

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Todd Stern to Kathleen Whalen re: Security Briefing (1 page)	12/29/1995	b(6)
002. memo	From Harold Ickes re: Media Time Buys (2 pages)	12/08/1995	Personal Misfile
003. note	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (4 pages)	12/00/1995	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7692

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files December 10-16, 1995 [1]

2019-0774-S

rs3299

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 29, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR JODIE TORKELSON

THROUGH: TODD STERN 
FROM: JIM DORSKIND 
SUBJECT: FOLLOW-UP ON TWO REQUESTS

I am sorry to bother you again, but I'd like to see if I can resolve two outstanding issues.

Most important of the two, on December 4, I requested that you grant West Wing access to our three newest writers. I understand that no action has been taken on this request yet. This access is important to allow the writers to do their jobs effectively. If I can provide any assistance in resolving this issue, please let me know.

Again, the three writers are:

ANDERSON, LORI

DAILEY, JEFF

PECUNIA, JILL

I attach a copy of my earlier memo for your convenience.

Also, as we discussed some months ago, I would like an additional State Place parking pass for the Department. You told me that we would have to wait until the lines were painted before you could make that decision. Is it possible to obtain an additional State Place pass now?

Thank you very much for your consideration.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 4, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR JODIE TORKELSON

CC: JACK SHOCK
FROM: JIM DORSKIND 
SUBJECT: WEST WING ACCESS LIST FOR ADDITIONAL WRITERS

You have previously provided West Wing access (in lieu of Blue Passes) for our writers to facilitate their work with policy staff. I would like to request that you grant the same access to our three newest writers. (I thought they already had this access, but I learned today that they don't.)

The three writers are:

ANDERSON, LORI

DAILEY, JEFF

PECUNIA, JILL

Thank you very much for your consideration.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR TODD STERN

FROM: JIM DORSKIND *JD*

DATE: December 29, 1995

SUBJECT: AUTOPEN AUTHORITY FOR JACK SHOCK AND JULIA BATOR;
BROADER AUTHORITY FOR MAUREEN HUDSON

I am requesting autopen authority for Jack Shock, Maureen Hudson, and Julia Bator to the same extent that Mark Miller had it, i.e., for all letters and messages.

Jack has been here since July, and he has shown that he has mature judgment, is loyal to the President, and is quite competent as an editor. Although I still make corrections to some of his work, I rarely find anything to question, much less correct.

Julia has been editing since August, when Deborah Pearlstein left. She has met and exceeded my very high expectations, and I have total confidence in her judgment and editing ability.

Initially, I would restrict Jack and Julia to signing off on form-based language. They would sign off on other language only when a letter must go out immediately and neither Jenny (or her replacement) nor I were available. (I would ask them to try to contact one of us first.) If this works out, down the line I plan to grant them broader discretion. This process generally has worked well in the past for Mark and other editors to whom John had granted autopen authority.

Maureen already has authority to sign off on messages. She has exercised this authority appropriately and with great care. Although her primary responsibility remains in the messages area, Maureen is versatile and often helps out with letters. While I would expect her to use her authority judiciously, I would like to expand it to include letters as well.

This should help alleviate some of the bottlenecks over here and afford me and my deputy more time to manage the department.

If you agree with my recommendations, I can prepare a memorandum to Terry Good for your signature, with an exemplar of Jack's and Julia's initials. Thanks for your consideration.

____ Approve

____ Disapprove

☒ Discuss

*I'd like to know
who had authority
during John's tenure.*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 29, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR JODIE TORKELSON

THROUGH: TODD STERN 
FROM: JIM DORSKIND 
SUBJECT: BLUE (WHITE HOUSE) PASS REQUEST DUE TO PERSONNEL
CHANGES

As you may know, Claude Taylor, Director of White House Volunteers, has submitted his resignation, effective January 12, 1996. As I have discussed with Todd Stern, I intend to reorganize the volunteer office, bringing Roger Goldblatt in as a co-director with Shelly Walker.

Claude and Shelly have blue passes, but Roger does not. As you are aware, staff in the Volunteer Office must work with offices throughout the White House, and Roger's new position will, therefore, require access to both the West and East Wings. Roger has already begun to work with Shelly in anticipation of Claude's imminent departure.

Accordingly, I respectfully request that you approve a blue White House pass for Roger at your earliest convenience to facilitate his transition into his new responsibilities.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 29, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR TERRY GOOD
Director
Office of Records Management

FROM: TODD D. STERN *TDS*
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary

SUBJECT: APPROVAL FOR PRESIDENTIAL SIGNATURES

The following individuals are authorized to approve use of the President's signature pen in areas of responsibility as noted:

Todd D. Stern	for all matters;	
Phillip M. Caplan	for all matters in the absence of the Staff Secretary;	] Show both track authorize JOP for me & Phil
Helen P. Howell	for all matters in the absence of the Staff Secretary;	
G. Timothy Saunders	for official documents in accordance with specific guidance from the Staff Secretary;	
Jim Dorskind Jenny McCarthy Maureen Hudson Jack Shock	in accordance with approved procedures for correspondence not involving policy matters; for standardized policy materials after clearance by the Staff Secretary; for VIP personal correspondence; for photographs; and for Presidential messages in accordance with approved procedures -- and with any new policy language only after clearance by the Staff Secretary;	
Stephen Nolet	for photographs;	

If individuals other than those above or the Chief of Staff seek or claim authorization, please refer them to this office. Any questions, concerns, or doubts about any request or claim of approval should be immediately referred to this office for clarification. As a matter of course, verbal authorizations will not be provided -- only written or initialed approvals.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1/2/96

30 December 1995

MEMORANDUM TO

THE PRESIDENT
VICE PRESIDENT

CC

LEON PANETTA

FROM

HAROLD ICKES

RE

DNC's first 1/2 hour television program
"Keeping America's Promise"

*I wish we had
gone 5 min program
that start local public
cable put on local
cable channels*

On 29 December Chairman Fowler informed me that the DNC had produced its first 1/2 hour television program entitled "Keeping America's Promise", a cassette of which is attached. They intend to air it next week by putting it on satellite and sending cassettes to every Democratic state chair asking each to try to get it on cable television networks in their area.

It focuses on the current budget situation, medicare, medicaid, (including the intergenerational relationships), direct student loans and the goals of the Democratic Party.

The DNC intends to produce one of these programs each month for the first 6 months of 1996 to test various methods and formats. Each one will be put up on satellite and sent to Democratic state party chairs. The DNC does not expect to buy time to air these programs during the first 6 months. The cost to produce each is approximately \$30,000 (which does not include any costs for air time).

Assuming a positive response, after the first 6 months, the DNC expects to produce 2 different programs each month.

Since the first program is "time sensitive", Chairman Fowler wants to make sure that it goes up this coming week. I would appreciate any comments you may have as soon as possible.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 12-30

TO:

Harold

Doug

FROM: Staff Secretary

Do you have any
view on this?

Agree with Cray's
recommendation?

Bill

December 27, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

95 DEC 29 P 5:50

FROM: Craig T. Smith 

RE: STATE PRIMARIES

In as many as 20 primary states, there is the possibility that we can arrange to have you be the only candidate qualified for the state Democratic presidential primary ballot. This would be done by working with state ballot access committees and state party chairs, who under some state laws, have discretion over candidate qualifications. Under many of those state's laws, if only one candidate qualifies, no ballots would be printed and no election held. You would be awarded all of the delegates when the filing deadline passes.

The upside to this is that in states with "clean ballots", you will not have to worry about meeting a media established "expectation" level against a primary opponent (which in some states includes "uncommitted"), and in addition, we can save the cost of deploying staff and setting up an operation. Depending upon our success, this could amount to a considerable sum of money that could be used elsewhere.

The downside is that we lose the advantage of the primary as an organizational tool to build our structures for the fall. This could be mitigated by using volunteers and by accelerating the start dates of the coordinated campaigns.

On balance, I recommend that, where possible, we attempt to "clean" the ballots in order to save the money and minimize the risk of not meeting the "expectations". If you agree, we would attempt to cover the organizational needs through volunteers until the coordinated campaigns start up.

States we have identified where this possibility exists:

Florida	Wisconsin	Tennessee
Oregon	Kentucky	Pennsylvania
Georgia	Maryland	Alabama
Connecticut	Mississippi	New Jersey

cc: Harold Ickes
Doug Sosnik
Karen Hancox

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

December 29, 1995

Alvis H.

MEMORANDUM

To: The President

From: Nancy Hernreich
Rebecca Cameron

Re: Gail Fowler McLaughlin

*Wt Snow Acers
Nes - can snowed
Wup -*

Gail Fowler McLaughlin writes that she and several members of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church are travelling to Africa to observe the educational systems and celebrate "100 years of African Methodist Episcopalism in Africa" in January 1996. She has tried to set up meetings with representatives from the African Educational system through "People to People" and the State Department and has had no luck. She now appeals to you for help in setting up the meetings. Is this something you want to do?

DATE: 12-30

TO:

Gene

FROM: Staff Secretary

fyi. Thought you
might be interested.

red

To: Don Baer
Michael Waldman
Fr: Todd Stern
Re: State of the Union
Da: December 29, 1995

A few unsolicited thoughts about the structure of the State of the Union.

Message

Structure and content should be driven by the implicit messages we wish to send. I'd define them as follows: (i) **President as moderate alternative** between extremes of left and right; (ii) **President as leader**; (iii) **President on the side of ordinary Americans** rather than the wealthy or special interests; (iv) **President as healer** who can help us find common ground; (v) **President having the energy and vision** to lead this country toward a new century (as Dole cannot).

Incidentally, I don't think a speech of the kind Benjamin Barber suggests, explicitly constructed around the concept of leadership, is a good idea. It would sound forced. Best way for President to appear as a leader is to talk about what he has done rather than about leadership, and to speak in strong, declarative sentences.

Structure

I would organize the speech in three basic parts: (I) introduction, starting with a nod toward troops in Bosnia, laying out a roadmap of where the speech is going, and then pausing -- briefly -- to take stock of how much we've accomplished so far; (II) a second section built around the budget confrontation. We must address this early, with President articulating what he believes is at stake -- his conception of government's role vs. GOP (and distinguished from old-fashioned liberal); and (III) a third section on where we go from here -- domestically (preparing for new century [education, technology, etc.]; increasing wages/incomes; making our streets safer; community/values) and internationally.

I. Introduction --Nod to troops/roadmap/where we've come

Troops. I'd follow Jeremy Rosner's advice with a nod to our troops in Bosnia. His suggested language is excellent.

Roadmap. 'The past few months have been a difficult and confusing period of struggle over our budget. I want to discuss with you what that battle is/was really about, and then talk about where we're going from here both at home and abroad.' (It's a great help to the listener to say where you're going before you go there.)

Where we've come. 'But first, I want to take a brief look at where we've come. I arrived in Washington three years ago dedicated to reviving our economy and ushering in a new period of American renewal -- of economic growth, political reform, social progress and leadership around the world. We have much yet to do, but let us not lose sight of how far we have come. Economy strong with low interest rates, lowest combination of inflation and unemployment in past x years. American companies most competitive in the world. Strong in trade. Leader in technology. Federal government smallest in 30 years. Crime down. Real political reform, with last big step to reform campaign finance. America as leader and peacemaker on the world stage. A time of promise and a time of hope. No nation on earth is in better shape than the United States to meet the new century.'

II. The Budget Battle -- Role of Government

'For past several months, we have been engaged in struggle over the shape and nature of our national budget. I know it seems to many people watching from outside Washington like a confusing, perplexing debate over numbers and economic assumptions. But it is about much more than that. It is about real people. And about what we expect from our national government. Let's talk for a few moments about what's at stake in this budget fight.

Not about who wants balanced budget. 'First, let me tell you what the budget battle was/is *not* about. Not about one side wanting a balanced budget and the other opposing it. I came into office understanding how crucial it was to reduce the massive budget deficits I inherited from my predecessors. And we did that. Three straight declining budgets. *Lowest* budget deficit of any major industrial country. And last June, I put forward a plan to balance the budget using real numbers -- no smoke and mirrors. Numbers favored by the mainstream economists of Wall Street; even by the Wall Street Journal.

Not about who wants big government. 'Nor is the budget battle about one side wanting big government and the other opposing it. During my three years, the number of workers employed by the federal government has shrunk by nearly 200,000 workers. To a level smaller than Bush. Or Reagan. Or Carter. Ford. Nixon. Johnson. To smallest level since President Kennedy.

Different conceptions of role of government. 'What confrontation *was/is* about is fundamentally different conceptions of role of federal government. There are three basic models of what our government should do. On one side, the old-fashioned, liberal model that searches for a government program, managed in Washington, to fix every problem. On the other side, the minimal conception favored by many in the congressional majority, which believes government should handle national defense and then, for the most part, get out of the way. My view is different. I favor a middle way -- a government wise enough to understand the challenges confronting us, vigorous enough to address those challenges effectively, but smart enough to know its own limits.

Examples. [Then give examples from Medicare/Medicaid; education; technology; the environment; crime. In each case on the pattern of: "a government dedicated to maintaining Medicare and Medicaid for our elderly, our disabled and others in need, not one that wants to slash those programs; a government committed to helping young people get a college education through Direct Lending, not one that wants to eliminate government support for education; a government that demands clean air and safe drinking water, not one that wants to let companies that pollute off the hook; a government pledged to keep taxes down for our working families, not one that wants to raise taxes on families making just \$30,000 a year, while cutting them for families making over \$100,000, etc."]

'That is the kind of government I believe in. Not oversized. Not believing it has the answer for every problem. But understanding that this country can only make progress, meet its challenges, preserve God's green earth, and remain true to its historic mission of fairness and justice if our national government remains *engaged*. That is what I believe in and, as long as I remain President, that is what this government will do.'

III. Where Do We Go From Here

'What then are the challenges we must meet as we go forward from this day?'

Domestic

Prepare for challenges of new era. First, prepare our nation for the economic challenges of a new century and a new era. [Talk about education, technology, conditions for investment such as low interest rates.]

Work to increase incomes of ordinary Americans. 'Second, commit ourselves to tackling one of the central dilemmas of our time -- that the incomes of ordinary, working Americans are not keeping pace with our overall economic growth. This is a bipartisan problem that has persisted for 20 years through Republican and Democratic Administrations, caused not so much by government policy as by changes in the global economy and the nature of technology. But the bottom line is that average American workers -- the men and women who work the day shifts and the night shifts, who wear blue collars and white collars -- are not sharing as they should in this nation's wealth. Therefore, having put the nation's economic house in order during the past three years, I intend to rededicate myself to increasing the wages and incomes of ordinary Americans. [Use appropriate Reed proposals.]

'This is not an issue of labor vs. management or management vs. labor. We do best as a people and as a nation when each of us shares fairly in this nation's bounty. We are all in this together and must never forget that.'

Safety in our streets. Third, safe streets. [Any of Reed tough-on-crime proposals that work.] Press for 100,000 cops. Blast away on efforts to repeal assault weapons ban.

Community/Values. Fourth, an area beyond government programs but not beyond the scope of our national dialogue -- restoration of values and community.

Faith, discipline, hard work. First, reinvigorate the basic American values of faith, discipline [Taylor Branch's "favorite words"] and hard work. Opportunity and responsibility. Children learning that there's no something for nothing. Criticize Hollywood excess. Pro-marriage, anti-divorce (though I'd avoid calling on States to enact legislation, as Galston recommends). Making abortion rare. Fathers taking responsibility for children they bring into world. Child support enforcement. Welfare -- tough work requirements. But President couldn't sign bill that is too tough on kids and not tough enough on work. Perhaps pick up "challenge" theme from Reed memo.

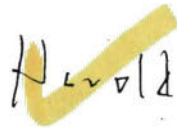
Common Ground. Listen to one another. Dialogue. This nation's glory and greatness is its diversity. E Pluribus Unum. We must say no to the grisly murder of a black couple by white racists on a military base in North Carolina. We must also say no to the firebombing of a store in Harlem because the owner was white or Jewish. No to extremists on all sides. Yes to our vital center. To reason and tolerance. To understanding. To reaching out across races, ethnicities, religions, nationalities. A House Divided has never been able to stand. Let us pledge -- not through government, but through families, churches, synagogues and neighborhood organizations -- to finding common ground.

Foreign

A key section that should be strong and substantial, both because of Bosnia and as surest way to project leadership. Talk of this as a pivotal year for American leadership around the world. Bosnia, N. Korea, Haiti, Northern Ireland, Middle East. Emphasize successes, but also challenges ahead. Obviously need serious discussion of Bosnia. And position President on middle ground between isolationists and trying to solve all the world's problems. I agree with Rosner on bipartisan nod to Dole and McCain. I am in general agreement with Rosner's take on emphasizing the hard security challenges over the humanitarian, addressing the audience that we need to convince, not the one already with us.

V. Conclusion. Strong, upbeat, dynamic. And short.

DATE: 12-30

TO:  *H. L. Gold*

FROM: Staff Secretary

Fy 1.
T. Gold

To: Don Baer
Michael Waldman
Fr: Todd Stern
Re: State of the Union
Da: December 29, 1995

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Examples. [Then give examples from Medicare/Medicaid; education; technology; the environment; crime. In each case on the pattern of: "a government dedicated to maintaining Medicare and Medicaid for our elderly, our disabled and others in need, not one that wants to slash those programs; a government committed to helping young people get a college education through Direct Lending, not one that wants to eliminate government support for education; a government that demands clean air and safe drinking water, not one that wants to let companies that pollute off the hook; a government pledged to keep taxes down for our working families, not one that wants to raise taxes on families making just \$30,000 a year, while cutting them for families making over \$100,000, etc."]

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Faith, discipline, hard work. First, reinvigorate the basic American values of faith, discipline [Taylor Branch's "favorite words"] and hard work. Opportunity and responsibility. Children learning that there's no something for nothing. Criticize Hollywood excess. Pro-marriage, anti-divorce (though I'd avoid calling on States to enact legislation, as Galston recommends). Making abortion rare. Fathers taking responsibility for children they bring into world. Child support enforcement. Welfare -- tough work requirements. But President couldn't sign bill that is too tough on kids and not tough enough on work. Perhaps pick up "challenge" theme from Reed memo.

Common Ground. Listen to one another. Dialogue. This nation's glory and greatness is its diversity. E Pluribus Unum. We must say no to the grisly murder of a black couple by white racists on a military base in North Carolina. We must also say no to the firebombing of a store in Harlem because the owner was white or Jewish. No to extremists on all sides. Yes to our vital center. To reason and tolerance. To understanding. To reaching out across races, ethnicities, religions, nationalities. A House Divided has never been able to stand. Let us pledge -- not through government, but through families, churches, synagogues and neighborhood organizations -- to finding common ground.

Foreign

A key section that should be strong and substantial, both because of Bosnia and as surest way to project leadership. Talk of this as a pivotal year for American leadership around the world. Bosnia, N. Korea, Haiti, Northern Ireland, Middle East. Emphasize successes, but also challenges ahead. Obviously need serious discussion of Bosnia. And position President on middle ground between isolationists and trying to solve all the world's problems. I agree with Rosner on bipartisan nod to Dole and McCain. I am in general agreement with Rosner's take on emphasizing the hard security challenges over the humanitarian, addressing the audience that we need to convince, not the one already with us.

V. **Conclusion.** Strong, upbeat, dynamic. And short.

cc:
Ruler
Jag
Dink
letter



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 28, 1995

The Honorable Jim Dailey
Mayor of Little Rock
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201-1427

Dear Jim:

Thanks for your kind words of support and for sending me the article from the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette highlighting Little Rock's heartening crime statistics.

As you know, this issue is very important to me, and I'm so pleased to know that crime is on the decline in Little Rock. Crime prevention and reduction must remain at the top of all of our agendas, and I am grateful for everything you are doing to help safeguard the lives of our citizens.

It was good to see you on my most recent visit home. Hillary joins me in sending you and your family best wishes for a happy New Year.

Sincerely,

Bill



City of Little Rock

Jim Dailey
Mayor

City Hall, Room 203
500 W. Markham
Little Rock, AR 72201-1427
(501) 371-4516
FAX (501) 371-4498

November 22, 1995

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

Dear President Clinton:

*
Enclosed is an article that was in Tuesday's edition of the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette regarding Little Rock's latest crime statistics. **Crime is down for 18 consecutive months in Little Rock.** This is outstanding! However, we realize that we must continue to develop programs that foster and enhance crime prevention and reduction. I would like to personally thank you for your efforts in Washington that have helped provide additional funding mechanisms for our law enforcement programs. The City of Little Rock and the entire country are very fortunate to have you serving as our President.

Sincerely,

Jim Dailey
Mayor

JD:bm

enclosure

Mr. President... its working
Also... I'm proud
of you on the
Budget issue.

CR: Crime declines 28%

1995 rate projected to reach 7-year low

BY NOEL OMAN
Democrat-Gazette Staff Writer

Violent crime in Little Rock declined 28 percent in 1994 and the overall 1995 rate is projected to reach a seven-year low, belying a perception that the state's most populous city is crime-ridden, city officials said Monday.

"It is incredibly significant to me that we're talking about being back to 1988 crime figures during a time when I know we still as a community are focusing on crime as one of our No. 1 concerns," Little Rock Mayor Jim Dailey said.

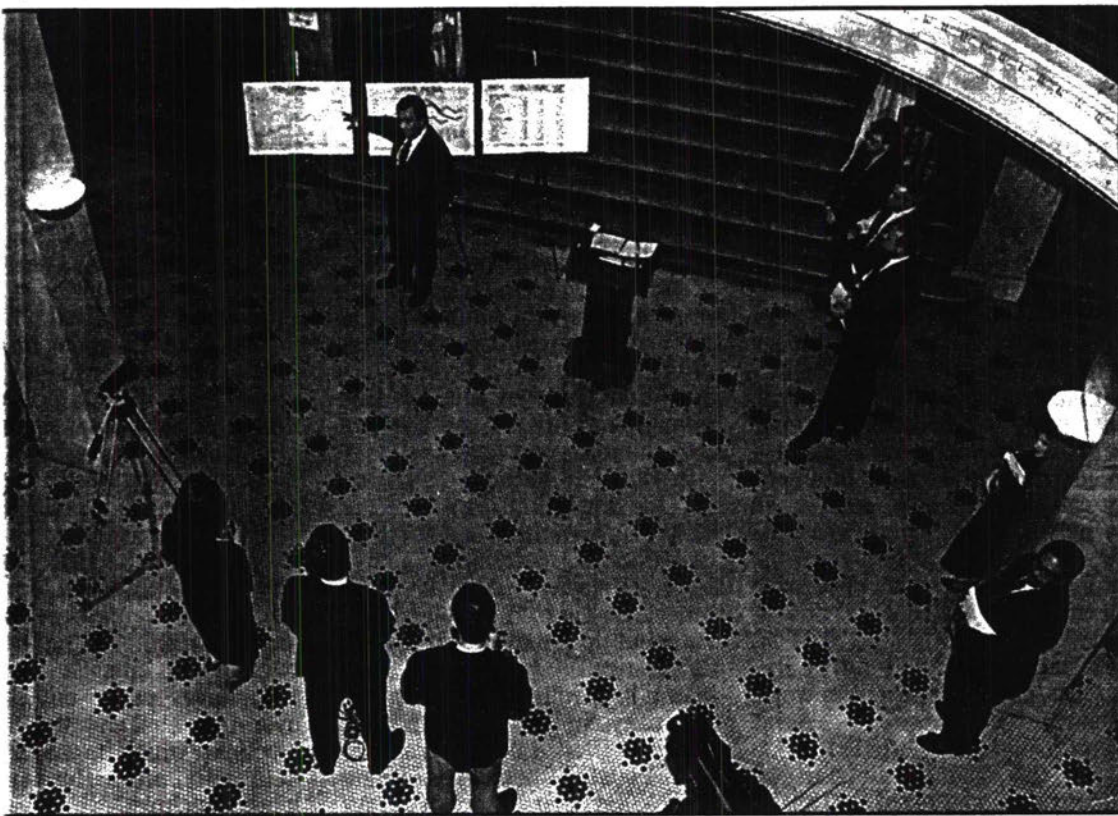
Dailey, Police Chief Louie Caudell and other city officials used a news conference to trumpet those figures Monday. They hoped to offset an image of the city such as that projected in the 1994 HBO documentary "Gang War: Bangin' in Little Rock" and head off another wave of potentially troubling publicity after the FBI announcement Sunday of its national crime figures, which had declined 2 percent from 1993.

