Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	01/00/1997	b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 8789

FOLDER TITLE:
Chron Files: Monday, January 27, 1997

2019-0774-S
rs3350

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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



Jack W. Mills comments on importance of President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports and would be delighted to continue to serve on the Council. He hopes we can encourage all Americans to participate in some type of exercise.

MILLS
communications, inc.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97

January 16, 1997

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear President Clinton:

Once again congratulations on a great campaign in 96', four good ones to go.

I realize Presidential appointments coincide with the term and wish to comment on my time, so far on The Presidents Council on Physical Fitness and Sports.

I think this council is so important to everyone in the United States. What we stand for is vital to people of all ages. One of my special interest is providing activity to children as part of their social and physical development. Having been a twelve year old who could not swim or dance, makes this one especially important to me. I do hope through all our efforts we can encourage all Americans to participate in some type of exercise.

Should you wish, I will be delighted to continue to serve on the Council. We have all tried through our legislator's to get the additional funds needed to allow The Council to reach more people. Tom McMillen has done a great job as Co-Chairman, I know he has tried very hard to help with obtaining funding also.

I appreciate the opportunity to serve on the council and cannot tell you how special I feel to remain a F.O.B. Jency and I send our best to your and Hillary.

Sincerely,
Mills Communications, Inc.,

Jack M. Mills
President

JMM/ha

210 business park boulevard
columbia, south carolina 29203

post office box 23259
columbia, sc 29224

803-736-1141
fax 803-788-1051

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-16-97

Copies to
Sperling
Bowles
Rubin w/note
Shalala
Chron

BY GENE KORETZ

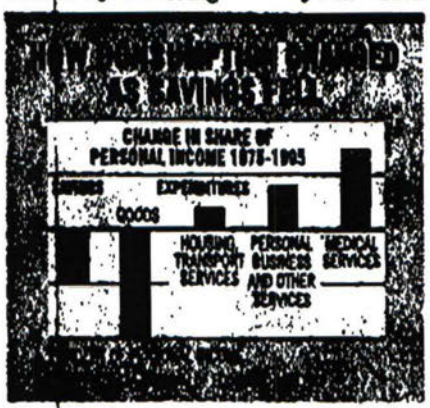
SOLVING THE SAVINGS RIDDLE

Medical outlays explain low saving

It's a mystery that continues to bedevil economists. Despite the availability of tax-favored savings plans and growing doubts about the future sufficiency of retirement income, the U.S. personal-savings rate has fallen from 8% two decades ago to around 4% today.

In a study in the *New England Economic Review*, Lynn Elaine Browne and Joshua Gleason of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston conclude that the main cause of this decline is not a consumption binge, but Americans' desire for more and better medical care.

The two economists reach this conclusion by assessing the ways in which



consumption has grown as savings has declined. The picture is complicated by the fact that consumer spending on goods—mainly food, clothing, and gasoline—is down about twice as much as savings as a share of personal income. Still, an analysis of the rise in services spending since 1975 is revealing (chart).

Over this period, outlays for housing and transportation services, which are basic necessities, have risen by 1.5% of personal income, and an added 1.8% now supports religious, social welfare, educational, and recreational activities. Meanwhile, the share going for personal-business services—including bank and brokerage fees and the imputed value of financial services—has grown by a hefty 2.1% of income. Such spending is a special kind of consumption, the authors note, since it reflects costs attached to saving.

That leaves only the huge increase in the consumption of medical services—up by 5.8% of personal income—as the prime suspect in the savings decline.

And here the researchers note that government-sponsored health programs, which currently absorb 5% of income, account for only a small part of the drop in the savings rate. That's because outlays for Medicare and Medicaid are counted as additions both to consumption and to personal income. (If savings are 8% of income, and both consumption and income rise 5%, the savings rate will drop to 7.6%.)

By contrast, rising employer-sponsored health-care outlays, which are also counted as personal income, represent a direct shift in the allocation of such income, since they presumably replace wage and salary hikes. And employer contributions for health insurance have grown dramatically—from 2% of wages and salaries in the mid-1960s to 5% in the mid-1980s to about 8% today.

The bottom line is that much of the income Americans once saved appears to be going for medical insurance—partly government programs, but mainly employer-sponsored plans. "The public desires both better health care and the protection that insurance provides," says Browne. Future efforts to raise personal saving will have to confront that desire and the high costs of medical care that have made it so intense.

To G Sperling/cc Rubin Summers
FYI
Interesting!
BR

DOC HOFFMANN/BW

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DATE: January 16, 1997

NOTE FOR: Honorable Robert E. Rubin
Secretary of the Treasury

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

cc:

The Honorable Robert E. Rubin
Secretary of the Treasury

MESSAGE CONFIRMATION

JAN-16-97 11:25

FAX NUMBER : 2024562215

NAME :

FAX NUMBER : 96220000

PAGE : 02

ELAPSED TIME : 00'57"

MODE : G3 STD

RESULTS : O.K

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DATE: January 16, 1997

NOTE FOR: Honorable Donna E. Shalala
Secretary of Health and Human Services

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

cc:

The Honorable Donna E. Shalala
Secretary of Health and
Human Services

MESSAGE CONFIRMATION

JAN-16-97 11:32

FAX NUMBER : 2024562215

NAME :

FAX NUMBER : 96907203

PAGE : 02

ELAPSED TIME : 00'57"

MODE : G3 STD

RESULTS : O.K

January 16, 1997

Phil

Nancy suggested a small note/memo stating:

> Please accept this small token of appreciation
>
> for your srvice to me and to our country.

Let me know.

Betty

Maureen (Lewis) -
Call me about this
Phil
1-16-97

WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 16, 1997

The Honorable Hazel O'Leary
Secretary of Energy
Washington, D.C. 20585

Dear Hazel:

Thank you for your exceptional service leading the Department of Energy and for your friendship. I will miss you.

Sincerely,

WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 15, 1997

The Honorable William J. Perry
Secretary of Defense
Washington, D.C. 20301

Dear Bill:

Thank you for your extraordinary service and for being such a good friend to me and to America's Armed Forces. History will note that you were the most productive and effective Secretary of Defense the United States has ever had.

Sincerely,

WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 16, 1997

The Honorable Michael Kantor
Secretary of Commerce
Washington, D.C. 20230

Dear Mickey:

Thank you for your exceptional service as Secretary of Commerce and United States Trade Representative. You are a truly great citizen and a wonderful friend. I'll miss you.

Sincerely,

WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 16, 1997

The Honorable Donald L. Fowler
Democratic National Committee
430 South Capitol Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Don:

Thank you for the fine job you've done leading the DNC. You have been a true friend to me and to the Democratic Party.

Sincerely,

'HITE HOUSE

ASHINGTON

January 16, 1997

The Honorable George Stephanopoulos
Washington, D.C.

Dear George:

Thank you for your friendship, your counsel, and your extraordinary service. I will miss you.

Sincerely,

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97

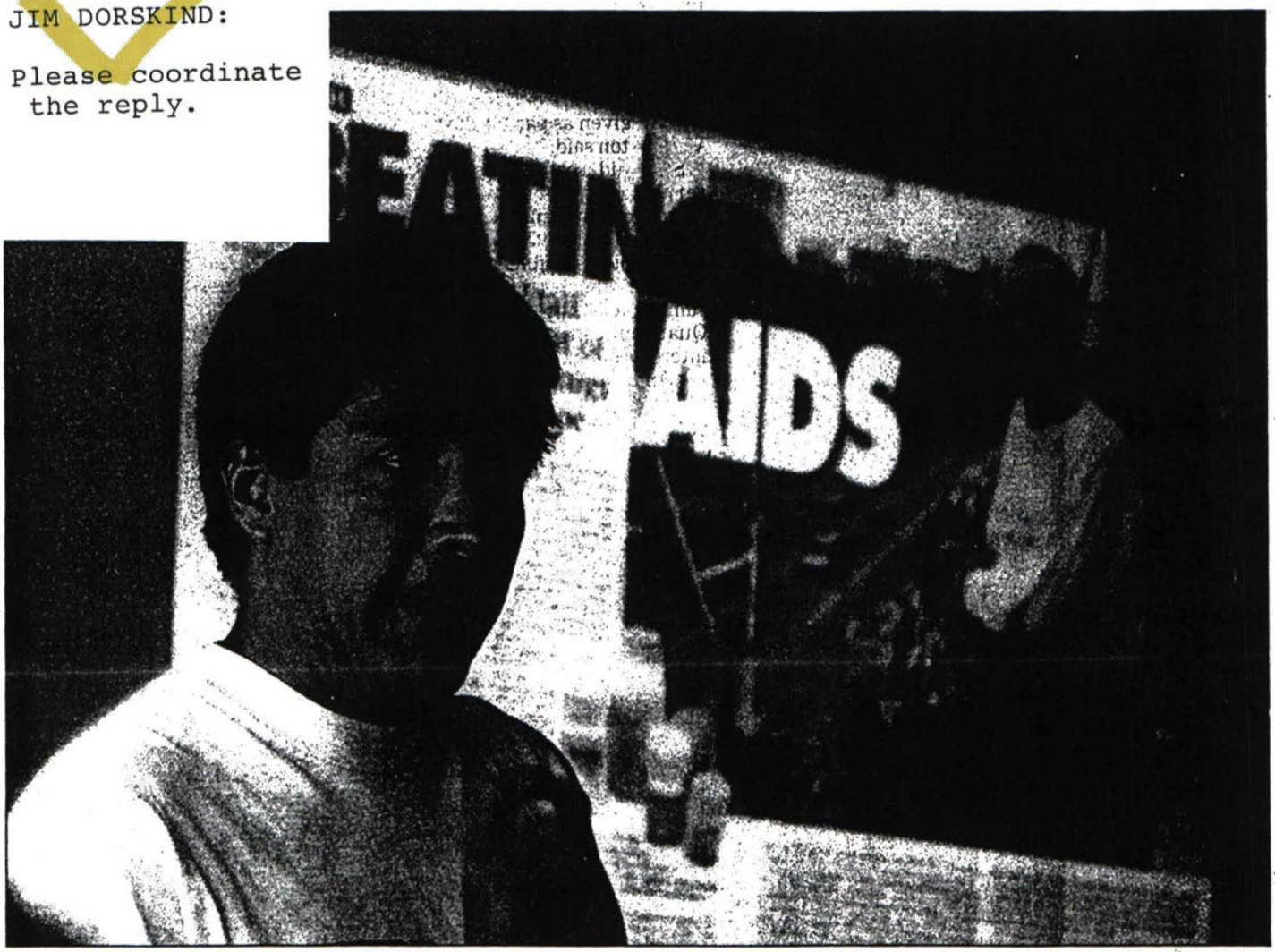
HEARTS OF THE CITY

Exploring attitudes and issues behind the news.

