

cc: Bae / per ju

THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Harlem Remembers the Heart That Never Left

By RACHEL L. SWARNS

In Washington, Ron Brown will be mourned as the master politician who helped propel Bill Clinton to the Presidency, as the savvy salesman who hawked American goods abroad and as the barrier bouncer who soared to national prominence as the first black chairman of the Democratic National Committee and as the nation's first black Secretary of Commerce.

But in Harlem, he will be remembered as the skinny little boy who grew up in an apartment atop the Hotel Theresa, New York's premier black hotel in the 1950's, and begged autographs from New York's black glitterati. He will be remembered as the young lawyer who ran an Urban League youth program in the 1970's, counseling poor children in classrooms and on the basketball court. And he will be remembered as the Washington bigwig who schmoozed with foreign ministers and chief executives but still managed to slip home for salmon cakes and fried chicken at Sylvia's restaurant.

Ron Brown may have made his mark in Washington, but his old friends say his heart never left Harlem.

"We have a saying in the black community: 'Don't ever get so big that you forget where home is,'" said Percy Sutton, a former Manhattan borough president and chairman of the Queens Cable Television System who has known Mr. Brown since he was a boy. "Ron Brown never forgot. And we loved him for that."

Mr. Brown was killed along with 32 others when the military plane carrying them to a business conference in Croatia crashed into a mountain during a violent storm on Wednesday.

While acknowledging the ethical questions that periodically dogged Mr. Brown's efforts to straddle the line between public service and private enterprise, those who knew him from his early days had nothing but praise for him yesterday, eulogizing him as a man who soared to great heights without ever losing touch with his roots.

Mr. Brown was born in Washington, D.C., but he grew up in Harlem, where his father worked as the manager of the Theresa Hotel. It was in New York that he quickly learned to straddle two worlds.

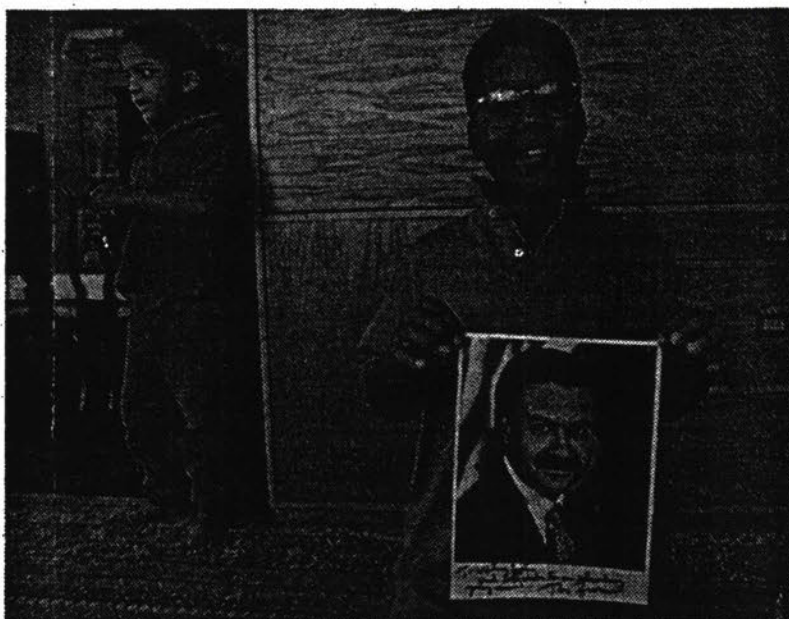
At home, he lived in the heart of black New York. The singer Dinah Washington lived in the apartment across the hall and a dizzying array of stars stayed in the hotel rooms below, bringing with them their furs, their fame and their luxury cars.

At school, he studied in overwhelmingly white classrooms, in a series of exclusive academies including Hunter College Elementary School and the Rhodes and Walden prep schools. At Middlebury College in Vermont, he became the first black to join a white fraternity.

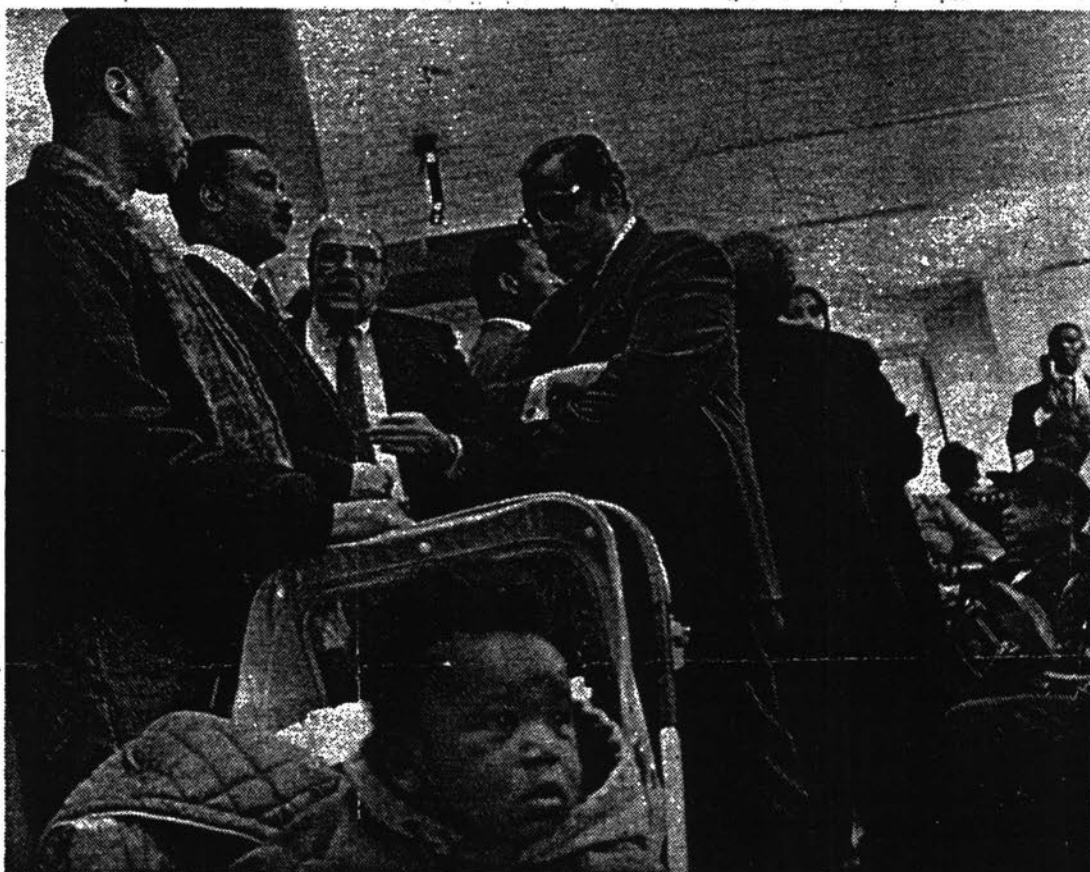
But after earning his law degree at St. John's University in Queens in 1970, Mr. Brown returned to Harlem, where he ran an Urban League program for underprivileged young people.

"He could communicate with those kids," said Andrew Adair, an attorney who worked with Mr. Brown at the Urban League in the 1970's. "He was one of the guys. He wore the afro. He had a pick in his pocket, but he knew the dictionary, too. He told them: 'You can get out of

Memories of Ronald H. Brown remain strong in Manhattan, where he spent his youth and honed the skills that propelled him to the top of national politics. At right, Whitney Baxter, age 10, showed off a memento from the Commerce Secretary's February visit to Hunter College Elementary School on East 94th Street, which Mr. Brown also attended. Below, Mr. Brown with Representative Charles B. Rangel and others in February 1994 at the William F. Ryan Community Health Care Center on West 97th Street.



Philip Grossberg for The New York Times



Carrie Borey for The New York Times

A skinny little boy who soared to great heights without losing touch.

this mess. I'm going to help you."

By the 1990's, after he had moved to Washington and established himself there, working for a time as the head of the local Urban League, as an aide to Senator Edward M. Kennedy, as a political strategist for the Jesse Jackson campaign and the first black partner at Patton, Boggs & Blow, Mr. Brown's list of friends and colleagues read like a Who's Who of prominent Americans, both black and white.

Among the New Yorkers was Hal Jackson, the Harlem disc jockey who

gave Mr. Brown his first job carrying records and reading public service announcements at the radio station WLIB-AM. "This little devil was so neat," Mr. Jackson recalled. "Even as young as he was then, he would always wear his little shirt and tie and jacket in the studio."

The list also included Mario M. Cuomo, the former governor of New York who was also one of Mr. Brown's law professors at St. John's, who said, "I remember telling him, 'You have the capacity to persuade people you're right, even when you're wrong, which means you'll be a terrific lawyer.'"

And it also included David N. Dinkins, the long-time friend Mr. Brown supported during Mr. Dinkins's successful attempt to become the first black mayor of New York City.

"If there was ever a guy who had the capability to walk with kings and queens and not lose the common touch, Ron was the guy," Mr. Dinkins said.

When Mr. Brown became chairman of the Democratic National Committee, he persuaded the then-presidential candidate Bill Clinton to go to Harlem to meet with the editorial board of the Amsterdam News. And he convinced Hillary Rodham Clinton to appear on WLIB.

"He was instrumental in getting them to go where most white politicians would not go," said Wilbert Tatum, publisher of the Amsterdam News. "He helped them understand that the black media was important if they were to win the election."

While Mr. Brown will be remembered by some as a power broker and globe trotter, Mr. Dinkins said he believes his friend would like most to be recognized for his commitment to his community.

"My guess, knowing Ron, is that he would like to be remembered as a kid from Harlem who went on to excel and and never forgot where he came from, who didn't forget his roots," Mr. Dinkins said.

THE SCENE

14 Bodies Are Airlifted To Makeshift Morgue

By CHRIS HEDGES

DUBROVNIK, Croatia, April 4 — The body believed to be that of Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, along with 13 others from the wreckage of the plane that slammed into a rocky hillside here, was transported tonight by helicopter to a makeshift morgue set up at Dubrovnik airport by the United States Army.

Senior military officials involved in the search said final identification would be difficult because of the force of the crash and the ensuing fire that engulfed the plane.

"In many cases it will be impossible to make visual identifications," an official who saw the bodies said.

Investigators at the crash site spent the day combing an area some 300 yards by 400 yards where debris, personal effects, suitcases and bodies, some badly burned, were strewn on the wet, muddy slopes. Rain and heavy fog again hampered the search and made it impossible to remove all the bodies.

American officials had said earlier that they hoped to have all the bodies removed from the crash site and ready for examination by Friday morning. The victims will be probably be transported to Dover Air Force base on Saturday, the officials said.

Forensic tests will be carried out in the United States, although there will be an attempt to make preliminary identifications in Croatia in an

Final identification of victims will be difficult.

effort to leave the two Croatian victims in Dubrovnik, they said.

Surrounded by the glare of runway lights and the roar of helicopters, American soldiers tonight sealed off a hangar at one end of the airport where the morgue was being set up. The scent of aviation fuel lay heavy in the air.

Exhausted soldiers, their uniforms drenched and their boots caked with the red mud, lay on top of army packs along the wall.

"We go up on the top for about half an hour, and then come down and are replaced," one soldier said. "The wind and the rain are fierce."

The investigators are trying to reconstruct what happened to the T-34 plane, which is an American military version of a Boeing 737.

The only sizable pieces of the plane poking out of the gray mist atop the rainswept mountain, were two sections of the fuselage and the tail, with its stars and stripes. Bodies were thrown over a wide area, many badly burned and mutilated, they said.

"The small amount of components and pieces that were left shocked me," said Maj. Lewis M. Boone of the Army's Special Forces, who was at

the site. "There were really just two large pieces left, the rest of the plane had disintegrated."

Investigators stuck by preliminary reports that appeared to suggest that the pilot was off course and banked into the rocky hillside. The heavy rains, some of the worst in over a decade in the area, dense fog and wind probably contributed to the pilot's confusion, they said.

Senior Air Force officials here said the inclement weather had forced the pilot to make an instrument approach.

They said that the navigation system at the Dubrovnik airport, which was damaged heavily in the war, is below standard. The airport lacks an instrument landing system, officials here said.

But the American Ambassador to Croatia, Peter W. Galbraith, as well as these officials, said there were no indications that faulty navigational equipment was to blame for the crash.

An American Air Force officer, who asked to remain unidentified, said: "It makes the landing a little harder. But the equipment at the airport was good enough for an experienced pilot to bring his plane in."

Mr. Brown and at least 32 others aboard the plane were confirmed dead today by investigators at the site where the plane went down in a heavy rainstorm on Wednesday, about two miles north of the Dubrovnik airport.

American military officials said that 27 passengers and six crew members were aboard when it flew into the hillside, known as Sveti Ivan or St. John.

Ambassador Galbraith, however, said there remained some questions about the accuracy of the military's passenger manifest.

"In travel in this part of the world, and in these conditions, you don't always get a good manifest," he told a news conference.

"I can simply state two facts: First, the weather yesterday as the plane flew in was terrible," he said. "People in Dubrovnik say it was the worst in a decade."

"Secondly, the plane was not where it should have been. It was not along the coast, but along the valley. Beyond that point, I don't want to speculate on what might have caused the crash."

The Ambassador said there was no evidence of an explosion or attack on the plane.

United States military officials said about 35 American soldiers arrived at the crash site before 6 A.M. today. Three Americans handling communications were lowered in on ropes by helicopters earlier.

The Americans were assisted by some 200 Croatian police agents and 100 French seamen.

The American presence was building slowly throughout the day and by late this evening American officials said there were some 300 people from the combined forces at the site.

Passengers and Crew

By The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 4 — Following is the State Department manifest for the United States Air Force plane that crashed on Wednesday near Dubrovnik, Croatia. Entries include place of residence, where available.

ALDRICH, Staff Sgt. Gerald, flight mechanic

ANTONINI, Niksa, photographer

BEBEK, Dragica Lendic, interpreter

BROWN, Ronald H., Secretary of Commerce; Washington.

CHRISTIAN, Duane, security officer, Commerce Department

CONRAD, Barry L., chairman, Barrington Corporation; Coral Gables, Fla.

CUSHMAN, Paul, executive vice president, Riggs National Bank; Washington.

DARLING, Adam N., confidential assistant, Commerce Department

DAVIS, Capt. Ashley, pilot

DOBERT, Gail E., deputy director, Office of Business Liaison, Commerce Department

DONOVAN, Robert E., president, ABB Inc.; Fairfield, Conn.

ELIA, Claudio, chairman, Air & Water Technologies; Greenwich, Conn.

FARRINGTON, Staff Sgt. Robert Jr., steward

FORD, David L., president, Inter-guard Corporation; Luxembourg.

HAMILTON, Carol L., press secretary, Commerce Department

HOFFMAN, Kathryn E., senior adviser for strategic scheduling and special initiatives, Commerce Department

JACKSON, Lee F., U.S. representative, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

KAMINSKI, Stephen C., commercial counselor for U.S. and foreign commercial service, Commerce Department

KELLOGG, Kathryn E., confidential assistant, Office of Business Liaison, Commerce Department

KELLY, Tech. Sgt. Shelly, steward

LEWEK, James M., analyst, Central Intelligence Agency

MAIER, Frank, president, En-search International Corporation; Dallas.

MEISSNER, Charles F., Assistant Secretary for International Trade, Commerce Department

MORTON, William, Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Economic Development, Commerce Department

MURPHY, Walter J., vice president, AT&T Submarine Systems Inc.; Fanwood, N.J.

NASH, Nathaniel C., Frankfurt bureau chief, The New York Times

PAYNE, Lawrence M., special assistant for U.S. and foreign commercial service, Commerce Department

PIERONI, Leonard J., chairman, Parsons Corporation; La Canada, Calif.

SCHAFER, Capt. Tim, pilot

SCOVILLE, John A., chairman, Harza Engineering Company; Wilmette, Ill.