In analyzing the FBI statistics to compare crime rates in 264 metropolitan statistical areas with populations exceeding 100,000, USA Today on Monday ranked Little Rock 11th nationally in overall crime rate per 1,000 residents.

The two other Arkansas areas included in the analysis — Fayetteville-Springdale and Fayetteville-Smith — ranked 228th and 179th respectively.

An Arkansas Democrat-Gazette analysis of preliminary figures released earlier this year ranked

See CRIME, Page 1



Arkansas Democrat-Gazette/STATON BREIDENTHAL

Police Chief Louie Caudell points out crime statistics for reporters at a City Hall news conference

Monday. The latest numbers show crime in the area is steadily declining.

ne

ed from Page 1A
 k sixth in violent crime with populations exceed-
 0. It could not be deter-
 onday whether the final
 pported the earlier con-
 icials made it clear Mon-
 hey are still troubled by
 istical comparisons and
 ods used to compute
 they also think the new
 mask a more accurate
 f a city that has been bat-
 e successfully.
 he said more needs to be
 ailey contended that
 ng is amiss when the pub-
 really seeing" the decline

gures released Monday
 sed on crimes reported
 October — the 18th
 month in which the num-
 declined.
 ne first 10 months of 1995,
 crimes declined 18 per-
 pared with the same peri-
 4, including drops of:

- 11 percent in murders.
- 14 percent in rapes.
- 34 percent in aggravated as-
 aults.

Only robberies increased, by
 nearly 6 percent.

The decline in property crimes
 reported, down 15 percent, was not
 quite as significant. Burglaries led
 the way, declining 40 percent. De-
 clines were also reported in larce-
 nies, by 7 percent, and arsons, by 1
 percent. Vehicle thefts didn't
 change.

Caudell credited several initia-
 tives for the drop in the crime rate
 — especially the 1993 voter-ap-
 proved half-cent sales tax in-
 crease, which put an extra 90 po-
 lice officers on the streets over the
 past two years and will add 45
 more in the coming year.

He also cited the new Pulaski
 County jail, opened in August 1994,
 as a factor in the drop in burglari-
 es. The availability of nearly 500
 more beds for inmates countywide
 has meant convicted burglars are
 able to spend more time behind
 bars, he said.

The police chief also pointed to
 expanded community policing,

more officers in schools, the new
 Southwest Little Rock police sub-
 station, daytime and nighttime
 youth curfews, increased truancy
 enforcement, and major police op-
 erations such as the Zero Toler-
 ance 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 hap-
 pening 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 Satur-
 day 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.

ET

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FROM HAROLD

cc Leon (McAulay)

Ut's discussion

BC



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12/30/95

December 29, 1995

Dear Member of Congress:

Starting today, approximately 750,000 federal employees will receive reduced paychecks due to the current budget impasse and resulting furlough. Nearly 500,000 of these workers have been deemed excepted from the furlough, had their holiday leave cancelled and have been required to work without pay since the latest government shutdown began on December 15th.

Members of Congress, on the other hand, who caused this shutdown crisis by not passing the necessary appropriations bills on time, have been on vacation for the holiday and will receive no reduction in pay due to the furlough. This is an outrage!

Beginning today, paychecks for federal employees whose agencies do not have 1996 appropriations in place will contain one, rather than the normal two weeks pay. No further paychecks will be issued to these employees until temporary or long-term appropriations are in place. While missing a week's pay may not mean much to someone like you who makes \$133,000 a year, it means a great deal to federal workers who are just making ends meet, especially the week after Christmas. Mortgages, car payments and utility bills are coming due and these reduced paychecks are not going to cover them.

My union is making a substantial contribution to the Federal Employee Education and Assistance Fund to provide help to federal employees who will be facing severe hardships due to a lack of pay. I urge you to donate any pay you receive during the furlough to this charitable organization that is dedicated to providing emergency and other assistance to federal workers. The FEEA is an approved charity for purposes of the Combined Federal Campaign, a charity drive that Congress usually participates in. Donations are tax deductible and can be sent to FEEA, 8441 W. Bowles Ave., Suite 200, Littleton, CO 80123-3245. For more information on FEEA call 202-833-6233.

Please stop using federal employees as pawns in this budget fight. I urge you to end the furlough while you continue to negotiate, but at a minimum, at least have the decency to turn over your own pay to help the innocent victims of this shutdown.

Sincerely,

Robert M. Tobias
National President

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P 36

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BC

Clinton's year comes full circle

By David M. Shribman
GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON - For Bill Clinton, 1995 was the year everything changed - and yet nothing did.

He began the year as weak as any president since Herbert Hoover, eclipsed by a newly resurgent Republican Congress, adrift in a political world that had changed utterly, wounded by the defeat of his plan to overhaul the nation's health care system, unsure of his own footing, vision and future.

He ends the year in a robust position, ahead of his likeliest Republican rival for

the White House by about 10 percentage points, in a budget standoff with a GOP Congress that may have reached too far, in a posture that leaves him as the defender of the poor, the aged, the young - and as the defender of a grand political tradition that reaches back to the earliest years of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

A year ago, only 40 percent of the public approved of Clinton's performance as presi-

ent, as against 52 percent who disapproved, according to a Gallup Organization poll conducted for CNN and USA Today. Now the figures are reversed, with 51 percent approving of the president's performance and 44 percent disapproving.

And so all has changed - except for the fact that he is still Bill Clinton, he still seems unsure of where and why he wants to lead the country, his closest allies still worry he is unable to win the enduring confidence of the nation, and he has still not fully quelled the grave doubts of either the political establishment, which craves stabil-

ity, or the surprisingly resilient bloc of the politically rebellious, which wants dramatic change.

He is, in short, once again strongly positioned to conduct a political campaign but weakly positioned to exert political leadership.

"He still has to convince people he's accomplished something significant, or to convince them that he will accomplish something significant in the next four years," says Larry Bartels, a political scientist at Princeton University.

The irony is that Clinton's principal accomplishments have come in an area where his 1992 rivals thought him least experienced, least knowledgeable, least sophisticated and least credible - foreign policy. In the past year he has presided over yet another White House signing ceremony in the drive toward Middle East peace, spoken with eloquence and force and asserted himself as a world leader at the funeral of slain Israeli premier Yitzhak Rabin, helped broker a peace in Eastern Europe and emerged as a bipartisan leader of stature and vision in arguing for American engagement in world affairs, particularly as enforcers of the peace in Bosnia.

"It looks better than it did six months ago, partly because he's actually won a few in foreign policy," says Austin Ranney, a political scientist at the University of California at Berkeley.

"But it's also partly because the

Republicans have come down quite a bit. He may still be a 'double-talking politician,' but he doesn't do that at the center of the stage anymore. What's puzzling is that he hasn't prospered more from the economic recovery."

That may be because the president still has failed to convince the

public that he is in charge.

He began the year arguing, sometimes with near futility, that he and the presidency were "relevant;" the very argument diminished him and undercut his power in the capital. He shifted so often - on welfare, on the budget, on taxes - that he permitted his rivals to ridicule him, with Steve Forbes, the publisher-turned-candidate, calling him, in an interview, "sort of a nice Benjamin Harrison."

There remains evidence for the notion, being sown with glee by the president's rivals on Capitol Hill and in New Hampshire, that the president lacks discipline and control.

He still faces a welter of questions about Whitewater, the all-but-inscrutable land deal that may not be, as his critics insist, a symbol of the president's avarice and venality but almost surely is a symbol of the sloppiness that surrounded Clinton in Arkansas and the chaos that followed him to Washington.

He still faces some questions about his budget priorities. He campaigned on a middle-class tax cut, abandoned it in the drive to shrink the deficit, only to embrace it again, at the very moment the Republicans forced him to redouble his efforts on the deficit.

He spent little time on environmental issues in his first two years and left much of the education initiatives to his energetic Education secretary, Richard Riley, but in recent months has clung to the phrase "environment and education" like something of a lifejacket, which his pollsters obviously consider it to be.

His biggest successes domestically came from the pulpit. The president spoke repeatedly with conviction and feeling about the need for "common ground" in a nation that is torn racially and divided economically. His speech on the day of the Million Man March delivered a vision, his clearest yet, of a diverse nation steeped in tolerance, good will and compassion.

By year's end, he had grafted some of those themes onto his presidency, staring down House Speaker Newt Gingrich and his Republican rebels by portraying himself as the last line of defense for the poor and the sick. It worked, at least temporarily. The president's approval ratings rose, those of Gingrich plummeted.

Indeed, the latest CNN/USA Today poll found Clinton leading Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas, 52 percent to 43 percent.

"The question is how much of the rebound in the polls will last," says Bartels, the Princeton political scientist. "Right now it looks that the significance will not be very great."

But the president's advisers are encouraged. Led by the mysterious Dick Morris, a renegade Republican who has been at Clinton's ear at times of trouble before, the White House has taken the offensive. As a result, the president's inner circle - like Clinton himself - speaks with more confidence.

"He has found a voice he's comfortable with," says Frank Greer, a campaign adviser. "He's the Bill Clinton who ran for office but was buffeted by trying to work with Congress. He's at ease, seeing he can do a lot even with a Republican Congress."

Even Republicans agree, though they suggest unkindly that they

12/28

Globe

1 of 2

President weathers political storm

Continued from previous page

something, and he did this by having an opposition," says Neil Newhouse, a Republican pollster. "But the down side for the Democratic Party is that nobody has a clue what he does stand for. Nobody is for the Clinton plan, because nobody knows what the Clinton plan is. The Clinton agenda is nothing but to react."

That need to react is what prompted the president, in December last year, to offer a "Tweedledum" tax-cut plan. It is what prompted the president to offer a number of revised budgets throughout the fall and early winter. "He's now portraying himself as a kinder, gentler Republican," says Forbes.

Even from the president's relatively lofty position in the polls the far horizon shows much work to be

done. But the sort of political work the president's advisers are planning for next year suggests the direction both his campaign and presidency will take: a continued drive to show Clinton as a battler for the traditional Democratic values he so blithely discounted in 1991 and 1992.

"The people we most need to reach are those who are skeptical at best, or more often cynical or turned off to political information," says Ann F. Lewis, Clinton's deputy campaign manager. "They have a lot going on in their lives. They are squeezed for time and money. They are worried about their families' lives and future, but they are used to hearing unsupported claims or watching politicians attack each other."

12/28
Globe
2 of 2

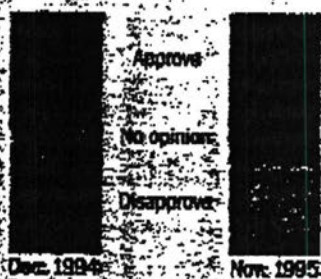
Clinton's ups and downs

The president's favorability ratings fluctuated during the year, but left him in better shape at the end than at the start.

FAVORABLE	
Oct. 94	48%
Nov. 94	43%
Dec. 94	40%
Jan. 95	47%
Febr. 95	49%
March 95	46%
April 95	46%
May 95	51%
June 95	47%
July 95	46%
Aug. 95	46%
Sept. 95	48%
Oct. 95	46%
Nov. 95	53%
Dec. 95	51%

Rising support

The ups and downs of President Clinton's public approval ratings find him in better shape at the end of this year.



SOURCES: Reuters; CNN/USA Today/Gallup

Dole Surges In NH Poll

By JOHN DISTASO
Union Leader Staff

HAPPY NEW YEAR, BOB. The year 1995 is ending well for GOP frontrunner and Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, according to the latest poll by the American Research Group of Manchester.

NH Presidential preference poll

	Dec. 19-22	Dec. 5-7
Dole	42%	30%
Forbes	11%	9%
Buchanan	10%	13%
Gramm	9%	3%
Alexander	6%	5%
Lugar	2%	2%
Keyes	1%	-
Taylor	1%	-
Dorman	1%	0%
Undecided	17%	37%

Poll: American Research Group;
sample of 560 likely GOP primary
voters; margin of error 4.2%

voters dropped by 20 percent, from 37 to 17,
and Dole picked up 12 of those percentage

GRANITE STATUS, Page A18

Just when it had appeared that support for Dole's Presidential campaign was waning, it surged in the three weeks post-Thanksgiving to pre-Christmas.

ARG's latest poll, released exclusively to The Union Leader yesterday, shows that during those three weeks, the undecided vote among likely GOP primary

**less than 0.5%*

GRANITE STATUS

(Continued From Page A1)

points. His numbers moved from 30 percent in a Dec. 5-7 survey to 42 percent in the latest poll, taken Dec. 19-22.

Second place is now virtually a three-way tie among magazine publisher Steve Forbes, with 11 percent, former White House aide Pat Buchanan, with 10 percent, and Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, with 9 percent.

Buchanan dropped four points from the 13 percent he drew in early December, Gramm jumped by six points, from three; and Forbes increased by two.

Former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander remains virtually unchanged at 6 percent, followed by Indiana Sen. Richard Lugar at 2 percent, with former Ambassador Alan Keyes, California Rep. Robert Dorman and businessman Morry Taylor at 1 percent each.

The sample was 560 likely Republican primary voters statewide and the margin of error is 4.2 percent.

BACKFIRING FORBES? ARG President Dick Bennett at least partially attributes the Dole surge to what he calls "negative advertising" by Forbes. Bennett says the ads have "backfired."

Bennett asked the sampling of likely voters for their candidate preferences, and then asked if they had seen or heard "any negative political advertising concerning Bob Dole or Phil Gramm."

Bennett said that 58 percent of the likely GOP voters said they had seen or heard the advertising, while 42 percent said they were unaware of it.

"Of the 58 percent saying they are aware of the negative advertising, 49 percent say they would vote for Dole. Of the 42 percent not aware of the negative advertising, 33 percent say they would vote for Dole," Bennett said.

Those polled were then asked to explain what they liked or didn't like in the ads, and, said Bennett, "in open-ended answers, they communicated that they did not like to see Bob Dole attacked."

Bennett said he also had focus groups look at the ads and received the same sentiment.

"It just appears," Bennett added, "that they think that, all in all, Dole remains the least objectionable candidate in the field, probably more Presidential than anyone else and probably the best Republican shot against Clinton, so (they are saying) don't tear him down."

Bennett noted that support for Gramm increased, too, after the heavy schedule of what he calls "attacks" on him by Forbes.

"If this scenario is the case, it is going to make it very difficult for anyone to do comparative advertising with Dole from here on in," Bennett said.

"Only 11 percent of the likely Republican primary voters tell us that they would never vote for Bob Dole. This is the lowest 'never vote for' score for any of the Republican contenders."

Bennett said that after WMUR's televised forum in October, the same thing happened.

"Republicans attacking Bob Dole tended to drive undecided voters who are comfortable with Dole back to Dole and not to those candidates making the attacks."

Dole is now at his strongest position of 1995, "something the Dole campaign has been unable to accomplish on its own since Dole began to slide when speculation about Colin Powell's possible entry into the race began to heat up this summer."

Bennett called it "a great Christmas gift to Dole from the Forbes campaign, even though it was obviously a mistake."

DUPONT CLOSING IN. Candidate Forbes could pick up his first big-name endorsement next week.

Former State Senate President Edward Dupont is seriously considering backing Forbes, although the deal, as they say, hasn't yet been closed.

Dupont, one of the state's most influential lobbyists, had been wooed by former candidate Pete Wilson and by the Dole camp.

Continued on next

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-16-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 8, 1995

MR. PRESIDENT:

Mayor Barry has sent you the attached letter asking to meet or speak with you on the phone before he has prostate surgery tomorrow.

He is concerned that the D.C. Control Board and Dr. Brimmer are being too inflexible and are "more interested in edicts than cooperation and collaboration." Mayor Barry feels you need to personally intervene in the situation.

We have spoken with Alice Rivlin, Alexis and Marcia Hale and they all agree you should not meet with the Mayor on such short notice. However, they are not opposed to you calling him to wish him well on his surgery and let him know that we are meeting internally about some of the issues he has raised in his letter and that Alice and/or Ed DeSeve (OMB) will be getting back to him shortly. (Alice spoke with the Mayor yesterday before she knew he had sent you a letter.) Alice cautions you to not get drawn into the battle between Barry and Brimmer.

If you do not wish to call him, Alice or Alexis will.

Todd Stern
Phil Caplan

*gms / Saw him
Friday + briefly
at Hamilton
Rivlin*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-10-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 8, 1995

RECOMMENDED PHONE CALL

TO: Mayor Marion Barry, Jr.
727-2980 or 727-0216 (office)
727-6161 (command center)
574-7849 or 829-3058 (home) (Cora Masters Barry)

DATE: December 8, 1995

RECOMMENDED BY: Alice Rivlin, Alexis Herman, Marcia Hale

PURPOSE: To wish him well before surgery; to let him know you received his letter.

BACKGROUND: see attached cover note

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION:

- good luck on surgery
- received letter; Alice, Alexis and Ed DeSeve (OMB) are aware of your concerns
- we are meeting internally and will get back to you

DATE OF SUBMISSION: December 8, 1995

ACTION:



MARION BARRY, JR.
Mayor

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-10-95
95 DEC 7 P3:59

December 7, 1995

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20050

Dear Mr. President:

As you are aware, I announced about two weeks ago that I had been diagnosed with Prostate cancer. After consulting with a number of specialists and my personal physicians, I have elected to have surgery.

Today, I will announce that I will undergo surgery on Saturday, December 9th, at the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, Md. I expect to be hospitalized 3-4 days and to have a convalescent period of 3-4 weeks.

I have become increasingly concerned about the direction of the D.C. Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Authority and its Chairman, Dr. Andrew Brimmer. If you will recall, I welcomed the establishment of this board to provide financial counseling and support for the District of Columbia Government. As you know, in other cities where there have been similar boards, success depended upon and resulted from a cooperative and working relationship between the board and the Mayor.

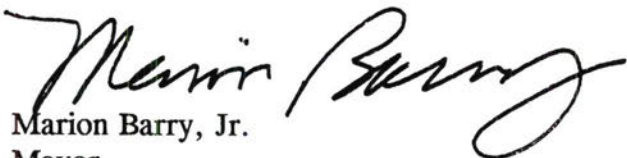
Let me say, that I strongly support your position on the Budget and your strong stance with Congress. You, like me, were elected as Chief Executive, by the people, to insure that they would not have to be burdened with unnecessary infliction of pain and suffering.

Unfortunately, I have a number of serious concerns, which threaten the basic political stability of this City as well as the functions of the Office of the Mayor, that only you can personally resolve. Part of my concern is that the board, unfortunately, appears to be more interested in edicts rather than cooperation and collaboration. This is not the spirit in which the board was created, nor is it reflective of the charge you gave to the board members upon their appointment.

Therefore, I am respectfully requesting to meet with you or to speak to you by telephone, prior to my hospitalization.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Marion Barry, Jr.", written in dark ink.

Marion Barry, Jr.
Mayor

copies sent to:

Leon
Alice
Marcia
Alexis

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 11, 1995

TO: Leon Panetta
Laura Tyson
George Stephanopoulos
Gene Sperling

FROM: Todd Stern

FYI.

142772

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: RBR *RBR*

95 DEC 11 A 9:23

December 8, 1995

I'm informed that neither School-to-work apprenticeships nor the GI Bill for America's workers is deemed a "priority investment" for budget purposes. Have you made this decision or has it been made elsewhere?

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-11-95

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: RBR *RBR*

95 DEC 11 A 9:23

December 8, 1995

I'm informed that neither School-to-work apprenticeships nor the GI Bill for America's workers is deemed a "priority investment" for budget purposes. Have you made this decision or has it been made elsewhere?

*Leon/ Ce [unclear]
→ (Do think both
of them are important
pls take care of)
BC*

12-10-95

Budget Bill Offers Some Banks Millions in Benefits

By Jerry Knight
and Michelle Singletary
Washington Post Staff Writers

About 700 banks would save hundreds of millions of dollars next year because of special provisions of the budget reconciliation bill that is being negotiated by the White House and congressional Republican leaders.

BankAmerica Corp., NationsBank Corp., First Union Corp. and more than 100 other banks that have acquired savings and loans in recent years would benefit from provisions that government and banking industry sources say were inserted in the budget bill at the urging of bank lobbyists.

The bill imposes a special assessment of about 80 cents on each \$100 of

S&L deposits to replenish the thrift deposit insurance fund as the final payment for the savings and loan cleanup.

But because of some little-known provisions, banks that acquired S&Ls would get a 20 percent discount on the assessment, and some would get other breaks or be able to escape paying at all, the sources said.

Officials of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., which will collect the deposit insurance assessment, are studying details of the budget measure but have not released information showing which banks the new provisions are intended to cover.

However, lobbyists and lawyers who have studied it said yesterday that First Union and NationsBank—the two biggest bank companies operating in the Washington area—are major beneficiaries of the bill's provisions.

NationsBank would save \$24 million from one provision; First Union would benefit from two others worth about \$12 million each and a third whose value could not be determined.

NationsBank officials yesterday said they would not comment on the possible benefits because the bill could be amended. A First Union spokesman said no one was available to comment.

Although Clinton administration officials have told Republicans they don't like the provisions benefiting specific institutions, they generally agree on the banking part of the budget bill. The bill is being held up by divisions on more serious issues.

The special assessment on S&L deposits would raise about \$6 billion to rebuild the thrift deposit insurance fund, which was wiped out by S&L failures in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The money would count toward reducing the federal budget deficit.

Savings and loans will pay most of the \$6 billion, and thrift industry officials are furious that many banks have persuaded Congress to give them a break.