The Be

Today's cent
Vallejo, a doct
figure in the
nity. For info
Los Angeles o
nos with AID
962-8197 or B

JIM DORSKIND:
Please coordinate the reply.

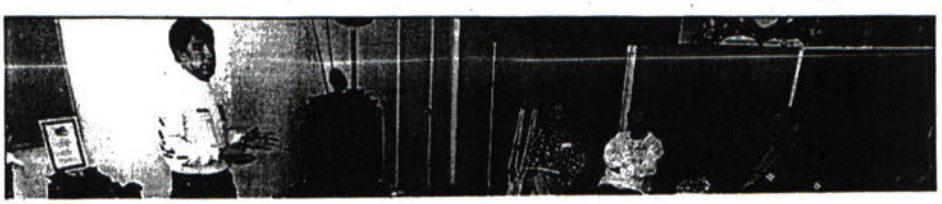


Photos by LUIS SINCO / Los Angeles Times

Octavio Vallejo has emerged as a vital link in AIDS-related education and treatment services for L.A.'s Latinos.

A Mission of Mercy

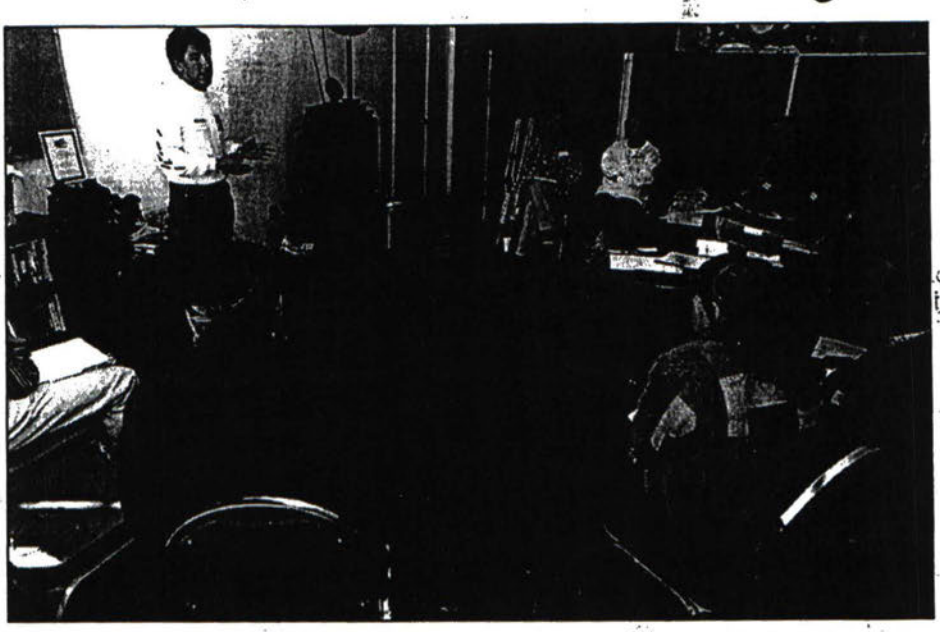
Experiences in Mexico help doctor reach out to HIV-infected



A Mission of Mercy

Experiences in Mexico help doctor reach out to HIV-infected Latinos in L.A.

By MATEA GOLD
SPECIAL TO THE TIMES



At Bienestar, Vallejo trains volunteers and explains breakthroughs in treatments.

Octavio Vallejo said his destiny hit him as he watched a young boy die of AIDS in a Mexico City hospital several years ago, without painkillers to ease the suffering. Vallejo, who was a doctor at a hospital that houses 65% of Mexico's pediatric AIDS cases, said his young patients pushed him into his mission in life.

"It was so frustrating trying to help these children and their families with no resources," he said.

So Vallejo came north to find solutions, and in the process emerged as a vital asset in Los Angeles' AIDS community—a key link between traditionally white AIDS services and the growing number of HIV-infected Latinos.

As a research fellow at UCLA's Center for Health Promotion and Disease Prevention, Vallejo has spent the last three years fighting HIV's spread in the Latino community.

Los Angeles County health officials report that the number of new AIDS cases is increasing most rapidly among Latinos. In 1985, Latinos accounted for less than 20% of the total cases in the county, but that number jumped to nearly 40% by 1995, according to the county's HIV epidemiology program.

Leaders in community AIDS organizations said Vallejo's knowledge about treatment coupled with his perspective as a gay Latino help him make inroads in a community they fear is often cut off from information.

"Octavio is, to me, the key central figure in the [HIV-positive] Latino community," said Nancy Geshke, director of client services at L.A. Shanti, an AIDS services organization. "Everybody knows him, and he knows everybody."

Vallejo said he feels driven to eradicate stigmas about AIDS in the Latino community and to spread the news about emerging treatments.

"A lot of people are out of the picture in terms of new developments," said Vallejo, 40. "There are a lot of myths regarding infections, and many still think there's no possibility in terms of treatment."

Vallejo's days reflect the almost frantic pace of his efforts. During one typical week, he juggled running a support group for HIV-infected Latina mothers, editing a Spanish-language newsletter for people with AIDS and arranging an exhibit of Mexican art dealing with AIDS.

He also is a medical advisor to half a dozen community organizations and speaks regularly at national conferences on AIDS. And he just returned from headlining a four-day AIDS seminar at a Baja California university.

"I have a problem," he admitted with a broad grin. "I can't say no."

Others have noticed. Last month, the city of West Hollywood presented its "Angels Amidst" award to Vallejo and nine others for diligent and often anonymous volunteer work.

As a Spanish-speaking doctor who specializes in AIDS, Vallejo was in demand as soon he appeared in the community. One of his first projects—developing peer education programs for Latino teenagers—led to invitations and requests from community groups.

At Bienestar, a Latino AIDS project, Vallejo trains volunteers and explains the latest breakthroughs in HIV treatments to clients. As a medical advisor at L.A. Shanti, Vallejo helps develop Vidas Positivas, weekend seminars for Latinos who have family members with AIDS.

"We have a problem among Latinos—they do not perceive help as a human right," Vallejo said. "They perceive it as charity, and they also consider health care providers as authorities. They don't seek health care and they do not negotiate for better care."

Vallejo's low-key approach and attitude make the daunting technicalities of the disease accessible, his colleagues said.

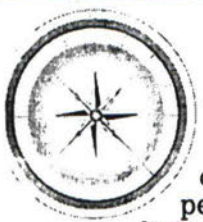
"He doesn't speak like a physician with very elaborate terms," said Luis Eduardo Morillo, prevention programs coordinator at Bienestar. "He has that very rare quality of speaking the language that our clients speak."

Local AIDS service providers said Vallejo has helped them broaden prevention programs that typically target gay white men.

In the midst of his activities in Los Angeles, Vallejo said, he has not forgotten what brought him north. Vallejo and a UCLA colleague have gone to Mexico nine times in the last 18 months, not bearing the drugs he wishes were more accessible to patients, but bringing a different kind of medicine: education and hope. They talk to health care professionals and students and set up local support groups.

The voyages home—to Chihuahua, Morelia and Mexico City—remind him of the children who set him on this path. "Something that has really broken my heart in all of this is the kids," he said. "They were so brave, so caring. It was a miracle, how they changed my life."

on the
doorst
not die
"Let
Coz say
Coz is t
"The o
and the
called
the cov
'60 Min
about v
"The
ad on t
On the
the Coc
"Anc
and the
all the c
Boy Die
"It's
believe
Coz b
Years a
the net
Now th
they ke
copper
need sa
A frie
networ
campai
two we
Colo., p
listenin
her fron
The p
sheer n
now pur
to be, te
news an
you got
"Inside
"20/20,"
cable st
It add
produ
images,
JonBen
on stage
seeing J
And t
can spin
theories
day on a
sites.
Durin
discussi
individu
the fam
Over a
In the



Navigating the Real World

A rotating panel of experts from the worlds of ethics, psychology and religion offer their perspective on the dilemmas that come with living in Southern California.

Herb Robinson

Director, the Munger Center for Psychological Services

Treating others well means first treating ourselves well. To have the resources to handle the irritations of urban life, we must start by attending to our own needs: getting rest, eat-

Miriyam Gla

Director, Dortort
Judaism, Los An

In my first year
the compressior
rael, I exploded
for a presumed

Chron

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 25, 1997

PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1.27.97

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HELEN HOWELL Helen

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items.

(A) **Berger memo on Brookings/Council on Foreign Relations report on international affairs programs.** The report concludes that our international affairs spending must be increased to approximately $21 billion annually ($2 billion above current levels). It recommends payment of UN arrears, additional funding for international financial institutions and AID, level funding of the State Department and a discretionary $600 million to meet urgent priorities. The report also notes that we can save $100 million annually through reforms in the UN and other international organizations.

(B) **Sec. Rubin memo on G-7 progress on promoting financial stability.** At the Lyon Summit, we convinced our G-7 colleagues of the need to promote stability in the international financial system, and we established as goals improving market transparency and better financial supervision. Rubin believes that our efforts have increased the level of international cooperation, but stresses the need for continued vigilance.