TERNER, I. Donald, president, Bridge Housing Corporation; San Francisco.

THOLAN, P. Stuart, senior vice president, Bechtel Corporation; London.

TURNAGE, Tech. Sgt. Cheryl, steward

WARBASSE, Naomi P., international trade specialist, Commerce Department

WHITTAKER, Robert A., vice president, Foster Wheeler Energy International

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4/10/96

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9 April 1996

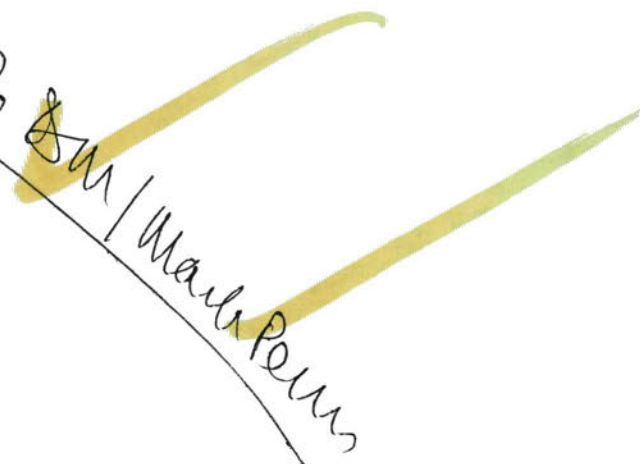
MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
THE VICE PRESIDENT

CC: Leon Panetta
Doug Sosnik
Karen Hancox

From: Harold Ickes 

Re: "American voices: Phase 1 - The Primary Process",
February/March 1996, Peter D. Hart Research
Associates

Attached is a report from Peter D. Hart Research Associates,
entitled "American Voices - Phase 1: The Primary Process", dated
February/March 1996.


DB & M / Mark Penn

CAMPAIGN FOR AMERICA

4/96

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WASHINGTON D.C. 20001
202-628-0160
FAX 202-628-0598

We would like to share with you an analysis of the first set of political focus groups that Peter D. Hart Research Associates is conducting on behalf of Campaign For America. The aim of these focus groups is to gauge the dynamics and interpret the issues of the 1996 presidential campaign.

The first segment of this year-long project has been designed to understand the Republican primary process, with particular attention to the views and attitudes of Buchanan voters. A total of six focus groups were conducted during this initial phase: two groups each were held on February 28 and 29 in Columbia, South Carolina, and Baltimore, Maryland, respectively, prior to each state's primary. An additional two focus groups were conducted among general election voters in Iselin, New Jersey on March 6, the day after Bob Dole's victories in the "Junior Tuesday" primaries.

Campaign For America, founded in May 1995 by Jerome Kohlberg, Jr., and former Oklahoma congressman Mike Synar, was formed to address the influence of special-interest campaign contributions, which are undermining American democracy and unduly influencing policy-making. The organization seeks to establish and mobilize a nonpartisan public dialogue around a set of common-sense campaign reform principles that the American public can understand and embrace. The Campaign For America project [501(c)(4)] and its sister organization, the Campaign Reform Project [501(c)(3)], are both nonprofit, nonpartisan organizations located in Washington, D.C.

We hope you will find this analysis helpful. If you have questions about the focus groups or the project, please call Peter D. Hart at 202-234-5570.

AMERICAN VOICES

PHASE ONE: THE PRIMARY PROCESS

FEBRUARY/MARCH 1996

Peter D. Hart Research Associates
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20009

Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc.

INTRODUCTION

On behalf of Campaign for America, Peter D. Hart Research Associates is undertaking a series of political focus groups designed to gauge and interpret the mood and momentum of the electorate throughout the 1996 election cycle. Between now and Election Day, these focus groups will explore how voters are perceiving and reacting to key political events and issues. Additionally, the sessions will examine voter attitudes toward the issue of campaign finance reform.

The first set of focus groups was designed to examine attitudes toward the candidates at the outset of the primary process and to analyze reactions--both among general Republican primary voters and among self-professed Buchanan supporters--to the emergence a front-runner and then to Bob Dole as the almost inevitable GOP nominee. The first four groups were conducted among Republican primary voters on February 28 and 29, 1996, in Columbia, South Carolina, and Baltimore, Maryland, respectively. Two sessions were conducted in each city, one comprising a cross section of general GOP primary voters and the other composed of Buchanan supporters. Two additional focus group sessions, each among a cross section of general election voters, were conducted in Iselin, New Jersey on March 6th, the day after Bob Dole's sweeping victory in the "Junior Tuesday" primaries.

Each group was designed to incorporate and address the diversity of issues that will define Campaign 1996. The decision-making processes that voters will go through, and the anxieties that influence their perception of and interest in the presidential election, were addressed in the six sessions. The following report presents the principal findings that emerge from these focus groups.

THE ELECTORATE: UNSETTLED AND UNSETTLING

Republican and Democrat, Buchanan supporter and Clinton enthusiast--the one quality that links these otherwise disparate groups is the overwhelming pessimism and uncertainty with which their members view America. In each of the focus groups, participants unanimously define their view of politics and the country today with bleak adjectives: "chaotic," "morally downhill," "devastating." Granted, both 1992 and 1988 were characterized by similarly grim perceptions of the status quo, but the

fundamental difference in the anxieties articulated in 1996 is that they are grounded in two specific fears: decaying societal values and financial insecurity.

On the one hand are voters who view societal values as "going downhill" and who regard the essential "breakdown in moral structure and total lack of respect" as the central cause of society's dissolution. Buchanan supporters are a primary example of societal values-oriented voters. On the other hand are those who feel financially threatened, who express their fears in terms of their personal economic situation and their difficulty in trying to make their daily lives work. Both Dole and Clinton voters are more apt to articulate pessimism and uncertainty in terms of economic insecurity. What distinguishes Dole, Buchanan, and Clinton voters, in other words, is not the fears that motivate their political involvement, but the way in which these fears serve as a point of departure for articulating a specific world view.

BUCHANAN VOTERS, for instance, express this pessimism and uncertainty as a measure of decaying societal values. They characterize the status quo as "unstable," "very frightening," and "chaotic." One Buchanan supporter laments: "I feel like American society has lost its tether; they don't have a firm grip on what they really believe . . . It's like a ship without a compass." Another suggests: "We've lost all sense of responsibility . . . It's [always] someone else's fault: 'The educational system didn't train my child right.' 'The government didn't adequately provide for my child.' Everyone else is taking the blame."

This discontent is rooted in the tendency of Buchanan voters to view things in moral terms. "It keeps coming back to the moral issues," asserts one supporter.

Immigration, welfare, abortion, and affirmative action all are issues that these voters endow with moral significance, and the primary characteristic in their support of these causes is a longing to return to the core values of America's past. In the words of Thomas Wolfe, these participants embrace "the old forms and systems that once seemed everlasting."

DOLE VOTERS possess a decidedly less unsettled and determinate sense of what is wrong with America. They characterize America today as "unsettled," "stalled," "unstable," and "stagnant," but they paint a portrait of an America plagued by financial disparity, rather than the picture of moral stagnation emphasized by Buchanan voters. When Dole supporters *do* discuss the decline of moral values, they express their disappointment in terms of the institutions that have let them down--the government, the schools, the media--rather than citing the decay of societal values.

When it comes to the central issues facing the country, moderate Republicans rarely raise the hot-button issues that Buchanan voters think most about: immigration, welfare, and abortion. Economic and fiscal issues monopolize their attention. "My future depends on the economy. I worry about job security and what I will do. Times are hard," laments one South Carolina Dole supporter. When asked the most important issue of the upcoming election, a Forbes supporter asserts: "It's the economy. I will vote my pocketbook."

Feelings about the direction of the country are no more optimistic among Democrats in the general election sessions. CLINTON VOTERS are just as likely as

are Buchanan voters to characterize the status quo as "very poor," "devastating," or "pretty stagnant and heading downhill." There is very little sense that the buzzwords of the 1992 campaign--positive change, economic stability, health care reform--have materialized to any degree in these participants' lives. They express anxiety about a number of issues but are most concerned with the economy; Social Security, affordable health care, the budget, trade, and corporate downsizing all are topics on which they speak passionately and at length.

What differentiates these voters from Dole supporters, however, is their point of departure. They, too, view things in America today with increasing uncertainty and dread, yet they apportion blame differently. Clinton voters regard Newt Gingrich and the Republican Congress with distaste and skepticism, and as part of the problem, not the solution. The President is seen as working with and for "the people," whereas his GOP opponents are viewed as beholden to big money interests. "[They aren't] for the middle class. It's like two classes: rich and poor," declares one Clinton supporter.

The insecurity and pessimism articulated by these focus group participants foreshadows the mood of the electorate in 1996. Amidst a larger climate of resignation and lowered expectations, voters will be approaching the promises and platforms of the campaign with skepticism and doubt. Having been entranced by the siren songs of change and sweeping reform, to little avail, in both 1992 and 1994, they will regard such ambitious proposals with a cynical eye. Instead, voters will be seeking politicians who propose specific, practical, realistic goals. This is

an electorate in search of stability and security, both financial and moral, in their own lives as well as in the direction of the nation.

WHERE DO THE BUCHANAN VOTERS GO?

When asked to characterize Pat Buchanan, his supporters are unequivocal in their praise: "charismatic," "patriotic," "committed" are among the adjectives offered. They envision him as a brother, father, or a paternal adviser; he is a commanding figure of authority and integrity. Yet, these enthusiastic endorsements are belied by the tendency--prominent among centrist Republican and general primary voters, and less apparent, though nonetheless mentioned, among his own supporters--to regard Pat Buchanan as frighteningly extreme, and thus unelectable. That his ideas are sometimes interpreted as extreme, however, only strengthens Buchanan supporters' perception of him as an individual possessed of fortitude and commitment. "He has fire in his belly, and he has firm conviction [that] he can express eloquently," asserts one South Carolina follower. His supporters clearly are drawn to his strength and toughness, and to the certitude with which he unapologetically defines his issues and ideology. Pat Buchanan's appeal among his followers is premised as much on the conviction and surety with which he approaches issues as on the issues themselves. That this candidate possesses "inner stability" and commitment is **as** important to these participants as **what** he believes. Pat Buchanan stands for what

is right, not merely what is popular. As one supporter explains, "He doesn't just put his finger to the wind and test what the prevailing notion is."

Conventional wisdom, however, suggests that Pat Buchanan the candidate will play an increasingly marginal role as the Republican primary process continues. In fact, by the close of these sessions, Bob Dole was positioned as the inevitable Republican nominee. The eventual question, then, is: what will become of the Buchanan voters? Will they support a third-party candidate, or will they reluctantly endorse Bob Dole as the Republican Party's nominee? These participants are not averse to the idea of supporting Bob Dole, but they are adamant in their support of their issues. They want a candidate who will not compromise on immigration, foreign trade, affirmative action, or welfare reform, and who recognizes the erosion of societal values as the root cause of these issues. Presently, Buchanan voters do not regard Bob Dole as committed to any particular issue or ideology. They see him instead as the quintessential Washington politician, a career insider more skilled at compromise and negotiation than at presenting a vision or implementing change.

As the rest of the Republican nominating contest plays out through the convention in San Diego this August, there are two important points to understand about Buchanan supporters. First, they are committed to their beliefs, most of which can be defined by putting "anti" in front of the issue: abortion, immigration, welfare, affirmative action, and gun control. These are not individuals interested in splitting the difference or in agreeing to broad and philosophical language on which all Republicans can agree. In fact, these voters are among those most likely and

vehemently to swing the GOP rightward. Nevertheless, Buchanan voters do not see Bob Dole as the enemy; they are not spoiling for a fight and neither does Senator Dole represent a political philosophy that repels them. This is decidedly different from the 1964 or 1976 Republican nomination fights in which the insurgent forces were motivated by an equal measure of intensity for their candidate (Barry Goldwater in '64 and Ronald Reagan '76) and enmity for the "establishment" opposition (Nelson Rockefeller and Gerald Ford). Buchanan voters may view Bob Dole as "stale," "old," and even as a "side-stepper," but these characterizations are devoid of any intense personal dislike or contempt.

DOLE HAS WON THEIR VOTES, BUT NOT THEIR HEARTS

To his supporters, Bob Dole is "qualified," "experienced," "fatherly," "honorable," an "elder statesman," and a "military man." To these voters, the relative he best embodies is that of a father or grandfather; he is a person of moderate authority with whom they feel comfortable. What makes him special is not that he represents a new vision for the country, or that he would be a bold or decisive leader, but rather that he embodies stability and ability.

On the negative side, Republicans and non-Republicans alike who do not support Bob Dole unanimously invoke the following unfavorable characterizations: "old," "politician," "unbending," "cold," and "stern." On their family tree, he is not a father but a father-in-law: "He's distant, he's cold, and I don't really want to get to

know him very well." Unlike Pat Buchanan, Bob Dole fails to articulate a set of issues for which he stands or an agenda for which he will fight. The most recent NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll clearly illustrates this point: the proportion of Americans in March 1996 who see Bob Dole as a strong leader is 13% lower than the proportion who perceived him this way in December 1995, and the proportion who feel he has a vision has dropped by 12%. When asked what America will be like in the year 2000, after four years of a Dole presidency, participants' principal impression is that of an "unchanged" political arena--"same old, same old," suggests one person.

Among Dole supporters, however, this lack of change is interpreted as "stability." One participant looks ahead and sees that "things have leveled out, and we see the economy turning around a little bit. And moral values [are] shaping up a little bit." This "little bit" captures much of the feeling in the various sessions. If Bob Dole does not impart much in the way of a vision or a definite agenda, he certainly promises stability and security. The fact that he is an insider who "has been around" means that he has been tested. Indeed, if there were an international crisis, many of these participants would feel more comfortable with Bob Dole than with Bill Clinton. According to one supporter, "he would stick to his guns." On domestic issues such as racial unrest or economic recession, however, President Clinton is more often favored.

While polls show Bob Dole trailing Bill Clinton, this disadvantage, statistically, is not insurmountable. But in listening to focus group participants both before and

after the Senator's South Carolina victory, one gets a sense of the enormity of the problems Bob Dole faces if he is to mount a successful campaign. Republican primary voters regard Bob Dole as smart, seasoned, and honorable; he does not generate any real sense of fear or danger; he is not seen as radical. And while he might not have an agenda, nobody seems concerned that he is trying to impose his views on the country.

Yet, neither does Bob Dole generate any real passion. Supporters cite his experience as an attribute, yet they are far from enthusiastic or unequivocal in their support. While Bob Dole has won supporters' votes, he has yet to win their hearts; he is still overwhelmingly viewed as cold and distant by the electorate. Indeed, the one indelible impression of Bob Dole that has emerged from the opening phase of Campaign 1996 is the image of him as old and tired, delivering a wooden, monotonous Republican response to the State of the Union address. One participant comments: "Dole comes across as old and aged. Age comes across. It has many, many pluses: wisdom, experience. But he just comes across as old."

It appears that older voters are most aware and concerned about the age factor, because of their frame of reference. As one business executive puts it, "I'm 65, and I know how old I feel when I get up in the morning. And there are a lot of mornings that I get up and I don't want to do a dang thing . . . You lose a certain amount of gumption, of get-up-and-go, as you get older." This age factor clearly will be a part of voters' decision-making process in 1996.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

We will be exploring the issue of campaign finance reform throughout the year, but in these focus groups, the purpose was to get some sense of how voters view the system and what elements they would like to change. When it comes to campaign reform, participants are well aware of the problems, they just feel uncertain about how best to improve things. What most angers them is their sense that politics is still "business as usual," that is, fundraising and working for reelection. They do not feel that the "public's business" is being conducted in Washington; rather, they perceive that what counts in the nation's capital are money, political favors, and special deals. As one Steve Forbes supporter puts it: "There are so many things that are done behind the scenes. One person can be adamantly against something in public, but behind the scenes he is making deals." Another participant plaintively queries: "Whatever happened to just the original Congress that got in there and said, 'This is what we're here for. We're going to help the country'?" An immigrant participant in the New Jersey session expresses her disappointment this way: "I think that every person at any level of government should be accountable for his or her actions . . . Nobody makes them accountable."