"There really is no economically justifiable reason to give anybody special

treatment. Once you start down that path you open up the veritable Pandora's box," said Robert Schmermund, director of public affairs for America's Community Bankers, the S&L trade group.

Banking lobbyists say banks that acquired thrifts should not have to pay as much because many thrift depositors took out their deposits after their local S&L was taken over by a bank.

To account for lost deposits, Sen. Lauch Faircloth (R-N.C.) proposed giving banks a 5 percent discount on the special assessment. House Banking Committee member Bill McCollum (R-Fla.) offered a 33 percent discount, and in conference negotiations lawmakers agreed to a 20 percent "haircut."

That provision would produce a savings of more than \$140 million for the two dozen biggest banks that bought S&Ls and would save even more for hundreds of other eligible banks.

Banks would save another \$400 million, industry officials estimate, from another part of the bill. The special tax will be levied on S&L deposits as of March 31, 1995, and be collected from institutions in business as of Jan. 1, 1996.

Thus, if a bank has bought an S&L since last March, it won't have to pay the tax. That would mean a savings of almost \$8 million for First Union because it acquired Columbia First Bank,

an Arlington-based S&L, and a Florida thrift while the window was open.

First Union will save another \$12 million, sources said, because it persuaded Congress to make a special exception and give the 20 percent discount for other thrifts it acquired that would normally not be eligible.

Gingrich Wants To Narrow On-Line Bill

By Elizabeth Corcoran
Washington Post Staff Writer

House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) and a colleague are trying to narrow the scope of legislation that would make it illegal to make "indecent" material available to children over on-line computer networks, aides said.

Earlier this week, House lawmakers working on final provisions of the bill adopted a comparatively broad definition of what would be illegal, rejecting a narrower test known as the "harmful to minors" standard. Gingrich and Rep. Rick A. White (R-Wash.) now hope to get the definition of "indecent" closer to the rejected standard, which White contends is accepted in 48 states as the benchmark for prosecuting those who publish sexually explicit material.

Civil liberties groups say the indecency standard is overly broad and could lead to a curtailment of freedom of speech. Many feel more comfortable with the harmful to minors standard. But religious conservatives and anti-pornography groups say the harmful to minors standard is not tough enough.

A staff member in Gingrich's office said Gingrich considers the issue very important. Earlier this year, Gingrich expressed concern that the indecency standard, as first proposed in a Senate amendment sponsored by Sen. J. James Exon (D-Neb.), could infringe on free speech rights.

Aides say Gingrich in particular hopes to write into law a definition of indecency that would exempt from prosecution material considered to have cultural, literary or scientific merit.

Civil liberty groups also are trying to rally opponents of the indecency standard. "We're declaring Tuesday to be a national day of protest from the Internet," said Jonah Seiger, an analyst at the Center for Democracy and Technology, a group that opposes the standard.

Staff writer Mike Mills contributed to this report.

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Moving To Safeguard Worker Funds

401(k) Rule Will Also Bar Suing of Companies

By DAVID CAY JOHNSTON

Alarmed by evidence that hundreds of small companies have stolen their employees' 401(k) retirement money, the Clinton Administration is planning to introduce new safeguards aimed at curbing such abuses.

Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich, officials said, told Government lawyers to work through the weekend drafting rules that will make it harder for employers to dip into the 401(k) pool for their own needs. The tighter rules are expected to be announced on Monday.

The Labor Department is also close to officially releasing a bulletin that will allow companies to explain to their employees the basics of investing without having to worry that they might be sued if workers manage their retirement funds poorly.

Among other changes, the new rules governing handling of 401(k) funds would require companies to turn over contributions much more quickly to the mutual fund, insurance company or other institution responsible for investing the money. In a telephone interview last night, Mr. Reich said that long delays in transferring the funds "will not be tolerated."

Current law requires transmitting these funds "as soon as practical," but allows delays of as long as 90 days after they are deducted from paychecks. That grace period may have been appropriate in 1988, when it was adopted, Mr. Reich said, but advances in technology make it antiquated. The new rules are expected to set a limit of 30 days.

The Government gives most companies only five to seven days to turn over Federal income, Social Security and Medicare taxes and the largest companies have to transmit these funds within 24 hours.

The move to adopt tighter controls on 401(k) money follows reports that several thousand workers at more than 300 small companies lost some or all of their retirement nest egg to their bosses. The money was sometimes used to meet payrolls in hopes of keeping a failing enterprise alive. In other cases, the money was frittered away on spending and gambling sprees by employers.

In the last two weeks the Pension and Welfare Benefits Administration has received hundreds of telephone calls from workers anxious about the safety of their 401(k) money, Labor Department officials said.

"We are detecting some bad apples," Mr. Reich said. "We want to prevent more bad apples." But Mr. Reich said the Labor Department did not want to make the rules so burdensome that they interfered with legitimate 401(k) operations.

More than \$500 billion is currently held in 401(k) accounts owned by about 23 million Americans. In recent months, the Clinton Administration has mounted a campaign to encourage workers to save for retirement and police the management of their pension funds.

But while the Government is moving to tighten the rules on how 401(k) funds

Reports of thefts from employee savings spurs action.

make sure there was a broad consensus among employers. She said that it would be withdrawn if employers believe it would inhibit, rather than encourage, more 401(k) plans.

The draft of the bulletin says that employers are permitted to educate workers about the expected differences in performance of savings accounts, bonds and stocks. They also can provide employees with computer software that shows, based on past performance, how such investments may perform.

Continued From First Business Page

should be handled, it is also proposing language that would make it clear that companies can educate workers about how investment strategies work without crossing the line into becoming investment advisers who can be held responsible for how well an investment strategy works.

Advance copies of the proposed bulletin began circulating yesterday. Several benefits consultants and pension lawyers who obtained copies said they generally supported the

Reaction was generally positive. Dick Johnson, an actuary at Watson Wyatt Worldwide, said: "I like the positives in the draft. I am concerned, though, that it says you are O.K. if you do these four things, but doesn't say what happens if you do a fifth or a sixth thing."

Mark Vogel, the senior benefits specialist at Weil, Gotshal & Manges, saw some potential problems in the draft not so much for 401(k) plan providers but for those who administer traditional defined benefit pension plans.

David Veeneman, who directs employee education consulting for Hewitt Associates, a benefits advice company, said he was pleased the draft made it clear that educating workers in groups did not cross the line into giving financial advice. But "it is still unclear," he said, "at what

point one-on-one counseling steps over into giving financial advice."

In another development affecting retirement accounts, President Clinton sent a letter yesterday to Congressional leaders urging them to act on a bill proposed last July to require auditors who find evidence of fraud in retirement plans to report their suspicions immediately. Under current law, audit reports disclosing questionable practices do not have to be filed with the Labor Department for months.

"Americans need to know their money is safe," Mr. Clinton wrote, if they are going to continue pouring money into 401(k) and other retirement savings plans.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-10-95

Leon / ER

Let's see



Maureen

Representative

CHARLOTTE SCHEXNAYDER

Assistant Speaker Pro Tem

P. O. Box 220

DUMAS, AR 71639-0220

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501-382-5255 Residence

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STATE OF ARKANSAS

House of Representatives

COMMITTEES

MEMBER

Revenue and Taxation

State Agencies and

Governmental Affairs

Rules

Joint Budget

November 16, 1995

DISTRICT 74

Part of Desha County

Part of Jefferson County

Part of Lincoln County

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

Dear Mr. President:

Your speech to the Democratic Leadership Council surely is among the best I have heard, and Melvin and I were proud to be among those applauding your thoughts and cheering your veto. Monday afternoon and Tuesday, I talked to as many as I could in the city of Washington to gain their views and found them genuinely supportive of your political courage and resolve. I happened to be in Senator Pryor's office Tuesday morning when the well-known columnist, Mary McGrory, arrived, and I told her of the support I had heard for your position and how much I admired you.

When I arrived back in Dumas, I had the enclosed letter on my desk. I think it speaks volumes of support for your efforts to protect those who have the least.

I continue to speak out in your behalf as we travel. We were in Louisiana for a wedding in October, and met Lynn Guidry, a member of the Parish Council in Lafayette. He is a solid supporter of yours and says his 80-year-old father, Rhule Guidry, always gives a thumbs-up and says, "President Clinton is doing a good job." Would it be possible for you to send a note to Mr. Rhule Guidry, 202 S. Church St., Carencro, La. 70520 as he is such a grand backer for you?

*Maureen
at 2:00
11/16*

Melvin and I hope you and your dear family have a grand Thanksgiving and Christmas...and enough rest to cope with the stress heaped upon you. God bless you!

Cordially,

Charlotte

November 10, 1995

Charlotte Tillar Schexnayder
P O Box 220
Dumas, AR 81639

Dear Ms. Schexnayder,

My name is Brenda Braswell and I am a parent of Bradley Braswell. Bradley is a young man that is 8 years old. I have Bradley in public school and in the regular classroom with supports and a full-time aid. Bradley has a rare disorder that is called Klipped Trenauny Weber Syndrome, Cerebral Palsy and has seizures. Brad is a very hyperactive child and has a learning disability. The left side of Bradley body is larger than the right side. Brad cannot function in this world without help in all areas of his life. As a Medicaid percipient, he can not afford to be without Medicaid. Medicaid takes care of all of his doctor bills, medicine and (AFO) foot and leg supports. His supports last for only six (6) months. His father's insurance will only pay for one (1) pair per lifetime. These supports cost a thousand dollars (\$1,000). His father's yearly income is \$17,000 which makes it difficult to support a family of four. Brad sees about five (5) doctors every six (6) to twelve (12) months. When Brad has dental work he must be sedated. We, as a family, could not survive if it wasn't for Medicaid. TEFRA, a part of Medicaid, is what Brad receives. We do not qualify for SSI because of a settlement received from an injury his father sustained on his job. This settlement is in the amount of \$4,000 and is to be paid over the next three years.

State and Federal Officials, I ask each of you to help children and adults that cannot live without Medicaid.

Thank you.

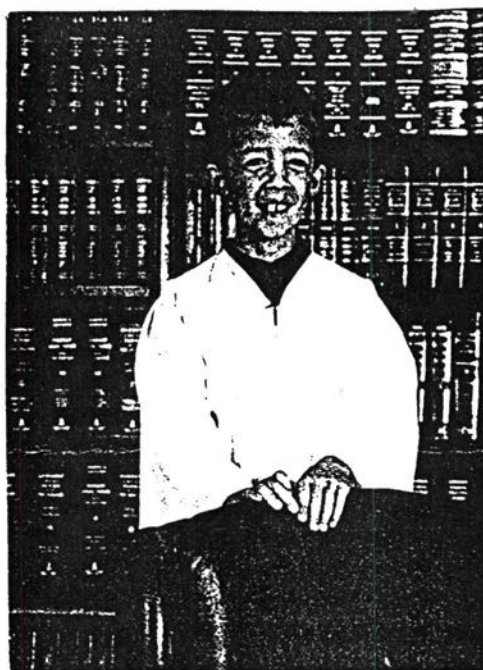


Brenda Braswell
51 South Richard Drive
Pine Bluff, AR 71602



1990

Bradley's Family



1994 & 95



Bradley Braswell



1996 & 97

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-11-95

CS/Boon
good potential
example.

In Challenge to Dalai Lama, China Enthrones New Tibetan Panchen

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIJING, Dec. 8—China installed a 6-year-old boy as the 11th Panchen Lama today and urged Tibetans to accept its choice for the second-ranking figure in Tibetan Buddhism over one made earlier by their exiled spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama.

The boy, Gyaincain Norbu, was chosen only nine days ago as the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, who died in 1989. His hasty enthronement was seen by experts on Tibet as an effort by the Chinese government to quickly establish the boy's legitimacy and drive a wedge between Tibetan Buddhists.

Ordinarily a boy would receive four years of monastic training before such a ceremony.

A senior Communist official from Beijing, State Councilor Li Tieying, oversaw the enthronement ceremony at the 15th-century Tashi Lhunpo monastery in the Tibetan town of Shigatse and presented the boy with a golden certificate and a golden seal. Li delivered a message from Chinese President Jiang Zemin telling the boy to "safeguard the motherland and work in the interests of the people."

Jiang's message was a warning against lending any support to secessionist forces in the Himalayan region, which China's military oc-

cupied in 1950. The Chinese government hopes that the boy ultimately will become a credible and more compliant alternative leader to the Dalai Lama, who fled Tibet in 1959 after an abortive anti-Chinese uprising and who advocates Tibetan independence. The Panchen and Dalai lamas are the two leading figures of the Gelugpa school of Buddhism that has dominated Tibet for four centuries.

But in the short term, the government's selection of a Panchen Lama creates another source of tension among Tibetans forced to choose between loyalty to Beijing and loyalty to the Dalai Lama, who is revered by Tibetans as a god-king. The Dalai Lama has recognized a different boy as the Panchen Lama, setting the stage for religious and political struggle.

Followers of the Dalai Lama in Dharamsala, India, issued a statement today that called the enthronement of the boy "invalid and illegal" and said "the Tibetan people will never accept this." Hundreds of Tibetans demonstrated and burned a Chinese flag in the streets of Dharamsala, home to about 120,000 Tibetan exiles.

Tibetan exiles said that earlier in the week Beijing had ordered senior Tibetan monks to attend the ceremony to demonstrate their loyalty to China. The exiles said there were 500 Chinese soldiers at the monastery today to ensure that the ceremony went smoothly.

Tibetans believe a boy receives the soul of the previous Panchen Lama when he dies. Tibetan Buddhism lays out a series of mystic steps for identifying the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, and Beijing had earlier given its blessings to a search committee from the Panchen Lama's home base in Shigatse.

But when the committee leaked its choice to the Dalai Lama before informing Beijing, the Dalai Lama upstaged the Chinese government by announcing his approval. The Chinese government rejected the choice, accused the Dalai Lama of trying to split China and arrested the abbot of the Shigatse monastery.

In November, the Chinese government summoned a group of lamas to Beijing to come up with three new names, excluding the boy chosen by the Dalai Lama. Citing Qing Dynasty precedent and a 1792 accord, the government held a ceremony last week in which it drew one of the names from a golden urn in front of an important temple in Lhasa, Tibet's capital.

The whereabouts of Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the boy recognized by the Dalai Lama in May, aren't clear. Tibetan exiles say the Chinese government has taken the boy out of Tibet and is keeping him and his parents under watch. The government denies that it has detained the boy.

The government has tried to tarnish the image of the Dalai Lama's choice, saying his parents had bad reputations and that he once killed a dog.

The Dalai Lama has said the parents of Beijing's handpicked Panchen were both local officials and Chinese Communist Party members.

China's official media and Tibetan exiles gave sharply different accounts of the ceremony that took place today.

The Dalai Lama's followers said posters were appearing in Lhasa and Shigatse denouncing China's imposition of a rival Panchen Lama on the Tibetan people. Residents of Tibet's three main cities were demonstrating against Beijing's choice, the Dalai Lama said.

The government's New China News Agency said Li Tieying was welcomed in Shigatse by 40,000 Buddhists, who lined the streets waving fresh flowers. The news agency said the Panchen Lama "expressed his gratitude to the central government, President Jiang Zemin, Premier Li Peng and representatives of the State Council and said . . . he loves his motherland and the Tibetan religion." The television report said the boy pledged to study hard.

Foreign media were not permitted to cover the event and are generally restricted from traveling to Tibet.

THE WASHINGTON POST
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1995

Pony/Sandy
Let's discuss
BC

Cambodia Shows Signs of Returning to Old Patterns of Violence, Repression

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-10-95

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By Keith B. Richburg
Washington Post Foreign Service

PHNOM PENH, Cambodia—A newspaper editor is gunned down in broad daylight. A grenade is tossed into a Buddhist temple, wounding 50 supporters of the political opposition. Troops and tanks appear in the streets as a show of force against a prominent critic of the government. And the ex-Communist co-prime minister orders his newly formed private army to destroy his enemies, whom he likens to "worms."

Cambodia has been widely touted as a success story—a model of global peacemaking in the post-Cold War world. The United Nations spent close to \$3 billion trying to break the cycle of tragedy. But today, 2½ years after U.N.-sponsored elections were supposed to have ushered in a new era of democracy and economic recovery, Cambodia appears to be sliding back to its familiar pattern of political violence, assassination and repression.

During the presence of the massive U.N. mission here, the country witnessed a brief flowering of open democracy, with political

parties forming, dozens of newspapers appearing on the streets, and new groups launched to monitor human rights.

"The expectation was that Cambodia under the aegis of the United Nations had been cured and was on the road to liberal democracy," one foreign resident said. "But when you step back and look at it, the idea that little Cambodia with all its tragic problems would suddenly become the most democratic country in Asia was totally unrealistic."

The current rulers—led by the former communists installed during the decade-long Vietnamese occupation—are trying to establish a new dictatorship, according to many Cambodians, human rights groups and some Western diplomats.

Although the country is largely peaceful, with the Khmer Rouge guerrillas reduced to making small-scale attacks, the government appears bent on silencing all opposition and talks of staying in power until 2010. Critics accuse the international community of unseemly silence, protecting the myth of the Cambodian "success story."

"Cambodian democracy is in a free fall now," said Lao Mong Hay, director of the Khmer Institute for Democracy. "The countries that cosigned the international agreements are our safety net. Whether democracy will fall through that safety net to the floor and be killed remains to be seen."

"There is a slide back toward a more and more authoritarian regime, and the old style prevails again," said Sam Rainsy, a former finance minister who was forced out of the government and has launched a new party called Khmer Nation.

"The U.N. has had failure in many places, but only in Cambodia can they claim a success," Rainsy said. "And they don't want the success to be tarnished by what has happened afterward."

Disappointment with United States

Many Cambodians express particular disappointment with the United States, widely seen as a champion of human rights and democracy. But the U.S. Embassy has for the most part remained silent about the mounting, documented cases of abuse of the government's opponents.

"The interest of the U.S. government in Cambodia is not human rights or democracy," said Ahmad Yahya, a Cambodian member of parliament who holds an American passport and has a house in Herndon, Va. "The interest of the U.S. government is stability. . . . They don't put pressure on the leadership because they want to work closely with it and see that the country has stability."

A Western diplomat summed up the U.S. Embassy line under the recently departed ambassador, Charles Twining, as: "We're in here for the long haul, we support Cambodia's efforts towards building democratic institutions, and we're interested in stability for Cambodia for the sake of the region, for the sake of commerce, for the sake of the Cambodian people."

The United States provided about \$50 million in aid to Cambodia for the 1995 fiscal year, an embassy spokesman said, including money to rebuild the road to the port at Sihanoukville, support for democratic institutions and \$5 million in emergency food aid.

A House-backed proposal to grant Cambodia most-favored-nation trading status is being held up in the Senate, where Sen. William V. Roth (R-Del.) has expressed concern over the mounting evidence of human rights abuse.

Cambodia was not supposed to turn out this way.

Ripe for Recovery

After two decades of turmoil and bloodshed—the 1970 military coup, the 1975 takeover by the radical Communist Khmer Rouge the horror of the genocide that followed, then Vietnam's 1978 invasion and decade-long occupation—Cambodia at last seemed ripe for recovery. The fractious, Western-backed resistance coalition signed a 1991 peace accord in Paris with the Vietnamese-installed Communist regime, and that cleared the way for the dispatch of thousands of U.N. peacekeepers to separate the warring parties and organize elections.

The elections took place in 1993. Cambodia became a constitutional monarchy, with Norodom Sihanouk returning to the throne he lost in 1970. And the political party that Sihanouk created, the royalist Funcinpec led by his son, Norodom Ranariddh, came out ahead of the ex-Communists in the voting. As far as the world could tell then, Cambodia was a success: The "good guys" won, and the United Nations departed.

And that is when the problems began.

Ranariddh agreed to form a coalition government with the ex-Communists, restyled as the Cambodian People's Party, who finished a close second in the balloting. The two parties agreed to share everything—splitting ministries, with "co-ministers." Ranariddh and Hun Sen, the People's Party leader installed by Vietnam, even agreed to each take the title of "co-prime minister." At the time, the power-sharing arrangement was seen as a novel recipe for political stability. Instead, for the noncommunists, it has been disastrous.

The ex-Communists never really relinquished administrative control, not in the ministries, where an estimated 80 percent of civil servants are still People's Party loyalists, and not at the district and village level, where the old Communist apparatus remains intact.

"They lost the election, but they succeeded in maintaining their state apparatus and their power," said ex-minister Rainsy. "People voted for change. But actually there's no change."

The Cambodian People's Party's control is perhaps most pronounced—and most dangerous—in the police and security units, which have been blamed for most of the attacks on opposition politicians and their supporters and on journalists. When Sihanouk's popular half-brother, Prince Norodom Sirivudh, was accused last month of plotting to assassinate Hun Sen, the ex-Communist leader demonstrated his command of the country's armed units by bringing two tanks and troops into the streets of Phnom Penh.

Sirivudh's Arrest

Sirivudh, the Funcinpec secretary general, is under arrest because of the alleged plot. He claimed he was a victim of political persecution, and the Human Rights Watch organization said the evidence against him was not sufficient to prosecute. But Hun Sen unveiled a new personal bodyguard unit, consisting of 191 well-armed troops backed by six tanks and an unspecified number of armored personnel carriers. And on state television, Hun Sen ordered this new private army to "take preemptive measures."

"If the defense task involved only providing protection around the house, it would mean you had lost the initiative," Hun Sen told the assembled troops. "Therefore, you have to strike at those forces from a distance with whatever means." He called his enemies "worms" and said, "No one will regret the destruction or death of these forces. . . . They have to be dealt with appropriately, using legal means, using force, using all means to get them out of Cambodia."

Cambodians, including human rights advocates, as well as foreign observers, said they found Hun Sen's warnings about terrorists disturbing. In the past, they said, Hun Sen's admonitions to his supporters to attack perceived enemies resulted in violence.

In September, for example, Hun Sen warned opposition politician Son Sann not to proceed with a planned party congress because the gathering might be attacked with grenades. On Sept. 30, unidentified motorcyclists tossed grenades at Son Sann's house and at a nearby Buddhist temple, where Son Sann's supporters had gathered to spend the night. About 50 people were wounded in the temple attack, and the government later issued a statement holding Son Sann responsible for the violence.

Hun Sen's Warning

On Oct. 22, the pro-opposition newspaper New Liberty News printed an article critical of one of Hun Sen's personal rural development projects. The following day, a mob arrived at the newspaper offices aboard three trucks, broke down the door, destroyed the paper's offices and badly beat a staff member. Hun Sen was quoted a few days later as calling the attack "justified" and "fair" and promising that next time he himself would provide the trucks.

In a statement this week, Hun Sen warned on state television that the United States and France should not criticize his country's human rights record or interfere in Cambodia's "internal affairs," or he might organize a demonstration of a million people in Phnom Penh's streets. Hun Sen also added cryptically, "And I want to warn those foreigners to be careful, because the demonstrators could enter their embassies."

