executive Director
Consumer Federation of America

Jack Rendler
Executive Director
CRASH (Citizens for Reliable and Safe Highways)

95 NOV 27 P3:28

DRAFT

TO
Lizzy
Simon

Dear Representative 1~:

Thank you for your leadership in securing passage of the Digital Performance Right in Sound Recordings Act of 1995.

The new copyright protections provided in the law give recording artists the proper incentive to produce and disseminate their work over the new and exciting interactive digital technologies that are now emerging. This means that American music consumers will continue to enjoy the benefits of the strongest, most diverse recording industry in the world well into the next century.

Please accept the enclosed signing pen as a token of my appreciation.

Sincerely,

The Honorable 2~
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

11-27-95.

Greg—
Can you
fix this
make it
accurate &
appropriate?
Thanks

Phil:
Please review.
Jocelyn

NOV-27 95 15:22 FROM: 2024556621 TO:PHIL PAGE.02

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 27, 1995

Leon --

I'm sorry to bother you with this kind of thing, but I'm a bit confused about my attendance at meetings. This afternoon I was told not to come to a meeting on the Highway Bill and informed that John Angell could brief me later.

My view is that when there's a meeting on what to do about an issue on which I'm holding (or about to get) a decision memo, executive order or legislation, I ought to be invited automatically so that when I prepare the summary memo for the President I can capture the state of play and where his advisors stand in an accurate and nuanced fashion. I can't and shouldn't do this on the basis of what John or anyone else tells me later.

For the record, as far as I know, every Staff Secretary before me had wide latitude to go to the meetings he thought he needed to attend to do the job properly. In this regard, I very much appreciate your including me in the 7:30 am meeting, which has turned out to be very useful. I also understand that you don't want an overflow crowd when you're trying to do business. But I don't see the logic in excluding the person who is supposed to give the President the last written word on where a given matter stands.

I hope you agree with me on this, but if you don't, I'd rather be clear on where I stand and talk to you about it than spin wheels. Thanks.

Todd

cc: John Angell
Martha Foley

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 11/27/95

TO: Jack Quinn

FROM: **Staff Secretary**

For your appropriate handling.

Thank you.

11/27

Original to Counsel to handle

KEEP COPY in my office

1/27
Pres has
not seen.

JIMMY CARTER

November 16, 1995

To President Bill Clinton

I have recently been made aware of the case of Peter MacDonald, a former four-term chairman of the Navajo Nation, the largest Indian nation in the United States. Mr. MacDonald held the position of Chief of Chiefs for North American Indians and served as a Navajo Code Talker during World War II.

On April 12, 1993, Mr. MacDonald began serving a prison sentence in a federal correctional facility in Pennsylvania. He had been convicted for violations of Navajo Nation Code and of matching federal charges. His scheduled release date is April 20, 2002. Mr. MacDonald is 67 years old and in failing health.

On April 25, 1995, the Navajo Nation Council pardoned MacDonald for his convictions of the Navajo Nation Code. As November is American Indian Heritage month, I feel it is especially timely to join with the Navajo Council and numerous other native American leaders in urging you to issue a presidential pardon to Mr. MacDonald for the related criminal charges. This act would restore his place of respect in the American Indian community and help heal the wounds caused by his removal.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter

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

Dear Mr. President, THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 11-27-95 11/27/1995

My name is Eldina K. and I'm from Bosnia. I have been here in America for 2 years. During the 4 years of war a lot of kids got killed. That's why I would like to thank you, on behaf of all the children of Bosnia for putting up the peace aggrement. I now hope that the children of Bosnia can hold a normal life, like the kids of America. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Eldina Kapetanović

Original to Jim Dorskind 11-27-95

11/27

TO Dorskind for reply

yes ?

S

RE: Debt Ceiling Bill

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-27-95

11/27 95

PRESIDENTS SECRETARY:

HOPE PRESIDENT CLINTON CONTINUES TO HOLD FIRM UNTIL LESS DRASTIC CUTS ARE DEMANDED -- EASED BY LENGTHENING TIME TO BALANCE THE BUDGET.

Virginia Summers
1840 NE 114th
PORTLAND, OR 97220

P.S.
WISH WE COULD SQUASH THE CAPITAL GAINS CUT

11/27

TO Dorskind for reply yes?