In all the sessions, the topic of campaign finance reform is discussed with seriousness and intensity by all the participants. Voters are fed up with politics and campaigning as usual, and they are eager to discuss methods of reform. "People who can raise the money to spend on their campaign are generally the ones who

win the election," claims a Baltimore participant in explaining his endorsement of campaign spending limits. Another favors giving mandatory free television and radio time to all candidates: "That gives everyone a real fair chance to get their message out." One South Carolinian believes that limiting the length of campaigning time rather than the amount of funding would work best, and he reasons that "that would limit everything else as well."

Yet, while participants unanimously agree that the current system of campaign financing needs to be changed, they are divided as how best to achieve this reform. A majority agree that spending limits are needed, otherwise, predicts one South Carolinian, "the time is going to come when, unless you're Steve Forbes, you aren't going to be able to run. Either that or you'll have to sell your soul to run." A number of voters also favor additional limits on the amount individuals and PACs are allowed to contribute to candidates and campaigns. "The contributions being made to these politicians [are] excessive. It gives them extra money to sling the mud, to run these frivolous campaigns. I think capping it would eliminate a lot of problems and bought votes," offers a South Carolina participant. And a handful of participants voice support for a proposal that would grant candidates an allotment of mandatory free television time and reduced postage costs. "It reaches more people," says a Maryland woman.

The problem is not that participants object to the proposals, but rather that they see each one as having merit, and each as potentially capable of solving the problems of campaigns bloated with special interest money and negative



advertising. Nevertheless, they doubt that **any** of these efforts can or will be implemented any time soon. As with term limits, these voters view campaign finance reform as an important issue, but they also see it as being in the jurisdiction of the people in power. And the predominant unspoken query is: Why would politicians change a system that has worked so well for them?

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4/10/96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 9, 1996

96 APR 9 P1:15

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANNE WALLEY *an*
STEPHANIE STREETT

SUBJECT: Sidney Blumenthal Reception

On Thursday, April 11, Sydney Blumenthal will be hosting a cocktail reception at his home in honor of British Labour Party Leader Tony Blair. You could attend the reception during your down time, which is from 6:30-8:00 p.m. You are scheduled to host a dinner for the Democratic National Committee from 8:00-10:30 p.m. on the State Floor that evening.

The First Lady will be attending the Blumenthal reception and is currently scheduled to arrive at the Blumenthal residence at 6:30 p.m.

You are meeting with Tony Blair in the Oval Office on Friday, April 12, for twenty minutes.

Would you like to attend Sydney Blumenthal's reception?

Yes ☐

No ☐

*Not sure
Let's ask Blair/Bugs
for a rec*

*Copies to:
Walley
Streett
Lake
Berger*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4.9.96

CC: CTS -
He's a @wheel chair bound
Man who was one of
JC's O'Connell's
you know who
in 1979 -
BC

CC: 10.11.11
for signature

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 3, 1996

The Honorable Alan J. Farber
Post Office Box 20536
Louisville, Kentucky 40250

Dear Alan:

Thanks for your letter. I was disappointed to miss seeing you in Louisville.

I'm pleased to know you're still enjoying good health, and am confident you must be making a proper transition into retirement. You certainly will not be idle with such as the Internet to keep you challenged and in touch.

Take care and God bless.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a long, sweeping underline.

11
M. Lewis

JUDGE ALAN J. FARBER, RET.

P.O. BOX 20538
LOUISVILLE, KY 40250, USA

Telephone (502) 456-4242
Fax (502) 473-1491

23 February 1996

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President,

I trust that this letter finds you and yours well, and regret that I was unable to see you when you were in Louisville. Judge/Executive Armstrong and I had a joint speaking engagement today and he mentioned that you had asked about me - I was, of course, most honored.

X [You are often in my thoughts and you know that I will be happy to do anything on your behalf. Have you heard from any of the other TOYM Honorees or am I the only pest?

My health is good and I am having a mixed reaction to retirement. Thank God for the Internet!

God bless you and your family,

Fondly,



Alan

BILL CLINTON

cc: w/incoming
Scheduling

April 4, 1996

Johnette Taylor
Virginia Clinton Kelley Democratic
Women's Club of Garland County
Number 702
600 Higdon
Hot Springs, Arkansas 71913

Dear Johnette:

Thanks for your letter and for the kind invitation to attend the rally at the Garland County Court House. Although I would love to join you and all the members of the Virginia Clinton Kelley Democratic Women's Club, my schedule here unfortunately prevents my returning home next month.

As always, I'm so grateful for all your hard work on my behalf and on behalf of the Party. I'm looking forward to seeing you in Chicago and hope to get back to Hot Springs before too long.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Women *Schedule 12*
**VIRGINIA CLINTON KELLEY DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S CLUB OF
GARLAND COUNTY
JOHNETTE TAYLOR
600 HIGDON #702
HOT SPRINGS, AR 71913
PHONE (501) 624-5048 FAX (501) 624-0865**

MARCH 25, 1996

PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT (BILL),

OUR DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S CLUB IS HAVING AN OLD FASHIONED DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL RALLY (LIKE WE USE TO HAVE WHEN YOU WERE RUNNING FOR GOVERNOR AT THE OLD K-MART STORE ON CENTRAL).

WE MAILED YOU AN INVITATION. IT WILL BE MAY 18 AT THE GARLAND COUNTY COURT HOUSE AT 4:00 P.M. OR WHENEVER YOU COULD MAKE IT. ALL STATE CANDIDATES AS WELL AS LOCAL HAVE BEEN INVITED AND MOST HAVE ACCEPTED. SENATOR BUMPERS HAS IT ON HIS CALENDAR AND IS GOING TO TRY HIS BEST TO BE HERE.

WE HAVE YOUR "HONORARY LIFETIME MEMBER" AWARD WHICH IS A BEAUTIFUL CRYSTAL BOWL AND PLAQUE THAT WE WOULD LIKE TO PRESENT TO YOU AT THAT TIME. WE PRESENTED ROGER'S TO HIM LAST WEEK WHEN HIS BAND WAS HERE PERFORMING.

WE WOULD LIKE TO PRESENT IT TO YOU IN PERSON INSTEAD OF SENDING IT THROUGH THE MAIL. WE CERTAINLY WOULD NOT WANT ANYTHING TO HAPPEN TO IT SINCE WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE IT PLACED IN THE OVAL OFFICE.

IF THERE IS ANYWAY POSSIBLE THAT YOU COULD COME TO HOT SPRINGS FOR THIS, PLEASE HAVE YOUR SCHEDULER PUT IT DOWN FOR YOU.

WE ARE HAVING A "WOMEN IN POLITICS" RECEPTION WHICH I AM SENDING YOU AN INVITATION. HILLARY IS ONE OF OUR HONOREES AND HAS MADE A VIDEO GREETING THAT WE WILL PRESENT ON THAT DAY. WE ARE SO EXCITED ABOUT ALL THAT IS GOING ON THIS YEAR.

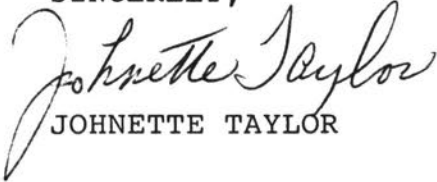
4 MORE YEARS WITH CLINTON/GORE!! THAT REALLY HAS A SPECIAL RING TO IT.

FOUR OF YOUR STRONGEST SUPPORTERS FROM HERE ARE COMING TO THE CONVENTION IN AUGUST. WE CAN HARDLY WAIT. WE HAVE NEVER BEEN

AND ARE THRILLED AT THE CHANCE TO BE AT YOUR CONVENTION. BETTY
STRIPLING, RACHEL HEFFERNAN, ROSALIND HUDSON AND MYSELF. WE
WILL BE STAYING AT THE STATE PARTY'S HOTEL.

WE HOPE TO SEE YOU MAY 18 IN HOT SPRINGS!!!

SINCERELY,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Johnette Taylor". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

JOHNETTE TAYLOR

VIRGINIA CLINTON KELLEY
DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S CLUB
OF GARLAND COUNTY, ARKANSAS

Cordially invites you to

**“WOMEN IN POLITICS”
RECEPTION**

**Special Video Greeting From First Lady
★ HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON” ★**

Sunday, April 21, 1996 — 4:00 p.m.

Clarion Resort On The Lake
(Formerly Holiday Inn — Highway 7 South)

\$10.00 Per Person

Entertainment by

“The Music Makers”

★ HONOREES ARE ★

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

SHARON PRIEST

VICKI THREADGILL-RIMA

NANCY JOHNSON

VICKI COOK

RITA HALE

JIMMIE LOU FISHER

JO WEST TAYLOR

JUDY PRIDGEN

JANIS PERCEFULL

CRICKET HOLLINGSWORTH

◆ **DOOR PRIZES** ◆

(Do not have to be present to win)

◆ **CHEESE & CRACKERS** ◆ **NO HOST BAR** ◆

cc: HRC

Take McGinley

Stett/Walby

ADD
Mishkin
letter
(P.O. Box 90077)

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 1, 1996

Ms. Chase Mishkin
642 Siena Way
Los Angeles, California 90077

Dear Chase:

Thanks for your kind note and words of support. I think we're on the right track, and I'm glad to know you agree.

I also appreciate the invitation to the opening of "The Apple Doesn't Fall." I've passed along your gracious offer to my schedulers.

It was good to see you at David's. Your encouragement means a lot to me, and Hillary joins me in sending best wishes.

Sincerely,

Bush

March 8, 1996

Dear Mr. President,

This evening, at David Geffen's, I'll have an opportunity to thank you in person for your continuing statesmanship, and for your helpful stand on the Ward Valley tritium testing situation. I am truly grateful for both.

In addition, please consider this your formal invitation to the Broadway opening of the new comedy I'm producing, "The Apple Doesn't Fall..." directed by Leonard Nimoy. (Does the first family ever get to attend such events? Or is security too big a nightmare?) The date is April 14 at the Lyceum Theatre, 149 W. 45th Street. (Sunday, with an early 6:30^{pm} curtain and celebration afterwards.)

Best personal regards
Chas. "Fishkin"

CC Don Back / HRC

↳ for press release

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN
4.4.96



THE PRESIDENT
4/9/96

Dear Lynn -

Thank you for your letter and
the memories of Ron — Better a life
too short in year than one too short
of love — He knew and felt love in
abundance —

But,
Bin



**THE
KAMBER
GROUP**

Corporate
Headquarters
1920 L Street, NW
Suite 700
Washington, DC
20036
(202) 223-8700
FAX (202) 659-5559

30 East 29th Street
Suite 200
New York, NY
10016
(212) 679-4540
FAX (212) 684-0074

19671 Beach Blvd.
Suite 425
Huntington Beach, CA
92648
(714) 374-2248
FAX (714) 374-4228

April 8, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President,

I wasn't able to get to talk to you at St. John's the other day, but I wanted so much to tell you how grateful I am to you for your strength and grace during this terrible time. As you know, Ron Brown and I were friends since 1980, and worked together when he was deputy chair of the DNC from 1981-84. Of course, the four years I had the joy of working with him on a daily basis as his vice-chair were a great experience of my lifetime.

Beside Ron, the loss of Bill Morton, who was like one of my own kids, has been very hard.

But you have given me such comfort and such strength through the beauty of your words and the depth of your feelings, that I wanted to send a verbal hug to you. We in the Democratic family have had such hard losses in the last few years--Vic Raiser and Paul Tully--that the idea of going to the Cathedral for yet another farewell is almost too much. We all struggled for so long to make it possible for you to be President and now it feels so lonely.

Most of all, I hurt for you. The loss of a gifted friend and adviser to a President is so much more than for the rest of us. In spite of that, you have reached out to everyone else. You have given comfort and love and hope to us. No one could do more. That you are our leader and President brings special poignancy to your words.

My special memory of Ron is from when we were in South Africa in the summer of 1991. We went to Soweto Township late in the day after a two hour meeting with Nelson Mandela. It was winter there, and a gray haze from the coal burning braziers hung over the soccer field where we stopped. The aluminum shacks and the filthy open sewers were in the background. As Ron got out of his car, the assembled blacks raised their arms and fists into the air and began to sing the African Freedom Anthem to him. I saw my friend become more, in my eyes, than the man I knew and loved.

So have I seen you, who I have known for so long, become so much more than the man I knew. You are a great President because you have so much heart and

April 8, 1996
Page 2

your caring helps to heal. It is especially generous of you given your own grief. And, it is true I know, that each new loss recalls the others, so that it becomes harder, not easier.

Thanks for reading this--and thank you from the bottom of my heart for being you.

With love,

Lynn
Lynn Cutler

*As always - I'm
ready to help in
any way -*

Mum-fin

cc Don Baer

wonderful —

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4.9.96



THE PRESIDENT

April 9, 1996

Dear Mike —

Thank you for your wonderful letter about Ron — When someone you love is gone, there are so many things you wish you'd done and said — At least I got to say Ron was our finest Commerce Secretary ever — And a good man, full of life and love — I will always be grateful for your support for him. Sincerely, Bill Clinton

C. Michael Armstrong Chairman and Chief Executive Officer



April 9, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

Many thoughtful and memorable things have been said about Secretary Ron Brown since his tragic accident in Bosnia. But I couldn't help but recall your comments Thursday, March 28 at the President's Export Council meeting, with Ron at your side, when you told the PEC, distinguished visitors and Commerce staff, "that Ron Brown was the best Secretary of Commerce in the history of the country."

I looked over at Ron when you stated this and he was so very proud, yet obviously humbled, by such a tribute from the President. While no one knew what events were ahead, it was such an appropriate recognition of a man who always was at work to rise above the conflicts of his world as he worked tirelessly to make our world a better place to live.

While the demands of business, the pressures on the Commerce Department and the politics of Washington can often mask the spirit and character of the dedicated people who try so hard to make a difference for America; the business at hand, the pressures on the Department and the politics of the moment never dimmed the smile, the energy, the commitment and the leadership of a man who made such a big difference in the direction and destiny of this country.

He led his party to the presidency of the United States.
He led the Commerce Department with imagination and distinction.
He led American Business to new global opportunity.
He led his race as an unassuming yet forceful role model.
He led us all in being what he believed in.
He was truly a leader.

Corporate Offices

7200 Hughes Terrace, Los Angeles, CA 90045-0066
P.O. Box 80028, Los Angeles, CA 90080-0028
(310) 568-6117
FAX (310) 417 2840

I too, Mr. President, feel a tremendous loss. Ron Brown was a friend that I was proud to fight for, and who so often fought for us.

Looking back to Thursday, March 28, it now seems very natural and timeless that you shared your tribute to Ron before he died. You should also know that as Ron was leaving the PEC that day to begin his travels, we formally endorsed your statement, in his presence, that indeed ... "Ron Brown was the best Secretary of Commerce in the history of this country."

He responded with that terrific Ron Brown smile. And I think he's still smiling.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'C. Michael Armstrong', with a stylized, cursive script.

C. Michael Armstrong

cc: Mrs. Ronald H. Brown

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 4, 1996

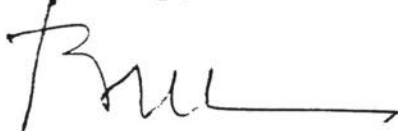
Mr. Joseph B. Martin
Principal Corporate Affairs Officer
NationsBank Corporation
Charlotte, North Carolina 28255-0001

Dear Joe:

Thank you for your heartfelt letter. I'm glad to learn that you are starting a new treatment. I appreciate your suggestions for raising awareness about ALS, and I've shared your letter with my Directors of Scheduling to see what might be possible.

Hillary and I are keeping you in our thoughts and prayers during this difficult time.