Ranariddh, for his part, performs like a willing accomplice to Hun Sen's consolidation of power—leading some to speculate that Ranariddh may have orchestrated Sirivudh's arrest to clear away a potential rival in his party. Ranariddh and Hun Sen have both been quoted saying they want their unlikely coalition to last until the year 2010, although elections are supposed to be held in three years.

Some Funcinpec members—those who haven't quit or been purged—admit they feel intimidated in Cambodia's atmosphere of repression and fear.

"Of course I'm scared!" said Ahmad Yahya, a Funcinpec member of parliament. "And when you're scared, it means democracy is sick."

FOR MORE INFORMATION

For a detailed look at Cambodia's political culture, see Digital Ink. The Post's on-line service To learn about

THE WASHINGTON POST
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1995

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Certs Section
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Nat Hentoff

Injustice at the Justice Department

Early one morning in January 1987, agents of the FBI and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, with guns drawn, burst into the Los Angeles apartments of seven Palestinians and a Kenyan woman (married to one of them). None were read their rights. A woman married to another of the Palestinians asked the law enforcement agents about the constitutional rights of her husband as he was being dragged out the door. "They laughed," she said.

These apparently dangerous aliens—all of whom had been in this country for a long time—were brought, shackled hand and foot, before an immigration judge who at first denied bail on national security grounds. Eventually bail was permitted despite the strenuous objections of then-Attorney General Edwin Meese.

The Justice Departments of presidents Reagan, Bush and now Clinton have insistently tried to deport these aliens, even though they had committed no crimes here. They were accused of associating with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. (An immigration act forbade involvement with any organization that "affords material support to any individual, organization or government in conducting a terrorist activity at any time.")

Actually these Palestinians had distributed a PFLP magazine, Democratic Palestine, and raised

funds for various Palestinian causes not involved with violence. That was their "material support." Just as others in those years contributed to the peaceful activities of the African National Congress but not to its violent actions.

William Webster was head of the FBI at the time of the breaking and entering into the Palestinians' apartments. Later that year, the same William Webster—at his confirmation hearing when he was nominated to be director of the CIA—testified that if the eight defendants had been American citizens, "there would not have been a basis for arrest."

As citizens, they would have had the First Amendment right of association and the right of due process. Nor would the United States government have been able to—as it did with these Palestinians—introduce classified secret evidence against them.

This has been the essence of the Justice Department's case under all the interchangeable attorneys general: Aliens do not have the protection of the Bill of Rights, least of all the right of free association with groups of their choice. And they can be deported without their, or their

lawyers, seeing certain alleged evidence against them.

After nearly nine years of being entangled in the courts—and always on the edge of being banished from this country—these aliens may finally have reached the end of their ordeal. On Nov. 8 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit issued a landmark deci-

sion clearly affirming the constitutional rights of aliens, both permanent and non-permanent residents (*American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee v. Reno*).

Said Judge Dorothy Nelson for a unanimous panel: "The values underlying the First Amendment require the full applicability of First Amendment rights to the deportation setting. . . . Because we are a nation founded by immigrants, this underlying principle is especially relevant to our attitude toward current immigrants who are a part of our community. The [First Amendment] right of association is a basic constitutional right that lies at the foundation of a free society."

Moreover, "aliens who reside in this country are entitled to full due process protections." Even illegal aliens, the court noted cannot be expelled without due process.

SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-10-95

The various Justice Departments since 1987 have contended that due process can be satisfied by using undisclosed information to expel aliens. The 9th Circuit firmly disagrees, and has issued "a permanent injunction against the use of undisclosed classified information" in attempts to expel aliens.

David Cole, a Georgetown University law professor and a key member of the team that has been defending the Palestinians, notes that "the court's decision means that all immigrants can speak and associate as freely as citizens, and they need not fear deportation for their political views."

Meanwhile, the Comprehensive Anti-Terrorism Act of 1995 is moving toward a House-Senate conference. It contains provisions permitting deportation of aliens on undisclosed evidence as well as other assaults on their due process rights. If the bill passes, there will be no veto from the White House, because the president has other priorities than the Bill of Rights.

And indeed, the 9th Circuit decision affirming those rights for aliens may be appealed by the Justice Department to the Supreme Court, because Janet Reno is also—like Solicitor General Drew Days—only a selective supporter of constitutional rights.

Food Stamp Fraud: No Joke

By focusing on things like how many times the word "fraud" appeared in a Department of Agriculture news release [front page, Nov. 28], your article "Food Stamp Probe Overstated" missed the significance of the groundbreaking efforts we are making to prevent fraud.

While our commitment to fighting fraud is simple, the problem itself is complex. Fraud is a broad term that covers several types of program abuse. The most visible, the most costly and the most egregious type of fraud is trafficking—the exchange of food stamps for cash, drugs or other illegal goods at a fraction of their face value. Trafficking diverts an estimated \$900 million a year that should be spent feeding the needy.

Since October the Department of Agriculture has announced the withdrawal of 1,400 stores nationwide from the food stamp program. While your article states that "most of the stores caught in the department's 'crackdown' . . . weren't engaging in fraud," it's important to note that more than 200 of those cases have been referred to authorities for investigation into possible criminal activity.

We know that many stores continue to accept food stamps even when they are no longer eligible to do so, and experience has shown us that ineligible stores present the greatest risk of trafficking. Removing these marginal stores helps us attack trafficking at its source.

By continuing to use every resource available to fight fraud, we protect taxpayers' investment in our national nutrition programs and ensure that the food stamp program will accomplish its health mission: getting food to people who need it.

—Dan Glickman
The writer is secretary
of agriculture.

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Be

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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



International
Communications
Group, Inc.

1925 Century Park East, Suite 1850, Los Angeles, California 90067 • (310) 557-2585 • Fax (310) 557-3009

17 November 1995

Mr. Harold Ickes,
Assistant to the President
and Deputy Chief of Staff
White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. Ickes,

Referencing your letter to me dated 7 November 1995, typically media buying fees for political accounts are in the 3% to 5% range. By comparison, we are offering that the ICG all inclusive fee for Clinton/Gore '96 would be a flat 2%.

On a combined primary election/general election estimated media expenditure of \$60 million, every 1% reduction in fee represents \$600,000.00 in savings that could be reinvested in additional media for the President's 1996 reelection campaign.

If, for example, the company you are currently negotiating with plans to charge a 5% fee -- the ICG alternative would allow you to plow \$1.8 million of savings into media rather than into compensation that does not deliver media value for the campaign.

With over \$405 million in annual billing, ICG is the second largest full service independent media firm in the United States. Our buyers are in every media market in the country 365 days a year --- not just political years.

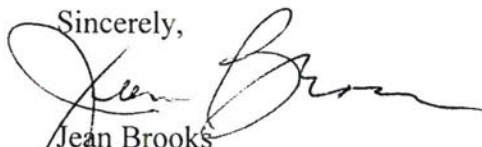
We are very interested in meeting with you should your current time buying negotiations not have a favorable conclusion.

Our commitment is to helping assure victory for the Clinton/Gore '96 campaign effort.

I hope you will give this your careful consideration.

Thank you.

Sincerely,



Jean Brooks
Vice President

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-10-95

MEMORANDUM

TO: ~~P~~RESIDENT

FROM: BETTY

RE: FORMER CONG. ROBERT ECKHARDT -PHONE CALL

DATE: DECEMBER 8, 1995

Wants to talk with you regarding situation in Bosnia. He is doing some writing on the War Powers Act and indicated "using Section IV of the War Powers Act for sending troops to Bosnia.

Secretary Cisneros - ideas as a result of meeting last night.

J. Michael Cook (with De Loitte and Touche) called. he sat next to you at luncheon on Oct 6th at Hay Adams. Wants to discuss securities reform bill.

Summary
can you call him
for info? He's a
good man
BT

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-10-95

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

RE: 60 Minutes this Sunday

From: RBR 

95 DEC 8 P12:55

Date: Dec. 8, 1995

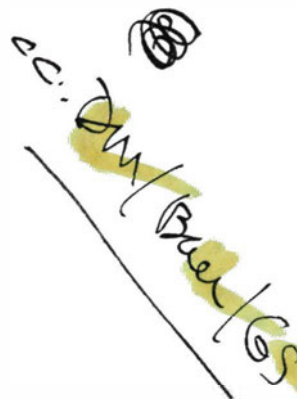
Suggestion: There's a danger that the budget debate may become characterized as hard-headed (fiscally responsible) Republicans versus soft-hearted (elderly, children, poor) Democrats. One way to prevent this is to be clearer about the Republicans' motives (without being shrill). The 60 Minutes program is an opportunity for you to do so.

Some themes:

-- We want to balance the budget through equal sacrifice; they don't (e.g., their tax cut for the top 1 percent--over \$350,000 in incomes--is \$8500, which just about matches the yearly income of a minimum-wage worker whose incomes they refuse to raise.)

-- Your better jobs and wages strategy depends on (a) education and job training, (b) an expanded EITC and a hike in the minimum wage. They propose to cut or block these initiatives.

Finally, this may be an opportunity to raise the possibility of providing tax relief beyond your middle-class tax cut, but only for investments in companies that bring their workers along (on-the-job training, health and pension benefits, profit or gain-sharing).


cc: DM/Bur/GS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 12-13

TO: Leon
ERB:me

FROM: Staff Secretary

Nancy H. has asked that
you both bless this before
3 pm today. Looks fine to
me. OK with you?

[Signature]

12/13 Todd

Is this still in the works
or has it been done now.

not done yet,

but nothing
else for us to
do at moment.

[Signature]

Nancy Hernreich

Jeffery
Can I get
95 DEC 13 11:34
approval from
Todd, Leon & ERB
by 3 today
Thank

12-13-95

Todd cleared
w/ Nancy.

C. Cleveland

December 13, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF

As we approach the end of another year, I want to thank you for all your hard work. The hours have been long and the pressures intense, but you continue to give your best effort every day.

I am looking forward to seeing you at the Holiday Open House on December 21. Also, during the coming year, I hope to visit with you and have photos taken with each of your offices. In the meantime, Hillary and I want you to know how much we appreciate what you do each day, and we send best wishes to you and your families for a joyous holiday season.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 DEC 15 410 : 59

December 11, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE McCURRY

THRU: TODD STERN *TDS*

FROM: JIM DORSKIND *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: KWANZAA

Attached is the President's message for KWANZAA which you may want to release to the media. Kwanzaa is a seven-day holiday which begins December 26, 1995.

Thank you.

*original taken
to Marlene on
Lower Press 12/16/95
(Shelley)*

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

December 6, 1995

Warm greetings to everyone who is observing the festival of Kwanzaa.

Across America and around the globe, Kwanzaa is a vibrant celebration of African culture, encouraging us to gain a deeper appreciation of our families and the many blessings we enjoy. Kwanzaa's seven basic principles -- unity, self-determination, collective work and responsibility, cooperative economics, purpose, creativity, and faith -- stir our imagination, stimulate thought and reflection, and bring new purpose to our daily lives.

Transcending international boundaries and embracing the rich cultural traditions of Africa, this joyous festival links diverse individuals in a unique celebration of a dynamic heritage. Renewing hope and restoring faith, Kwanzaa uplifts the human spirit, helping us to revitalize the bonds of family and the spirit of community.

As millions of my fellow Americans commemorate Kwanzaa, I am delighted to send best wishes for a wonderful festival and a very happy new year.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 6, 1995

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Bill Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 6, 1995

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Bill Clinton

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-15-95

Cc: Bae

Amber

GS

Amber

Wade

This is wonderful piece - Use
Monogamy is Wade
circulation - to religious
city talk show host, the
managers this campaign, have
important - let's get it out - By

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-15-95

Cc: HTPC

THE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12/8/95

Mr. President -

This was a great Op Ed
in the Dallas Morning News. We
are starting to get our message
across.

Sincerely,
Dick

asked for records that included the race of the perpetrator of a crime as well as the race of the crime's victim. The police didn't have these tabulations but gave the ex-mayor a bundle of computer sheets he then turned over to a specialist to parse.

The findings anticipated by several months the dismayed report of The Sentencing Project of Washington, D.C. That think tank's ongoing study of penology told us that almost one-third of black men aged 20 to 29 are under "criminal justice supervision." That means they either: (1) are in jail; or (2) are on probation; or (3) are being prosecuted.

The Sentencing Project data clearly suggest that there is a racist bias in penology. According to the report, African-Americans constitute 13 percent of

prison, on probation or parole, awaiting trial or sentencing, or being sought on arrest warrants. In Washington, D.C., with similar demographics, the figure is 42 percent.

Whatever the bias, what to do? Back in 1983, which was not so very long ago, drug offenders in prison were 57,975. In 1993 that figure had risen by 510 percent, to 353,564.

One way to reduce the number of people sent to jail for possessing drugs is to stop prosecuting people for possessing drugs. And transforming the vast expense and energy being used to put them in jail to devising some way to help or cure the addict.

Ed Koch doesn't go along with legalization. But he is eagerly promoting an idea derived from a

comes away from prison. He doesn't have a job, and he is burdened with the stigma of a felony conviction. For him is proposed a program that combines job training with drug education. A year of this, followed by three years on probation during which drug testing would regularly be done.

The incentive? A full pardon at the term's end, leaving the ex-inmate with an apparently spotless record, exposure to drug abuse training and an opportunity to learn a profession. If such were to yield satisfactory results, the sometime convict would be ready to marry, leaving permanently behind him his addiction and his conviction.

Mr. Koch also recommends a quite general program available to all 17-year-olds, not just males. It is

Koch. How many of the young blacks who go to jail do so merely for possession of a drug — as distinguished from going to jail for the mayhem done to get money with which to buy drugs?

If drugs were licensed for sale, given that the pharmaceutical cost of producing them is about 1 percent of the street cost, how much relief would be had by the community otherwise plundered to raise the money? And might we be better off with a lot more drug users, even if out of prison, than with hundreds of thousands of drug users in prison?

William F. Buckley Jr.'s column is distributed by the Universal Press Syndicate.

Religious freedom finally has a friend in White House



OLIVER THOMAS

Past!
Want to know a secret?

The Clinton administration is friendly to religion. Better yet, it is the most friendly administration that religion has had in years.

Hard to believe?
Look at the facts:

The Clinton administration recently sent a directive urging every public school district in America to take religion seriously. The directive — based on the input of several dozen religious and civil liberties groups — urges schools to allow students to pray, read Scripture, form religious clubs and express religious viewpoints as long as the students aren't disruptive and don't infringe upon the rights of others. No other president has taken such a step.

President Clinton, along with Sen. Orrin Hatch, R-Utah, and Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., also took the lead in passing the most important civil rights bill for religion in history. The Religious Freedom Restoration Act guarantees a robust role for religion in the life of the

republic.

No longer can government censor, encroach upon, discourage or regulate religion unless it is absolutely necessary to accomplish a "compelling government interest" such as health or safety. Even then, the government must pursue its interest in the manner least burdensome to religion.

As a result, Christians can teach their children at home or run their own schools; Orthodox Jews can refuse autopsies and wear their yarmulkes in government buildings; the Amish can drive their horse-drawn carriages on public streets (with silver reflector tape rather than the garish red triangles proscribed by their faith), and countless other religious people can practice their faith without fear of government reprisal.

The Religious Freedom Restoration Act is being taken seriously by the courts. In the District of Columbia, zoning officials have been told that churches may operate soup kitchens even in residential neighborhoods. And in California, school bureaucrats have been forced to admit Sikh boys and allow



Margaret Scott

them to wear their ceremonial kirpans (i.e., daggers) to school as long as the boys are willing to sew the knives into their sheaths so they may not be used as weapons. A little messy? Yes, but the point remains — it is good for religion, and Mr. Clinton made us do it.

That isn't all. In a recent court case, the Clinton administration reversed

prior Justice Department policy and stepped in to ensure that a trustee in bankruptcy couldn't force churches and synagogues to disgorge past tithes and offerings to satisfy a debtor's creditors. The administration has since created a special task force — with at least one lawyer in each federal agency — to ensure that religious rights are taken seriously.

Even the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under Mr. Clinton has filed its first-ever class-action lawsuit based on religion. The case, filed against Dillard Department Stores for its alleged "no excuses" Saturday/Sunday work policy, has been settled favorably to the claimants and to the churches and synagogues that were prepared to join the government's case as "friends of the court."

Many of the problems corrected by Mr. Clinton stem from a 1990 U.S. Supreme Court case in which the court held that traditional First Amendment protections no longer applied to religion. It was Reagan appointee Antonin Scalia who wrote the opinion in that case, which religious leaders still refer to as

the "Dred Scott" of church-state law. And when dozens of religious groups appealed to the Bush administration for help, it refused.

Mr. Clinton has been different. His administration, with the help of Congress, has changed all that. Now, religion is protected as it once was. Despite angering some religious conservatives by refusing to criminalize abortion and by supporting equal justice for all Americans — including gays — this president has proved himself a friend to religion.

Even Steve McFarland of the conservative Christian Legal Society recently was quoted as saying, "The president clearly has indicated he has a personal interest in religious rights."

As a result of Mr. Clinton, the free exercise of religion is more secure than ever. This president has guaranteed that all religions, including that of his strongest opponents, are welcome in the public square.

And that is the best-kept secret in America.

Oliver Thomas, a minister and lawyer, chairs the Coalition for the Free Exercise of Religion, which drafted and provided the grass-roots support for the Religious Freedom Restoration Act.

Ban

Lewis

Tracy/Sammy

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-15-95

HPEC

A lesson for Americans in Clinton's peacemaking style

JAMES CARROLL

President Clinton's recent trip to Ireland is a mystery to me. How could it mean such different things abroad and at home? I was present for two Clinton speeches in Derry, and I arrived in Dublin shortly after he addressed a throng at the gate of Trinity College. Everyone I spoke to said Clinton had rescued the peace. Protestant and Catholic, North and South, Nationalist and Unionist – all agreed with the Derry woman who told me, "President Clinton has given us a future."

But on returning to the United States, I learned that, though there had been extensive news coverage, the truly momentous quality of Clinton's intervention in Ireland had not been conveyed. It was as if the television images of flag-waving crowds, children presenting flowers and be-decked mayors offering civic symbols were snapshots of an unsophisticated mass adulation of a world celebrity. Clinton might as well have been Mick Jagger – or the pope.

But it was not like that. If the violence that has rocked Northern Ireland over the last 27 years had happened in the United States, the numbers of dead, adjusted for relative populations, would be counted in the hundreds of thousands. Most families in Northern Ireland have felt the horror of the killing directly. The Troubles have been every bit as traumatic as the American Civil War was. It is a comparison Bill Clinton made in Guildhall Square. He dared to say that both parties in the American conflict were guilty, and both needed to seek and extend forgiveness. Even now that wound is not healed.

The Irish had reason to be cynical about such an outsider's judgment, yet they were utterly silent as this man from the American South challenged them, despite all that they had suffered and all that they had done, to turn to-

ward each other with open hearts. Forgiveness, Clinton implied, is the only way to peace. I could not help but think how quickly such language would be dismissed at home, even as I sensed how welcome it was to these people. When they gave him an ovation, it seemed like a commitment to do exactly as he had asked.

In the United States, Clinton is derided as, in Gary Wills' memorable phrase, "an omnidirectional placator." I myself have criticized him in such ways. Yet in Ireland his readiness to take seriously the views of everyone meant that in the morning of the day I saw him he could meet with Gerry Adams of Sinn Fein and in the evening with

In Ireland, he exercised the leadership of communication.

die-hard unionist Ian Paisley – and each could come away feeling he had been heard.

In Ireland, Clinton exercised a kind of leadership in which we have little experience; not the leadership of domination, but of communication. His message that the illusion of group superiority must be given up was conveyed by the simple way in which he claimed no superiority for himself. That is the meaning of his method – that the truth comes not when one individual or group imposes it on another, but when parties risk an open-ended relationship of dialogue and negotiation.

I believe it is not too much to say that everyone who experienced Clinton's presence in Ireland was changed by it. His presence itself seemed an instance of a new possibility. For the Irish, that change translated into a renewed

hope for peace. But for all of us, it meant a dramatic redefinition of how political power can be exercised.

These reflections have relevance this week as Clinton travels to Paris for the signing of the Bosnia peace accords. Polls suggest that most US citizens are skeptical of his plan to send troops to enforce the peace, understandably perhaps. Just as images from Ireland strike detached Americans as TV flashes – whether it is pubs being blown up or thousands waving joyously at the president – images from Bosnia have seemed even more unreal. And why not? How could we possibly grasp the reality of an incipient new holocaust in the heart of Europe?

Yet if the number of Balkans dead were adjusted for population to the United States, the tally would be many millions. Every one of us would have lost someone we love. In that case the casualty figures would not be figments. The knowledge of what was happening would compel us to do something to stop it. The people of Bosnia do not wonder why the NATO force is coming. They know, and on all sides they welcome it.

American skepticism protects our reckless individualism. President Clinton is asking us to yield both in favor of a new act of political imagination, to see how the fate even of a distant people is tied to ours. And he is asking Serbs, Croats and Bosnians to reimagine their situation, too. If Americans must reject the illusion that we are a group apart, fulfilling our destiny alone, the people of the Balkans must reject the illusion that one group can fulfill its destiny by subjugating another.

These are lessons the Irish are already learning. We could take a clue from their clear, unambiguous reaction. For all the risks, President Clinton is up to something new, serious and very hopeful.

James Carroll's column appears regularly in the Globe.

Democrats erode confidence

Mr. President ..

Excellent
analysis by
Kevin Phillip

~~cc: Mr. [unclear]~~

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-15-95

Volume XXVI, Number 3
December 1, 1995

Published by the American Political Research Corporation
7316 Wisconsin Avenue
Bethesda, Maryland 20814
Telephone (301) 654-4990

The American Political Report

<i>The 1996 Elections and the Changing Politics of Deficit Reduction</i>	p. 1
<i>National Politics: Clinton Job Approval, Gingrich -Dole Job Approval</i>	p. 4
<i>Third Parties and Independents: Autumn's Developments</i>	p. 5
<i>Update: Election 1995-96 (Parties, Primaries, Presidential Maneuvering)</i>	p. 8

THE 1996 ELECTIONS AND THE CHANGING POLITICS OF DEFICIT REDUCTION

Public opinion finally may about to reshape the U.S. political economy, which has been in something of a warp. More specifically, the 1995-96 budget megabattle seems to be emerging as a catalyst for the renewal — at least temporarily — of the Democratic political coalition (see p. 2) and the further disarray of a Republican Congress already way down in its November national ratings.

As a backdrop, 1993-94 Democratic commitment to bond market yardsticks rather than traditional constituency economics played a role, along with President Clinton's personal unpopularity, in weakening the party in the 1994 elections. Then elements of unusual deficit-attentiveness continued in soft White House opposition to 1995's overly cocky Congressional GOP economic agenda. In March and April, as the 104th Congress's numbers eroded, we called its economics a "warp" which couldn't last. However, facing little opposition, the GOP was emboldened to "go too far" — as polls now show voters regretting — and it's now possible that the economic policy "warp" is starting to collapse into a significant policy rollback and reversal.