(E) **Rep. Archer letter to Sec. Rubin on education tax relief.** Via Erskine. Archer has a number of concerns about the HOPE scholarship tuition tax cuts: How will the Federal government know if a student has a B average? Won't the proposal drive up educational costs? Won't it put pressure on teachers to give students Bs and contribute to grade inflation?. Erskine has asked Gene to forward you responses to Archer's concerns.

(F) **Panetta/Raines follow-up on access to Federal surplus property by self-help housing groups.** Millard Fuller, President of Habitat for Humanity, had supported an amendment to the Omnibus Appropriations Bill on this subject. However, the amendment was not adopted, and you inquired why. Raines reports that GSA and HUD were concerned that it would have put homeless assistance providers and self-help housing providers in direct competition for surplus Federal properties, and it would have opened the door for numerous other groups, e.g., universities and other nonprofits, to request access to surplus property. Raines notes, however, that legislation may not be necessary to achieve Fuller's goal. Under current law, self-help housing groups can work with State and local governments to use surplus Federal property for housing. OMB will ensure that GSA and HUD work more aggressively with these groups.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1/27/97

(E) **Berger summary of your 126 military and veterans events in your first term.** You met formally with the Joint Chiefs on 10 occasions. You visited U.S. military units deployed in eight foreign countries. You spoke at all four Service academies' commencements. You visited Arlington National Cemetery 11 times for veterans-related events (Reagan only visited twice during his first term and Bush once while in office). You participated in nearly 30 veterans events (half related to WWII). And, you have been aboard five active aircraft carriers and two other Navy surface combatants.

(F) **Sec. Kantor memo on Chrysler's January 7 fuel cell prototype announcement.** Kantor reports that Chrysler's plan to develop a fuel cell prototype that would use gasoline was made possible by research funded by the Partnership for a New Generation of Vehicles (PNGV), which is administered by Commerce's Technology Administration. The PNGV is a partnership between industry and government agencies to develop the technology base for environmentally-friendly cars that will go 80 miles per gallon without sacrificing affordability, safety or performance. It draws on resources from 8 Federal agencies, the national laboratories, universities, suppliers, and the United States Council for Automotive Research (a cooperative research effort between Chrysler, Ford and GM). Under Secretary of Technology Mary Good is working with Chrysler to give PNGV proper credit for their role in the project.

(G) **"Is Welfare Reform Really Conservative," Wisconsin Interest.** Via Sec. Shalala who says, "I thought the title alone was worth the article."

(H) **"Crossing the border: Illegal and dangerous," The Orange County Register, January 19, 1997.** Via Rahm. The article notes that Operation Gatekeeper has made illegal immigration crossings around San Diego difficult.

We have also received the following items.

Secs. Shalala and Reno report on agency efforts to implement your directive on implementing the family violence provisions in the new welfare law. Through close collaboration with state and local partners, they are working to build temporary assistance systems that require work, promote responsibility, protect children, and recognize the unique needs and circumstances of battered women as well as provide them with the supports they need to move successfully from welfare to work. *We have a copy of the report in our office should you wish to review it.*

President's Council on Sustainable Development progress report. Via Katie McGinty. The Council has been working to implement the recommendations it made to you in March 1996. Their work has ranged from efforts to build sustainable communities at the local level to preparations for international activities to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the Rio Earth Summit in 1997. *We have a copy of the report in our office should you wish to review it.*

NANCY H.

Rosemary A. Paschall
308 Harpeth Ridge Drive
Nashville, Tennessee 37221

THE PRESIDENT
1/27/97

Dear Rosie —

I'm so glad you and Rachel came to see us — & loved the article on Doug and the students. Stay for what greater reward?) — The way you spoke of your family's stay in the White House moved me deeply & only wish I could have done more. Hang in there - spring is coming.

Best, Bill

What is it now
into the cold
into seasonal darkness
what is it pushes and tries us
keeping us warm and onward
inures to ice and thaw
to winds in our nests and branches
what is it of oaken hearts
pierced but not splintered by hope
or by care
that braves the worst of our wounds
bright to the air?

Christmas poem by Douglas Paschall
for
Altar Cloth Design by
Rosemary Paschall
1982

January 17, 1997

Dear Bill and Hillary,

Thank you for inviting Rachel and I to have lunch with you at the White House today, we are thrilled and honored.

I was going to mail you this article about Douglas but thought it would be easier to deliver it in person. Everyone is pleased with it and moved. The interviews with me are a bit choppy but it was the end of a long school day, I was tired and emotional. I have also attached a college essay written by one of my students as it gives you an idea of how many felt about Douglas.

He would have been so proud to see how well you have done and that you were elected for a second term. He used to tell me about you years ago, in the early days of your governorship. He always said you would be president and a great one. How happy I am that he lived to see that, as was your lovely mother. God bless and watch over you both and Chelsea, With love,

Rosie

When You Think Of Leaving School

it seems, oh, nearby and gentle now:
the morning miseries, uncluttered afternoons,
dreams sweetened in the midnight rains,
memories peculiar to you - -

but it's difficult, the slow trip home:
too old now to stay put, and too young
to remain, you will seek the good welcome

you've always known as home: harbour here
whenever you like, of course: but allow
me to remind you, though I will miss you
terribly, that your true home's elsewhere,

in the sun's track, in unmapped waters:
the journey, not the arrival, matters.

This poem was written by
Douglas as a gift for
our graduating students.
1972

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	01/00/1997	b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 8789

FOLDER TITLE:
Chron Files: Monday, January 27, 1997

2019-0774-S
rs3350

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

put my stuff on Doug Paschall—

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97

Adam Laughbaum
138 Blackburn Ave.
Nashville, TN 37205; SS: (b)(6)

3. Select some experience from which you have derived exceptional profit and describe it, explaining its value to you.

I don't believe that I have ever experienced such pregnancy in any moment before or since. The silence and tension were nearly unbearable. Over six hundred people were tied up in one single train of thought- no one wandered in their mind for even an instant. From the public address monitors above, a sound of anticipatory breathing poured.

I remember then sitting there in assembly and hearing him pronounce the words that told us that he would too soon die, that he was leaving us, that he was somehow leaving me. Not that I had any special point of sympathy to argue- there were so many others who loved him, who knew him so tremendously more deeply; I knew that foremost in his mind at that moment was not I, but he, and these words, was all that was in my mind, and I knew that somehow that stood as something.

This he is my former headmaster and mentor, Dr. Douglas D. Paschall. I knew him for such a short span as measured in days and months, but his influence is such that is truly immeasurable. It is certain that I came to Montgomery Bell Academy my freshman year primarily because of its excellent academic program and its strong tradition of inspiring excellence in the small community of boys, but it was the school's reputation for strong commitment to the arts that I found irresistibly enticing. I knew of no other school in my area that would afford me such excellent mix of scholastic foundation and personal development of my talents in theatre and art. Little did I know that I was a small part of one man's vision. It had been Dr. Paschall's intent, since he had become headmaster five years prior, to transform the school which had long prided its self on being one of the last bastions of unweilding strictness

and southern pride, into a vibrant, diverse community of individuals who had appreciation not only for chemistry, Latin, or the touchdown, but for the concerto, the absurdist, and the abstract expressionist as well. He instituted a sort of "if you build it, he will come" program at Montgomery Bell. He nearly single-handedly fostered an arts program and the construction of an arts facility which eventually drew many students like myself into its hallways.

The first semester at Montgomery Bell became quickly very difficult. The initial momentum of anticipation and newness waned dramatically as I felt the effects of loneliness and rejection from the fellow students at my new home. I had met plenty of others, certain enough, but not a single one that I could call "friend," not another who had similar desires. I felt cheated. I felt like I had bought into a gigantic lie. I desired an exit. I discussed my observations and feelings with Rosie, my art teacher, sole friend and advocate at the time. Rosie just happened to be Dr. Paschall's wife as well. She shared with him many of his passions and hopes for Montgomery Bell Academy and its students and she communicated to me a sincere, intense concern for me and my situation and her desire for me to continue my education there. She subsequently recounted our exchange to Dr. Paschall.

He evidently took the matter quite seriously, because he soon called me to his office to allow me to speak with him concerning my difficulties and my current rationale for leaving the school. As I spoke, he listened so attentively. He seemed to hang on every one of my words and phrases. His faced mirrored my own expressions as I recounted the hurt and dejection I had come to know so intimately in recent months. I felt as though I, a ratty fourteen year old kid, was somehow saying some of the most interesting things that this Rhodes scholar and distinguished man of letters had ever heard. After listening attentively in such a way until I had said my piece, he sat silent for a few moments and deliberated. Then he told me in a very grave but compassionate manner that it had been his plan when he had come to Montgomery Bell

Academy five years prior to make it a place where students like myself would desire to attend. He had wanted aspiring artists, actors and musicians to feel they could access the excellent academic opportunity that Montgomery Bell had long been known to afford its students without feeling it necessary to sacrifice enrichment of their skills to do so. I felt, as I sat there, that through his words, he was giving me a bit of himself, a portion of the responsibility in the care-taking of his dream. That was all it took for me, something inside my mind engaged, I felt it very necessary to accept the responsibility he had given me. As I rose from the seat, where I was sitting opposite Dr. Paschall, he admonished me, with a tone of secure knowing in his voice, to "consider his words," told me that he truly hoped I would stay. As I crossed through the door of his office and into the hallway outside, my mind was already made up.

He had in a few short minutes, made me feel like such an integral part of something I had felt so superfluous to just prior. That was what was so incredible about the man- the seeming significance of every moment of his existence. As with me, in that short span of perhaps fifteen minutes of conversation, or in the regular greetings by name he gave to me before I knew his name, or in the inquiries, about whatever art or theatre project in which I was involved, that he would stop me to make, he was able to impact me more than many others ever could in hours upon hours of speech.