Sincerely,



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4.9.96

cc: Stephenie Shatt
Anne Walley
Could do
video attach

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3/18/96

great praise and enthusiasm for you, but also not one word of criticism. Deborah and I thank you for your great kindness to us and to the wonderful people of Taylor and the Down Rivers."

Ickes note on his March 8 meeting with Kate Michaelman. She believes choice issue should be put in context of family values -- that government shouldn't interfere with choices that should be left to individual families. Coupled with need to reduce abortions, reduce teen pregnancy, encourage family planning and adoption.

Rasco note on Virginia Kelly Center in Hot Springs. HUD says at end of February construction was 52% complete, and estimated completion date is April 28, 1996.

Letter from Richard Bell, CEO of Riceland Foods to Sec. Glickman. Via Leon. "We in the Arkansas rice industry are grateful for your February 16 announcement providing proposed terms for a 1996 rice price support program if Congress does not pass new farm legislation. The announcement has...encourag[ed] financial institutions to begin making production loans to growers for their 1996 rice crop."

Letter from Joe Martin re Lou Gehrig's disease. Via Erskine. Martin, of Nations Bank in Charlotte, appreciates your concern about the disease and offers suggestions about maintaining focus on it, including: (1) attending a ball game on Gehrig's birthday and call attention to the need for patient care and research; 2) taping a television PSA in conjunction with Gehrig's birthday; or 3) inviting researchers, fundraisers, patients, etc. to the White House for a ceremony of some sort, perhaps honoring the new "Iron Man," Cal Ripken. We have forwarded a copy of this letter to Scheduling.

JIM DORSKIND:

Videotapes from Crow Tribe of Montana. You recently met Ad: coordinator for the tribe's drug elimination program, at the White House. Please coordinate on Youth, Drug Use and Violence. She has sent a videotape on "C the reply. Housing Drug Elimination Program - 'Our Way of Life.'"

Joseph B. Martin, III
Principal Corporate Affairs Officer

NationsBank

NationsBank Corporation
NC1 007-5703

96 MAR 5 1996
Charlotte, NC 28255
704/386-8885

Erskine:

Thanks for reviewing this -- and for forwarding it,
if you think it's OK, as is. It can easily be amended.

Joe

- for revisions:
Tel. 386-8885
Fax 386-1132

Nmay -
I believe the
President will
probably want to
see & approve
as appropriate
I miss you
C. B. L.

NationsBank

NationsBank Corporation
Charlotte, NC 28255-0001
704/386-8885

February 26, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

I continue to hear reports of your concern about Lou Gehrig's disease--and even that you have asked about us. Joan and I are very grateful.

Your comment that, "Now that Lou Gehrig's record has been broken, it's time to break this disease," has been widely reported (although I don't get nearly enough credit as your "speech-writer" for that line!). Your public notice of the challenge of ALS is immensely helpful in encouraging people who have the disease and also encouraging the research community and the FDA to keep pressing for effective treatments.

On the personal front, we're doing well. I have some weakness, particularly in my right hand, but I keep up a regular schedule with work and exercise. Life is good. On the research front, the very first drug ever approved for this disease has just reached the market, and I am due to begin it next week. It hasn't been proven to do very much, but it's the first thing ever to do anything at all! And nobody has had a chance to take it for a long period of time. So we'll see.

There are some things that you can do for all of us with ALS, mainly to help continue the momentum of interest in the disease. I know how difficult your schedule and your logistics can be, but I thought I'd mention a few possibilities:

1. Attend a baseball game on Lou Gehrig's birthday (or some other relevant date) and call attention to the need for patient care and for research.

The Honorable William J. Clinton

Page 2

February 26, 1996

2. Attend Jerry Lewis's revival of "Damn Yankees," to honor the great Yankee Gehrig and also Lewis, whose telethon has raised millions for ALS research and patient care.
3. Tape a television PSA that we can promote nationwide, in conjunction with Gehrig's birthday or other anniversary.
4. Invite ALS "stars" -- researchers, fund-raisers, patients -- to the White House for some ceremony, perhaps honoring Cal Ripken.

With Erskine Bowles back in Charlotte, my brother Jim (now VP of the Carolinas Medical Center) and I are working with him to establish an ALS Clinic in Charlotte -- the first in the South! And we'd probably piggy-back a fund-raiser onto any of the ideas I've listed, with your permission.

I do understand the problems of the presidential schedule and know it's complicated by campaigning, but if there's any possibility for these or other ideas, please have someone on your staff contact me. You can be sure we'll make the most of any opportunity. I'm a great pro-motor!

Whatever the outcome of these ideas, please know that Joan and I deeply appreciate your friendship and your concern.

Sincerely,



Joe Martin

cc: Erskine Bowles

P.S. Did you know that Gehrig still holds one major-league record? And no slouch of a record, either, after almost 60 years: "Most grand-slam home runs"! We just need to hit one more for him.

cc: Stephanie Streitt
Anne Walley
Patti Solis

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 8, 1996

Mary Steenburgen
226 South Burlingame Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90049

Dear Mary:

Thank you for inviting Hillary and me to join you and Ted for the unveiling of the NAMES Project Aids Memorial Quilt on the National Mall in October. Although we are never sure what the calendar will hold, I have passed your request on to our schedulers, Stephanie Streitt, Anne Walley and Patti Solis.

I'm sure the event will remind our nation once again of the need for compassion, care and, above all, action in fighting AIDS and offering help and hope to its victims and their families.

Give my best to Ted.

Sincerely,

Bru

Mary Steenburgen
226 S. Burlingame Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90049

milli-
reply
cc: scheduling

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

28 March 1996

Dear Mr. President,

I am writing to invite you & Hillary to join Ted & me later this year in Washington D.C. for the unveiling of the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt. On October 11th-13th, 750,000 people, including 50,000 school children, are expected to view the Quilt at a ceremony that will offer hope for the fight against this disease and honor those who have died from it.

Sections of the Quilt have traveled across this country and the world but never before has every panel been put together to form the huge, beautiful piece of art & memory that will be seen in October on the National Mall. Thirty football fields of fabric will be unfolded & the names of the dead will ring out over the open expanse. In all, 70,000 names will be read, more names than carved into the nearby Vietnam War Memorial. The litany of the names of the dead will continue unbroken for three days as 2,000 readers-elected officials, sports figures, celebrities, community and religious leaders, educators, people with AIDS, family members, friends-each take a turn at the podium. Since its last showing in Washington in 1992, the Quilt will have doubled in size, and the need for volunteers has grown accordingly. Hundreds of eight-person teams from all over America will unfold the Quilt in the early hours of October 11, 1996; more than 10,000 volunteers will participate in the three-day display. Over 26 miles of walkway fabric will allow people to get close to each memorial panel.

Various groups, including the Pediatric AIDS Foundation, will be there and it promises to be a very moving moment. Your participation would mark the first time a President has visited the Quilt and could possibly include the presentation of panels for Elizabeth Glazer and/or others you have known who have lost their lives to AIDS.

AIDS can be a controversial subject, but the Quilt has been a success in both the cities and the heartland of America where it has been a healing & an eloquent answer to a nation's need to mourn and then find hope again. In addition, the Quilt has been very effective in impressing upon high school students an awareness of AIDS and their vulnerability to this disease.

I respectfully think you should br there and I hope we can go together.

In addition to all that, I remain your proud-as-can-be honorary little Sis.

Always,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Mary Steenburgen". The signature is fluid and elegant, with a long, sweeping tail on the final letter.

Mary Steenburgen



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410

96 APR 8 P7:15

Original booklet sent to Alex's

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-9-96

MEMORANDUM

FOR: Honorable William J. Clinton
Vice President Al Gore

FROM: Henry G. Cisneros

DATE: April 8, 1996

SUBJ: Faith Communities: The Rise of Religious Institutions in Rebuilding Communities

I understand that you will be meeting with African-American ministers tomorrow morning. We, at HUD, published an essay earlier this year, *Higher Ground: Faith Communities and Community Building*, that demonstrates how local churches have emerged as the leading catalyst for rebuilding the nation's communities. This essay may be of interest to you as you meet with these religious leaders.

Religious organizations of all faiths have long been a source of hope, determination and inspiration in communities across the country. By going beyond spiritual or religious needs to address the needs of an entire community, religious organizations can and are playing a critical role in renewing America's communities.

In June 1994, HUD established the "Religious Institutions Initiative" to provide outreach to the faith community and engage religious institutions as partners in developing affordable housing, spurring economic development, and providing social services for youth and families. Over the past two years, much has been done to help the faith community learn to turn to HUD as a federal partner for local solutions. Suzan Johnson Cook, former White House Fellow and the first woman pastor of an American Baptist church in New York, and Anna Towns, sister-in-law of Congressman Edolphus Towns, serve as HUD's liaisons to the faith community.

On Thursday, April 11, HUD will kick-off the first in a series of workshops for religious leaders from across all faiths. The purpose of the workshops are to promote the role of churches in community building activities; encourage church leaders to partner with other community leaders to address local issues; and provide information about HUD programs and resources. The workshop on Thursday in Washington, D.C. will involve approximately 300 faith community leaders from the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area.

Higher Ground: Faith Communities and Community Building

Henry G. Cisneros

Secretary of Housing and Urban
Development

February 1996



Fifth in a series of essays

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

96 MAR 27 P4:45

March 27, 1996

Mr. President,

Every once and a while we receive a simply amazing letter from an individual constituent -- something that we believe you will want to see despite your heavy workload. The attached note from Ms. Jane Hunt is such a letter. (It's older than we'd like, but our hardworking staff has been digging out of the deluge left over from the budget battles and storm closings.)



Jim Dorskind

*CC: [unclear]
Kahn, Bruce Lee,
C. Lisco for
Welfare story*

CC: Brown letter HQ THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
cc: Ann Lewis 4.9.96

*cc: [unclear] for
Paul Montone
Jerry Scheinman
[unclear]
J-17*

3 copies sent
to MH
to distribute

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 4, 1996

Ms. Jane Hunt
48 North Spring Street
Concord, New Hampshire 03301-4242

Dear Jane:

Thank you so much for your letter. Hillary and I have been deeply touched by the expressions of support and encouragement we have received from people who care about the future of our country, and we're glad you took the time to write.

As you know, I share your deep concern about the debate in Congress over welfare reform. I have long believed that government must work in partnership with people -- providing opportunity, encouraging responsibility, and strengthening families for the future. Our goal should be to ensure that poor children and families can become self-sufficient, not destitute.

My Administration is doing everything we can to bring about the changes that Americans want and need -- real changes that will guarantee our country a more secure, more prosperous future. As we continue to work to ensure greater opportunity for hardworking families like yours, I appreciate your insights, and I encourage your continued involvement.

You and Hilary have my best wishes.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Your letter was stunning - I know you are so proud of your daughter, but Mr. Clinton is proud of you too —

January 23, 1996

President and Mrs. William Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton,

When I voted for you--and it may be politically incorrect to say so, but I really did vote for both of you, because I saw you on television together talking about your marriage, and I know that, whatever has passed between you, whatever pain and anger and grief you have endured privately together, it has forged of you a team, and I admire you for that--I was filled with such hope and energy. At the inauguration, you had a poet, Maya Angelou, read. A poet--someone who dares to dream and envision, someone who looks truth in the face--was reading at our President's Inaugural. I knew our President was a man to look truth in the face.

You seemed to understand, as no recent President has seemed to want to understand, how hungry people like myself are for some ray of light, some hope of reward for years of long, hard toil which has gone chiefly to benefit others. I was thrilled when I heard about the plans to reform health care, and even more thrilled to learn that Hillary Rodham Clinton would lead that effort. I was so certain you'd succeed I made changes in my own life in anticipation of that reform.

Let me tell you a little about myself.

I am a single parent with one child. My daughter (whose name, by the way, is Hilary) will turn 20 next month, and is in her second year of college; I have been alone for almost all of that time. Sometimes the loneliness is very hard to bear; this is a small town, with small-town "family" values, and single mothers and divorcees still face a great deal of stigma. One leads one's life on eggshells. I know you know this feeling, though for different reasons, and with much more far-reaching consequences. Kids face this too; schools have double standards for kids from so-called "broken" homes. I don't consider my home broken; it was broken before I fixed it by getting divorced. But that made no difference in how teachers and guidance counselors, neighbors and playmates, looked at my daughter and me.

I left my husband after it became clear that he was not emotionally equipped for parenting, and was also unwilling to try and change. My ex-husband is disabled; in lieu of child support, my daughter has received Social Security payments. They've ended now. While the amount of these payments has been less than was needed to support her, I know I have no right to complain; it's more than many divorced mothers receive. I needed every penny while she was growing up.

Life has been a struggle for us. We spent a couple of years on welfare. It was a terrible time--hard for me and for my daughter, too; "free" milk and lunch tickets for poor pupils aren't free; kids pay full freight in humiliation, taunts, and rejection by other kids with Ocean Pacific T-Shirts and Reebok running shoes.

Welfare was a terrible experiences in a life that has had its share of grim experiences; but, at least partly as a result of that help, I was able to finish my degree and get better work. I now have a graduate degree. Even so, recessions and unemployment have taken their toll. I don't own a home, and, now that I'm 50, I am slowly, reluctantly, and painfully relinquishing the hope that I ever will live under a roof of my own. Instead, I will go on paying rent to the benefit of a landlord with large property holdings. I help to support him--a lawyer with real estate and a profession. No one helps me and my daughter.

Yet my daughter went on from her free lunch ticket days to win a 4-year scholarship to a prestigious private preparatory school--St. Paul's here in Concord, NH. She was not a drop-out, but a National Merit Scholarship winner. She is not a teen mother, but a sophomore at Sarah Lawrence College. She is not a drug addict or alcoholic, but a committed vegetarian.

I work for myself these days. I had a state job, lost it during budget cuts, got it back, and hit a glass ceiling at a time when there were rumors of more downsizing to come. So, hopeful of the changes your administration might bring, I struck out on my own. I haven't yet done my taxes, but I estimate I earned about \$8,000 last year as a free-lance journalist and another \$3,000 as a part-time college instructor. Two-thirds of my income went to keep the landlord's roof over our heads. I don't have much choice; I can't afford to move. As I write this, I have two dollars and fifty-five cents to last me the rest of the month. I don't know how I'll pay my bills, including the nearly \$200 a month it costs me to have health insurance that covers only me, not my daughter.

Bad as things are, though, I know they'll get better. But only if you serve another term, and only if you can persuade the Congress to put aside its mean-spirited Contract On America.

President Clinton, I listened to your State of the Union address tonight, and Mrs. Clinton, I have watched the Whitewater committee yapping at your heels for months now.

I want to tell you, Mr. President, that you are on the right track. Most of those who have turned to the government for help *are* helped; and once they're on they're feet again, they move on, contribute, and help others. It is a partnership, and can be more of one. We understand and support your message, and there are many, many of us. Unfortunately, we are also, all too often, non-voters. Estranged and disenfranchised, or facing obstacles like lack of transportation to the polls, we are among that segment of the population that shrugs off this civic duty. More must be done to bring this portion of the electorate to a realization of its power and influence.

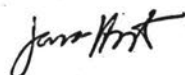
Mrs. Clinton, you have my sympathy. Rep. D'Amato's committee has been free to sift and winnow through every detail of your past, desperately searching for something with which to light the bonfire around the stake to which he clearly has mentally tied you. Who among us could withstand this minute scrutiny? I'm reminded of the psychiatrist who diagnosed his early-arriving patients as compulsive, his tardy patients as hostile, and his prompt patients as dependent. No matter what you do or don't do, it's made to look suspicious. I do not know if other Americans are as sick of this inquisitorial Star Chamber approach as I am; but I wish it would end. Now they are hauling you before a Grand Jury at a time and for reasons that look like grand-standing.