Here's what the next few pages will outline: 1) How Clinton's new budget/Medicare stance unifies the Democratic rank-and-file and divides the GOP's voters (see p. 2); 2) how Perot voters' preoccupation with deficit-reduction was always much overstated, as new polls confirm, promoting major miscalculation by the White House in 1993 and by the GOP in 1994-95 (see p. 2); 3) how the White House's apparent decision to block the GOP's budget package, which 60% of voters want vetoed, to position these issues as a 1996 election centerpiece makes sense in the context of previous watershed Capitol Hill-White House clashes (see p.3); 4) how such White House blockage — partly repeating Harry Truman's 1948 strategy against the 80th Congress — has good odds of boosting the Democrats in the 1996 Congressional and Presidential elections, not least by helping them make next year's races a referendum on Newt Gingrich; and 5) how even beyond fairness, this year's GOP budget appears to share common flaws with the previous GOP budget flops of 1985-86 and 1989-90. Each time, party leaders opposed significant tax or revenue increases and produced future budget estimates flawed by failure to anticipate unfolding economic downturns. The payoff if Democrats can take advantage of these circumstances...a major opportunity to change the nation's political and economic policy climate in 1996.

However, in addition to Bill Clinton's record of compromises, we'd note three caveats: First, U.S. Bosnian involvement is a wild card that could jeopardize Democrats' burgeoning opportunity in the domestic policy arena (see p. 4). Second autumn's new third-party emergences and

maneuvers also tie in to the unfolding fiscal debate...although Clinton is more likely to *profit* here than *lose* (see p. 4). And third, the budget confrontation could help tip the U.S. into a 1996 economic downturn which could produce a fierce "blame debate." Once again, though, surveys suggest it's the Republican Congress that'd be most likely to suffer with the general public. Here are the key trends and circumstances:

1) Clinton's Current Budget Stance, Democratic Rank-and-File Unity and GOP Voter Divisions: This is the linchpin of Democratic opportunity. The party's rank and file is rallying, helping to insure that no left/liberal challenger makes a final-hour jump into the New Hampshire primary and probably reducing the likelihood that Jesse Jackson or Ralph Nader (despite this week's California maneuver...see p. 7) will find it necessary to make a Spring or summer 1996 independent candidacy commitment. The following poll break-outs show how the fiscal issues now on the table unite Democrats and divide Republicans:

CBS, Nov. 19

Who do you blame for the government shutdown?

Republicans: 49% say Clinton, 31% say Republicans

Democrats: 73% say Republicans, 10% say Clinton

In current budget debate, who cares more about doing what's best for you and your family?

Republicans: 61% say Republicans in Congress, 29% say Clinton

Democrats: 82% say Clinton, 9% say Republicans in Congress

Time/Yankelovich

55% of those who voted Republican for Congress in 1994 oppose cutting the growth of Medicare spending to balance the budget (late November)

Agree or disagree that "the Republicans in Congress are going too far in cutting back government?" (early November)

Republicans: 59% disagree, 37% agree

Democrats: 79% agree, 16% disagree

Times-Mirror (Oct. 25-30)

Who's more to blame for the way things are going? (among those who are dissatisfied)

Republicans: 30% pick Congress, 9% pick President

Democrats: 41% pick Congress, 5% pick President

This is potent stuff. Just as the Democrats of the 1960s and 1970s pursued elite cultural themes that soured 30-50% of their voters, the current GOP's pursuit of cutting Medicare, Medicaid, education et al while aiming tax breaks at their interest-groups and upper-bracket constituencies offends a large minority of GOP voters. Keeping these wedge issues front and center is obviously in the Democrats' interest. Compromising isn't worthwhile unless the deal gives them 50-70% of the (probably big) gain they stand to achieve by keeping Republican weakness and divisions in the spotlight.

2) Clinton, the Perot Vote and Unfair Deficit Reduction: Bob Rubin, as Clinton's principal 1993-94 economic adviser, traded on the supposed fetishism of Perot voters to get Clinton to do what the bond markets wanted. But the loser in this early White House debate, Clinton pollster Stan Greenberg, was more perceptive when he said that: "Conventional wisdom believes that Perot voters are fiscal conservatives, focused on the deficit. But...only a fourth of Perot voters saw the deficit as a top policy concern. It is evident from the reinventing government discussion that Perot voters want to wipe out privilege and remake government so that it responds to people." The key...Perotistas want a deficit reduction that bashes Washington bureaucrats and interest groups, not one that angers Middle America while delivering tax deals to favored lobbyists. Which explains November's Time/CNN poll finding that fully 73% (111) of Perot supporters oppose cutting the growth of Medicare spending to balance the budget (see Time, 11/27). Moreover, the GOP's budget's weakness with Perot voters means Perot himself must now fine tune how he speaks out on budget issues...it'll have to be more anti-Washington than anti-Medicare. In 1995, it's the Republicans who've massively misread the essence of Perotism.

3) "Strategic Disagreement" as a Democratic Political Approach: Ballooning an executive-legislative confrontation into a presidential

election debate is an old tactic. When 20th Century Republican Congresses and Democratic presidents faced off twice before in 1919-20 and 1947-48, differences that were essentially insoluble became strategies for the next general election. In 1919-20, Republicans opposed to Woodrow Wilson over the League of Nations and his involvement of the U.S. in post-World War One Europe blocked Senate ratification of U.S. entry into the League of Nations, moving foreign policy to the fore. This issue was central to the GOP's 1920 sweep. In 1948, by contrast, Truman turned the tables and made the controversial domestic policy record of the Republican 80th Congress — especially on taxes, health, labor and farm assistance — the dominant issue of his 1948 campaign. In each case, the party that took the initiative in repackaging the key disagreements into a dominant issues-complex won a big victory in the next election. The Democrats have some chance of doing this in 1996.

4) Strategic Disagreement and Democratic Prospects for 1996 Congressional and Presidential Election Success: The tricky nuance here is that while Clinton has the 1947-48 Truman precedent and opportunity on *domestic* issues, the Republican Congress has at least some element of a 1919-20 opportunity on Bosnia. However, for the moment, we'll assume that the domestic-issues disagreement strategy dominates. On this dimension, support for the policies of the GOP Congressional leaders has been dropping steadily since they took office, as the Times-Mirror poll data below shows:

	December 1994	March 1995	August 1995	October 1995
Approve	52%	47%	38%	36%
Disapprove	28%	39%	45%	51%

With backing for the GOP Congress and its policies further slumping during the November budget confrontation, while Speaker Gingrich's approval also set new lows, support for this Congress has collapsed much more quickly than support for the 1947-48 80th Congress. Thus, it's reasonable to assume that GOP Congressional majorities *are* in some peril next year. The second possibility — that

Democrats can make the 1996 elections into some degree of referendum on Newt Gingrich — is also real enough, given that the Nov. 19 CBS poll (see p. 5) showed even Republicans narrowly disapproving of his performance as Speaker. Inasmuch as he's unlikely to be replaced as Speaker in 1996, absent a major ethics investigation and adverse findings (which would create another negative dynamic), Gingrich should be on hand in 1996 to serve as the Democrats' whippingpost. Obviously, having the 1996 political debate rage around the unpopular budget and Medicare cuts should increase Democrats' ability to focus part of the debate on the unpopular Speaker, and it's a major incentive for them to block any budget deal to keep the issue (and Gingrich) in the 1996 spotlight. The potential larger predicament for the GOP is that this kind of Democratic strategy also serves to keep the most likely GOP presidential nominee, Senate Majority Leader Dole, in the same spotlight alongside Gingrich. Capitol Hill GOPers are already moving towards a "Hide-the-Speaker" strategy in which Gingrich keeps a low profile, but it's unlikely to be too successful if Democrats keep up the pressure.

5) The Recurring Fiscal Flaws of GOP Budget Strategy: This is the GOP's *fiscal* strategic weakness. The 80% of Americans who don't believe that the GOP budget will produce balance would be even more confident if they knew the Republicans' history of a) being very inaccurate in their budget forecasts and b) handicapping their past deficit efforts by refusing to pursue major revenue increases through either serious rate increases or major loophole closings. On the contrary, tax expenditures have continued to soar, and are expected to increase by one-third or so over the next 7 years. Moreover, while this upper-bracket-tilted practice continues, ordinary voters can't be expected to sacrifice on entitlements. Some yardsticks to ponder...how badly the GOP-shaped revenue estimates of 1981-82, 1985-86 and 1989-90 worked out. The Bush Administration's 1989 estimates are particularly

hilarious, and some of the architects are still front-and-center in GOP policymaking. According to Bush's 1989 budget message for Fiscal 1990 — in the official Historical Tables book — here's how the deficit was expected to disappear:

FY 1989 Est	\$161 billion deficit
FY 1990 Est	92 billion deficit
FY 1991 Est	67 billion deficit
FY 1992 Est	32 billion deficit
FY 1993 Est	2 billion surplus

Part of the 1981-93 GOP problem lay in never predicting the economic slumps — 1981-82, 1986, 1990-91 — that blew their calculations out of the water. If the 1996-2002 projections are no better and no worse, the deficit in the 2000-2002 period will probably hit \$250-350 billion. The upshot...if voters don't like the GOP plan ideologically, there's no more reason to take it seriously fiscally.

6) The Caveats For Democrats: There are some risks for the White House and Congressional Democrats in refusing to compromise within the GOP budget framework, thereby pushing the issue front and center for 1996.

The Balkans: Caveat number one is the Bosnian involvement, where the GOP is on historically safer political ground. Democrats are on safe ground with issues like Medicare and little-guy economics, but not with do-gooder foreign policy. We'll look at the politics of Bosnia in more detail on Dec. 15, but keep in mind that the last president to think he could orchestrate a new set of boundaries and peace settlements in the Balkans just happened to be the last president who was also a Southern Democratic policy wonk without military experience — Woodrow Wilson. Ethnicity and history made mincemeat out of his gamble in the 1920 elections.

Pro-Deficit-Reduction Third Parties: While the possible third-party and independent candidacy movements are analyzed on pp. 5-7, the budget-related aspect can be summarized here. To some extent, the Tsongas/Bradley/Weicker/Lamm independent candidacy strategizing is designed to pressure Clinton fiscally as well as politically. This whole crowd is very deficit-focused and anxious for entitlements-cutting. We doubt that they can get organized behind one contender with broad

appeal...and the combination of recent California moves by Ross Perot and Ralph Nader may already have blocked the ballot plausibility of still another independent there. Moreover, even if Bradley ran and drew 10%, it's not clear whether he'd pull more from Democrats or Republicans. By contrast, what Clinton needs from a Machiavellian standpoint is a budget stand-off that pleases swing voters, draws Perot into the race by justifying his bipartisan critique yet convinces Nader and Jesse Jackson not to run because Clinton is fighting for their side on Medicare, Medicaid, education and fiscal issues. Pushing Perot into the race helps Clinton, as does keeping Nader and Jackson out.

A 1996 Recession: These stakes could be important. Republicans say that if the economy crumbles next year, the President would get the blame. Probably not. The President's party almost always has gotten blamed in the past, but the exception seems to have come in 1947-48 when the Republican Congress tried to take over economic policy and President Truman used voters' economic insecurity to help defeat the GOP as the economy slipped into recession in the 4th Quarter of 1948. Previously, we've cited polls showing that by roughly 3:2, voters said they'd blame the Republican Congress, not the Democratic President, for any 1996 recession. In all likelihood, these numbers would be even higher now, given the lopsided blame being put on the GOP and its budget tactics for November's government shutdown. Clinton could even profit from having a recession in 1996, when the GOP could take the political hit, rather than waiting for 1997, when it could well be his albatross again.

All in all, the Democrats' seeming budget strategy has some risks, but the potential political and policymaking benefits could be substantial. As for the GOP, if a budget stalemate sets the scene for 1996, Republicans would appear to have the much greater risk.

NATIONAL POLITICS

1) Clinton Job Approval: He's gotten a further boost, partly from the GOP's embarrassment and partly from his effective Bosnia speech (if not

his Bosnia policy). Here are the latest numbers:

	CBS (11/27)	Gallup (11/17-18)
Approve/positive	53%	53%
Disapprove/negative	40%	38%

	Sindlinger (week ending)		
	(11/9)	(11/16)	(11/23)
Approve/positive	48.7%	41.9%	51.2%
Disapprove/negative	45.8	52.9	44.0

2) Gingrich/Dole Job Approval: Dole has held relatively steady, but Gingrich's numbers have worsened again. His disapproval range is now 57-66%, the latter exceeding Clinton's worst 1993-94 numbers! This is the data that has finally forced Gingrich to lower his profile. Late November's CBS poll, for example, didn't just find the public disapproving Gingrich's job performance by 59% to 27%. Even self-identified *Republicans* disapproved by 47% to 42%. Dole's hurting, too. In Gallup's 11/17-18 poll, he lost to Clinton by an unprecedented 55% to 39%.

THIRD PARTIES AND INDEPENDENTS: AUTUMN'S DEVELOPMENTS

The two latest discussions — a possible third-party push by the Bradley/Weicker/Tsongas neoliberals and Ralph Nader's decision to become a candidate in the Green Party's March California presidential primary — further increase the likelihood that America in 1996 will see the first four-way presidential race since 1948. Here's our quick-odds chart:

Candidate	Party	Chances of Running Nationally
Ralph Nader	Green	40-50%
Ross Perot	Reform	over 50%
Jesse Jackson	Rainbow	30%
Colin Powell	Independent	almost none
Bill Bradley/ Lowell Weicker	Anti-entitlement	20-30%
Pat Buchanan	Conservative	10%

What's causal here, of course, is a major failure of the system, and it affects *both* parties, not just one. Potential splinters are appearing all over the political system. The problem...it's getting trickier to analyze as entries and hints proliferate. Our basic assumption is that new-party pressures come from two directions: first, the elite center where fiscal conservatism (strongly influenced by fear of middle-class entitlements) overlaps with internationalism, environmentalism and secularism, and then, second, from the whole gamut of populist outsiderism — left, center and right. It's all now bursting forth. However, before examining the various possibilities and likelihoods, here's our attempt to lay out our overall context. While it oversimplifies in places, it also points out the very divergent appeals involved.

Four Key Ideological Dynamics of Potential Independent Candidacies and Parties

1) *Populist Economics* (Wall Street-bashing, attacks on multi-national corporations and international monetary agencies, criticism of the rich gaining over other Americans, opposition to excessive Medicare cuts) versus *Elite Economics* (dislike of class warfare, support for Wall Street bail-outs, prioritization of budget-balance over Medicare, etcetera); 2) *Religious Views versus Secularism*; 3) *Neo-Isolationism and Economic America-Firstism versus Internationalism and Free Trade*; and 4) *Anti-Washingtonism and Plebiscitary Democracy versus Washington Insiderism and Anti-Plebiscitary Sentiment*. The candidates split as follows:

	Populist Economics	Neo-isolationism Economic America Firstism	Religious as Opposed to Secular	Plebiscitary vs. Anti-Plebiscitary
Elite Centrist				
Bradley/Weicker	No	No	No	No
Powell	No	No	No	No
Populist				
Perot (Center Populist)	Mixed	Yes	No	Yes
Buchanan (Right Populist)	Mixed	Yes	Yes	Yes

Jackson (Left Populist)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Mixed
Nader (Left Populist)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

Using this yardstick, it's not surprising that the Bradley/Weicker/Tsongas group was interested in trying to influence a potential Powell candidacy...there's a shared elite centrism. Conversely, there's probably *greater* distance between the elite centrists and Perot than their partial overlap on fiscal policy, social issues and government reformism would suggest. And Pat Buchanan's greater kinship may be to the multi-ideology, multi-partisan populist surge than to a Republican Party dominated by its elites. Here's an update on the key contenders/groupings:

Bradley/Weicker: Together, this septet is less than the sum of its parts. Polls have shown Bill Bradley currently drawing 16-18% of the vote in a three-way race with Clinton and a GOper, and Lowell Weicker, in turn, has a feistiness that could get him 5-9%. But what links these seven also parochializes them. Their October-November alliance owes much to their major underlying similarities...budget-zealotry (and attacks on middle-class entitlements) combined with gloomy views of the elderly. Five have Ivy League backgrounds and there's also a shared tilt towards-high-tech (Tsongas, Hart and Lamm were early 1980s vintage Atari Democrats), finance (capital formation), environmentalism and cultural/secular liberalism (from gay rights to pro-choice). Lamm's past criticisms of the elderly are a potential Achilles heel...in the mid-1980s he suggested that at a certain medical point, old people should die and get out of the way. It's probably useful to think of their potential constituency as basically extending the John Anderson presidential vote of 1980 and the Paul Tsongas Democratic primary vote of 1992. Both maximized in New England (with a Martha's Vineyard/Brookline/Litchfield bias), then reached westward into the Yankee rural areas, affluent suburbs and college towns of New York, northern Pennsylvania and the Midwest, hopscotching the heartland via Aspen, Boulder and Santa Fe and the South via some college towns, suburbs and retirement areas, and then climbing again in the various Pacific Coast Volvo belts. There's a 20-30% issues overlap between this crowd and Perot on some budget, cultural secularism and reform issues, but the gaps over style, America First

and plebiscitary issues are too great for any formal alliance. If Bradley continues to opt for this Group of Seven image, we doubt that he'd wind up with much more of a November 1996 percentage as an independent than Anderson did in 1980 (7%). Equally to the point, Anderson fifteen years ago seemed to draw roughly equally from both parties, without skewing the outcome to either Carter or Reagan. A Bradley candidacy drawing 5-10% could have the same lack of real effect in 1996...it's probably not much of a threat to Clinton.

Powell: Barring some unusual development, he's blown plausibility as a potential independent candidate by taking the advice of GOP Washington careerists. It's not surprising that the Bradley/Weicker/Tsongas group was interested in trying to establish links with Powell, but that's probably not much of an option now. The big question...is there a potential independent nominee Powell could back? Probably not, assuming that the GOP winds up nominating Dole or Lamar Alexander. However, should the GOP nominate a rightist like Phil Gramm, Powell *could* opt to back an independent like Bradley as an alternative to Clinton. But that assumes that the seven collaborators can orchestrate a viable independent candidacy.

Buchanan: Issuewise, he represents an important fault-line in the faltering GOP presidential coalition — his appeal to Republicans is limited, but he does much better with Perotistas and Reagan Democrats. At the same time, his probable 20% ceiling in New Hampshire and likely 10% ceiling among GOP primary and caucus participants elsewhere reflects how his populist/rightwing issues package and strident style don't appeal to the party's moderate conservatives or economic conservatives. So his nomination prospects are negligible. And if a strong Buchanan second place in New Hampshire doesn't open up the GOP race, his intra-party leverage will further shrink. As of December, he's also increasingly blocked from running as an independent — he's promised not to do so against Dole or Gramm and he's been outmaneuvered by Perot's apparent pre-emption of his new Reform party's nomination. Buchanan's predicaments don't end there, either. The rising implausibility of his running as an independent — the remaining slim chance involves Lamar Alexander getting the GOP nomination in

cahoots with old Buchanan foe Bill Bennett while Perot decides not to take the Reform nomination himself — has been tipping Buchanan away from the populist side of his politics. Shading the economic populism that drew plaudits ranging from *The Nation* magazine to Richard Goodwin in the *Boston Globe*, Buchanan seems to be increasing his mix of United Nations-bashing, nativism and right-to-life emphasis that resonates with the Manchester Union-Leader and with the rightward 5-15% fringe of the GOP electorate. It's ironic...Buchanan has been playing with new-party options off and on since 1974-75, but may boot his potential role now that 60% of Americans finally want that additional choice. A remaining enigma...how would the combative ex-commentator behave if Perot opposed Clinton and Dole? (our assumption...he'd support Dole but then urge the GOP towards more populist positions to stave off Perot) or if Perot joined a Clinton-Gramm race (our assumption...Buchanan would give mere lip service to Gramm while watching to see if Perot pushed Gramm into third place). Finally, if Perot jumped into a Clinton-Alexander contest, Buchanan could be tempted to say nice things about the Texan.

Perot: We won't bother to recapitulate the poll data capsuled in the last APR. For now, though, Perot enjoys a strong three-fronted position: 1) surging popular disdain for the new GOP Congress, its Speaker and special-interest fealty, which could make the opportunity of 1992 even bigger in 1996; 2) the sharp but logical (in view of the Mexican mess and peso bail-out) public shift towards the Perot view of global free trade, NAFTA and GATT; and 3) the tactical shrewdness by which the Texan first moved to launch the Reform/Independence party to preempt Powell and thereafter closed it to primary challengers (Buchanan could have been one — or one of the anti-entitlements septet). He did so by announcing that his group will nominate its candidate via a late summer convention. The only unmet Perot goal...getting Jesse Jackson and Ralph Nader into the race as a fourth party ticket to heighten the relative clout of Perot's maximum 20-30%.

Nader: His decision to enter the Green Party presidential primary in California presumably means that he'll win that party's nomination there — and possibly also enter in the other states which have Green parties. Left-liberal activists aren't sure that Nader quite knows what he's doing, citing his flop in 1992's New Hampshire primary. Independent politics, however, could be a better Nader universe. For several years, the Green Party

insisted that it wouldn't be fielding a presidential candidate. Now its leaders seem to have shifted. Three questions should be pondered: 1) Can Nader have a major impact if he's on only on a handful of state ballots? (Our answer...probably, because if U.S. national politics are Balkanizing, splinter voting may have a new logic); 2) Would Nader focus on the environment if he runs as a Green? (Our assumption...that he'd address it, but that his overall emphasis would be on campaign finance and reform, budget fairness, populism (recalls, NOTA), trade, corporate power and the corruption of the two-party system); and 3) How would Nader do in November — and at who's expense? In California, he could hit 3-8% of the total vote, given the strength that the Greens and local left-activist parties have shown in the early 1990s. For now, we assume that he'd take 75-85% of his vote from Bill Clinton, posing a potential problem for the president.

Jackson: He says he's still weighing an independent race for 1996. The assumption seems to be that Jackson needs to keep his plans somewhat unclear for the next 6-8 weeks to maintain pressure on Bill Clinton, at which point he'll fold. However, if Nader stays serious in his own Green candidacy plans, that could partially pre-empt Jackson. Keep in mind that when Jackson is put in a three-way race with Clinton and Dole, he draws 8-10%. Yet, just as a Colin Powell candidacy would have shrunk Jackson's national total to 3% to 5%, a Nader candidacy could also drop him to the same range. The two would be competing for a voter universe of roughly 10-15% of the total, and if both ran, *both* would be condemned to single digits. On the other hand, a cynic could argue that Jackson would do best in the South, plus Michigan, Illinois, Maryland and suchlike. while Nader would do best in states like California, Oregon, New Mexico, Vermont et al. In 1948, the splinter party candidacies of Strom Thurmond and Henry Wallace pulled only 2% each, but Thurmond cost Democrat Truman four states — Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and Georgia — while Wallace drew off enough votes to tip Michigan Republican. Various Jackson-Nader candidacies or fusions — both running everywhere, both running only in chosen states and collaborating, or one running with help from the other — would all pose a threat to Clinton.