S

Original to Jim Dorskind 11-27-95

November 24, 1995

The President
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

95 NOV 25 AM : 02

Articles like this in today's *Washington Post* give us new hope that the history books *will* describe you and your team correctly. You *may* suceed in loading more debt on our children and grandchildren, but they will at least be able to know the (beyond) cynical role that you, Mr. Panetta, and others in your cabinet and staff played. As they struggle with that debt, they will know that *you* had an opportunity to *help* achieve a balanced budget but you choose otherwise. Perhaps the nation needed to see *your* style of governance so that it will be very clear what America should *not* have in the future.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1995 A29

Charles Krauthammer

Beyond Cynicism

The much-heralded, much-hyped federal government shutdown came to an end on Nov. 19. On Nov. 17 President Clinton's approval rating, which had been doing well during the whole mini-crisis, began to slip, dropping four to six percentage points overnight. Within 48 hours the president had seen his way to a deal. The two events are not unrelated.

"The larger geopolitical [sic] point here is that we came out of this [first] week fine," explained a senior White House official to The Post shortly before Clinton made his deal with the Republicans. "We protected Medicare. We stood for our principles. But no one was sure we would come out of another week as well." It was time, therefore, to call things off.

Here is the Clinton presidency in one paragraph—a presidency that suffers not just from a lack of principles but from a lack of understanding of what principles are. Here, after all, is a senior aide crowing about having "stood for our principles"—so long as the polls were up; and ready to quit—as soon as the polls turned problematic.

In the Clinton administration, principle is defined by whatever the polls yield.

He seems to think that principle is something you've stood up for for six days. And on the seventh day, when the polls turn south, you rest.

Sen. Everett Dirksen once said, "I live by my principles and one of my principles is flexibility." We can accept that in a politician. Flexibility is the mark of any sophisticated politician for whom cunning and maneuver are part of the job. The difference with Bill Clinton, however, is that cunning and maneuver are the whole job. Flexibility for him is not one principle among many; it is the only principle.

Nonetheless, it is wrong to say, as many do, that Clinton believes in nothing. Clinton has, it seems to me, a basic and quite genuine desire to do good in the world. This general, generic impulse to improve has animated him throughout his political career and animates him today as president. He does want to bend government and use its power to do good.

Clinton's fundamental problem, however, is that this is the extent of his political philosophy: Beyond this vague and inchoate idea of doing good in the world, there is nothing, just terra incognita, an uncharted territory with no road map.

That missing map is what ordinary people call principles. Most people generally want to do good, but they have, additionally, a subset of less mushy, more concrete beliefs: beliefs about what constitutes the good, what means are acceptable for achieving it and what moral obligation one has to adhere to those means. These are the stuff of moral obligation, of principle.

For Clinton this territory is uninhabited. His wild swings from left to right, from New Democrat to old Democrat, from Medicare cutter to Medicare saver, from tax cut advocate to tax cut opponent and back to tax cut advocate—all these are entirely natural to him. And not just because he is so glib and smooth and articulate and confident, but because fundamentally he does not see these contradictions as betraying anything.

When British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin said, "I would rather be an opportunist and float than go to the bottom with my principles around my neck," he was being cynical. But by the very declaration of his need to violate principles, he was acknowledging their claim and validity.

Clinton, on the other hand, is incapable of cynicism because he has no principles to violate. He can move from Carville to Gergen to Stephanopoulos to Morris serenely and without disorientation because he has no map. For Clinton, there is only one thing that connects impulse and action: ambition. Between the impulse to do good and the political action he takes in its name (say, on welfare and Medicare) the only mediating principle is to do what benefits Bill. Whatever advances Clinton's career (today: whatever ensures his reelection) must necessarily be the right thing to do—because he, by self-definition, is someone who seeks to do good.

The result is a perfect conflation of self-interest and principle, to the point where Clinton is genuinely—not cynically—unable to tell them apart. It is no surprise then that Clinton's aides should see no difference between polls and principle, indeed, that they should define principle as whatever the polls yield. The rest of us would cringe at such an equation. The Clintonites don't. They pull it off with aplomb and, yes, sincerity because they really believe it. They are, quite literally, beyond cynicism.

Glenn R. Schleede Sandra K. Schleede

11-27-95 094

Todd -
Do you think we should send to RM or destroy?
RM
Destroy
ASK JD
Carol

Original to Jim Dorbind 11-27-95