Not long ago, Mrs. Clinton, I cleared off the desk in my home office. I found papers there that were 2 years old, and I haven't moved recently, as you have. I know you have more help with your papers than I have, but I suspect that you also have a few more papers to keep track of. It is no mystery to most of us how files--even important ones--can be misplaced or misfiled. It is also no surprise to me that some employee, perhaps fearful of reprimand or dismissal, might secretly place those papers where they'd be discovered rather than own up to having mislaid them in the first place.

This letter is already too long, yet there is so much more I wish I could say--about welfare and single moms and student loans, and about hope and strength and courage for you in this time of trouble.

Please stay the course; I know there are so many of us who believe in you and what you're trying to do. Keep waging peace, Mr. President; and Mrs. Clinton, I suspect your accusers need only a little more rope with which to hoist high their own petard.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jane Hunt".

Jane Hunt
48 N. Spring St.
Concord, NH 03301-4242
603-228-9584

J. J. Hunt
48 N, Spring St,
Concord, NH 03301-4242



President and Mrs. William Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4.9.96

April 3, 1996

MEMORANDUM

To: The President

From: Nancy Hernreich
Amy Greenspun

Re: Jane Hall's Article, L.A. Times

John Emerson forwarded an article about the television ratings system. It deals with the outline of a ratings system that has emerged from the first meetings of an implementation committee formed to develop a system for the V-chip. The committee reached a consensus that TV distributors will rate everything except news and sports. Ratings for most of what is on the major networks now would use the standards already in place for motion pictures. Theatrical films will probably receive narrower gradings that will indicate a warning to parents that shows might contain unsuitable material for children.


Cecilia Spaul

TV Ratings Likely to Be Very Precise on Age

By JANE HALL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

NEW YORK—The entertainment industry group charged with devising a ratings system for television is planning to create several more age-based categories than the familiar movie ratings code on which it is being modeled, executives involved in the discussions say.

While no precise definition of categories has been reached, sources say the TV ratings system will probably divide the PG and PG-13 classifications for theatrical films into narrower gradings (PG-4, PG-8 and PG-11, for example)—indicating a warning to parents that shows might contain material unsuitable for children 4 and younger, 8 and younger and so on.

How many categories there will be remains to be determined by the group over the next several months. It expects to consult child-development specialists on topics such as the ages at which children can differentiate between fantasy and reality, although executives emphasize that the industry will make the final decisions on devising and administering the ratings system.

Broadcasters say they believe that most of what is on the major networks now would be rated G, PG or PG-13 under the Motion Picture Assn. of America guidelines. Splitting into more categories would provide more information for viewers and, executives theorize, would keep parents from blocking out virtually everything on television that wasn't G or PG.

This outline emerges from the first confidential meetings of an implementation committee that will be meeting about every two weeks to create the industry's first ratings system—agreed to only after Congress and President Clinton enacted legislation mandating the inclusion of a computer device in TV sets, the so-called V-chip, that could be used to block out objectionable programming. The industry was faced with developing a ratings system for the V-chip itself or accepting one created by the government.

The working group, composed of about 20 representatives from the broadcast networks, cable television and Hollywood studios, has met twice since the Feb. 29 White House summit at which entertainment moguls promised Clinton they would have

the ratings ready by January.

After some discussion about whether to include cartoons and talk shows, the group has reached consensus that TV distributors will rate everything except news and sports. Defining exactly what constitutes news programming, however, will be problematic.

"We've agreed to rate soap operas, entertainment talk shows as well as prime time programming," Jack Valenti, president of the MPAA, said in an interview this week. "But is 'Hard Copy' news? What about a newsmagazine such as 'Dateline NBC'? That's one of the questions we have to deal with."

Valenti, who is spearheading the industry's effort and is seeking to

Please see RATINGS,

THE WHITE HOUSE

3/28
TO: Ron Klein
Greg Simon
Stella Fantis
cc: Evelyn Hochman
Leah Panetta
Nancy Hanworth

Eye - Today
LA Times story on
ratings. looking
good!

— E no

RATINGS: TV Guidelines

Continued from B10

consensus around the points on which executives can agree, said that the working group will look at a ratings system currently being tested in Canada. But it is unlikely to recommend the Canadian system, which includes categories for sex, violence and language, with numerical gradations in each.

Whatever categories the group comes up with, however, defining what action or behavior results in a specific rating will be its most difficult work. Issues that have to be resolved include differentiating between cartoon violence and actual violence, or between the sexual activity in daytime soap operas and the sexual remarks that many parents find offensive in sitcoms at 8 p.m.

"Soap operas are probably going to get a fairly negative rating because of their sexual content," said one executive involved in the talks. "But we haven't gotten to the point of saying what kind of rating 'Friends' [NBC's popular comedy] would get or how you'd rate double-entendre remarks on 'Cybill' [the CBS comedy]. And we haven't talked about context—how you deal with the blood on 'ER' or the content of a film like 'Schindler's List.'"

That's exactly what worries "Law & Order" executive producer Dick Wolf and other critics of the TV ratings concept. "'Law & Order' lost \$800,000 in ad revenue when we dealt with the bombing of an abortion clinic on the show," Wolf said. "This will hurt all of the 10 o'clock dramas—'ER,' 'Chicago Hope' and others—because advertisers will simply shun the worst-rated shows, regardless of content."

Broadcasters share Wolf's concern about the potential stigmatizing effect of labels. "We are going to have to educate advertisers about the ratings system once it is adopted," said NBC senior vice president Rosalyn Weinman.

But Rep. Edward J. Markey (D-Mass.), the original sponsor of the V-chip bill, questioned the chilling effect of ratings. "If producers decide to take out a few extra swear words or a few seconds of nudity or a few bullets, how does that harm the artistic integrity of their product?" he asked in an interview.

While the initial meetings have been cordial, executives said, the networks have

to keep a wary eye on their competitors as they develop the ratings. Each company will be responsible for rating its own shows once the common classifications are agreed upon.

"There's some concern that Fox will push the envelope," one network executive said. "NBC isn't going to want 'Friends' to have the same rating as 'Melrose Place.'"

Wolf and other Hollywood producers are upset that the implementation committee does not have producers on it. "The White House summit was the 'Billionaire Boys Club,'" Wolf said, referring to the movie-studio chiefs and network presidents who met with Clinton. "There was nobody there who actually produces television."

The Caucus for Producers, Writers and Directors, an organization that represents many of the top behind-the-scenes talents in the industry, also is upset about the lack of involvement of its members and has asked for a meeting with Valenti. "This is a sham," caucus executive director David Levy said in an interview. "It's not going to do anything to improve the quality of programming on television."

Valenti said the industry group will seek some input from producers in coming weeks. But he noted, "The ratings are going to be done by the networks; the producers are not going to rate the shows."

Before the meetings began, several broadcast executives said they expected cable television networks to resist having an R rating attached to their shows. But Viacom senior vice president Winston H. Cox, the cable industry's point man on ratings, said in

an interview: "The premium cable channels already show uncut theatrical films which get an R rating. I don't think there's great anxiety among the pay services about an R. Frankly, it's in our interest—more than in broadcasters'—to advise parents about programming content. Our surveys show that finding their child has seen an unsuitable show is one of the reasons people cancel their pay-TV channel."

Whether the makers of original programming on cable will welcome an R is another question. But, said NBC's Weinman, "I think a show like 'Dream On' [an HBO comedy that includes some nudity] probably would get a more stringent rating than a network sitcom. Pay-cable probably would be the outer limit in a ratings system, with broadcast shows getting lesser ratings."

'Soap operas are probably going to get a fairly negative rating because of their sexual content. But we haven't gotten to the point of saying what kind of rating "Friends" would get or how you'd rate double-entendre remarks on "Cybill."

TV EXECUTIVE
Ident. line

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4.9.96

April 3, 1996

MEMORANDUM

To: The President

From: Nancy Hernreich
Amy Greenspun

Re: David Reed's article

Jock Gill forwarded an article by David Reed. He thinks inappropriate measures have been taken that would fundamentally change the routing architecture of the Internet in order to achieve political policy goals. He does understand that children need to be protected from inappropriate material, but maintains that pressure from senators to mandate technically flawed solutions and opportunistic technologies from companies are not helping the situation.

To
VP
Fgr.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

30-Mar-1996 01:33pm

TO: Nancy V. Hernreich
FROM: Jock Gill
SUBJECT: The "Exon box" issue

Mr. president,

David Read is a very fine person and personal friend. His qualifications for writing about this are unimpeachable. This very clearly written article may be of some help to you as you ponder this difficult issue. It is, as you are saying, important to empower parents to shape their family values. This is something we very clearly want to keep the cold nose of the government out of.

Best wishes,

Jock

From: "David P. Reed" <dpreed@reed.com>
Subject: End-to-end philosophy endangered

Friends -

I'd like to call your attention to a situation where misguided politics (of the "ends-justify-means" sort) threatens one of the fundamental principles of Internet architecture, in a way that seems like a slippery slope. I do not normally take public stands of a political nature, and I do not participate much in Internet architecture anymore, but I'd like to call your attention to a very severe perversion of the Internet architectural philosophy that is being carried out in the name of political and commercial expediency. No matter what you believe about the issues raised by the Communications Decency Act, I expect that you will agree that the mechanism to carry out such a discussion or implement a resolution is in the agreements and protocols between end users of the network, not in the groups that design and deploy the internal routers and protocols that they implement. I hope you will join in and make suggestions as to the appropriate process to use to discourage the use of inappropriate architectural changes to the fundamental routing architecture of the net to achieve political policy goals.

As you know, I am one of the authors, along with Saltzer and Clark, of the paper "End-to-end arguments in decentralized computer systems", which first characterized in writing the primary approach to the Internet's architecture since it was conceived, which approach arguably has been one of the reasons for its exponential growth. This philosophy - avoid building special functionality into the net internals solely to enforce an end-to-end policy - has led to the simplicity, low cost, and radical scalability of the

Internet. One of the consequences is that IP routers do not enforce policies on a packet-by-packet basis, so routers can be extremely simple beasts, compared to the complex beasts that characterize even the simplest telephone central office switch. End-to-end policies are implemented by intelligence at the ends (today, the PCs and servers that communicate over the many consolidated networks that make up the Internet).

I just read in Inter@ctive weekly that Livingston announced an "Exon box" - a router that is designed to enable ISPs to restrict access to "indecent sites" or unrated sites unless an "adult" enters an authorization code when opening a session to enable the router to transmit packets to the site.

The scam seems to be that Livingston has colluded with Senator Exon's staff to propose a "solution" to enable ISP's to implement parental controls. Exon's staff is using the announced solution as an example to demonstrate how simply ISPs can enforce local community standards and parental controls, thus supporting interpretations of the CDA requiring all access providers to include such capability in their boxes. Exon's staff is quoted as encouraging ISP's to install such functionality into the routers that serve as access points for nets.

Since I use an Ascend P50 ISDN router to make frequent, short, bandwidth-on-demand ISDN connections from my "Family LAN" to an Ascend multi-line ISDN router at my commercial Internet Service Provider, I am worried that this model is completely unworkable for me, and for others that will eventually use such a practical system. My family has minor children and adults who all happily access the Internet. My ISP has no clue whatsoever whether a child or adult has initiated the call, and in fact, if my child and I are both on different computers in different rooms, it is quite silly to imagine that the Ascend router at the ISP can figure out if it is me or my child generating each packet.

It is appalling to me that Livingston, which has some responsibility as a router provider to assist in the orderly growth of the net, is pandering to Exon's complete misunderstanding of how the Internet is built. I would hope that Ascend, with its much larger share of the ISP market, and other router companies such as Cisco and Bay Networks, would take a principled and likely popular position that the "Exon box" is not the way to go about this. I would hope that ISP's would in general avoid use of Livingston's products, and also refuse to cave into Exon's pressure. I believe, though I may be wrong, that Livingston has contributed to the RADIUS technology that many ISP's use to manage dialup access charging in a way that is consistent with the end-to-end philosophy, but any credit they are due is overwhelmed by the Exon box insanity.

I do work to protect my children from inappropriate material, but pressure from Senators to mandate technically flawed solutions, and opportunistic, poorly thought-through technologies from companies like Livingston are not helpful.

If you agree, please join me in attempting to call off any tendency for other router vendors and protocol designers to develop Exon box features. It would seem that the appropriate place for content restrictions, such as "parental controls", are in the end-to-end agreements between content providers and their users, not in the internal switching architecture of the net.

- David

Pres. received
fax from Wagon
re: Condolences

we will send

TO

Dorskind

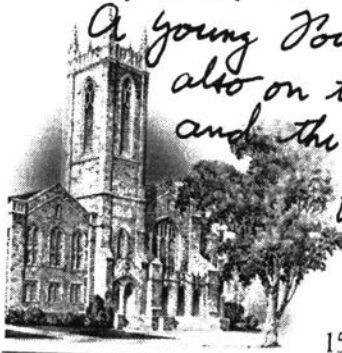
J. Philip Wogaman
Senior Minister

April 3, 1996

Dear Mr. President,

What a sad day this has been. Once again you've had to face the loss of a close associate and friend, one whose leadership was very important to the Administration and the nation.

A young Foundry member, Adam Darling, was also on the plane. We will commit these two and the others to God's loving care and pray for you in a special way. Grace + peace,



Phil
Foundry United Methodist Church

1500 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 332-4010

ESTABLISHED IN 1814



RECEIVED

06 APR 5 P2:21

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500-2000



Potter has not
seen -
4/19/96

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. President,

Jim Hall
asked that I
give this letter
to you

Bar

Todd:

Came from Oval Office.

TO DORSKIND FOR REPLY?

☒ YES

☐ NO



National Transportation Safety Board

Washington, D.C. 20594

Office of the Chairman

April 3, 1996

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

Dear President Clinton:

I want to thank you for the expression of confidence in me you showed by renominating me for Chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board. I have been proud to serve you and the American people for two and a half years as a Member, Acting Chairman, and then Chairman of this critical agency.

This period has been extremely busy for the Safety Board; these last 3 months in particular tragically so. As you know, we have recently entered a period of unprecedented investigation activity in the railroad industry; since January 1, we have launched on 18 railroad accidents resulting in 22 fatalities, 230 injuries and over \$64 million in damages.

Our 350 employees comprise one of the smallest, but I think, one of the most important federal agencies. Their dedication under the most demanding circumstances is a daily tribute to the quality of the federal workforce. Their service has a profound effect every day on the safety of millions of Americans, all at the bargain price of less than 15 cents a citizen each year.

The leadership provided by you and Vice President Gore in the reform of the FAA should have immediate benefits not only in improving the efficiency of that agency but also having a profound effect on aviation safety. By making the reform of the FAA a top priority, you have shown a commitment to tackling an institution long encumbered by red tape and provided an example of what reinventing government can mean to the American people.

The next two years promise to be exciting ones at the Safety Board, and I thank you for the opportunity to continue to serve the American people.

Sincerely,


Jim Hall
Chairman

THEODORE G. KRONMILLER

961 LEIGH MILL ROAD
GREAT FALLS, VIRGINIA 22066

(703) 757-6602
(703) 757-6603 FAX

April 5, 1996

96 APR 9 10:44

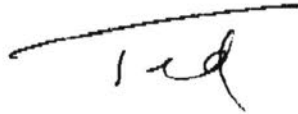
FAX FOR MELINDA BATES

Dear Melinda:

I received the attached letter from Ron Brown, less than an hour after I was informed of his tragic death. His letter immediately struck me as being so typical of that man of compassion and decisiveness. Katie and I enjoyed his wit, and appreciated his warmth, and as much as that, we admired his commitment to the betterment of the lives of our fellow human beings. We find in his letter, signed only a few days before his death, a reflection of those wonderful qualities of a truly good man.

I cannot tell you how deeply touched Katie and I were by Ron's friendship and by his last letter to me. I felt that I had to write to the President, inadequate though my own words would be, and to convey a copy of that letter to him and to you.

With warm personal regards,



4/9/96

TODD:
Came from Oval Office.

To Dorskind for reply?