Dr. Paschall resigned in June, following my freshman year. He died the following December. Inoperable pancreatic cancer. I still find it hard to believe that three little words like that could cut down an individual with the stature of a sequoia. With his passing, his inheritance he left with every individual he encountered. I am one of them. It is interesting, since his death, his presence in my life has not faded at all, but has become stronger and stronger. His words sink deeper and deeper into my mind all of the time. I see more every day why it was his hope that I would remain at Montgomery Bell Academy. I have spent four of my best years there. I did

eventually make friends, some of the best anyone could wish for. I have learned things and have had experiences there of which a very small number of other young men can boast. I have very nearly become a man there. Nearly every day that I am there, I feel the need to thank him for his words on that winter morning, nearly three years ago now. In some way, as I have stepped off stage after an excellent performance or lay a finishing stroke on one of my better canvases, I feel that I am able to do just that.

Ann Stock should check this out to see if we can should get an appropriate piece

BC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97

THE PRESIDENT
1/27/97

Dear Jane —

I enjoyed our big trip & love your work, especially my mustang!) and appreciate your offer to contribute to the White House collection. I have passed that on —

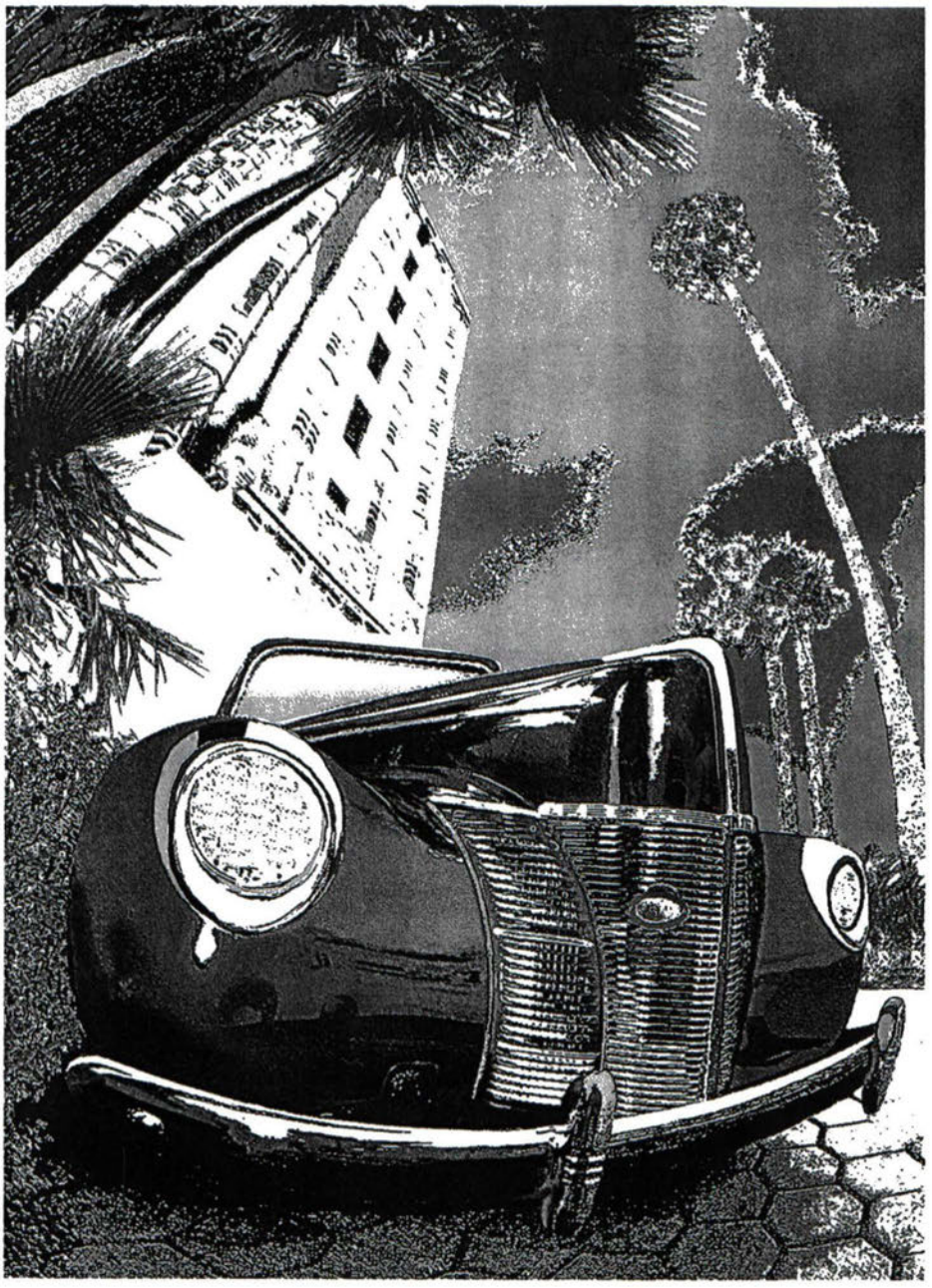
Sincerely

Bill Clinton

Jane Gottlief
544 Dryad Road
Santa Monica, CA 90402

1/27/97
This was re-sent to Ann Stock, this evening. A copy was sent earlier in the day. But not enough pages were sent

S.



JANE GOTTLIEB

Dear President Clinton

I've been hoping to give you this turquoise mustang since I first met you at Geoff Cowans 50th birthday party — or a picture of the Jefferson Memorial!

I'd love to send you / Hillary some samples of my art that I'd be honored to donate to the White House collection. Here are a few cards of my images & bright colors I enhance my photographs with —

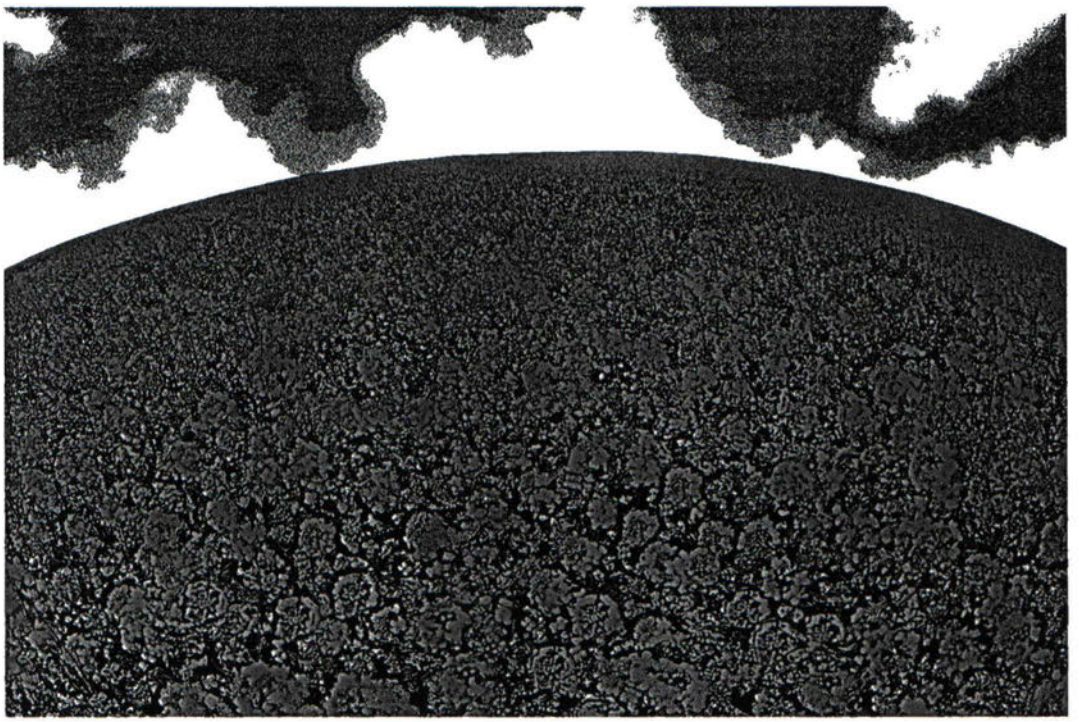
I also created a family portrait of the Cowans that I'd like you to see. I work with my photos on a computer & the adobe photoshop program to create collages, paint my images & enhance in infinite ways.

I'm a big supported of you & Mrs. Clinton & I'm so proud to meet you both.

All the best wishes,

Sincerely, Jane Gotlieb

1/24/97



J A N E G O T T L I E B

J A N E G O T T L I E B

(310) 573-1515

"DREAMSCAPE"
COMPUTER ART
©1994 • JANE GOTTLIEB
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

REVISED

'97 JAN 25 PM6:02

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1·25·97

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS FOR THE ALFALFA CLUB DINNER

THE CAPITOL HILTON

JANUARY 25, 1997

Dorskind only got this cover page

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate the reply

S.

Bill

This was very good — should do signed copy of remarks & thanks to all who helped

BC

Good evening President Rockefeller, Senator Lott, General Powell, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen of the Alfalfa Club, ~~and a special hello to~~ ~~any [illegible] listening to these remarks on police scanner.~~

It's an honor to share this dais with so many important political figures: Governor Bush, General Powell, Senator Lott, and Mr. Forbes. I spent Inaugural week surrounded by people who want me to succeed . . . ~~and~~ tonight, I'm surrounded by people who want to succeed me.

I'm glad I came here tonight, but if you read page 176 of a recent memoir by a political consultant, you'll learn that even this wasn't my idea.

I want to congratulate Senator Lott on his nomination as the Alfalfa Party's candidate for President. That was a great acceptance speech you gave, Senator. But I think we both know who's going to take credit for it.

Last week, Trent was introduced on *Meet The Press* as "the most prominent Republican in Washington." I was relieved to hear that.

After I signed the Welfare Bill, some people started calling me "the most prominent Republican in Washington" . . ~~and I was worried it would catch on!~~

If Trent Lott is the most prominent Republican in Washington, then Colin Powell is the most prominent Republican in theory. General Powell seemed poised to ascend to the highest ranks of national politics, until he started taking career advice from Mario Cuomo.