UPDATE: ELECTION 1995-96 (PARTIES, PRIMARIES, PRESIDENTIAL MANEUVERING)

ARIZONA: The latest (early November) statewide Rocky Mountain Poll found the following percentages of voters saying they'd consider voting for a candidate of Perot's new Independent Party:

	Total	GOPers	Independents	Democrats
Yes, definitely	21%	19%	38%	17%
Yes, probably	38	36	39	39

CALIFORNIA: More detail on Ralph Nader's intention to run in the state's late March Green Party presidential primary. Party organizers say Nader could be on as many as a dozen state ballots, but the Los Angeles Time (11/29) notes advisers saying that Nader has not yet committed to remain on the *November* ballot in California.

FLORIDA: Few analysts have found much significance in the Nov. 17 state GOP straw poll results — Dole 33%, Gramm 26%, Alexander 23%, Buchanan 9%, Keyes 8%. Things worked out pretty much as expected, although Dole ran below the 40% earlier predicted by his state campaign chief.

IOWA: Some more detail from early November's PSI poll of likely attendees at mid-February's Iowa GOP caucuses. In addition to the overall results — Dole 36%, Buchanan 9%, Gramm 8% and Forbes 8% — it's probably worth noting the choice of the high-intensity voters: Dole 36%, Buchanan 12%, Forbes 7%, Gramm 5%.

NEW JERSEY: While massive resources can cover up internal contradictions in campaign, multi-millionaire publisher Steve Forbes is achieving a fascinating duality. On one hand, his organization is enlisting most of the (small) statewide Draft Powell operations left hanging three weeks ago. At the same time, Forbes is getting important behind-the-scenes support from Carter Wrenn, Tom Ellis and other former top rightwing operatives in the old 1970s/1980s Jesse Helms "Congressional Club" and "Jefferson Marketing" operations. Time (12/4) reports that Helms himself said back in June that when Forbes ran, he'd be with him.

NEW YORK: The Al D'Amato-run state GOP, with its virtually-closed presidential primary, is under double siege from the old New York-New Jersey white-shoe

Republican crowd. In response to a lawsuit by Larry Rockefeller, nephew of former Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, federal Judge Edward Korman just eased the petition signatures requirement. And now Steve Forbes, with his family's millions on call, has announced he'll put in workers and try to qualify. Our bet...that the state GOP will have to reform its procedures to avoid embarrassment.

PENNSYLVANIA: Senator Arlen Specter may have negative fall-out two years hence from his now-ended presidential campaign. His Senate seat will be up again in 1998, and he faces potentially strong opposition. Within the GOP, he's almost certain to have a primary — names mentioned include Attorney General Tom Corbett and State Senator Melissa Hart. If Specter loses to a conservative, Democrats could pick up the seat and they'd also have a good chance if he opts to retire.

TENNESSEE: As a minor offset to Florida's mid-November straw poll results, the Tennessee Journal (11/27) noted that "Alexander flubbed by raising expectations too high. Just before the event, Alexanderites predicted a second-place finish."

TEXAS: More on the difficulties Phil Gramm could face in having to run for Senate re-election in 1996 after an embarrassing loss in next year's presidential primaries. It's a prospect some think could make him fold his national campaign next month. On Nov. 17, we noted that voters were angry in 1960 when Lyndon Johnson ran for vice-president and re-election to the Senate at the same time after losing in the presidential primaries. Some Texans point out that Lloyd Bentsen managed re-election with little controversy or trouble in 1976 after he dropped out of that year's Democratic presidential race. We didn't mention Bentsen, though, because APR's own winter 1975/76 analyses moved from barely mentioning the Senator as a possible candidate in December to saying in early February that he was all but out of the race. Pseudo-candidacies like that don't create resentment waves and embarrassment.

U.S. Agency Denies A Drug Approval Gap

By PHILIP J. HILTS

A NEW report from the Food and Drug Administration asserts that contrary to what critics have said, there are no important drugs on the market in Germany and England that are not on the market in the United States but should be.

Dr. David A. Kessler, the Commissioner of Food and Drugs, told a gathering of representatives of the pharmaceutical industry on Tuesday that with the release of this report it is time to put to rest the incorrect perception that important, effective drugs were routinely available in other countries, but not here in the United States.

Speaking before the industry's Food and Drug Law Institute, an educational group, at its annual meeting in Washington, he declared that if there was a drug lag, it was not in the United States. He noted that there were several drugs on the market in this country that were not available in other countries.

Critics have charged in the past year that Americans are getting sick and dying because the drug agency has failed to approve drugs for their treatment. For example, over the last week the Washington Legal Foundation has been running advertisements in newspapers around the country contending, "The problem with health care in America is the F.D.A."

Gerald J. Mossinghoff, president of the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America, the Washington trade association of the large drug companies, said yesterday: "Clearly, F.D.A. has made significant improvement in final review times in recent years. Much of that progress has been due to user fees now paid by pharmaceutical firms."

He suggested that the drug agency might do well compared with individual countries, but that if the agency is measured against all the rest of the world combined, then the agency is the first to approve only 40 percent of the world's new drugs, and 57 percent of the world's new "priority" drugs.

He said "more fundamental reform must be enacted by Congress to allow F.D.A. to prepare the agency for the sophisticated medical technology of the 21st century."

The report released today compared all the new drugs put on the market in the United States, Germany, Britain and Japan from 1990 through 1994. The four countries account for more than 60 percent of the drugs sold in the world, and each has a somewhat different drug-approval system.

During the five-year period studied, there were 214 drugs that came on the world market.

The F.D.A. report made two-way comparisons between the United

States and each of the other three countries. Each comparison shows that the United States is consistently first to approve more of the drugs that have eventually become mutually available, according to the report.

For example, of the 58 drugs approved in both the United States and Britain, 30 were approved first in the United States. Of the 44 drugs approved in both the United States and Germany, 31 were approved in the United States first. Of the 14 drugs approved both in the United States and Japan, 10 were first approved in this country.

After comparing speed to market, the report went on to consider whether any important drugs had made it to the market in other countries but not to the market in the United States. The report divided drugs into priority drugs and standard drugs. The priority drugs were defined as providing at least a modest advance over existing therapy or as offering treatment for conditions that had no alternative treatment.

Of 29 drugs approved in the Britain but not in the United States, the report said none appeared to be of

A dispute over who is first to clear key drugs.

major public health interest.

In Germany, 34 drugs were approved that did not receive approval in the United States. Only one of them was found to be a priority drug, an anti-pertussis vaccine. The manufacturer has never applied for approval in this country, the report said.

The study said that comparing the Japanese market with that in the United States was more complicated. It said that the two countries had very few of the new drugs in common.

There are many priority drugs on the market in the United States that have not yet been approved in the other countries, the report said. This includes 9 for Britain, 16 for Germany and 33 for Japan.

The report concluded that by any objective standard, the United States was a leader, both in the quality and the timeliness of its reviews, especially for therapeutic measures that represent real advances.

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Gene Braustad

Farmer Mac

Federal Agricultural Mortgage Corporation
919 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

~~El Broder~~

Look like
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this - check it
out - will you please?

PK

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

Gene Braustad

Farmer Mac

Federal Agricultural Mortgage Corporation
919 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 872-7700
FAX: (202) 872-7713

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12/14/95

December 13, 1995

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

Re: "Farmer Mac" -- The Federal Agricultural Mortgage Corporation

Dear Mr. President:

I have learned many things that will be of interest to you since the day, several months ago, when you nominated me to be chairman of "Farmer Mac" (the Federal Agricultural Mortgage Corporation), the federally chartered secondary market for competitively priced, long-term fixed rate mortgage loans to farmers, ranchers and rural homeowners. While Farmer Mac's proponents hoped it would become another "Fannie Mae" for those borrowers, it has not. This was the result of statutory operating constraints placed on Farmer Mac in contradistinction to Fannie Mae and the other GSEs. (This concern was discussed by agricultural leaders who attended the mid-west economics conference you sponsored in Columbus, Ohio in October of this year. Among others, Frank Sollars, a successful Ohio farmer and banker and cousin to our mutual friend, Marion Berry of Arkansas, stressed the importance of Farmer Mac reforms.)

 Incredibly, on January 6, 1988, when then-President Ronald Reagan signed the Agricultural Credit Act of 1987 into law, granting Farmer Mac its charter, he urged Congress to repeal that charter as soon as possible. In so doing, he missed an opportunity to support a major benefit to the farmers and ranchers of this country at no budgetary expense to the federal government. Today, the Farmer Mac reform legislation was unanimously recommended for passage by the House Agriculture Committee. If, as I sincerely hope, bi-partisan support continues and Congress passes the Farmer Mac Reform Act of 1995, you should not only sign that act into law, but place great public emphasis on its importance to Rural America. We at Farmer Mac are confident that it can reduce rates to borrowers by one-half to one percent on at least \$50 billion of agricultural mortgages -- an interest cost saving to our farmers of \$250 million per year, forever. This administration should proudly step up and take credit for the reversal of Farmer Mac's plight as part of its broader mission to improve the progress of agriculture and rural development in this country.

I hope you will support this reform legislation and express your endorsement of Farmer Mac at the time of your signing of the act. You can be sure the message would be well received in rural communities throughout the Nation.

Sincerely,



C. Eugene Branstool
Chairman of the Board of Directors

12/15/95

Came from
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TO:

- DAVID

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Original to Doriskind
12/16/95
ASW

CHARLES L. LITTLE
International President

BYRON A. BOYD, JR.
Assistant President

ROGER D. GRIFFETH
General Secretary and Treasurer

J. M. BRUNKENHOEFER
National Legislative Director

united
transportation
union

WASHINGTON OFFICE
NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT



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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
(202) 347-0900
FAX (202) 347-0958

December 11, 1995

Ms. Betty Curry
Office of the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Curry:

The President asked on Friday night that I send the attached to him through you.

I appreciate your attention to this.

Sincerely,

James M. Brunkenhoefer
National Legislative Director

CHARLES L. LITTLE
International President

BYRON A. BOYD, JR.
Assistant President

ROGER D. GRIFFETH
General Secretary and Treasurer

J. M. BRUNKENHOEFER
National Legislative Director

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December 11, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

This is in response to your request when we met on Friday, December 8. At that time you requested that I describe why it is important to rail labor that the ICC bill likely to emerge from conference this week be vetoed. I appreciate your willingness to hear from the United Transportation Union on this, and I assure you that all of rail labor shares these views.

First, this bill, H.R. 2539, does nothing to achieve the policies put forward by your Administration. It abolishes the ICC in name only; the vast majority of the duties of the ICC remain, and some new ones are added. Secretary Pena has argued to the House, the Senate and the Conferees that the bill is seriously flawed. Press reports indicate that the ICC does not even intend to vacate their current building, but simply to change the name.

Your Administration proposed a serious plan to abolish the ICC, transferring the functions to other appropriate agencies -- antitrust to Justice, labor issues to the Department of Labor, and remaining functions to the Department of Transportation. This bill does none of that. A new independent board will be created within the Department of Transportation, with the same duties as under current law and totally independent of DOT.

There are no savings; there are no efficiencies; there is no reduction in regulation; this bill is a charade to mask the continuation of the status quo.

Second, virtually the only major change contained in the bill will be the reduction in labor protection provided to employees when smaller railroads acquire short lines from the large carriers, or when the short lines merge. At a time when every transportation analyst sees a dramatic increase in the sale of short lines by the major carriers as the current wave of mergers continues, this change inflicts much harm on our members.

This bill will make it easier for the ICC successor to authorize the purchase of a line or the merger of smaller railroads without any concern for the employees. At the same time the bill preserves the right of the ICC to break the collective bargaining agreements of the employees.

Employees who have worked for a railroad for decades can be left with nothing. The reward for a lifetime of work is unemployment, and the breaking of their contract for those lucky enough to find work on a merged railroad. At a time when railroads are earning record profits, and merging to gain even greater economic power, the message to the employees is "tough luck."

With all the focus on the current budget debate, and your heroic efforts to defend Medicare, Medicaid, education and other vital programs, I know it is difficult to ask you to spend time on this bill. But the decisions made in the next two years in the rail industry will determine the shape of our transportation system for decades. The proposed merger of the Union Pacific and the Southern Pacific, and the subsequent mergers that will inevitably follow, to the point where we will almost certainly have only two railroads in this country, require that we take the proper action now.

This bill fails every test. The authority of the railroad industry to merge regardless of the competitive consequences is preserved, without even significant input from the Department of Justice. There is no change that might upset the railroad industry, but they feel free to diminish the rights of employees.

I appreciate your taking the time to read this. Your continuing leadership on all the issues facing the country is vital, and demonstrates why 1996 will be a great year.

Sincerely,


James M. Brunkenhoefer
National Legislative Director

POLITICS & POLICY

Clout of Union Pacific Corp. Chairman Is Seen Behind Bill That May Expedite Railroad Merger

By BRYAN GRULEY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — When the House Rules Committee convened Nov. 9, an unexpected guest sat listening in a corner of the room: Drew Lewis, chairman of Union Pacific Corp. Executives rarely bother with such procedural tedium, but Mr. Lewis had a lot at stake — his company's pending \$3.9 billion acquisition of Southern Pacific Rail Corp.

His careful vigil is about to pay off. Congress is close to passing legislation that would shield the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific deal from antitrust enforcers at the Justice Department. As part of a bill to abolish the Interstate Commerce Commission, lawmakers would maintain part of the agency within the Transportation Department to review rail mergers, rather than turn that power over to the Justice Department.

The result is a lobbying coup for Mr. Lewis. "This is a Drew Lewis memorial" law, says Gregory Lawler, who represents a coalition of rail labor unions opposing the merger.

Some critics say the result would be bad public policy. Railroads "should be subject to the same antitrust laws as any other industry," says Mark Schechter, an antitrust lawyer who handled mergers at the Justice Department under Presidents Reagan, Bush and Clinton. "Sending a railroad merger to Justice assures it will be considered only in light of consumer welfare."

Detached Interest Asserted

Mr. Lewis says his interest is unrelated to what would be the largest rail merger in history. "This is not a Union Pacific effort or a Drew Lewis effort," he says. He supported shifting merger review and other ICC functions to the Transportation Department long before his company agreed to buy Southern Pacific in August, he adds.

But rail and union lobbyists, congressional staffers and other participants say Mr. Lewis has played an unusually personal role in the debate over how to dismantle the ICC. He has visited with and phoned members, written letters and monitored such routine proceedings as the setting of rules for floor debate.

Mr. Lewis wields more political clout than the average corporate chief. He has maintained close ties to the GOP since serving as President Reagan's transportation secretary from 1981 to 1983. Today he is co-chairman of fund raising for Kansas Sen. Robert Dole's presidential bid and is chairman of the Republican Eagles, donors who annually give more than \$15,000 to the party. Mr. Lewis's company has given \$114,500 to members of Congress this year, \$104,000 of it to Republicans.

Among his many friends on Capitol Hill



Drew Lewis

is Rep. Bud Shuster, the Pennsylvania Republican who shepherded the ICC bill through the House. "If Drew Lewis had taken my advice 20 years ago," Rep. Shuster says, "he would be a U.S. senator today instead of a multimillionaire."

Impressive Array of Lobbyists

Union Pacific has augmented Mr. Lewis's efforts with an impressive array of Washington lobbyists. Besides in-house lobbyist Mary McAuliffe, the company is using Timmons & Co.; Oldaker, Ryan & Leonard; and Ann Eppard, who for many years worked as Rep. Shuster's top aide.

"They're blanketing the Hill," says Kathy Luhn, director of government affairs for the National Industrial Transportation League, a group of 1,400 shippers pushing for Justice Department review of rail mergers.

Union Pacific has gotten help from its would-be merger partner and a third railroad, rival Burlington Northern Santa Fe Corp., which would be granted 3,900 miles of additional track-use rights if the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific merger goes through. Southern Pacific's chairman is Philip Anschutz, a Denver oil and natural-gas billionaire who, like Mr. Lewis, is a major Republican donor and Dole fundraiser.

At issue is how rail and trucking will be regulated when the ICC is eliminated Dec. 31. Bills passed by the House and awaiting Senate action would do away with some agency functions, but a chunk of authority would shift to a new three-member board appointed by the president. The board would have its own budget, albeit reduced to \$12 million from the ICC's \$33 million, and be housed at the Transportation Department, though it would act independently.

The board also would retain the ICC's 75-year-old right to review rail mergers. The alternative, considered much less likely, is to move that authority to the Justice Department, where mergers in nearly all other businesses are analyzed for anticompetitive effects.

Critics contend the legislation would merely reincarnate the ICC, chiefly so the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific merger won't be subject to Justice Department clearance.

The department has said the deal could have "significant competitive consequences in dozens, if not hundreds" of markets. It is thought that the department would be less likely than the new board to approve the merger, because the department's antitrust test is more rigorous than the "public interest" standard the board would apply.

The legislation also conflicts with past Republican thinking: when the Reagan administration proposed killing the ICC in 1985, it planned to move merger review to the Justice Department.

The Clinton administration has seized on the issue as evidence Republicans are insincere about shrinking government. "Renaming the ICC and moving its most burdensome regulatory elements to a new federal entity... accomplishes no genuine deregulation," the administration said of

the House bill.

Rep. Shuster defends the bill, saying it makes sense to retain "essential" ICC functions within one independent body. "We don't want this politicized," he says.

Rail mergers should be reviewed with a "transportation perspective" that the new board is better equipped to supply, Rep. Shuster says. Shifting merger authority to the Justice Department also would cost his committee jurisdiction it won in last year's Republican takeover of Congress, he adds.

Union Pacific and other rail interests contend the narrow focus of antitrust analysis could inhibit consolidation necessary to the industry's future health.

The resurgence of railroads since deregulation in 1980 owes much to mergers that strengthened weak competitors and improved service, says Robert Starzel, vice chairman of Southern Pacific. "It's pretty momentous stuff to take a success story like this and say, 'let's stop it,'" Mr. Starzel says.

'Antibusiness' Peoples

In a recent speech in Omaha, Mr. Lewis said his merger shouldn't be reviewed by "antibusiness, pro-Clinton" people at the Justice Department. In an interview, Mr. Lewis says he meant "it's obvious that whatever is pro-business, Clinton is opposed to."

Mr. Lewis says Union Pacific is taking steps to assure competition survives where the merging companies' operations overlap — for example, granting track-use rights to Burlington Northern Santa Fe.

The ICC bill passed 417-8 in the House.

All Aboard

Washington lobbyists for the nation's largest railroads in the debate over transferring Interstate Commerce Commission authority.

RAILROAD	LOBBYISTS
Union Pacific Corp.	Timmons and Co.; Oldaker, Ryan & Leonard; Ann Eppard
Southern Pacific Rail Corp.	Williams & Jensen
Burlington Northern Santa Fe Corp.	Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell; Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds; Mayer Brown & Platt

but could find rougher going in the Senate, though passage still is expected. The Coalition for Competitive Rail Transportation group of shippers and one major railroad, Kansas City Southern Railway Co., spreading concern that a combined Union Pacific-Southern Pacific would dominate freight traffic west of the Mississippi River. The group is lobbying senators to toughen merger rules in the legislation.

Countering such "mischievous" require someone as well-known and respected: Mr. Lewis, Mr. Starzel says. "If you get [Michael] Jordan to come out and play for you, you'll get better basketball," Mr. Starzel says, referring to the star professional player.

Union Pacific hopes the Senate acts this week. The company plans to file its merger application by Thursday. The legislation in its current form assures the deal would be reviewed under existing ICC standards.

Mr. Lewis says he isn't expecting rubber-stamp approval. "I've dealt with [the ICC] for 35 years, and they're a bod that's not been, by and large, very supportive of things I wanted."



THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

December 6, 1995

The Honorable Bud Shuster
Chairman
Committee on Transportation
and Infrastructure
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-6256

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The Department of Transportation (DOT) would like to provide you with the views of the Administration as you prepare for conference on legislation, H.R. 2539, to terminate the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), which passed the House on November 14 and the Senate, in modified form, on November 28.

As we have previously indicated, the Clinton Administration is committed to terminating the ICC and to continued economic deregulation of our transportation industries. The respective bills passed by the House and Senate fall short of those goals. They contain objectionable provisions changing rail labor protection provisions, establishing an independent Board or Panel within DOT replicating a smaller version of the ICC, retaining unjustified antitrust immunities, and treating rail mergers differently than mergers in other industries. In essence, these bills would eliminate the ICC in name only and continue too many of its functions and unnecessary regulations in a newly created independent agency. This letter will focus on a number of specific concerns with the two bills. We hope that our concerns will be addressed by the conference and result in legislation that we will be able to recommend that the President sign and that will provide for an orderly transition of functions.

Rail Labor Protection. First and foremost, the Clinton Administration believes that existing labor protection standards enable rail carriers to improve efficiency while protecting the interests of affected employees, and therefore should not be significantly changed by congressional action. There simply is no justification for treating Class II and Class III carriers differently from Class I railroads when engaged in financially beneficial control transactions. Any changes to these arrangements should be accomplished through collective bargaining. Moreover, rail employee protection provisions should be administered by the Department of Labor, which already administers several similar provisions, rather than by a new agency. We also recommend, as the House version provides, that any statutory change in jurisdiction over mass transportation provided by a local governmental authority should have no effect on which employees and

employers are covered by the Railway Labor Act, the Railroad Retirement Act of 1974, the Railroad Retirement Tax Act, and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act.

Rail Mergers. The Administration continues to believe that the specialized provisions for reviewing mergers under the Interstate Commerce Act should be repealed, and rail mergers should be subject to the antitrust laws and reviewed by the Department of Justice. However, between the House and Senate versions of the bills, the provisions of the House passed bill are less objectionable. These provisions would increase the Panel's authority to alleviate the anticompetitive effects of a merger by: (1) expanding the factors that the Panel should consider to include the effects of the proposed merger on the national rail system; (2) expanding the Panel's authority to grant trackage rights to competing carriers; and (3) permitting the use of *ex parte* communications in proceedings. The bill should also provide for reasonable time limits for reviewing merger applications.

Independent Board or Panel. The Administration has repeatedly noted that an independent Board or Panel is not necessary to administer the limited regulatory functions that should remain following ICC sunset. The Administration also believes that a Rail-Shipper Transportation Advisory Council, as would be established by the Senate bill, is not necessary.

Antitrust Immunity. Consumers and rail and motor carriers should be permitted to benefit from the removal of unproductive economic regulatory burdens. This will not occur if rail and motor carriers are permitted to impose artificially high rates on consumers. Price-fixing is not tolerated in the economy as a whole, and should not be permitted in the rail and motor carrier industries.