☒ yes ☐ no

Exxx Exy

Pptus has

not seen



THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

Washington, D.C. 20230

MAR 29 1996

Mr. Theodore G. Kronmiller
Attorney
961 Leigh Mill Road
Great Falls, Virginia 22066

Dear Ted:

Thank you for your letter regarding your support for retaining the option of adopting Individual Transferable Quotas (ITQs) to save fishermen's lives and promote recovery of crab resources.

I am extremely concerned about the loss of life and property that has occurred over the years in the Bering Sea crab fisheries. The recent loss of the F/V PACESETTER with all hands certainly indicates that safety continues to remain one of the highest priority fishery management issues that the industry and Government must address.

As you know, Congress is considering enacting a moratorium on the implementation of additional ITQ programs for a number of years. I support maximum flexibility for the Regional Fishery Management Councils (Councils) and the agencies to devise management programs to address resource conservation, safety, and operational concerns.

The National Marine Fisheries Service reviews current and proposed fisheries regulations with respect to safety issues and makes recommendations to the Councils about their effects on safety. I will raise the specific issue about interim ITQs in the Bering Sea crab fisheries with Rolland Schmitten, Assistant Administrator for Fisheries.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "R. Brown".

Ronald H. Brown

THEODORE G. KRONMILLER

961 LEIGH MILL ROAD
GREAT FALLS, VIRGINIA 22066

(703) 757-6602
(703) 757-6603 FAX

April 4, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

At this time of grief at the tragic loss of our friend, Ron Brown, I feel that I must pass along to you a letter I received from him less than one hour after I learned of his death. In that letter, dated only a few days ago, he replied, as I knew he would, with compassion and decisiveness, to my plea for safer conditions for those who work in the most dangerous occupation in the United States, Bering Sea crab fishing.

My wife, Kate, and I were very, very fond of Ron. He never failed to tease her for having married a former conservative Republican. (I hasten to recall that, with the encouragement of Ron and our mutual friend, John Breaux, I worked on your campaign, as did Kate, with Melinda Bates, Tim Chorba, and Tom Seibert, among many others). And, always with a sparkle in his eye, Ron liked to call me "Mr. Fish", because of my work at our law firm on behalf of the fishing industry. Kate and I will terribly miss his humor and his warmth.

Yet, in our sadness, we find Ron's last letter to be uplifting. He was, as you put it so well, a life force. He loved people, and he dedicated his distinguished career to improving their lives. It was in that spirit that he wrote concerning the plight of fishermen who risk their lives in the Bering Sea. As Ron knew, scores of fishermen have died there during the past decade, facing cruel weather and declining resources.

I hope, Mr. President, that you will carefully consider what Ron had in mind, as he turned to the question of what could be done for our fishermen and their families. Reauthorization of the Magnuson Fishery Conservation and Management Act is underway, and likely will be completed later this year. Ron's Commerce Department, which manages our nation's ocean fisheries, needs to retain the effective regulatory tools it has only recently begun to employ. Individual transferable quotas, to which he referred in his letter, have remarkably improved safety in the halibut and sablefish fisheries of the North Pacific, where, in past years, fishermen were so often lost in the mad scramble of anachronistic, open access, fishing derbies. In 1995, the first year of the ITQ program for that fishery, not one fisherman lost his life. Clearly, Ron felt that Congress should not deprive Bering Sea crab fishermen of this innovative, life-saving system of fishery management.

I believe that Ron would want me bring his letter to your personal attention, now. I know you will ensure that the initiative he planned to undertake, so typical of this man of kindness and action, will not fall by the wayside.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,



Theodore G. Krommiller

THEODORE G. KRONMILLER

ATTORNEY

961 LEIGH MILL ROAD
GREAT FALLS, VIRGINIA 22066

(703) 757-6602
(703) 757-6603 FAX

February 21, 1996

The Honorable Ronald H. Brown
Department of Commerce
14th and Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20230

Dear Mr. Secretary:

For more than ten years, I have been privileged to represent, in Washington, D.C., the Alaska Crab Coalition, Deep Sea Fishermen's Union, and Fishing Vessel Owners Association, of Seattle, Washington. At no time during that period, have the Administration and Congress faced more important decisions for the future of the hard working members of those organizations.

The ACC is an organization of owners of approximately 60 Bering Sea crab fishing vessels. The ACC is committed to strong conservation and safety in the fisheries.

The DSFU represents the crewmen of vessels engaged in fishing off the coasts of California, Oregon, Washington, and Alaska. The DSFU is the oldest organization of fishing vessel crews on the West Coast.

The FVOA, formed in 1914, is a State of Washington-based trade association representing owners of hook-and-line vessels which operate from California to Alaska. Currently, the owners of 84 vessels are members of the organization.

Just two weeks ago, the FV PACESETTER, a Bering Sea crab harvesting vessel, sank in heavy weather, with the loss of all hands. This tragedy is a sad reminder of the fact, reflected in the attached article from Fortune magazine, that fishing for Bering Sea crab is the most dangerous profession in the United States. I also attach a recent editorial from the Seattle Times.

The sinking of the F/V PACESETTER, with the loss of all hands, is a sad reminder of the fact that fishing for crab in the Bering Sea is the most dangerous profession in the United States. Year-after-year, the race for Bering Sea crab in the open access system has claimed the lives of our fishermen. Based on available reports, the sinkings and fatalities

attributable to the Bering Sea crab fisheries, from 1989 through this date, have been as follows: 1989--F/V VESTFJORD, 5 fatalities; 1990--F/V PACIFIC APOLLO, 3 fatalities; 1991--F/V BARBAROSSA and F/V HARVEY G, 10 fatalities; 1992--F/V ST. GEORGE, 5 fatalities; 1993--F/V NETTIE H, 5 fatalities; 1994--F/V ST. MATTHEW, F/V CHEVAK, F/V KING & WINGE, F/V BELAIR, F/V JODY ANN, AND F/V LADY SELKET, 2 fatalities; 1995 F/V NORTHWEST MARINER, 6 fatalities; 1996--F/V PACESETTER, 7 fatalities. In all, there have been 14 vessels sunk and 43 fatalities in just nine years. Moreover, the crab populations have declined, and valuable stocks are now badly depleted.

The planned license limitation system will not reduce the perils of the fishery, nor permit a recovery of the crab resources, because the fleet will remain too large, and the seasons will remain too short. There will be no time to wait out bad weather in port, and there will be no opportunity to fish selectively to minimize handling-related mortality.

By contrast, we find in the Bering Sea and Gulf of Alaska halibut and sablefish fisheries, where the first full year under individual transferable quotas ("ITQs") has been completed, safety has been greatly improved, and resource waste has been enormously reduced. I refer you to the attached Coast Guard letter, which while predictably cautious, does recognize a linkage between the quota system and increased safety. I note that the Environmental Defense Fund and Center for Marine Conservation (but not Greenpeace) support ITQs as useful conservation tools. I add that the recovery of the resource under an ITQ program would increase the value of CDQs (because they are expressed as a percentage of the total allowable catch)--a point that some leaders in the affected communities in western Alaska are realizing.

We are well aware of the fact that Senator Stevens seeks to legislate a moratorium on new ITQs, at least for the fisheries of the North Pacific. We have asked him, as well as Senators Murkowski, Gorton, and Murray, and we are asking you, to consider supporting an administrative mechanism, whereby fishery managers could adopt interim ITQs for the Bering Sea crab fishery, during the period of any moratorium. If a broader approach were favored, statutory criteria linked to high fatalities and low resource abundance could be devised to allow this option to be exercised in exceptional cases, wherever they were encountered. At the end of the moratorium period, the Congress could enact legislation to address deficiencies in any interim ITQs. Grandfathering would preserve the halibut/sablefish individual quota system (for which there is a companion CDQ program), as a laboratory case which is widely favored for the moratorium period.

In the absence of this kind of exemption procedure, the moratorium would statutorily condemn fishermen to continue to work in the most dangerous conditions, and would offer no prospect for recovery of the fishery resources, at least in the case of the Bering Sea crab fishery. Every year, the death toll would rise, but the legislatively mandated moratorium would preclude ITQs as a management option to end the carnage. I enclose a copy of a letter from a widow of one of the men lost in the Bering Sea crab fishery. Her words will give you a clear sense of the human cost of such a policy.

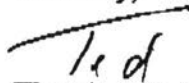
It is important to remember that the situation confronted by our fishermen is not entirely of their own making. Our people were encouraged by our government to enter the Bering Sea crab fisheries. Congress eagerly approved, and the Administration duly implemented, the policy of "Americanization", and they ensured that the policy would be fueled with major financial incentives, including the Capital Construction Fund and Title XI loan guarantees, among other programs. Now, our government has a responsibility to confront the deadly consequences of a race for fish in an overcapitalized industry. I know you would agree that there is no more fundamental responsibility of government than to provide for the public safety.

In recent days, those who support ITQs have been accused of exploiting the deaths of our fishermen. Yet, the supporters of ITQs include many of the very fishermen who have lost friends and family members, and who must continue to work in the Bering Sea crab fisheries. As you would imagine, their reaction, and my own, to the accusation is extremely bitter. They do not know how to seek a solution, if they cannot discuss the problem. Where the deepest human emotions are touched, some people will pursue the issue farther than others would like, but that must not be allowed to impede the search for a responsible outcome.

The ACC, DSFU, and FVOA, as organizations of individuals whose lives and livelihoods are on the line, appeal to you to support a process whereby fishery managers may continue to have the option of adopting ITQs to save the lives of our fishermen and to provide for the recovery of our fishery resources.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely,



Theodore G. Kronmiller

cc: Washington Congressional Delegation
Alaska Congressional Delegation

A benefit for the
Children's Diabetes
Foundation



Mr. and Mrs. Marvin Davis
Chairmen

96 APR 9 48:48

April 3, 1996

Mr. John Emerson
Deputy Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

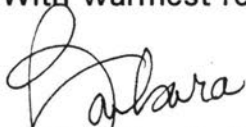
Dear John,

It was so nice speaking to you today and I am enclosing a duplicate packet and letter of that which was sent to President and Mrs. Clinton in care of Nancy Hernreich.

We would be deeply honored to have The President and Mrs. Clinton lend their names as Honorary Chairmen of The Carousel of Hope set for October 25, 1996.

Thank you most sincerely for your assistance.

With warmest regards,


Mrs. Marvin Davis

4-9-96
JESSICA (ARONS)

TO: Todd Gann
We should do
this one - and
I think Peter +
HCL would co-
do. PS,
advise
SMD

April 3, 1996



The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton and Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
c/o Nancy Hernreich-Director of Oval Office Functions
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President and Mrs. Clinton,

*Mr. and Mrs. Marvin Davis
Chairmen*

It was such a thrill in 1994 when we honored the First Lady at the Carousel of Hope, and we will always have very special memories of that wonderful evening, which was made more extraordinary by her presence.

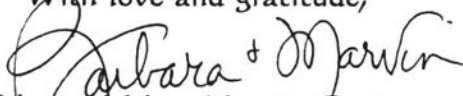
We are busy planning for The Carousel of Hope set for October 25th at the Beverly Hilton, which will be a very exciting night with great entertainment and friends joining hands and hearts in the fight against diabetes. The event will benefit the Barbara Davis Center for Childhood Diabetes, with a portion of the proceeds given to the Los Angeles chapters of the American Diabetes Association and Juvenile Diabetes Foundation.

We would like to ask if you will lend your names as Honorary Chairmen of The Carousel of Hope. It was such an honor to have Mrs. Clinton as our Honorary Chairman in 1994, and to have you both would mean so much to us. We have a wonderful committee including: Quincy Jones, Mr. and Mrs. Michael D. Eisner, Steven Spielberg and Kate Capshaw, Joanna and Sydney Poitier, Lyn and Norman Lear, Mr. and Mrs. Richard D. Zanuck, Natalie Cole, David Geffen, Terry and Jane Semel, Micheline and Sean Connery, Lisa and Dustin Hoffman, Maria Shriver and Arnold Schwarzenegger, and Mr. and Mrs. Placido Domingo, Melanie Griffith and Antonio Banderas, Janice and Billy Crystal, Marsha and Robin Williams, Whoopi Goldberg, Rita Wilson and Tom Hanks, Barbara Walters, and many more.

Through the years the Ball has been supported and attended by the entire entertainment and music industry, including every major studio and television network, leaders from the world of business, and celebrated guests from all over the world.

Children with diabetes are riding on the carousel of life and reaching for their brass ring, the cure. To have your visible support as Honorary Chairmen of The Carousel of Hope would strengthen our cause and improve the quality of life for children who must face this horrible disease. Please, may we have your blessing this year by including your names as our Honorary Chairmen?

With love and gratitude,


Mr. and Mrs. Marvin Davis

4/9.
I did not xerox complete memo.
S.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 4-9

TO:

✓ Lunn

FROM: Staff Secretary

I see no harm
in sending this in
tomorrow, but I wanted
to let you see it first.
OK with you.

✓ Mdk

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: RBR *Bsh*

Date: April 8, 1996

96 APR 9 All : 29

RE: Inequality

In case you missed coverage of these recent reports:

-- Ms. Karoly (economist with Rand, writing in the current issue of the Oxford Review of Economic Policy) finds that the trend toward inequality appears to have accelerated in the 1990s, at least through 1993 (she did not have access to more recent data). Average (50th percentile) and poor (10th percentile) workers both lost ground during the 1990 recession and didn't gain it back. The average American was 8 percent worse off in 1993 than in 1989 while the poor were 14 percent worse off.

-- Buchinsky and Hunt (writing for the National Bureau of Economic Research) find that upward mobility has declined. In 1980, a worker with only a high school degree had a 17 percent chance of moving up the ladder to a higher quintile of income; in 1990, only 10 percent.

-- There's some reason to believe that these trends have slowed under our watch, however. Recent BLS data suggest, for example, that the long-term declines in both median earnings of male workers and in earnings of production and non-supervisory workers may finally have ceased.

The trend toward widening inequality is, in my view, the central economic (and social) challenge we face in the waning years of this century. Our microeconomic strategy (education and job training, EITC and higher minimum wage, portable pensions and health care) is correct, but obviously we have been constrained from doing it on a scale likely to reverse the trend. Faster overall growth (from 2.5 to, say, 2.8 percent) would not "trickle-down" enough to narrow the disparities, even if the Fed were to permit.

Your economic message has been wisely balanced between our positive accomplishments (jobs, deficit) and this remaining challenge. But if the public is to understand the challenge sufficiently to lend its support to policies in your second term which are up to the task, you may have to talk about the challenge of inequality with some greater specificity during the next seven months. And you may want to ask all segments of society, including the business community, to help devise solutions. The public's strong and enduring support for a higher minimum wage suggests the deep sense of fair play with which most people approach economic matters -- a value which Dole and other Republicans are far less trusted to honor.

ANATOMY OF THE US INCOME DISTRIBUTION: TWO DECADES OF CHANGE

LYNN A. KAROLY
RAND

I. INTRODUCTION

Forty years ago, Simon Kuznets, in his presidential address to the American Economics Association, outlined his hypothesis that the process of economic development would first be accompanied by rising disparities in economic well-being, followed by a period when the distribution would be stable or eventually move toward greater equality (Kuznets, 1955). From his vantage point in 1955, the US, along with England and Germany, appeared to be on the downward-sloping segment of the inverted U-shaped curve. The data available to Kuznets for these three developed economies suggested that the distribution of income had been moving toward greater equality, 'with these trends particularly noticeable since the 1920s but beginning perhaps in the period before the first world war' (Kuznets, 1955, p. 4).

Kuznets' hypothesis was controversial then and it continues to receive scrutiny on both theoretical and empirical grounds today. One contemporary challenge to Kuznets' hypothesized relationship between economic growth and income inequality comes from evidence that inequality has been increasing in the US and a number of other developed countries for a period of time that exceeds shorter-run cyclical changes in income disparities. These distributional changes in the US are the focus of this paper. Specifically, this paper examines the changes in the US income distribution from a number of vantage points, covering the two decades between 1973 and 1993. Micro data from the annual March Current Population Survey (CPS) are used to assess the magnitude of the changes in the distribution of pre-tax money income among individuals in the US, to identify which groups of individuals gained or lost ground in the shifting distributional land-

scape, and to assess the factors that can explain the growing disparities.