I know Elizabeth Dole is also here tonight. She was just with us at the White House when I presented Senator Dole with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest honor a president can bestow upon a citizen.

It was especially moving to me because it was the first time in a long time Bob Dole and I had been together in a room without Jim Lehrer.

I was so happy I invited him to spend the night in the Lincoln Bedroom — on the house.

That ceremony was one of those moments when you realize the twists of fate that make all the difference between victory and defeat.

As I placed the medal around Senator Dole's neck, I remember thinking: "there but for the grace of God goes Lamar Alexander."

I'm glad to see Jay Rockefeller and Steve Forbes here tonight -- it's nice to know that the Alfalfa Club has finally decided to offer reduced price tickets.

I want to congratulate Senator Rockefeller for his inauguration as president of the Alfalfa Club. I don't like to brag, Jay, but anyone can get elected as president of the Alfalfa Club once. Call me when you become a two-termer.

Much has been made of the fact that I'm the first Democrat to be elected to two terms since FDR. Keep it up.

I was last here was during my first term, which of course has been followed by this, my second. ~~When you've been elected to this many terms -- "this" being two -- you've entered a special category in presidential history~~. You may be interested to know that we've had fifteen two-term presidents, of which I am one. So you are looking at one/fifteenth of all the two-term presidents in American history.

Or if you prefer, 2/30ths, the operative number being two. As in terms Which I am serving. (write in - "2")

And as we look upon the dawn of my second term, let us prepare as a nation to build a bridge over the 22nd Amendment.

Now that I've won a second term, which I believe (2) I've mentioned, I can turn my attention to the history department of the Electoral College. The media have made a lot of noise recently about my so-called obsession with my place in history. But as usual, they overstate the case.

Of course, it is hard to ignore the deliberations of history's jury. So we're going to be more pro-active about managing our place in history. This week at the White House, we operationalized something called the Posterity War Room.

I wasn't keen on Mag. this pursued in years.

We will take our case to the media. Tomorrow morning, McCurry is going on *A&E Biography*, Erskine Bowles will be on the History Channel, and Roy Romer is meeting with the editors of the World Book Encyclopedia.

My media team is busy putting together spots that will go negative on James Buchanan and Warren Harding. Bring 'em down a peg.

And James Carville has announced he is mounting a full-scale assault on the resident scholars of the Heritage Foundation . . . I can't stop him but God knows I've tried.

The Posterity War Room has already put together a comparative fact sheet on this. And at this very moment, it's being faxed and e-mailed to surrogates and supporters all across America. I'd like to share some of it with you:

Bill Clinton added 1.5 million acres of land to our national parks; by his own admission, George Washington was personally responsible for the deforestation of cherry trees.

Bill Clinton reduced crime on our streets; Thomas Jefferson's Vice President shot a guy!

Bill Clinton signed more nuclear disarmament agreements than James Madison, Andrew Jackson and James K. Polk combined.

Bill and Hillary Clinton have made more of an effort than FDR to seek the counsel of Eleanor Roosevelt.

Whatever history's final verdict, it can't change the fact that I just had one of the most wonderful years of my life.

In 1996, I won re-election, my family and I were happy and healthy, and I made good on last year's resolution to construct a metaphor to the 21st century.

I've heard it disparaged, but I am very committed to building that bridge -- a metaphor that has inspired millions of Americans and a good number of dentists.

But as far as the present is concerned, I have been worried about the rancor that infects our political life. The American people want us to put aside petty bickering and attend to the important work they sent us here to do. I believe we can and must work together. And in my upcoming State-of-the-Union address, I will lay out my vision for bipartisanship and a renewed era of good feelings.

My fellow Americans, I see an America where . . . a president from one party and a House Speaker of another might sit down together in fellowship to split an extra large pizza with sausage and peppers.

I see an America where Sunday morning talk shows end with a McLaughlin Group Hug.

I see an America where Crossfire is hosted by Dennis Ross.

~~I see an America where Newt Gingrich picks up his cell phone and calls Jim McDermott just to say "hi."~~

I see an America where Patrick Kennedy and Strom Thurmond double date on Saturday nights.

I see an America where Tom DeLay brings ~~Mr. Bush~~ the Press Roundtable to one of my coffees.

~~I see an America where the Congressional Ways and Means Committee studies ways to be nice.~~

I see an America in AG Names Jesse Helms on the 1st 100 Anniversary of the 21st C.

I see an America where Rush Limbaugh and Al Franken co-chair the Publishers' Clearinghouse Sweepstakes.

Ann Richards
— Treat both shares Jim Hoffmann
having may wit ~~Tom Foley~~.
— ~~Talk to Rush Limbaugh~~
~~Write~~ about Mr Sqire Limbaugh.

And I see an America where the Republican elephant and the Democratic donkey are replaced with two, big purple Barneys.

My friends, I do see an America where we are united: by our humor, by our values, and by our willingness to work together. We may have our differences, but we share common dreams and we face common challenges -- our best hope is to meet them with a common sense of purpose. Sometimes it takes a day of pride and patriotism like the Inaugural to remind us; sometimes it only takes a night like this. And I want to thank the Alfalfa Club for giving me an opportunity to use all the jokes that didn't make it into my Inaugural address.

Thank you and good night.

###

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 1/27/97

TO: Anne Hawley.

FROM: **Staff Secretary**

Per my e-mail.

Helen

197803

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

'96 DEC 16 PM4:29

December 16, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Carol Rasco

SUBJECT: Rob Reiner's Early Childhood Public Engagement Campaign

Rob Reiner is spearheading a national Early Childhood Public Engagement Campaign to raise awareness about the importance of the first three years of life and improve children's futures. He will launch the Campaign the week of April 21, 1997 with a one-hour ABC prime time special. Mr. Reiner would like you to host a White House event that week. He spoke to you about the campaign earlier this year and feels you agreed to participate.

Having received a phone call from Mr. Reiner and Ellen Galinsky of Families and Work, Institute (who is working with him), I initiated communication with Don Baer, John Emerson, the Vice President's staff and others to consider this request. On Thursday, Mr. Reiner briefed White House staff and senior agency officials on the initiative and potential White House and agency involvement. Several organizations involved in the project -- the Carnegie Corporation, the Families and Work Institute, the Teresa & H. John Heinz III Family Foundation, and International Creative Management Inc. -- also attended.

The Early Childhood Campaign builds on the Carnegie Corporation's 1994 report, *Starting Points*, that documents how children's experiences from ages 0-3 determine in large part their functioning through adolescence and adulthood. The Campaign seeks to:

- raise public awareness about years 0-3;
- connect families to resources and services;
- link federal, state and local efforts to improve services;
- promote citizen engagement; and
- increase the public will to make quality services more widely available to families with young children.

ABC's special will be followed by a week of media events. The week of April 21 Good Morning America will feature the Campaign daily; *Newsweek* will issue a special edition; and the Campaign will issue a video for new parents, run PSAs, set up a toll-free information number, and launch a web page. Mr. Reiner has obtained a number of corporate commitments (e.g. United Airlines will run PSAs for a month this spring), and the National Governor's Association will be actively involved starting with a plenary session at the February winter meeting dedicated to the topic and which Mr. Reiner will address.

The Campaign provides a tremendous opportunity for you, the Vice President, the First Lady, and Tipper Gore to advance the nation's commitment to children generally and to promote specific policy goals (e.g. school readiness). We hope to provide Mr. Reiner with a decision about your involvement in a potential April White House event by early January. Domestic Policy will continue to work with other White House offices and Scheduling to reach a decision, and will continue to coordinate federal agencies' involvement in the Campaign.

cc: The Vice President
The First Lady
Mrs. Gore

1/24/97

To Bob Nash to handle?

Should Dorskind do reply?

To Maureen
Wings for nice
letter -- "I've asked
Sure Bob Nash
knows about your
support for
Sen. DeConcini"

HOWARD G. PASTER
466 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

TO: Betty Currie
The White House

FROM: Howard Paster

DATE: January 22, 1997

It was good talking to you today.

Two pages in total.

HOWARD G. PASTER
466 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

97 JAN 24 PM 5:26

January 22, 1997

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

Dear Mr. President:

It was good to see you, however briefly, last Friday at the end of Leon's going-away party. I left that afternoon without a formal good-bye because you and Leon were engrossed in the USA Today clip, and it was too good a moment to disrupt. What I would have said, had we more time, is how truly thrilling it was to realize you were only half-way through your Presidency. I wish you only the best -- now, for the next four years, and beyond.

My specific reason for writing at this time is that there was an article in today's Washington Post about Senator DeConcini's interest in becoming Ambassador to Italy. You may share my vivid memory of an August, 1993 conversation with Senator DeConcini in your private dining room; a conversation which ensured passage of the economic program and set in motion the Senator's decision not to seek reelection.

Mr. President, I am convinced, after Senator Boren switched his vote, that without Senator DeConcini's willingness to switch his vote the economic plan would not have been passed. Before you closed that sale, I had concentrated all my energies on Senator DeConcini because I felt he was the only real prospect to switch in our direction.

So on my own motion, Senator DeConcini did not contact me nor ask for a letter, I wanted to weigh in on his behalf. As always, I am grateful for your willingness to consider my point of view.

You have my constant admiration and respect.

Sincerely,

** TOTAL PAGE.02 **

WASHINGTON EDITION

SECTION B

THURSDAY
JANUARY 23, 1997

CALIFORNIA

Comment
ON CALIFORNIA

Fateful Frolic in an Eden Gone Awry

By Patt Morrison

In the twilight of a winter's Saturday, Wilmer Chicas drowned in the lake at MacArthur Park.

He had been caught up in one of those soccer games that starts up whenever there's a ball and a patch of grass and at least a couple of people who love the game. The ball had rolled into the lake, and Wilmer Chicas—a young man who couldn't swim, who was carrying a lot of pounds on his frame—went in after it, his black and white running shoes following the

Immigrants Aid Region, Hurt L.A

■ Economy: Newcomers cluster in the city. Successful ones move to the suburbs, but the poor stay behind.