Resources. Although the bills assign functions to both the Secretary and the Board (or Panel), they authorize appropriations only for the Board. Most importantly, the bills authorize \$8,421,000 in appropriations for the Board for FY 1996, but only certain limited fee collections for the substantial functions to be performed elsewhere in the Department. The Department estimates that it will need approximately an additional \$1,500,000 in FY 1996 to support the motor carrier functions assigned to the Secretary, since the fees collected will be substantially less than the expenses incurred. This shortfall will impose considerable hardship on the Federal Highway Administration in order to take on ICC staff transferred to DOT. The Department would like to work with the conference members to explore means to address this funding shortfall caused by the transfer of ICC functions. Also, the House and Senate reports accompanying the legislation differ on whether DOT must absorb the cost of providing administrative support to the Panel or Board. The Department prefers the House approach, which would allow DOT greater flexibility in treating the Panel as any other entity within DOT.

Reemployment Priority List. Section 104(c) of the Senate passed bill would require DOT to give reemployment priority to former ICC employees separated because their functions were eliminated at the time of ICC sunset. This provision could prevent DOT from hiring the most qualified personnel and could operate unfairly. Separated ICC employees do not necessarily have any expertise in DOT activities. This special authority could give these former ICC personnel priority for jobs within DOT even over more qualified present and former DOT employees who apply for the same jobs. Moreover, this provision is not necessary because there are already programs in place that would assist both ICC employees and other similarly affected employees in other organizations who are terminated. DOT favors the House passed bill which contains no such provision.

Federal Maritime Commission (FMC) Sunset. The Senate passed bill would augment the jurisdiction of the independent Board with the transfer of the FMC, as is, to the Board. We strongly oppose such an action. We support true regulatory reform, not merely shifting regulation to another independent venue. We would support legislation to sunset the FMC, reduce many of its functions, and fold the remaining functions into the existing structure of DOT. We would be happy to work with Congress to develop such a bill.

Restriction on Domestic Offshore Exemption. The Senate passed bill would prohibit the Secretary or the Board from exempting licensing requirements for transportation intermediaries (such as brokers or forwarders) or any tariff filing requirements for domestic offshore water carriers. Both ICC and FMC have fairly broad exemption authority, and have exercised it responsibly and effectively in the past to exempt certain types of transactions, including geographically limited tariff filing exemptions, where the continuation of such requirements would serve no useful regulatory purpose. We oppose prohibiting either DOT or the Board from using this authority to promote competition and remove unnecessary and burdensome regulations. We strongly prefer the unrestricted exemption provision in the House passed bill.

Motor Carrier Registration and Insurance. DOT is disappointed that neither the House nor Senate version of the bill immediately eliminates the ICC's old way of licensing motor carriers. Given that this legislation will transfer some of the ICC functions in this area, we prefer the House approach because it gives DOT the authority to eventually restructure the program in a more efficient, workable manner. The House version would add a new section 13908 to title 49, United States Code, that would allow DOT to develop within the next two years, through public rulemaking, a restructured motor carrier registration and insurance program.

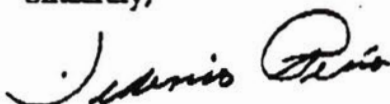
NEPA Exemption. Section 527 of the Senate passed bill would provide that the licensing of the launch of a commercial space launch vehicle or the operation of a launch site under the Commercial Space Launch Act shall not be considered a major Federal action for purposes of section 102 of the National Environmental

Policy Act (NEPA), provided the Department of the Army has issued a permit for the activity and the Army Corps of Engineers has found no significant impact. The effect of this provision would be to exempt certain launch site operators and licensing activities from environmental review requirements. DOT strongly objects to this provision. First, the Army permitting process focuses on impacts of construction activities on navigable waters and on wetlands. In contrast, NEPA would ensure that DOT considers the full range of environmental issues associated with eventual operation of proposed commercial launch sites. Secondly, the conditions enumerated in section 527 would apply only to certain prospective commercial launch sites with ensuing anticompetitive results. License applicants who do not meet the conditions for exemption would be prejudiced by uneven application of the law.

Fiber Drums for Transport of Hazardous Materials. DOT opposes section 525 of the Senate passed bill and urges that it be dropped from the final bill. This special authority could compromise the safe transportation of hazardous materials within the United States. Section 525 would require DOT to authorize the domestic transportation of liquid hazardous materials in fiber drums that do not meet internationally recognized performance standards applicable to other types of packagings (including steel and plastic drums). In a 1990 rulemaking and in denying a subsequent industry application for a waiver from the current performance standards, DOT specifically considered, but rejected, the continued use of these lesser-performing fiber drums for certain hazardous materials, including environmentally hazardous substances such as polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs). In addition to safety concerns, section 525 conflicts with the Trade Agreements Act of 1979, which implements the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and requires federal agencies to take international standards into consideration.

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on this important legislation. The Office of Management and Budget advises that there is no objection, from the standpoint of the Administration's program, to the submission of this report to Congress.

Sincerely,



Federico Peña

Red Tree To
J. Densmore 12/16
Asw

2 letters

Elders
Jotao
Condolences
102 signs
Bm 10/10/10

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 15, 1995

The Honorable Joycelyn Elders
Post Office Box 1347
Little Rock, Arkansas 72203

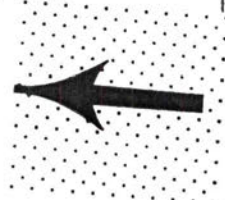
Dear Joycelyn:

Hillary and I were so sorry to learn of your mother's death. Haller Jones was a remarkable woman -- a skilled healer and a devoted parent -- whose strength and faith inspired everyone who knew her. We hope that the support of friends and loved ones will comfort you during this difficult time.

You have our deepest sympathy, and we are keeping you in our thoughts and prayers.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton



HERE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 15, 1995

Mr. Curtis L. Jones
Guest House Nursing Home
1302 South Fourth
Nashville, Arkansas 71852

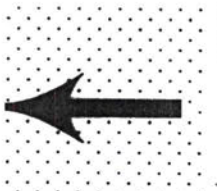
Dear Mr. Jones:

Hillary and I were saddened to learn of your wife's death, and we extend our deepest sympathy to you and your family. We know what a remarkable woman Haller Jones was and how much she influenced the lives of people around her. We hope that the love and support of your family and friends will sustain and comfort you during this difficult time.

You are in our thoughts and prayers.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONOFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
202/456-6610

Facsimile Transmittal Sheet

Date: 12 / 11 / 95To: Jim DorskinFax Number: 62993From: Betty Currie

Message: _____

Number of pages (including cover sheet): 3

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12-11-1995 10:42

501 399 7196

CLINTON TRANS.

P.02/03

Elders' mother dies in Texas hospital

TEXARKANA, Texas — The mother of former U.S. Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders died Thursday in a Texarkana, Texas, hospital.

Haller Jones, 81, was a former nurse's aide at Boland Nursing Home.

Funeral services are set for 1 p.m. Monday at the Nashville Funeral Home Chapel. Burial will follow at the Tabernacle Cemetery in Schaal, Ark. Other survivors include her husband, Curtis L. Jones of Mineral Springs, Ark.; two other daughters, Katie W. Turrentine of Belleville, Mich., and Beryl G. Watson of Detroit, Mich.; three sons, Charles R. Jones of Chicago, Ill., Philip Jones of Nashville, Ark., and the Rev. Chester R. Jones of Pine Bluff, Ark.; one brother, Ollie B. Reed of Schaal; 22 grandchildren and five great-grandchildren. (Texarkana Gazette)

12-11-1995 10:42

501 399 7196

CLINTON TRANS.

P.03/03

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1995

Haller Jones

'Very strong woman' preached education

BY LARRY AULT
Democrat-Gazette Staff Writer

TEXARKANA, Texas — Haller Jones, the mother of former U.S. Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders, died Thursday in a Texarkana, Texas, hospital.

Jones, 81, was a farm wife and former nurse's aid at Boland Nursing Home who raised seven children besides her famous daughter. She was born February 10, 1914, in Schaal, to the late Charlie and Elnora Turner Reed.

The Rev. Chester R. Jones, one of Jones' eight children, recalled in a book about his sister Joycelyn Elders that his parents still lived near where "our grandfather came fleeing the aftermath of the Civil War and slavery in Louisiana."

Chester Jones said his parents taught their children about "living family values at home based upon God's Word in the Ten Commandments."

Haller Jones was a member of the Tabernacle C.M.E. Church in Schaal, Ark. She is survived by her husband of 64 years, Curtis L. Jones, who is in poor health.

Another daughter, Katie W. Turrentine of Belleville, Mich., said, "I don't think there was a family that worked as hard as we did."

Turrentine called her mother "a very strong woman" whose "greatest accomplishment was bringing up eight children," all of whom attended college.

Turrentine, who works for General Motors and graduated from college in Michigan, said getting an education "was what they preached."

After her children were grown,

Haller Jones worked outside her home for 21 years, mostly as a nurse's aid for modest pay.

"She was a good nurse," Turrentine said. "No one has said a harsh word about my mother."

Haller Jones graduated from Howard County High School in Arkansas in the early 1930s. For most of their lives the family lived on a farm, except during World War II, when the father served in the Navy in California and the mother worked at a shipyard in California.

The money the family earned during those years helped them return to Arkansas and invest in more expensive, automated farm equipment, Turrentine said.

"My father gave everyone a job," she said.

Turrentine recalled that black people and white people worked together on the family farm and she admired her parents for what they stood for.

"A lot of that drive, I still have," she said. "I thought they worked us too hard, but we made it. They should have enjoyed more of what they had and taken more vacations."

Turrentine said that even when President Clinton fired Joycelyn Elders in December 1994 after she made a series of controversial remarks about sex education, abortion, and the study of legalizing drugs, her mother felt "there was a reason for everything."

Turrentine said her brother, Chester Jones, will deliver the eulogy for their mother at the funeral service Monday at the Nashville Funeral Home Chapel.

MANPOWER
DEMONSTRATION
RESEARCH
CORPORATION

Three Park Avenue
New York, New York 10016
(212) 532-3200

Judith M. Gueron
President

November 9, 1995

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

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate
the reply.

Dear President Clinton:

This is a personal letter, not one written as head of MDRC. In the coming weeks you will have to decide your response on welfare reform. I want to add my voice to those who argue that both the Senate and House bills are bad legislation.

These bills do not draw on what we know works. They do not deal with the hard tradeoffs. They cut funding and leave the states with the hot potato of reconciling unreconcilable goals and constraints: How will the states simultaneously promote work, protect children, and contain costs, as the public demands?

Unfortunately, the public has not been prepared for the complexity of the tradeoffs and the necessity for compromise. Slogans are not a substitute for policy, and welfare reform has been reduced to competing slogans.

I am not arguing that AFDC is perfect. People should be required to take steps to work and, when possible and affordable, required to do some work. But the assertion that the system could not be worse is not true. The unintended consequences of the proposed changes could be grave: an increase in our already alarming rate of child poverty and a diminished future for our nation.

At this late date, you may have no good choices. But rolling back 60 years of protection for children is not one of them.

Sincerely,

Judith M. Gueron

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12.15.95

MDRC

95 DEC 8

P2: 15

Carol wanted to
make sure the
President saw this
letter

original to J.D.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12.15.95

✓
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 8, 1995

95 DEC 9 AM : 39

Recommended Telephone Calls

To: Representative Hyde
Representative Combest
Representative Livingston
Representative Obey
Representative Frank
Representative Stenholm
Representative Wolf
Representative Condit
Representative Reed

Senator Byrd
Senator Stevens
~~Senator Bond~~
~~Senator Kempthorne~~
Senator Reid
~~Senator Baucus~~
~~Senator Mack~~
~~Senator Coats~~
~~Senator Warner~~
~~Senator Biden~~
Senator Rockefeller
Senator Bennett
~~Senator Feingold~~
~~Senator Cochran~~
Senator Grassley
Senator Gorton

Date: December 8-10, 1995

Recommended By: Anthony Lake
Patrick Griffin

✓

Purpose: These calls are to encourage members to support your Bosnia policy.

The Senate will likely begin debate on Tuesday on three resolutions: one which would condition deployment on a prior authorization; another concurrent resolution which expresses Congressional opposition to the decision but supports the troops; and a third resolution sponsored by Senators Dole and McCain would express support for the troops and require reports on equip and train and other matters related to the mission.

The House will probably take up a resolution on Tuesday. While it is unclear what they will ultimately consider, it is our understanding that they may have a resolution that supports the troops and references the two resolutions already passed in the House.

Talking Points: Please see the attached.

Contact Persons and
Telephone Numbers:

Representative Hyde	708-766-6536
Representative Combest	703-370-0566 (Robert Lehman - staff)
Representative Livingston	703-759-4890 (Allen Martin - staff)
Representative Obey	703-360-2820 (Joe Crapa - staff)
Representative Frank	301-589-9377 (Peter Kovar - staff)
Representative Stenholm	703-533-1509
Representative Wolf	703-255-5027 (Charles White - staff)
Representative Condit	209-537-2707
	209-545-8720 (Mike Lynch - staff)
Representative Reed	401-461-2339 (home)
	401-943-3100 (district office)
	401-574-5250 (car)
	703-379-9779 (J.B. Poresch - staff)
Senator Byrd	703-893-1568 (Sat. pm - Sun. pm)
Senator Stevens	202-342-1770
Senator Bond	202-224-3121 (Capitol Switchboard)
Senator Kempthorne	703-360-5261
Senator Reid	703-525-1535
Senator Baucus	406-443-3576 (Holly Luck - staff)
	406-431-5077 (Holly Luck - cell phone)
Senator Mack	202-224-3121 (Capitol Switchboard)
Senator Coats	703-556-0594
Senator Warner	202-342-0321
	703-765-0674 (Susan Magill - staff)
Senator Biden	202-224-3121 (Capitol Switchboard)
Senator Rockefeller	202-224-3121 (Capitol Switchboard)

Senator Bennett
Senator Feingold
Senator Cochran
Senator Grassley
Senator Gorton

202-224-3121 (Capitol Switchboard)
608-831-2617
703-329-1483
202-224-3121 (Capitol Switchboard)
202-224-3121 (Capitol Switchboard)

Date of Submission: December 8, 1995

Action:

BOSNIA: POINTS FOR CALLS TO CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS

December 8, 1995

Why We Should Participate

- The parties have made clear that a combination of U.S. leadership plus NATO involvement will be essential to ending this conflict permanently.
- Allowing the Balkans to slide back into war would be tragic and could lead to a wider war -- threatening our Allies and destabilizing new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe.

The Mission

- The Mission is precisely defined with clear, realistic goals achievable in a definite period of time. The risks to our troops are minimized.
- The parties have agreed that IFOR will have broad authority to use force to protect itself and to deal with backsliding or local resistance. Our troops will take orders only from American commanders.
- IFOR will not get into nation-building or police functions.
- Our great troops are well-trained and prepared for this difficult task and ask only our support.

Exit Strategy

- IFOR will help implement military provisions of the Dayton Agreement. U.S. and NATO military commanders believe the military mission can be accomplished in about a year.
- Basic military tasks--separating forces, supervising withdrawal--should be accomplished within first six months.
- Within one year, we expect that the military provisions of the Dayton Agreement will have been carried out, implementation of the civilian aspects and economic reconstruction will have been launched, free elections will have been held under international supervision, and a stable military balance will have been established within Bosnia and throughout the region.
- Aim to create conditions that give the parties an opportunity to build a lasting peace, not an environment in which NATO would stay indefinitely.

Equip and Train

- We have made a commitment to Bosnians that we will coordinate an international effort to ensure that they have what is needed for self-defense when IFOR leaves.
- We want to assure impartiality of IFOR. Providing arms and training to Federation forces will not be done by either IFOR or U.S. military. The approach we intend to pursue is for the U.S. to coordinate efforts of third countries.
- Efforts in this connection are already underway. The assessment team evaluating needs of the Federation just returned from Bosnia.

Request for Support

- I know this is a difficult decision for you--as it was for me.
- But I'm confident that U.S. participation in this operation is in our national interest and consistent with our values.
- We must let our men and women in the service know that Congress and the American people stand behind them in this tough mission. We need your support and help.

✓
UP
Panneha

December 15, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT 95 DEC 15 P4:09

FROM: MARK PENN

I am sending you the attached polling memo. Dick Morris concurs.

Keeping the Tax Cut As Part of Our Plan

It would be a serious error to withdraw the targeted middle class tax cut from our 7-year balanced budget plan.

Our successful strategy has been to agree with the only two elements in the Republican plan that are popular (having a balanced budget and a middle class tax cut). As a result, we have created vast differences in public opinion on the issues that are unpopular for the Republicans – preserving Medicare, education, the environment, programs for kids.

The data: 63% overall favor a \$500 a child tax credit, and among Swing I voters the percentage soars to 83/12 in favor of it. This is about as popular in this group as a balanced budget itself, and it is particularly popular with our target of families with \$35,000 to \$60,000 in income with kids.

It is true that a tax cut is the lowest priority for achieving a balanced budget, though 20% still consider it their top priority, but this is a reason to limit as we have, not to jettison it completely. This is especially true given that we are 15 points behind the Republicans on “cutting taxes.”

By eliminating any tax cut we would:

- * Do another flip-flop and undermine our own plan's credibility
- * Switch the debate from Medicare and kids to tax cuts
- * Lose with the next key election target group
- * Give the GOP 100% of the credit for any tax cut that results, giving them campaign commercial opportunities
- * And be unnecessary since the GOP will not sign a bill without a tax cut anyway.

Bob Nash

can run
M. Pin

Page

PAGE HOEPER

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12.15.95

mf rec'd
12/15

November 26, 1995

Dear Bill and Hillary,

Thank you both for your recent notes. I am truly pleased to have your encouragement in pursuing the position of Assistant Secretary of Defense for Economic Security. It would be both an honor to serve the country and personal pleasure to serve in this Administration. I will be meeting with Senator Feinstein, Rep. Jane Harman, and our friend from Boy's Nation, Rep. Jim Ramstad, this week while I am in Washington for the Defense Science Board. With luck, I will be able to hook up with John Deutch (I had a good relationship with him when he was at DoD) and Bob Nash to get their advice.

Barbara and I think the Christmas music on enclosed CD is exceptionally lovely. My friend Anne Maxwell wrote and performed the closing song for the Armed Forces Radio Network. This is her second CD. Several of the selections were new to me: *From a Distant Land* is from Puerto Rico and *Nino Lindo* is from Venezuela. The traditional carols are rendered beautifully, too. The Gregorians used to say "He who sings well prays twice." The music of Christmas makes us all sing inwardly.

I am enclosing the letter Anne sent to me when I asked her for a copy of her CD. Like many Americans, her patriotism expresses itself through what she does best.

Barbara joins me in wishing you all the joys of the coming holidays.

Sincerely,

Page

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
December 15, 1995

Dear Mr. Leader:

I am increasingly concerned that, under the current continuing resolution, the Low Income Home Energy Assistance program (LIHEAP) is not meeting the needs of families requiring heating assistance.

With the onset of winter, low-income families need more help to keep their homes warm. Each year, LIHEAP assistance goes to about six million needy households, many of which have an elderly or disabled member or young children.

Normally, by this time of year, States' energy assistance programs would be adequately funded to help households tackle high energy bills and insulate drafty homes. This year, however, Congress still has not passed a full-year appropriations bill for Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies -- the bill which funds LIHEAP. The House voted to end LIHEAP altogether.

Under the two continuing resolutions that have been enacted this fall, LIHEAP has been funded at only \$232 million. Last year, over three times that amount was available to States between September and the end of December.

I strongly urge Congress to pass a full-year appropriation as soon as possible that includes funding for LIHEAP. At a minimum, Congress must enable the Administration to make available a seasonally appropriate share of the previously appropriated funds for LIHEAP.

Congress should act quickly. Since winter is almost upon us, a rising number of low-income Americans, particularly those living in colder regions, will continue to need more help to keep warm at home.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

The Honorable Thomas A. Daschle
Democratic Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
December 15, 1995

Dear Mr. Leader:

I am increasingly concerned that, under the current continuing resolution, the Low Income Home Energy Assistance program (LIHEAP) is not meeting the needs of families requiring heating assistance.

With the onset of winter, low-income families need more help to keep their homes warm. Each year, LIHEAP assistance goes to about six million needy households, many of which have an elderly or disabled member or young children.

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a stylized, cursive script.

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 15, 1995

Dear Mr. Leader:

I am increasingly concerned that, under the current continuing resolution, the Low Income Home Energy Assistance program (LIHEAP) is not meeting the needs of families requiring heating assistance.

With the onset of winter, low-income families need more help to keep their homes warm. Each year, LIHEAP assistance goes to about six million needy households, many of which have an elderly or disabled member or young children.

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Congress should act quickly. Since winter is almost upon us, a rising number of low-income Americans, particularly those living in colder regions, will continue to need more help to keep warm at home.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

The Honorable Richard A. Gephardt
Democratic Leader
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 15, 1995

Dear Mr. Speaker:

I am increasingly concerned that, under the current continuing resolution, the Low Income Home Energy Assistance program (LIHEAP) is not meeting the needs of families requiring heating assistance.

With the onset of winter, low-income families need more help to keep their homes warm. Each year, LIHEAP assistance goes to about six million needy households, many of which have an elderly or disabled member or young children.

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a stylized, cursive script.

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

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12/15/95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 DEC 12 P7:04

December 12, 1995

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO:

✓ Carl Andrade
603/883-8781 - tonite
Home: 603/888-3995 (tomorrow)

*Two but President lead
Sno leton.*

DATE:

December 12 or 13, 1995

RECOMMENDED BY:

✓ Doug Sosnik, Political Affairs

PURPOSE:

To congratulate him on winning or on running
for Nashua, New Hampshire mayor

BACKGROUND:

Carl Andrade was an early Clinton supporter
and hosted a fundraiser in his home during
the 1991 primary season. While this is a
non-partisan mayoral race, Carl is a well-
known Democrat running against a Republican.
We recommend a phone call from the President
if Carl wins and a phone call from the Vice
President if he loses. There is a precedent
for both calls since the President and Vice
President both called New Hampshire mayoral
winners in November.

Submitted:

December 12, 1995

ACTION:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 12/14/95

TO: BOB KYLE

FROM: Staff Secretary



THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

December 4, 1995

95 DEC 13 P 6:06

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Federico Peña', is written over a horizontal line.

FROM: Federico Peña

SUBJECT: Modification of Moratorium on Issuance of Motor Carrier Licenses to Mexican Companies

With the concurrence of all other interested agencies, I recommend that you sign the attached decision memorandum modifying the moratorium on Interstate Commerce Commission grants of operating authority to Mexican carriers. The modification implements the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) provisions that permit Mexican-domiciled motor carriers to obtain operating authority to provide cross-border trucking services to or from the U.S. border states and, further, permit Mexican citizens to establish an enterprise in the United States to provide truck services for the transportation of international cargo between points in the United States. Consistent with NAFTA, the modification of the moratorium will be effective December 17, 1995.