The distributional changes over the last two decades have been accompanied by a number of key demographic and economic developments. In 1973 the leading edge of the baby-boom cohort had yet to turn age 30 so members of this cohort moved solidly into their prime earning years in the ensuing two decades. At the same time, earnings among men stagnated, with real wage gains only accruing to the most educated workers, and absolute and relative wage losses for the least skilled (Levy and Murnane, 1992). Minorities increased their share of the population as the fraction of the population identifying themselves as non-Hispanic whites declined, from 82 per cent in 1973 to 74 per cent in 1993. Most of the reduction was made up by growth in the Hispanic population. Between 1973 and 1993, family structure also changed significantly, as the share of the population living in a married-couple family with children dropped from 55 to 42 per cent. At the same time, the fraction of individuals living alone doubled (from 5.5 to 10.9 per cent). Single-headed families with children also increased in numbers. These trends reflect an overall decline in marriage rates and an increase in the incidence of divorce.

The demographic movements motivate a more thorough examination of the distributional trends, not just for the population as a whole but for the various sub-groups. Thus, this paper offers a diverse portrait of the shifts in economic well-being for various segments of the population, demonstrating which factors were most associated with gains or losses in economic well-being. Moreover, the population shifts may have contributed to the distributional changes, hence the focus on these factors, among others, and their role in shaping the movements in income disparities. On all fronts, the perspective offered is current—the time-series extends through 1993, the most recent CPS data available—and also covers a longer horizon that encompasses a series of cyclical ups and downs in the past two decades.

The next section of the paper presents the most salient features of the significant changes in the US income distribution and demonstrates that the US trends are mirrored in some other developed coun-

tries, although usually to a lesser degree. The third section delineates the winners and losers, with comparisons by demographic characteristics and family type. The fourth section reviews three broad classes of explanations for the changes in the distribution of economic well-being, and provides some evidence of the magnitudes of their effects. The fifth section concludes the paper.

II. TWO DECADES OF RISING INEQUALITY: 1973–93

Even the most casual student of the US income distribution has by now encountered at least one reference, either in an academic paper or in the popular press, to rising income inequality. Data tabulated by the US Census Bureau since the Second World War offered some of the first evidence that income disparities were widening, as the Gini coefficient began to climb steadily after reaching a post-war low in the late 1960s (US Bureau of Census, 1989). The Census income distribution figures, however, do not offer a complete gauge of the distributional trends for two reasons. First, the calculations exclude individuals living alone or with non-relatives, an increasingly sizable part of the US population. Second, they make no adjustment for differences in income relative to needs, thereby ignoring variation in family size in any given year as well as changes in family size over time.

To address these limitations, in this section and throughout the paper, I present results based upon my own tabulations from the same data source analysed by the Census Bureau, the annual March CPS. Each March CPS collects information for a nationally representative sample of approximately 50,000 households, with machine-readable micro data available since 1968. The tabulations in this paper are based on micro data from the 1974–94 surveys. Each annual survey contains information on current family composition and family income from the prior calendar year, thereby covering the 1973–93 period. The income concept, annual pre-tax money income, includes labour income from wages and salaries and self-employment, capital income (interest, rents, and dividends), cash trans-

fers (social security, welfare assistance, unemployment benefits, veteran's benefits, and worker's compensation), and other income (pension income and other miscellaneous sources). Additional detail about the CPS files and their construction is provided in the Data Appendix.

The CPS has the advantage of a long time-series of relatively consistent micro data, with sample sizes that are large enough to permit disaggregated analyses. In addition, the trend in average income levels based on the CPS micro data files closely matches the trend measured in the National Income and Products Accounts (Karoly and Burtless, 1995). The one limitation of the CPS is that a comprehensive measure of income (e.g. accounting for all taxes and transfers) is not available for the full time-series considered in this paper, as taxes paid and the value of in-kind benefits are not measured. Later I discuss the results of Census Bureau analyses of the trend in post-tax post-transfer income based on imputations to the CPS since 1979. The Census Bureau results demonstrate that the most significant distributional changes since that year occur in the pre-tax money income distribution. For this reason, this paper captures the major distributional shifts, despite the reliance on a less comprehensive measure of income.

(I) Changes in the Level and Shape of the US Income Distribution

A variety of metrics have been used to characterize the distribution of well-being in the US (see Karoly, 1993, for a review). My preferred approach is to focus on the distribution of income among individuals in the population with an adjustment for differences in family income relative to needs. Thus, the income measure, adjusted family income (AFI), is calculated as total annual pre-tax money income divided by the official US poverty line. Since the poverty scales vary by family size to account for economies of scale in consumption, families of different size with the same income will have different levels of AFI. For example, the US poverty scales imply that a family of four requires about twice the income of a single individual to be equally well off. By assigning each person in the population the AFI for their family, the distributional calculations represent the entire population.

Before proceeding with my preferred approach, it is worth considering two other perspectives. One alternative is to treat the family as the relevant distributional unit, so that all family units in the population are weighted equally, regardless of size. A second approach is both to treat the family as the relevant unit and to use unadjusted family income as the appropriate metric. Table 1 contrasts my preferred approach with these two alternatives by showing the trends in absolute and relevant percentiles for selected years between 1973 and 1993. Of the years shown, 1973, 1979, and 1989 are most comparable in that they are the CPS years closest to the cyclical peaks covered by the 20-year period. The two other years, 1983 and 1993, fall at the start of a period of economic recovery.

Several salient features of the distributional changes over the last two decades are evident in Table 1. First, in the last 20 years, real gains in median income only appear once we account for declines in family size. Since 1973, real median family income among families and unrelated individuals declined 11 per cent, from \$30,580 to \$27,148. When incomes are adjusted to account for differences in family size, median AFI showed a modest 3 per cent real increase in the last 20 years, growing from 2.83 to 2.92 times the poverty line. Growth in AFI was only slightly higher, nearly 6 per cent over 20 years, when each individual in the population receives equal weight. For each metric, much of the slow growth can be attributed to periods of falling real median income between 1979 and 1983 and 1989 and 1993.

Second, regardless of the distributional metric, disparities have widened over the last 20 years as the growth in real income has been more rapid the higher the point in the income distribution. Moreover, this increase in dispersion occurred in each of the sub-periods covered by Table 1. For instance, the ratio of the median AFI among persons to the 10th percentile grew 33 per cent between 1973 and 1993, while the ratio of the 90th percentile to the median increased 16 per cent over the same period. The relative changes combined to raise the 90-10 ratio, a common measure of dispersion in the income distribution, from 6.25 to 9.62, a 54 per cent increase. The fact that income disparities widened even between 1983 and 1989, a period marking the

4.8.96

contract (XOL) program that will be run by the Treasury, will be submitted for informal OMB clearance prior to April 8. The XOL program would direct the Secretary to auction contracts for insurance and reinsurance losses due to a disaster in excess of \$25 billion.

- **ABC News:** Customs has been working with *ABC News* on a story about the increase in heroin swallows detected in Miami from Colombia and their ingestion of heroin. The piece will emphasize Customs role in interdicting this smuggling.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

- **Retirement Income Security:** On March 26, agency attorneys in Boston filed an Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) lawsuit against John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company and its investment management subsidiary, Independence Investments Associates. The complaint in the case alleges violation of ERISA's self-dealing prohibitions in connection with the payment by John Hancock's Investment Incentive Plan of more than \$600,000 in excessive investment management fees to Independence Investments Associates. The filing of this lawsuit was reported in the *Boston Globe*, the *Boston Herald*, and the *Wall Street Journal*.

✓ **America's Job Bank on the Internet:** For the seventh consecutive month, America's Job Bank on the Internet has set a record level of accesses. Total accesses increased to a level of 4.8 million, an increase of more than 16% over the February level.

• **Releases:** On April 10, the Bureau of Labor Statistics will release productivity and costs for the fourth quarter of 1995. On April 11, BLS will release the producer price index for March and on April 12, the consumer price index for March will be released.

Can
As the
anyone
to be all right
OK?
• **Electronic Workers:** The International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE), has threatened to strike two GM Delphi Chassis Systems parts plants in Kettering, Ohio, at midnight April 10, unless local outsourcing issues are resolved. The IUE represents 2,700 workers at the two plants, which supply about 95% of GM's shock absorbers and strut assemblies.

- **Service Employees:** On April 1, workers represented by the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) began a three day job action to protest more than 350 alleged unfair labor practices at 20 Pennsylvania nursing homes owned by Beverly Enterprises. The SEIU represents about 1,500 workers at the affected facilities.
- **Employment Situation:** On April 5, the Secretary released the employment and unemployment situation numbers for March.

- **USDA Conducts Methyl Bromide Research:** Methyl bromide, a soil fumigant and post-harvest commodity treatment, is scheduled to be banned nationally by the year 2001. Agricultural Research Service scientists have developed an experimental "gas mask," which would protect the earth's ozone layer from this controversial chemical.
- **Nutrition:** On April 11-12, in an effort to reach children and mothers with nutrition education messages, Under Secretary for Food, Nutrition, and Consumer Services Ellen Haas will be interviewed by *Parenting, Mothering, Healthy Kids, Safe Step, Child Life, Children's Playmate, Essence, Glamour, Better Homes and Gardens, Good Housekeeping, Working Mother, Working Woman, Ladies Home Journal, Self,* and *Vogue* in New York.

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

- Leary*
let them
see can't
and then
lets
- **University of California:** Secretary O'Leary is expected to make a public announcement late in April announcing the Department's decision whether to extend or complete the existing contracts with the University of California for management and operation of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, Los Alamos National Laboratory, and Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory. There is a high level of interest in the local area on the results of this decision from the Governor's office to the local Livermore, CA, newspapers. The current contracts expire on September 30, 1997.
 - **Start Up of World's Largest Fuel Cell Demonstration Project:** Energy Research Corporation's 2-megawatt molten carbonate fuel cell demonstration project at Santa Clara, CA, began this week. The Santa Clara demonstration project, the largest of its kind in the world, is a joint funding effort between local governments, utilities, and the DOE. California intends to be one of the first States to accept and deploy fuel cells for distributed power generation. This technology is a power source that is environmentally benign, reliable, and highly efficient. If successful, this technology will provide a new flexible source of power to the U.S. as well as represent a new U.S. industry in the world market.
 - **Hanford Site Tank Waste Remediation System:** DOE plans to distribute the Draft Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for the Hanford Site Tank Waste Remediation System on April 5. The draft EIS will be sent to the Governors of WA and OR, the committees, Federal agencies, special interest groups, and citizens that have expressed an interest in the draft EIS. Secretary O'Leary will meet with local radio stations and possibly with the editorial board of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* to discuss progress in the Hanford Site cleanup.
 - **Approval for Community Assistance Grant in Nevada:** A 5 million grant has been approved for the Nevada Community Reuse Organization Programs supported under this grant include a business development and marketing effort to expand mining and

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

- **Railroad Accident:** On April 4, a Burlington Northern train struck a school van at a signalled grade crossing in Clay, Texas, approximately 60 miles east of Austin. Six teenagers and a 44-year old driver were travelling from the Texas Baptist Children's Home to a track meet. The driver was killed and all occupants were injured, 3 seriously. No train crew injuries were suffered. Two prior accidents have occurred at this crossing, killing five people in 1988 and injuring four in 1990. An investigation of the signal systems is under way.
- **Chicago Green Line to Open May 12:** On March 27, the Chicago Transit Authority Board announced the Green Line Rapid Transit Line would open on May 12. The Chicago Transit Authority's Green Line is mainly an elevated structure providing over 20 miles of rapid transit service that connects the western and southern areas of Chicago. \$230 million in Federal Transit Administration funds has supported the rehabilitation of the track and structure. The Green Line has been closed since January 1994.
- **NAFTA Meeting:** On April 9 and 10, DOT will sponsor a meeting to discuss NAFTA drug and alcohol program issues with Canada. Discussions and presentations will focus on Canadian program implementation efforts, drug testing laboratory certification issues, and rule compliance and enforcement issues.
- **Alameda Corridor Initiative:** DOT's Federal Highway Administration and Federal Railroad Administration expect to issue a Record of Decision (ROD) regarding this project in April. Completion of the ROD will conclude the NEPA-mandated environmental review, thereby allowing locally funded construction segments to proceed on critical rail bridge improvements this June. DOT has met to discuss their concerns about the potential disruption caused by the construction of the depressed trainway.
- **"Truth in Budgeting Act":** The House will take up the Truth in Budgeting Act upon its return the week of April 15. The Department is strongly opposed to this proposal to remove the transportation trust funds supported by excise taxes from the unified budgeting process. In the context of last year's National Highway System Designation Act, the Administration indicated it would veto legislation to move the Highway Trust Fund off-budget.
- **FAA Reform Rollout:** As part of the new rollout of new personnel and procurement reforms, Secretary Peña traveled to New York, April 1, and to Chicago, April 2, to announce special pay incentives for air traffic controllers. While in Chicago, Secretary Peña also announced that the Chicago Center in Aurora, which controls en-route air traffic in the region, will receive a new display computer enhancement ten months ahead of schedule.

Leads
cabinet notes
Hold —

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I think put
on record as
a Gov. supporting
this.
Learn/Excise
we need
to agree

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Michelle Houston

Fax Number: 67485

Phone Number:

FROM: Carol Cleveland

SUBJECT: Paperwork from Allida Black

DATE: April 9, 1996

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 3

MESSAGE:

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CC: Gift unit

Helen R. sent
book to Gift Unit

*Want the
book.*

April 1, 1996

Allida M. Black
5429 24th Street
Arlington, Virginia 22205

Dear Allida:

Thank you for the signed copy of your book, which Ellen Ratner passed along to me. I've heard many good things about it and am looking forward to reading it.

I also want to say how grateful I am for your kind words about our work here. Coming from a historian of Eleanor Roosevelt, your praise means a great deal to Hillary and to me.
Thanks.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

ALLIDA M. BLACK
Historian

Memo
Mfr rec'd
3/27

February 5, 1996

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

As you fight for the future of the Democratic party, you balance a commitment to compassion and rights against an equal commitment to responsibility and informed participation.

While most contemporary pundits think this is a new notion, it is in fact a politics steeped in the tradition of our most effective leaders and national visionaries -- most notably Eleanor Roosevelt. ER, however, took great care not to be subsumed by the politics of the moment and spoke plainly to those new Democrats who wanted to defeat the Republican powers that be. As she told Senator Kennedy when he was seeking to defeat Nixon, the Democrats cannot win if their agenda is "to outconserve the Republicans."

I have asked Ellen Ratner to forward you a copy of my book *Casting Her Own Shadow: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Shaping of Postwar Liberalism* so that you might review her advice to President Kennedy (Chapter 6), take courage from her vision, and continue to support the tremendous risks Mrs. Clinton makes as she helps you lead us into a future defined by rights and responsibilities.

I appreciate the enormous pressures you face and have great respect for your dedication, knowledge, and political skills. On a personal note, as a historian, it makes my heart soar to have a president in office who understands the nuances of history and does not shy from telling the nation to study its past. For the first time in recent memory (and I worked for President Carter while he was governor), I revel in my president. Thank you for this.

As you cast your own shadow over the nation, please know that this historian is doing all she can to help with your reelection and to make the nation a more civil, informed and compassionate community.