By PATRICK J. McDONNELL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

While immigrants are an overall economic benefit for Southern California, the accumulating concentration of poor newcomers in Los Angeles raises the troubling specter of the city becoming a "repository for the disadvantaged."

That is the sobering conclusion of a USC study released Wednesday, the third in a series examining immigration to the region.

The study, by USC's School of Urban and Regional Planning, depicts immigrants as an upwardly mobile population who represent a net fiscal gain to society, paying more in taxes than they receive in services—an assumption that is still challenged in some quarters.

However, the report points to an emerging phenomenon: The most successful immigrants tend to leave so-called "gateway" cities like Los Angeles for outlying suburbs, leaving behind a core disadvantaged population—even as more impoverished newcomers arrive from abroad.

The result, the study concluded, is that Los Angeles—a "steppingstone" for successful immigrants—is struggling under the weight of a growing poor population, a trend exacerbated by the recession of the 1990s. Between 1990 and 1993, the noted, poverty rates in the entire Sou California region spiked upward by one-third, tapering off only slig thereafter.

The inevitable implication for Los A les is a social and economic deterior including a diminished tax base, an e standard of living, neighborhood insta and other urban woes. Since Los Ang by far the largest and most influentia in the region, such downturns could significant effects throughout Sou California.

"Unfortunately, as Los Angeles bec more poor, it also will become a less tive gateway, both socially and eco cally," the study concluded. "That de ration also hurts immigrants and residents who may wish to stay in the



St
C

Immigrants Aid Region, Hurt L.A., Study Says

■ Economy: Newcomers cluster in the city. Successful ones move to the suburbs, but the poor stay behind.

By PATRICK J. McDONNELL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

While immigrants are an overall economic benefit for Southern California, the accumulating concentration of poor newcomers in Los Angeles raises the troubling specter of the city becoming a "repository for the disadvantaged."

That is the sobering conclusion of a USC study released Wednesday, the third in a series examining immigration to the region.

The study, by USC's School of Urban and Regional Planning, depicts immigrants as an upwardly mobile population who represent a net fiscal gain to society, paying more in taxes than they receive in services—an assumption that is still challenged in some quarters.

However, the report points to an emerging phenomenon: The most successful immigrants tend to leave so-called "gateway" cities like Los Angeles for outlying suburbs, leaving behind a core disadvantaged population—even as more impoverished newcomers arrive from abroad.

The result, the study concluded, is that Los Angeles—a "steppingstone" for successful immigrants—is struggling under the weight of a growing poor population, a trend exacerbated by the recession of the 1990s. Between 1990 and 1993, the study noted, poverty rates in the entire Southern California region spiked upward by a full one-third, tapering off only slightly thereafter.

The inevitable implication for Los Angeles is a social and economic deterioration, including a diminished tax base, an eroded standard of living, neighborhood instability and other urban woes. Since Los Angeles is by far the largest and most influential city in the region, such downturns could have significant effects throughout Southern California.

"Unfortunately, as Los Angeles becomes more poor, it also will become a less effective gateway, both socially and economically," the study concluded. "That deterioration also hurts immigrants and other residents who may wish to stay in the city."

Dowell Myers, a demographer who is the study's principal author, acknowledged that the report implies a kind of paradox: As immigrants do better economically, the city of Los Angeles tends to do worse.

"Yes, immigrants are escaping from poverty, but the successful ones are moving to the suburbs," said Myers, who examined U.S. Census Bureau data and surveys to reach his conclusions. "And their places are taken by new immigrants, who tend to be more poor all over again."

Noelia Rodriguez, a spokesman for Mayor Richard Riordan, said city staffers had yet to review the study. But she said its conclusions would seem to underscore the need for steps to bolster the city's middle class, such as improved schools and policing.

"It sounds to me as though the message is

Please see STUDY, B4



Studies Deride Classroom News Program

■ Education: Channel One is heavy on advertising and 'filler,' two reports say. Its spokeswoman cites awards and renewal rate.

By ELAINE WOO, TIMES EDUCATION WRITER

Eight years after its controversial debut, Channel One, the classroom news program beamed into 12,000 schools nationwide, was the object of renewed attack Wednesday from a pair of studies examining the content of the daily 12-minute show.

The program, carried in 175 public and private California schools, is light on news and heavy on advertising and "filler" material, and carries subliminal messages that could be harmful to the 8 million youths who comprise its audience, professors from Vassar College and Johns Hopkins University concluded after studying 36 shows broadcast in 1995 and 1996.

nners didn't see any
until December, more
after the contract was
y added a new objec-
esign of the station did
esthetics of the neigh-
ey said. So Frick told
ts that the building had
signed to conform to
al styles. But the inclu
the acceptable models
rnational Style repre
yne a misunderstanding
ural history.

illing to talk about our
a continuation of the
al Style. I could discuss
ow obsolete that is, how
it is to give you a really
'30s building because
one that can make it and
ls don't exist. I could go
But they wouldn't let me
ase," Mayne said.

elaborate, Frick was
o give specifics, reas
t that was the architects
ne should be able to look
ct and say that is remi
the International Style
that was presented to us
that test."

ne, that is exactly the

as-Davis that she neve
ce to know Corie because
ool's disciplinarian, she
any interaction with the
dent.

a good baby," Thomas
. "Corie wouldn't come
school, drop her books
ound the streets like I see
ren do."

mbrew, a member of the
on Unified School Dis
d, also announced the
of the Corie Williams
p Fund, which each yea
a Centennial High School
o is pursuing a college

Villiams was our hero in
ton Unified School Dis
mbrew said, echoing Bill
aracterization of his son
ame day as Corie.

s pictures Thomas-Davis
rough showed a slim
rl with glowing skin and
ghtly upturned eyes that
mother's.

picture—one with Corie
and an off-the-shoulder
fur, another in a white
ne posed in cap and gown
arm resting on a giant
graduation year—Corie
with confidence. "She's
'I did it,' " Thomas-Davis
y.

very simple analogy to this. I'm an architect and I have a different set of requirements than you do. But no one understands what we do."

For Mayne, things only got worse. As relations with the city seemed to spin out of control, WLC senior partner Larry Wolff asked Mayne to resign from the project in a Jan. 6 fax, citing recent conversations between "our team and key city of Santa Monica representatives" as the reason.

Frick denies that the city had any involvement in Mayne's firing. "I don't know where that information is coming from, but the city has absolutely in no way asked that Morphosis [be] removed from the project," she said. Wolff now says the request for a resignation was a misunderstanding.

For now, Mayne is still on the job. "This happens over and over," Mayne said. "In a city like this, why aren't there all kinds of public buildings—schools, libraries—buildings of all types that are done by the [Frank] Gehrys, [Eric Owen] Mosses, Hodgetts & Fungs—architects that are known all over the world?

"Not only do they not want it. It is quite the opposite."

MORRISON

Continued from B1

entrances. "No open fires." And yet trash can fires are smoking in the morning mist. The city had to remove the barbecue pits because the homeless were killing and grilling the park ducks. "Dog defecation must be removed immediately"—and yet the flowers can smell of human feces, and crack accessories turn up in the foliage.

Eddie Comick, rake in hand, is pulling up both weeds and memories, of band shell concerts and paddle boat rides here. He does day labor in exchange for his general relief check; "better than sitting around like them," and he nods toward the cocooned homeless whose slovenliness now annoys him so that he sounds like a TV spot for a substandard cleaning product: "You can have it looking good, but about 30 minutes after, it looks like we haven't done any work at all."

About 15 years ago, a homeless man went into MacArthur Park lake to fish out a kid's tricycle, after the kid's mother offered him $3 to retrieve it. He drowned. Now, Wilmer Chicas, chasing after a soccer ball. People I can understand; how is it that a park can slip underwater and perish?

now owned by K-III Communications and produced in a Los Angeles studio.

Peters said schools using Channel One are satisfied and renew at a rate of 99%. She cited a recent University of Michigan survey of 156 schools in which 93% of teachers using Channel One said they would recommend it.

But Hoynes and Miller suggest that educational benefits are

year, two minutes of commercials a day add up to one full school day of watching nothing but ads.

At Cerritos' Gahr High School, one of the pilot schools, Principal Karla Taylor said that some teachers view Channel One as a waste of precious instructional time. But others find it useful for stimulating discussions, she said, and students enjoy it in part because it provides glimpses of life at other schools.

STUDY

Continued from B1

similar to what the mayor has been saying, that for a city to thrive it must have a strong middle class," Rodriguez said.

The study is part of the expanding body of research—academic, private and governmental—focusing on immigrants in Southern California, the nation's premier destination for new arrivals. Immigration has become a driving force behind social and economic changes in the region, and the issue's political volatility was evident during the contentious Proposition 187 campaign in 1994.

Today, families headed by immigrants account for about 40% of all L.A. households, according to census data. And more than half of all city households below the federal poverty line are headed by immigrants, who, while a varied population, tend to be poorer than the native-born.

In the polarized debate about immigrants, newcomers are often depicted as mired in poverty or moving rapidly into the middle class. The USC study presents a nuanced finding that combines aspects of both viewpoints.

Worsening matters for Los Angeles, the authors say, are cuts in federal welfare payments and other assistance to communities that attract new immigrants. The study concluded by urging other levels of government to boost aid to places such as Los Angeles, which play a pivotal role in providing education, health care and other services to newcomers—only to see suburban flight drain away ambitious inhabitants.

"Los Angeles carries a heavy responsibility for helping new immigrants adjust to life in America," the study said. "That responsibility entails costs that the city's residents should not have to bear alone."

But others argue that what Los Angeles needs is fewer immigrants, not more federal and state dollars.

"What you have to do is not absorb large numbers of people who are likely going to end up in poverty," said Ira Mehlman, West Coast representative of the Federation for American Immigration Reform, a Washington group that seeks to restrict current immigration levels. Mehlman said he agreed that "L.A. is becoming an enclave for the poor," but he disputed the notion that more government assistance is a potential solution. "You can't just throw money at the problem," Mehlman said.