Background

The Congress provided the President authority in the Bus Regulatory Reform Act of 1982 to impose a moratorium on issuance of grants of operating authority to motor carriers domiciled in Canada or Mexico or owned or controlled by citizens of Canada or Mexico if either country "substantially prohibited grants of motor carrier authority to U.S. citizens." In November 1982, the moratorium was lifted as it applied to Canadian carriers following the conclusion of a bilateral understanding. The moratorium on Mexico remained in place.

NAFTA provides for lifting the moratorium on issuance of grants of operating authority to Mexican-domiciled or -owned or -controlled motor carriers in phases, as follows:

1. Effective December 17, 1995, Mexican-domiciled motor carriers will be permitted to provide cross-border trucking services to and from the U.S. border states and Mexican citizens will be permitted to establish companies in the United States to provide truck services for the transportation of international cargo between points in the United States.
2. Effective January 1, 1997, Mexican regular-route passenger carriers will be permitted to provide international service to all points in the United States.

3. Effective January 1, 2000, Mexican-domiciled motor carriers will be permitted to provide cross-border trucking service to and from any point in the United States.
4. Effective January 1, 2001, Mexican citizens will be permitted to establish companies in the United States to provide passenger service between points in the United States.

Section 6 of the Bus Regulatory Reform Act of 1982 requires 60 days' advance notice to the Congress of the President's intention to modify or remove the moratorium. On November 4, 1993, in preparation for the implementation of NAFTA, you submitted to the Congress a Statement of Administrative Action in which you informed the Congress of your intent to modify the moratorium with respect to Mexican carriers on a phased schedule consistent with NAFTA's provisions concerning motor carrier operations.

Modification of the Moratorium

The moratorium is modified only to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to grant Mexico-domiciled motor carriers authority to transport cargo from a point or points in Mexico to a point or points in a U.S. border state or from a point or points in a U.S. border state to a point or points in Mexico. Mexican-owned or -controlled motor carriers established in the United States will be granted authority to transport only international cargo between points in the United States.

The moratorium modification will permit the Interstate Commerce Commission to issue conditional grants of authority to Mexican applicants. Upon a determination by the Commission that reciprocal access in Mexico has been denied, these grants of authority will be terminated.

Potential Impact of Pending Legislation

There is pending legislation before Congress that would sunset the ICC. However, the language of the current draft legislation retains the restrictions imposed under the Bus Regulatory Reform Act of 1982 on operating authority for Mexican owned or controlled motor carriers. The legislation will transfer to the Secretary of Transportation the power to grant operating authority and restrict operations by Mexican owned or controlled motor carriers. The language of the law ensures that the current restriction on Mexican owned or controlled motor carriers does not lapse in the event of an ICC sunset and that the United States retain its ability to fulfill its international obligations under NAFTA. The President's direction to act under this authority would follow with the transfer of the authority from the ICC to the Department.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

SUBJECT: Determination Under the Bus Regulatory
Reform Act of 1982

Section 6 of the Bus Regulatory Reform Act of 1982 imposed a moratorium on the issuance of certificates or permits to motor carriers domiciled in, or owned or controlled by, persons of a contiguous foreign country. The Act authorized the President to remove the moratorium in whole or in part for any country or political subdivision thereof upon determining that such action was in the national interest. Sixty days' advance notice to the Congress is required prior to removal or modification of the moratorium.

As set forth in the Statement of Administrative Action regarding the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) that I submitted to the Congress dated November 3, 1993, the moratorium with respect to Mexico will be lifted in phases to coincide with the schedule of liberalization in the relevant provisions of the NAFTA. The Agreement specifies that, effective December 17, 1995, Mexican-domiciled motor carriers will be permitted to provide cross-border trucking services to and from the U.S. border States and Mexican citizens will be permitted to establish companies in the United States to provide truck services for the transportation of international cargo between points in the United States.

This is to give public notice that, pursuant to section 6 of the Bus Regulatory Reform Act of 1982, 49 U.S.C. 10922(1)(2)(A), dated November 3, 1993, I gave the Congress notice of my intention to modify the moratorium imposed by that section and all actions taken by me and my predecessors under that section on the issuance of certificates or permits to motor carriers domiciled in, or owned or controlled by, persons of Mexico. This modification will take effect on December 17, 1995.

The moratorium is modified only to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to grant Mexico-domiciled motor carriers authority to transport cargo from a point or points in Mexico to a point or points in a U.S. border State or from a point or points in a U.S. border State to a point or points in Mexico. Mexican-owned or -controlled motor carriers established in the United States will be granted authority to transport international cargo between points in the United States. Mexican-owned or -controlled motor carriers will in no case be permitted to transport domestic cargo from point to point within the United States.

The moratorium modification will permit the Interstate Commerce Commission to issue conditional grants of authority to Mexican applicants. Upon a determination by the Commission that reciprocal access in Mexico has been denied, these grants of authority will be terminated.

Effective December 17, 1995, the Interstate Commerce Commission will begin to accept and process expeditiously all applications for operating authority from Mexican-owned, -controlled, or -domiciled motor carriers wishing to provide cross-border trucking services to or from the U.S. border States or to establish an enterprise in the United States to provide truck services for the transportation of international cargo between points in the United States.

This determination shall be published in the Federal Register.



Capitol Watch[®]

700 NORTH BUILDING • 601 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., NW • WASHINGTON, DC 20004 • PHONE (202) 544-2600

95 DEC 12 P 6 : 51

December 12, 1995

President Bill J. Clinton
White House
2nd Floor West Wing
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

In the coming weeks you will have the opportunity to show the working people of America that you are dedicated to protecting their Social Security funds by signing HR 4.

This bill, part of the larger Welfare Reform bill, currently is in conference. Both houses have passed HR 4 which eliminates Social Security benefits going to support drug addicts, alcoholics, and illegal aliens.

On behalf of the more than 80,000 members of CapitolWatch I am forwarding these Stop the Social Security Raid petitions.

Congress has all ready shown their support for eliminating these funds. Now the ball is in your court. Don't let the American people down.

CapitolWatch urges you, Mr. President, to stop this injustice. The working men and women of this country deserve that money, not drug addicts and illegal aliens!

Sincerely,

Dennis Hoffman
President

12/12/95

Todd,

- from Oval ofc.
- There is a LARGE box of petitions -- like the one attached -- on credenza by carol's desk.
- TO DORSKIND FOR REPLY???

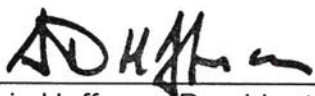
TO : Rasco
Rahm
Dorskind

S

PETITION TO END SSI

WHEREAS illegal drug use is a crime; drug addicts and drunks should not be rewarded for breaking the law; and law-abiding taxpayers should not be punished for the criminal behavior of these reckless freeloaders;

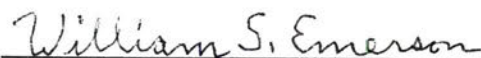
WE DO HEREBY PETITION the U.S. Congress to eliminate the SSI program which rewards drunken bums and punishes honest American taxpayers.



Dennis Hoffman, President

10-27-95

Date



CapitolWatch Member

10/30/95

Date





Sundley
on me to the
Phone (310) 515-6715
Fax (310) 515-5046

SALES, LEASE, & RENTALS

MBE

Bob
John
W. J. Hall
GENE HALE
PRESIDENT

METRO RAIL
LIGHT RAIL
GREEN LINE
BLUE LINE
CENTURY FWY

1875 W. Redondo Beach Boulevard, Suite 102 • Gardena, CA 90247
P. O. Box 5419 • Gardena, CA 90249

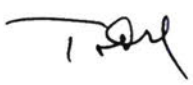
12-13-95 THE PRESIDENT HAS SE N

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 12.14

TO: John Angel

FROM: Staff Secretary

I'm going to
send to POTUS
Friday. Assume
you guys are fine
with it. 

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

COPY

95 DEC 13 P7:49

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THE EXECUTIVE CLERK

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *TV*

SUBJECT: Nomination of General Ralston and Admiral Owens

Purpose

To nominate General Joseph W. Ralston, U.S. Air Force, for assignment as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and to nominate Admiral William A. Owens for appointment to the grade of admiral on the retired list.

Background

Secretary Perry has recommended General Ralston to succeed Admiral Owens as the Vice Chairman on February 27, 1996 (Tab D). Secretary Perry also sent a separate memorandum which lists the reasons for his choice of General Ralston (Tab E), who is currently serving as the Commander, Air Combat Command. In brief, Bill values highly General Ralston's extensive experience in the strategic and operational aspects of joint warfare, as well his thorough grounding in U.S. defense policy and strategy. He cites, in particular, General Ralston's outstanding performance as Commander of the Air Combat Command, which supports six combatant commands and the North American Aerospace Defense Command. General Ralston also enjoys, in Secretary Perry's judgment, the high confidence and respect of members of Congress and the senior leadership at the Defense Department.

Secretary Perry has also recommended that Admiral Owens be retired in the grade of admiral (Tab F).

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the nomination letters for General Ralston and Admiral Owens at Tab A and B.

Attachments

Tab A Nomination Letter for General Ralston
Tab B Nomination Letter for Admiral Owens
Tab C Proposed Press Release
Tab D Secretary Perry's recommendation for General Ralston
Tab E Secretary Perry's selection of General Ralston
Tab F Secretary Perry's recommendation for Admiral Owens

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
--------------------------	---------------	------	-------------

003. note	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (4 pages)	12/00/1995	b(6)
-----------	---	------------	------

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7692

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files December 10-16, 1995 [1]

2019-0774-S

rs3299

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

The White House

Washington

To the Senate of the United States:

I nominate:

The following named officer for appointment as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and reappointment to the grade of general under the provisions of Title 10, United States Code, Section 154:

To be Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

To be General

General Joseph W. Ralston, (b)(6)
United States Air Force

Tab B

The White House

Washington

To the Senate of the United States: ,

I nominate:

The following named officer to be placed on the retired list of the United States Navy in the grade indicated under section 1370 of title 10, U.S.C.

To be Admiral

Admiral William A. Owens,

(b)(6)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I am pleased to announce that I have nominated General Joseph W. Ralston, U.S. Air Force, for assignment as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, succeeding Admiral William A. Owens, who is retiring.

General Ralston currently serves as the Commander, Air Combat Command. In this capacity, he is responsible for training and equipping all active Air Force, Air National Guard and Air Force Reserve combat wings and squadrons in the United States and Panama. During his distinguished career, General Ralston flew more than 2,500 flying hours, including 147 combat missions over Laos and North Vietnam. He also served as the Air Force's Director for Tactical Programs and its Director for Operational Requirements. In the latter capacity, his championing of the rapid transition of advanced technology to the battlefield was instrumental in determining the shape and force structure of tomorrow's Air Forces. General Ralston brings to the job of Vice Chairman a wealth of experience in the development of military requirements and an in-depth knowledge of the Defense acquisition process. These and other attributes provide General Ralston the requisite leadership and management necessary for the post of Vice Chairman at a critical time in the history of the Armed Forces.

I will depend upon General Ralston to continue the initiatives of Admiral Owens which are designed to ensure that our Armed Forces best determine their warfighting requirements and capabilities. I commend Admiral Owens for his exemplary service to his Nation. His sound military advice on the use of military power to back U.S. diplomacy, his crucial role in shaping our forces to fight as a joint team and the superlative leadership he provided in harnessing the information and technological revolution to our current and future defense posture will ensure that our military will remain the best in the world as we enter the 21st Century. Admiral Owens will truly be missed in the senior decision-making ranks of our national security structure. Hillary and I join in wishing him the very best as he begins a new phase of his life.

#

JOSEPH WOOD RALSTON, GENERAL, RegAF,

(b)(6)

DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH: 4 November 1943, Hopkinsville, Kentucky

YEARS OF ACTIVE SERVICE: Over 30 years as of 24 July 1995

SCHOOLS ATTENDED AND DEGREES: Miami Univ, BA, 1965; Central Michigan Univ, MA, 1976; US Army Command and General Staff College, 1976; National War College, 1984

JOINT SPECIALTY OFFICER: Yes

AERONAUTICAL RATING: Command Pilot

MAJOR PERMANENT DUTY ASSIGNMENTS

	<u>FROM</u>	<u>TO</u>
USAFR, Not on Active Duty	Jun 65	Jul 65
Stu Ofcr, Undergrad Plt Tng, 3645 Stu Sq, ATC, Laughlin AFB, TX	Jul 65	Sep 66
Stu Ofcr, USAF Opnl Tng Crs, F-105, 4523 CCTSq, TAC, Nellis AFB, NV	Sep 66	Apr 67
Plt, Tac Ftr, F-105, 67 TFSq, PACAF, Kadena AB, Japan	Apr 67	Aug 67
Plt, Tac Ftr, F-105, 12 TFSq, PACAF, Kadena AB, Japan	Aug 67	Jan 70
Plt, Tac Ftr, F-105F, 354 TFSq, PACAF, Takhli RTAFB, Thailand	Jan 70	Nov 70
Instr Plt, F-105, 66 FWSq, TAC, Nellis AFB, NV	Nov 70	Dec 71
Air Ops Ofcr, Air Superiority Div, DCS/Rqmts, Hq TAC, Langley AFB, VA	Dec 71	Jun 73
Acft Comdr, F-4, 335 TFSq, TAC, Seymour-Johnson AFB, NC	Jun 73	Aug 73
Asst Ops Ofcr, F-4, 335 TFSq, TAC, Seymour-Johnson AFB, NC	Aug 73	Jan 74
Asst Ch, Stan-Eval Div, 4 TFWg, TAC, Seymour-Johnson AFB, NC	Jan 74	Mar 74
Ch, Stan-Eval Div, 4 TFWg, TAC, Seymour-Johnson AFB, NC	Apr 74	Jul 75
Stu, US Army Cmd & Gen Stf College, Hq Cmd, Ft Leavenworth, KS	Jul 75	Aug 76
Tac Ftr Rqmts Ofcr, Tac Div, AF/RDQRT, Hq USAF, Wash DC	Sep 76	Aug 79
Ops Ofcr, D/Ops, 68 TFSq, TAC, Moody AFB, GA	Aug 79	Oct 79
Comdr, 68 TFSq, TAC, Moody AFB, GA	Oct 79	Jul 80
Spec1 Asst to the Comdr, TAC, Langley AFB, VA	Jul 80	Nov 80
Exec Ofcr to the Comdr, TAC, Langley AFB, VA	Nov 80	Aug 83
Stu, National War College, NDU, Ft McNair, Wash DC	Aug 83	Jul 84
Spec1 Asst for Low Observable Tech, AF/RD, Hq USAF, Wash DC	Jul 84	Feb 76
Comdr, 56 TTWg, TAC, MacDill AFB, FL	Feb 86	Feb 87
Asst DCS/Ops, Hq TAC, Langley AFB, VA	Feb 87	Jul 87
DCS/Requirements, Hq TAC, Langley AFB, VA	Jul 87	Jun 90
Dir, Tactical Prgrms, SAF/AQP, Hq USAF, Wash DC	Jun 90	Dec 91
Dir, Operational Rqmts, AF/XOR, Hq USAF, Wash DC	Dec 91	Jul 92
Comdr, Alaskan Command; Comdr, 11 AF; Comdr Alaskan NORAD Rgn; & Jt Task Force-Alaska, Elmendorf AFB, AK	Jul 92	Aug 94
Dep Chief of Staff, Plans and Ops, Pentagon, Wash DC	Aug 94	Jun 95
Comdr, Air Combat Command, Langley AFB VA	Jun 95	Present

PROMOTIONSEFFECTIVE DATE

Second Lieutenant	6 Jun 65
First Lieutenant	24 Jan 67
Captain	24 Jul 68
Major	1 Dec 73
Lieutenant Colonel	1 Apr 78
Colonel	1 Jun 81
Brigadier General	1 Mar 88
Major General	1 Aug 90
Lieutenant General	13 Jul 92
General	1 Jul 95

DECORATIONS

Defense Distinguished Service Medal
Air Force Distinguished Service Medal
Legion of Merit with two Bronze Oak Leaf Clusters
Distinguished Flying Cross with three Bronze Oak Leaf Clusters
Meritorious Service Medal with two Bronze Oak Leaf Clusters
Air Medal with three Silver Oak Leaf Clusters and four Bronze Oak Leaf Clusters
Air Force Commendation Medal with four Bronze Oak Leaf Clusters

SUMMARY OF JOINT ASSIGNMENTSASSIGNMENTSDATESGRADE

Comdr, Alaskan Command; Comdr, 11 AF; Comdr, Alaskan NORAD Rgn; & Joint Task Force- Alaska, Elmendorf AFB AK	Jul 92 - Jul 94	Lt Gen
* Special Asst for Low Observables Technology, Deputy Chief of Staff/Research, Development & Acquisition, HQ USAF, Wash DC	Jul 84 - Feb 86	Colonel
* Joint Equivalent		



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

27 NOV 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Air Force General Officer Nomination

I recommend you assign General Joseph W. Ralston, United States Air Force, as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I further recommend his reappointment to the grade of general. General Ralston, age 52, is currently serving as the Commander, Air Combat Command. He will succeed Admiral William A. Owens, United States Navy, who is retiring.

General Ralston has been awarded the joint speciality and has served a joint duty tour as a general officer. In order to carry out the duties and responsibilities of the proposed assignment, a general officer must have demonstrated highly effective performance in senior leadership positions. As the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he must be able to assist the Chairman, the Secretary of Defense, and the President in providing the strategic direction of the armed forces. He must be able to ensure the preparation of strategic plans that conform with resource levels projected by the Secretary of Defense. He is responsible for preparing joint logistics and military plans to support national strategy, and for assigning logistics and mobility responsibilities to the armed forces. General Ralston meets these requirements.

This action is based on the recommendation of the Secretary of the Air Force and on the advice of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. This action will not cause the Air Force to exceed the number of officers serving in the grade of general.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "William J. Perry", is located in the lower right area of the page.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 28, 1995

95 NOV 29
AID: 34

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THE EXECUTIVE CLERK *S*

FROM: ALAN P. SULLIVAN *Alan P. Sullivan*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR, WHITE HOUSE MILITARY OFFICE

SUBJECT: General Officer Nomination

Forwarded for your approval and signature is the nomination of General Joseph W. Ralston, United States Air Force, for reappointment to the grade of general and a recommendation for his assignment as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

This nomination has been staffed by the Secretary of the Air Force and was approved by the Secretary of Defense.

Recommendation

That you approve and sign the attached.

Attachment

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: November 29, 1995 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: December 6, 1995

SUBJECT: Military Nomination: General Joseph W. Ralston

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☐	McCURRY	☐	☐
PANETTA	☐	☐	McGINTY	☐	☐
McLARTY	☐	☐	NASH	☐	☐
ICKES	☐	☐	QUINN	☐	☐
BOWLES	☐	☐	RASCO	☐	☐
RIVLIN	☐	☐	SOSNIK	☐	☐
BAER	☐	☐	STEPHANOPOULOS	☐	☐
CURRY	☐	☐	STIGLITZ	☐	☐
EMANUEL	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
GIBBONS	☐	☐	TYSON	☐	☐
GRIFFIN	☐	☐	WALLEY	☐	☐
HALE	☐	☐	WILLIAMS	☐	☐
HERMAN	☐	☐	BELL	☒	☐
HIGGINS	☐	☐	EXECUTIVE CLERK	☐	☒
KLAIN	☐	☐		☐	☐
LAKE	☐	☐		☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS: Do you have any objections?

RESPONSE:



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

DEC -8 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Nomination of General Joseph W. Ralston, United States Air Force

I have recommended General Joseph W. Ralston to you as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to succeed Admiral William A. Owens. After careful consultations and with General Shalikashvili's advice, we believe General Ralston is the dynamic officer who possesses extraordinary leadership and abilities for this key military position.

The position of Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff requires an officer well versed in the strategic and operational art of joint warfare. General Ralston is a highly principled, forward thinking general officer and is experienced in joint and combined operations. As commander of Air Combat Command, he provides combat equipped and trained forces to support six combatant commands and the North American Aerospace Defense Command. The combination of his superb joint experience as commander of Alaskan Air Command and his outstanding record make him extremely well qualified to execute the responsibilities of this position.

Complementing his joint warfighting abilities is his experience as Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans and Operations, Headquarters, United States Air Force. General Ralston displayed a superb grasp and knowledge of US defense policy and strategy and provided the comprehension and insight that will take our armed forces securely into the next century.

General Ralston's tremendous credentials are his boundless energy, depth of vision, knowledge, and breadth of imagination. He has the respect and confidence of Congress where he has frequently testified, as well as the senior leadership within the Department of Defense. We are confident he will be an enormous asset in helping us provide the strategic direction for our nation's armed forces and I am extremely pleased to recommend him as the next Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Bill Perry



THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301

12/8/95

Sandy

Here's an expanded
write up on Joe Rakston.
If you need more pls
let me know quickly.

We are very eager
to get this mem to the
Hill.

Thanks

JS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: NOVEMBER 29, 1995

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: DECEMBER 6, 1995

SUBJECT: FLAG OFFICER NOMINATION: ADMIRAL WILLIAM A. OWENS, USN

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☐	McCURRY	☐	☐
PANETTA	☐	☐	McGINTY	☐	☐
McLARTY	☐	☐	NASH	☐	☐
ICKES	☐	☐	QUINN	☐	☐
BOWLES	☐	☐	RASCO	☐	☐
RIVLIN	☐	☐	SOSNIK	☐	☐
BAER	☐	☐	STEPHANOPOULOS	☐	☐
CURRY	☐	☐	STIGLITZ	☐	☐
EMANUEL	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
GIBBONS	☐	☐	TYSON	☐	☐
GRIFFIN	☐	☐	WALLEY	☐	☐
HALE	☐	☐	WILLIAMS	☐	☐
HERMAN	☐	☐	CLERK	☐	☒
HIGGINS	☐	☐	BELL	☒	☐
KLAIN	☐	☐		☐	☐
LAKE	☐	☐		☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

ANY OBJECTIONS?

RESPONSE:



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

27 NOV 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Navy Flag Officer Nomination

I recommend the nomination of Admiral William A. Owens, U.S. Navy, for appointment to the grade of admiral on the retired list. Admiral Owens, age 55 is currently serving as Vice Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

This action is based upon the recommendation of the Secretary of the Navy and on the advice of the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, which appears to read "William J. Perry", is located to the right of the main text.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 29, 1995 4:44
95 NOV 29

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THE EXECUTIVE CLERK

FROM: *for* ALAN P. SULLIVAN *James L. Hawkins*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR, WHITE HOUSE MILITARY OFFICE

SUBJECT: Flag Officer Nomination

Forwarded for your approval and signature is the nomination of Admiral William A. Owens, United States Navy, for appointment to the grade of admiral on the retired list.

This nomination has been staffed by the Secretary of the Navy and approved by the Secretary of Defense.

Recommendation

That you approve and sign the attached.

Attachment