With respect, I am sincerely yours

Allida M. Black
Allida M. Black

MESSAGE CONFIRMATION

APR-09-96 15:12

FAX NUMBER : 2024562215

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FAX NUMBER : 67485

PAGE : 03

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RESULTS : O.K

MESSAGE CONFIRMATION

APR-09-96 15:03

FAX NUMBER : 2024562215

NAME :

FAX NUMBER : 67485

PAGE : 01

ELAPSED TIME : 00'36"

MODE : G3 STD

RESULTS : DOCUMENT JAM



McDonald's USA

Edward H. Rensi

President and CEO

Kroc Drive
Oak Brook, Illinois 60521
708/575-3259

April 5, 1996

President William Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Please accept our deepest sympathies over the tragic passing of your friend and trusted cabinet member Ron Brown. He was a tireless advocate for American business, a public servant whose mission to Bosnia to support our troops and to promote U.S. investment there will remain a testament to his dedication and patriotism. McDonald's was proud to have worked with him to help serve hamburgers to our soldiers in that war-torn region.

On behalf of everyone in the McDonald's family -- from our corporate offices to our 2700 restaurant owners to the hundreds of thousands of men and women behind our counters -- we send you our most sincere prayers and thoughts. Ron Brown's life of achievement and triumph will remain an inspiration to generations to come.

Sincerely,

I'd rather be golfing.

Tony/Sandy - Bx

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4/9/96

638377 © RPP, Inc.

CNN
pens w/ each
set of note

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

OF LETTER CARRIERS

100 INDIANA AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Maurice Stigler

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4996

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS

LETTER CARRIERS BUILDING

100 INDIANA AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

VINCENT R. SOMBROTTO
PRESIDENT

AREA CODE 202
393-4695

April 3, 1996

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The 60th Biennial Convention of the National Association of Letter Carriers, AFL-CIO will be held in Orlando, Florida from August 12 through August 16, and the roughly 7,000 delegates who will be in attendance would be honored if you were to speak to them.

I appreciate the fact that August will be an extremely busy time for you, but please give serious consideration to this invitation. NALC's delegates hail from every state in the country and represent the 320,000 dedicated letter carriers and retirees who comprise the membership of our 107-year old organization.

I thank you for your consideration to this request.

Sincerely,



Vincent R. Sombrotto
President

VRS/lm

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4.9.96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 APR 6 P1:37

April 5, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
GENE SPERLING

SUBJECT: Brooks Jackson CNN Reality Check On DNC Ad

As you saw, Brooks Jackson did a piece on Thursday's *Inside Politics* criticizing the DNC's latest commercials.

Attached is our response to his attacks. Amy Weiss Tobe, Press Secretary at the DNC sent our response to Brooks Jackson and spoke with him today. Jackson indicated that he would revisit his claim that 85 percent of our savings occur after the year 2000.

On his other "reality check" items, you should note that Jackson said he will always hit us whenever we say "Republicans cut" instead of "Republicans proposed to cut" or "Republicans passed cuts" or "Republicans wanted to cut," since none of their cuts have ever gone into effect.

Just the way
GOP Budget cut - Pa. House
Lefter was stopped

BILL CLINTON

C. Annell
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4.9.96

April 4, 1996

Jerome M. Page
2008 Santa Clara Street
Richmond, California 94804

Dear Jerry:

Thanks for your letter following up on our meeting last month. I really enjoyed our discussion and am so glad you took the time to write down your thoughts about what we need to focus on in the coming months.

As you well know, we are working through a majority of the issues you outlined in your letter. Be assured that I'll continue speaking out about the importance of building a brighter, more secure future for our children and our children's children and about the need to maintain our leadership in the fight for freedom and peace throughout the world.

I'm grateful for your support of our efforts here and for your fine counsel and encouragement.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

MR. CLINTON
3/29

2008 Santa Clara St.
Richmond, CA 94804
510-524-9845
JMPage2@aol.com

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

Dear Mr. President,

I was one of those invited to your March 15, noon gathering. Enclosed is the statement of several issues from which the excerpt that I emphasized was drawn. I have highlighted that one near the beginning, so that you can quickly have some secretary spray paint out the rest! Also, in recognition of the demand I was already making on your time, I have severed several paragraphs on additional issues and themes I had thought to mention.

Let me express my deep appreciation for the opportunity to visit with you and exchange views. I was aware of your draining fatigue from the grueling trip and lack of rest; that you were able to engage with us and to engage so fully and with such command of each issue was quite remarkable.

Knowing of the overwhelming reserves of campaign gurus, of the political genius you have at your disposal, I am clearly subject to the general charge of attempting to teach my grandmother how to suck eggs. But then it helps to know that Washington guruhood is a highly contentious trade, and that, like handicappers and psychics, the practitioners can occasionally--if rarely--get it wrong.

In any event, in almost all cases, as I have considered the campaign themes that appear to me to be critical, I believe that you are on top of these. But, because I also realize that there are always conflicting voices of counsel, I would like to put my own, occasionally passionate, spin on the issues (All of this, of course, is within the context of decisions already made about the general need to balance the budget within some identifiable period.)

1. I believe that the President should and can take maximum advantage of the large opening offered by the Republicans in their incessant plea for attention to the plight of our children's children. (I will not dwell upon a certain skepticism about the real Republican basis for this relentless lamentation.)

*****A major theme: Planning for the children of the next century. Of what possible advantage to those children can it be if, in an obsessive and singular focus upon the deficit, we destroy this land, we pit class against class, we close the doors upon the children of this time, we reverse our steps toward caring for the infirm and the needy, we rend the social contract--and fabric. In a land that has lost its most precious soil, that allows its fisheries to disappear, that gives away the last of its natural heritage of rich old forests, of healthy ecosystems, of diverse species, that barter the purity of its air and water for "growth," what have we left for those children. Yes, we can and must attend the deficit, but our budgetary decisions must have basis in the image of the society we desire. To use that theme, planning for the children of the next century, requires that we clarify that image and keep it in focus. Again, I believe that the

people will respond when the issues are framed in that fashion and you clearly have the skill and capacity to do that.

It is essential to help the country to put the budget into perspective; Whatever might have been the political case two years ago, I do not believe that today a balanced budget, however necessary, constitutes a sufficient aim of government--or a sufficient platform for a campaign. I think you have been very successful strategically to this point in your emphasis upon what you will not sacrifice; that beginning, I believe, needs to be shored up with more of the particulars that will enable people to understand that they are in process of making some very crucial choices and this election is their means.

2. I see a number of issues, closely related to the above, in which the budgetary importance, the financial realities, of prevention and early intervention need public clarification. This does not have the same coherence as a theme (as (1) above), but is a matter of emphasis and support for that theme.

Obviously appeals to compassion are of little interest to those not visibly disturbed by thoughts of the plights of malnourished young, adolescents adrift and communities in disintegration.

But we know, we have innumerable studies to show that it costs money, real money, enormous sums of money, to deal with the havoc that preventive medical care, pre-natal care, pregnancy counseling, birth control information, effective child care programs would have reduced. (By the way, I don't know if you have noted this, but the very recent research on the processes of development of neural networks in the brain, could not be more dramatic in pointing out both the explosive growth taking place in utero and very early childhood, the crucial role of nurturance of that growth, and how rapidly in early childhood, potential begins to be limited. The implications for social and fiscal policy of these findings are very great.)

With respect to the environment, if we do not have serious environmental oversight, we will inevitably "acquire" more and more Superfund sites, great suppurating sores on the landscape--and the economy. Air pollution equals respiratory disease, water pollution equals disease and human growth problems. (While we now have the conservatives very nervous about their public stands on the environment, we can count on continuous guerilla warfare, along with the emphasis upon "takings.")

Prisons and incarceration cost an incredible fortune; the justice system is a dark hole, sucking in enormous funds, along with the unemployed and uninvolved young. Job training, neighborhood recreation programs, including late night programs, community policing, violence prevention programs, (including an excellent one connected with the battered women's program in which I volunteer), youth counseling, student aid, AmeriCorps, are a comparative pittance.

The possibilities in this kind of analysis are obviously virtually unlimited, particularly when the issues of hidden and unexamined costs are considered; all those costs which are simply not valued in conventional cost-benefit analyses, but are crucial to any realistic and sound long term assessment.

3. ****One major theme must be what the President has accomplished in encouraging peace.

I apologize here for belaboring the obvious. However, it is so important that I will risk that. It is both your personal style, a great strength and skill and, now, a series of vital achievements. That perception of you needs emphasis, the summing up rather than simply the serial detailing. This can be, I believe, a powerful message with women voters everywhere, certainly with voters in northern California--and a very helpful inoculation against setbacks.

I think the campaign needs at some appropriate point, a heavy, concentrated emphasis upon the major role you have played on the world stage; both to point up your very real and impressive efforts for peace and to relate these to your willingness, in very difficult, politically dangerous, situations, to risk yourself and your personal political fate.

On this one, I believe that at some point, a vigorous coordinated effort, involving surrogates, involving letters and op-ed pieces, and involving every possible means of public communication, might be very useful.

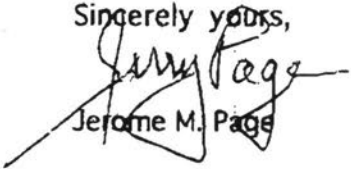
This should detail and draw together as a comprehensive whole, a theme, your efforts in Ireland, in Haiti, in Bosnia and in the middle east. It should point up the political risks you have taken, and continue to take, in the interest of peace. Finally, it should highlight the international appreciation of the value and the immense importance of what has been ventured - -and achieved. Such an emphasis upon the difficulties can also help to cushion the impact of problems as they arise. Consider only, how many thought that in Haiti and Bosnia it could have come this far? (The situation must shape the timing here.)

The president, as well as the candidate, requires some protection, some buffering, against the inevitable attacks on any foreign policy problem that arises; that will inevitably arise. A public that has begun to understand the magnitude of the effort; the complex and delicate mediation, for example, between the French, the Germans, the Russians, as well as the parties in Bosnia, and its importance for a stable Europe, will be less prone to blindly follow negative reaction to loss of American lives should that occur. I am aware that the President has emphasized that importance. On this issue, however, I believe that the vulnerability is such that considerable reinforcement from others is essential.

Finally, I have not, of course, even begun to touch upon the many dramatic contradictions faced by conservatism and the Republican Party today--each of which invites direct campaign attention. Between that image of Jesus, soul of Christian faith, a bleeding heart, and the punitive, reactionary policies of the "Christian Coalition;" between capitulation to the NRA, an acceptance of the incredible concept of the social desirability of assault rifles in widespread use, and conservative notions of "law and order,"; between their fear of the teeming alien hordes beyond our borders and the opposition to any assistance to birth control programs in those land...Ah, well! This part would require another three pages!

Again, I thank you for the invitation to join you.

Sincerely yours,


Jerome M. Page



100 Indiana Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20001-2144

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4.9.96

Leon
Bye letter to my 7B

Jim Dorskind

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Please coordinate
the reply

Francis J. Conners
Executive Vice President

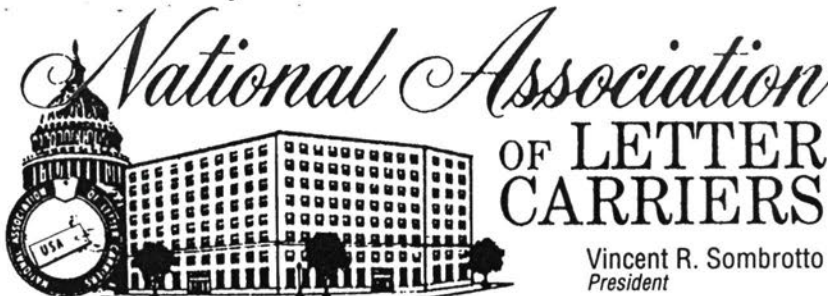
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April 9, 1996

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Larry Brown

John W. DiTollo

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you very much for your time today, and I would like to extend letter carriers' appreciation for your signing Hatch Act Reform into law and for extracting the \$9.8 billion hit on the Postal Service from the Senate budget. However, I want to reiterate the concerns that letter carriers still have about the budget. As you know, one of my biggest priorities is to be able to continue to emphasize the stark difference between your record and that of the Gingrich-Dole Congress on such letter carrier issues as:

- Exemption of USPS employees from the additional .5 percentage point increase in CSRS and FERS retirement contributions, since the sum of the USPS contribution and the employee contribution already covers the entire postal obligation to the federal retirement system. The additional contribution is merely an employment tax placed upon postal employees; and
- Reconsideration of the proposal to continue the present 3-month COLA delay for "taxable" federal retirement benefits. Federal retirees ought not be singled-out, while the neighbors who are on social security receive "tax-free" social security benefits.

I have also included a copy of the March 29, 1996 NALC Bulletin, which is posted in every one of the 42,000 postal facilities in the country. As you can see, our members are enthusiastic about your reelection and I am proud and eager to publicize the support you have among letter carriers.

Please let me know if I or the union may be of assistance to you.

Respectfully yours,

Vincent R. Sombrotto

Vincent R. Sombrotto
President

VRS/at



NALC BULLETIN

VINCENT R. SOMBROTTO
PRESIDENT

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS, AFL-CIO

NO. 96-8

• 100 Indiana Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20001-2144 • (202) 393-4695 •

MARCH 29, 1996

Landslide Margin!

NALC Members Back President Clinton

Delegates Vote Union's Preference As AFL-CIO Endorses Reelection



At left, Vice President Gore addresses the convention, as AFL-CIO President John Sweeney observes. Right photo shows NALC delegation during a brief convention break. Pictured, from left, are Ed Halloran, Br. 19, New Haven, CT, standing; President Sombrotto, Secretary-Treasurer Yates, Denise Brooks, Br. 1433, Medford, OR; Prissy Grace, Br. 283, Houston, TX; John R. McKinney, Br. 11, Chicago; J.C. Taylor, Br. 73, Atlanta; Dan Rupp, Br. 40, Cleveland, and Anita Guzik, Br. 24, Los Angeles.

By a landslide margin, active and retired NALC members sup-

By a landslide margin, active and retired NALC members support President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore in their reelection campaign this year according to results of the NALC survey mailed to all members.

Armed with the members' overwhelming preference, President Sombrotto and the other eight members of the union's AFL-CIO delegation, cast a strong voice vote for the Clinton-Gore ticket when the motion for the Federation's endorsement was voted on March 25 in Washington.

The AFL-CIO endorsement was virtually unanimous on the voice vote.

Results of the NALC survey of all active and retired members, showed Clinton capturing 73.7 percent of the vote for first choice among nine candidates. The closest competitor was Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole of Kansas with 10.4 percent.

Complete results of the survey for "first choice" were:

Bill Clinton	47,930	(73.7%)
Bob Dole	6,794	(10.4%)
Pat Buchanan	5,834	(9.0%)
Steve Forbes	2,600	(4.0%)
Alan Keyes	792	(1.2%)
Lamar Alexander	650	(1.0%)
Dick Lugar	224	(0.4%)
Robert Dornan	126	(0.2%)
Morry Taylor	58	(0.1%)

Shortly after the vote, Gore spoke to the convention saying the Gingrich-Dole Congress "has been the most anti-labor, anti-people Congress" in the nation's history.

At the special convention, the delegates also approved a special assessment on all AFL-CIO affiliates to fund an \$35 million election-year grassroots effort to help elect pro-worker, pro-labor candidates in 75 key congressional races throughout the country. The assessment is equal to 15 cents per member per month for one year.

NALC's contribution to the effort will come from the union's general treasury. There will be no additional dues required of individual members or branches.



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TO: MR. ANDREW FRIENDLY

Rm 185 1/2 EOB

COMPANY: WHITE HOUSE

TELEPHONE NO: 202-456-7560

FAX NO: 202-456-6208

FROM: RICHARD PARK

DATE:

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APRIL 4, 1996

HONORABLE BILL CLINTON
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I STAND WITH YOU AND THE REST OF THE PEACE-LOVING WORLD IN
GRIEF AND SHOCK OVER THE UNTIMELY DEMISE OF OUR LATE SECRETARY
OF COMMERCE AND DEAR FRIEND, MR. RONALD BROWN, AND OTHER
BUSINESS LEADERS ON SUCH A HUMANITARIAN MISSION.

SINCERELY,

RICHARD PARK