The study's essential argument—that the social costs of immigration fall to local government, while the benefits accrue elsewhere—is not a new one. Gov. Pete Wilson has frequently called on Washington to reimburse California for the costs of incarceration and other expenses associated with illegal immigration.

But the USC study focused on the consequences for the city of Los Angeles, which sits at the crest of the current wave of immigration that began in the 1970s and accelerated during the economic boom years of the 1980s. The study assumed that current high levels of immigration probably will remain through the year 2000, fueled largely by legal arrivals reuniting with family members.

The study found that dispersal to the suburbs, while evident among all immigrant groups, was especially pronounced among Asian immigrants, who account for 27% of new immigrant arrivals. Latino immigrants, who account for about 60% of all new immigrant arrivals, tend to remain attached to the city longer, but they too eventually fan out toward the suburbs, the researchers said.

In general, the study found that immigrants with higher household incomes are more likely to leave the city, as are those with higher education and better English-speaking skills. The poorest and least likely to prosper are often left behind, the study found.

cc ZLH

Thought Sen Cruz
may want to
have him at SOU—

BC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

1/27

Dear Dr. Schuller—

Thank you for your letter.

It is true that I shared the verse you gave me, and the story of your gift with the Speaker and Sen. Warner and Ford on the way to the Inauguration.

It is true that Hillary had the Bible open to Is 58:12.

I am sure the spirit of the passage has helped me in countless ways and may have helped me to see that I should give the Medal of Freedom to Sen. Dole.

For all this and more I am in your debt.

Feb. 3 is the day before the State of the Union but I will make some time to see you if you can come.

Sincerely

Bill Clinton

PS—Please give my regards to our friend TB Hughes, a remarkable man.

Of he... there should consider inviting him to let us know if he's free on Feb 3rd

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97

Robert Schuller is available to visit with you Feb. 3 but that is the day before the Lincoln Dinner so it may be best if they be in Tennessee —

ROBERT

, 21, 1997

Dear Mr. President:

"Thou shall be called the rep
of paths to dwell in." Isaiah 58:12.

My eyes filled with tears and my heart was thrilled with pride when I heard you use those prophetic words from Isaiah on your Inauguration Day. I remember first sharing them with you "as my gift" in November and sharing them again last Saturday with you at the White House.

Is it true that you shared these words from the Bible with Senators Ford and Warner and Congressman Gingrich as you rode together to the Inauguration site at the Capitol?

And is it true that you placed your hand on that very verse as you took your Oath of Office?

Then, is it possible that verse which you first received in November may have motivated you — perhaps subconsciously — to make the most honorable move any elected president ever made to his recent opponent when you gave the Medal of Freedom to my old friend, Bob Dole?

Forty-seven years ago when I took my ordination vows, I placed my hand on that same text to claim it as the spiritual guiding star of my life. How God blesses the heart so positioned to peace and prosperity for all.

I'm sharing the challenge of this verse with my television audience this coming Sunday, January 26.

I will be on the East Coast on Monday, February 3. I have lunch that day in Atlanta at the home of our mutual friend, J.B. Fuqua.

THE CRYSTAL CATHEDRAL
12141 LEWIS STREET, GARDEN GROVE, CALIFORNIA 92640

SENT BY: CRYSTAL CATHEDRAL; 1-22-97 17:33; 7147489423 => 2023954198435 36; #1/2

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97



ROBERT SCHULLER

January 21, 1997

Dear Mr. President:

"Thou shall be called the repairer of the breach, and the restorer of paths to dwell in." Isaiah 58:12.

My eyes filled with tears and my heart was thrilled with pride when I heard you use those prophetic words from Isaiah on your Inauguration Day. I remember first sharing them with you "as my gift" in November and sharing them again last Saturday with you at the White House.

Is it true that you shared these words from the Bible with Senators Ford and Warner and Congressman Gingrich as you rode together to the Inauguration site at the Capitol?

And is it true that you placed your hand on that very verse as you took your Oath of Office?

Then, is it possible that verse which you first received in November may have motivated you — perhaps subconsciously — to make the most honorable move any elected president ever made to his recent opponent when you gave the Medal of Freedom to my old friend, Bob Dole?

Forty-seven years ago when I took my ordination vows, I placed my hand on that same text to claim it as the spiritual guiding star of my life. How God blesses the heart so positioned to peace and prosperity for all.

I'm sharing the challenge of this verse with my television audience this coming Sunday, January 26.

I will be on the East Coast on Monday, February 3. I have lunch that day in Atlanta at the home of our mutual friend, J.B. Fuqua.

THE CRYSTAL CATHEDRAL
12141 LEWIS STREET, GARDEN GROVE, CALIFORNIA 92640

SENT BY: CRYSTAL CATHEDRAL; 1-22-97 17:33; 7147489423 => 2023954198435 36; #1/2

A private plane available to me would allow me to slip into Washington later that afternoon or evening. I would love to have quality time with you. We are all in this together — to bring our country together!

Bill Hybels called this morning and we had a long talk and I shared how thrilled I was that I gave you a gift for your Inauguration Day. I want to believe that if I was used by God to give you that Bible verse, you received the best gift you could possibly have received from anyone on the most important day in your life.

I want to help you any way I can to build the bridge into the 21st Century.

Yours with affection, respect and esteem,

Robert H. Schuller

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
East Wing, Room 214
Washington, DC 20500-2000

RHS/bae

P.S. I agreed with every word of your fantastic speech!

World Trade Center
Detroit/Windsor

Sam A. Danou
Chairman/CEO

1251 Fort Street
Trenton, Michigan 48183
U.S.A.

Tel. (313) 479-2345
Fax (313) 479-5733
E-mail: wtcdtt@wtca.geis.com

1-27-97

* ERIC SCHWARTZ
HE WANTS TO BE
OF HELP; WE NEED
A MEETING AS SOON AS
POSSIBLE

DLC
Democratic Leadership Council

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97

To Don Baer
for future use
B

FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Pages (including cover): 11

Phone:

Fax:

To: Betty Currie

From: Al From

Comments: President Clinton asked Bruce Reed to do this yesterday. Please call 546-0007 and ask for Julia if you have questions. Thanks.

IF THERE ARE ANY PROBLEMS WITH THIS TRANSMISSION, PLEASE CALL (202) 546-0007. THANK YOU.

518 C Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002
202-546-0007
Fax: 202-544-5002

January 14, 1997
Memorandum to the President
From: Al From
Subject: The Inaugural Address

Attached are two items that you might find helpful as you shape your Inaugural Address. The first is a memo I did in late December at Mike Waldman's request. And, the second is the section from the New Progressive Declaration that best defines the New Democrat philosophy.

As I said in the memo, the Inaugural Address should lay out your vision for our country in the information age and the 21st century. It should be visionary, bold, and philosophical. In it, you should define the new relationship between government and the people in the 21st century. The section of the declaration I've attached is the best articulation of the principles undergirding that philosophy that we've done.

As your preparing the Inaugural Address, you might want to review Franklin Roosevelt's speech to the Commonwealth Club in 1932 in which he traces the relationship between government and the economy over our country's history. Your speech can define the relationship between the people and their government so that America in the 21st lives up to its unique destiny as the land of freedom and opportunity in the world. Good luck -- and I'll be around all week if I can help.

December 23, 1996
Memorandum to the President
From: Al From
Subject: The Inaugural and State of the Union Addresses

Your Inaugural and State of the Union Addresses offer you not only an opportunity to set the terms of the debate in 1997 and the next four years, but also the chance to lay the foundation for your legacy and your place in history.

My advice is to think of those speeches in tandem. In the Inaugural Address, you ought to lay out your vision and define the historical role you want to play in your second term. In the State of the Union, you need to offer the specifics that tell how you're going to do it.

Before I offer some brief thoughts about the vision and the substance, let me make two points about the tone and the nature of the speeches.

First, the tone should be lofty and the thinking big and bold. In part because political analysts never understood the importance of many of the ideas you talked about and how they connected with the aspirations and anxieties of middle class families, they unfairly put the rap on you that in the campaign you offered mostly small bore ideas. In the Inaugural, in particular, you need to transcend that rap with a visionary address that makes clear where you want to lead the country and steeped in a sense of history offers big, bold strokes about how to get there. Our country is undergoing historic, large, and rapid change as we move into the information age -- and, if you want historians to remember your Inaugural Address -- it must contain vision and ideas worthy of leading our country through that historic change. In it you should display bold leadership, not cautious incrementalism.

Second, you should talk to Americans outside the Beltway not to the political elites and interest group leaders in Washington. You never have to face another election, and you should take full advantage of that in your Inaugural Address. You should talk directly with citizens as only you can -- and stay away from the Washingtonese, programmatic, and politically correct language that the inside the Beltway crowd looks for. In talking to the people you should avoid the polarizing partisan rhetoric so fashionable in this city. The Inaugural should be about country, not party; about vision, not program; about national purpose, not narrow interests; about bold approaches, not cautious incremetalism.

Now, in less than artful form, here are some thoughts about the substance.

You've already laid out the mission of your second term and your role in history -- to prepare America for the 21st century.

In these speeches you need to tell the people what that means in historical terms that they can understand. I believe you can do that and reinforce your own strongest themes: opportunity, responsibility, community. In a sense you need to embellish on the answer you gave a couple of weeks ago at your press conference when the first question was how do you want to be remembered in history. One model you might look at is Franklin Roosevelt's 1932 speech to the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco.

Here's one way to think about doing that.

America's unique and historic role among nations has been to be the cauldron of democracy, the creator of opportunity, and the guarantor of freedom. People from all over the world have come to the United States throughout our history for the chance to govern themselves, to get ahead, and to escape tyranny and live in freedom. Democracy, opportunity, freedom -- they are the core of America -- and every generation of Americans has had the responsibility of securing, strengthening, and expanding them.

We, too, face such a challenge. We must insure that as America moves into the 21st century, we do so in a way that strengthens our democracy, increases opportunity for our citizens, and protects our freedom. But we face a greater and historic challenge because as we move to the 21st century we are not just passing from one year to the next, but rather from one era to another -- the kind of change we have had to master only once before in our history.

We must adapt our institutions -- public and private -- forged for the industrial era to deal with the very different challenges of the information age -- and do it in a way that strengthens self government, restores broad upward mobility, and guarantees both order and freedom.

We had a similar challenge at the beginning of the 20th century. Then you could do a brief recount of the challenges we faced in assuring democracy, opportunity and freedom as we moved from an agricultural to an industrial society. All three were threatened because our public institutions designed by Jefferson and Madison to deal with the gentleman farmers and artisans of an agricultural society were ill equipped to deal with the powerful giant trusts and the urban corruption and squalor at the beginning of the industrial era. Left unchecked, those new, powerful forces of urban-industrial America could have undermined our democracy and diminished opportunity and freedom.

With political leadership from the likes of Theodore Roosevelt and intellectual leadership from the likes of Herbert Croley, America met that challenge. And in the Progressive Era, in the first part of this century, the progressives led the modernization of our political, governing, and regulatory institutions so they were

capable of coping with the challenges of the industrial age. Their reforms, cemented during the New Deal, created public systems, grounded in a powerful centralized government with burgeoning bureaucracies, that have for most of this century secured our democracy, provided opportunity, and protected our freedom.

But as the world and our country changes under the powerful decentralizing forces of the information age, the inflexibility and ineffectiveness of centralized bureaucracies threaten to frustrate our ability to govern ourselves, limit opportunities for ordinary citizens, and undermine our basic freedoms.

So like the progressives a century ago, our task must be to modernize our public governing and political institutions so they preserve America's historic mission at the dawn of a new era and a new century. But while our challenge is the same, our approaches must be almost the mirror opposite. For rather than centralized government bureaucracies, the key to strengthening democracy, increasing opportunity, and preserving freedom in the information age is to build stronger communities with citizens who assume greater personal and civic responsibility.

In that context preparing America for the 21st century means modernizing our public institutions for the challenges and needs of the information age.

* Modernizing our public education system so that it produces both solid citizens capable of carrying the burden of self government and prosperous citizens in the new global, information economy.

* Building a new social welfare system, grounded in opportunity and responsibility, so that it broadens prosperity, diminishes the disparity of incomes, rewards hard work with upward mobility, and brings millions of left out Americans into the economic and social mainstream.

* Restructuring our great social insurance (entitlement) programs so that we can guarantee economic and social security for retired Americans and at the same time have the resources to invest in our future and offer health care to all.

* Strengthening our local communities, particularly our central cities, so they can once again foster opportunity and assure order and the most basic of our freedoms -- the freedom from crime, the freedom to walk in your own neighborhood between sundown and sunup.

* Providing a bright beacon of light and hope throughout the world, by promoting American values, fostering democracy and freedom, and market economics.

If this sort of approach has any appeal to you, I'd keep the Inaugural Address lofty, visionary and thematic, and fill in the policy and programmatic detail in the

State of the Union. I hope this memorandum is helpful, and I'm ready to help at your beck and call. Have a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year.

A Governing Philosophy for the Information Age

The New Progressive philosophy rests on three cornerstones—three ideals rooted in the progressive tradition of American democracy: equality of opportunity, mutual responsibility, and self-government. They suggest a very different political purpose, social ethic, and approach to governing than those that prevail today.

A Different Political Purpose: Equal Opportunity for All, Special Privilege for None

The first cornerstone of the New Progressive politics has animated generations of American leaders and has attracted millions of immigrants to our shores. It is, simply, the promise of equal opportunity for all to get ahead and special privilege for none. It is the ideal of a society in which individuals earn their rewards through their own talents and efforts within a system of fair and open rules.

From the earliest struggles to extend the franchise to today's unfinished fight against racial discrimination, Americans have progressively enlarged the sphere of individual liberty at the expense of unearned and unjustified privilege. We have discovered that simply banning formal legal privileges, though vitally necessary, is not enough.

There is no invisible hand that creates equal opportunity; it is a conscious social achievement that requires affirmative acts.

Equal opportunity means a fair chance for every individual to succeed based on talent and effort. It requires removing discriminatory barriers and providing meaningful arenas for self-development and self-improvement. It means a commitment to public investment in the elements common to all economic activity, and the rejection of special-interest subsidies that give the influential a public leg-up in the marketplace.

For decades, government has sought to redistribute opportunities and wealth within the framework of a relatively mature and stable industrial economy. The result has been growing layers of public subsidies, entitlements, and preferences to an ever-expanding universe of beneficiaries. The politics of entitlement is foundering today on unsustainable costs and a culture of dependence that has permeated citizens and businesses alike. For many Americans, the

quest for distributive justice through an expanding welfare state now threatens to foreclose avenues to individual opportunity based on hard work and merit.

The answer is not, as many conservatives assert, to simply disable government or abandon key public responsibilities. Rather, it is to refocus government on enforcing fair rules of competition, cultivating an educated, public-spirited citizenry, and enabling individuals to succeed by dint of their own efforts. This principle is not a guarantee of individual success, and it is not a formula for top-down distribution of social goods. The promise of America is the promise of equal opportunity, not equal results.

A Different Social Ethic: A New Compact of Mutual Responsibility

The second cornerstone of the New Progressive politics is the principle of mutual responsibility. The core idea is simple: As a moral matter, we cannot rightly benefit from any association to which we are not prepared to contribute our fair share or fulfill the duties of our role.

The ethic of mutual responsibility rejects libertarianism—the idea that we have no obligations other than the ones we choose. Because we are social beings, we live in a dense network of interdependence that we are not free to deny or reject.

The ethic of mutual responsibility is equally at odds with the philosophy of entitlement—the belief that we can make demands on others, or on the community, without giving something back. The reason is simple: Just about everything of value, whether material resources or social capital, is produced and sustained through human action, usually in cooperation with others. To demand something of value without contributing anything in return is to assert as a matter of right that some should work for others without compensation. That is wrong as a matter of morality. And in a free society, those who do the work will soon respond to shirkers by withdrawing their support from common enterprises.

Mutual responsibility rests on a foundation of personal responsibility. We are not helpless victims of external forces—whether they be poverty, prejudice, faceless bureaucracies, or heartless corporations. We are capable of understanding what is required of us, and of acting on that understanding. That is the faith of a free society, and of democracy itself.

We are born with the capacity for personal responsibility. But as every parent knows, we are not born responsible. The capacity must be developed over an extended period, starting with the family. While our society must hold all adults responsible for their acts, we must also work to ensure that every child has a decent chance to develop responsibility.

For adults, personal responsibility begins at home. We have an obligation

to take care of ourselves and our families—and to avoid unnecessary dependence on others. Regardless of economic or social status, we have an obligation to obey the law and to convey to our children the importance of law-abidingness.

Finally, our public discourse and institutions must cultivate the civic virtues and character required to preserve our liberties. Many liberals and conservatives today embrace an impoverished view of citizens as passive consumers of benefits, whether from government or the market. To sustain democracy, however, citizens must participate in decisions and contribute to the commonwealth, not merely demand rights and entitlements. We envision a new politics in which public benefits are closely linked to public work: Whenever possible, policies should be structured so that citizens who contribute to the community are rewarded, and those who benefit from the community give something back.

Policies conceived in this spirit of reciprocity are far more likely to work and to enjoy sustained public support. The G.I. Bill was one of the most popular and effective measures in our history because it expressed the nation's gratitude for our veterans' extraordinary service. And John F. Kennedy's Peace Corps was electrifying because it challenged the most fortunate Americans to give something back through service to their country.

A Different Means to Public Ends: Empowering Citizens and Communities

The third cornerstone of the New Progressive politics is a new principle of genuine self-government for the Information Age: Public institutions that empower our citizens to act for themselves.

Early in this century, the concentration of economic power in large corporations fueled public demands to centralize political power in national institutions. Bureaucracy and a strong national government were modernizing forces that spurred enormous material and social progress in industrial society. But they also diminished many Americans' independence as workers and citizens and weakened or displaced civic institutions.

The new economic arrangements make it possible—indeed, often necessary—for many Americans to direct their own work and careers and so regain a measure of freedom and autonomy lost during the Machine Age. Likewise, today's dispersals of economic power suggest a corresponding diffusion of political power, away from central institutions to people and local institutions.

The scale of our economic and political life is changing. The opportunity is at hand to revitalize economic self-reliance and self-governance by returning power from large institutions to people, from remote managers to front

line workers, from social service agencies to parents, and from the national government to more accessible and accountable institutions, whether they be local government agencies or community organizations. While many U.S. businesses have reorganized themselves, flattening hierarchies and developing more participatory forms of decision making, our political system remains mired in the past. Efforts to improve government's performance by shrinking bureaucracy have met with entrenched resistance, exacerbating the loss of public confidence and sparking demands for the wholesale elimination of public agencies and functions.

Simply dismantling old bureaucracies, however, won't help Americans cope with new problems. The real challenge lies in replacing top-down bureaucratic government with a new model for bottom-up self-governance.

The new model decentralizes power, expands individual choice, and injects competition into the delivery of public goods and services. From charter schools to tradeable pollution allowances, it uses the flexibility and ingenuity of private markets to serve public purposes.

Where bureaucracy seeks to control people, the new model seeks to empower them. Reversing a century-long trend, it stresses local initiative before looking to Washington for solutions. And instead of creating government programs for every problem, it uses information, market incentives, civic networks, and performance standards to equip individuals and communities to solve their own problems.

The new approach fundamentally redefines the relationship between citizens and the government. It requires that they be active participants in producing public goods such as a clean environment and safe streets, not simply passive recipients of government largess. It defines "public" as the domain of citizens, not just government and it trusts in the broad, common sense judgments of citizens rather than the narrow expertise of technocratic elites. It is not simply a formula for less government, but for more effective and democratic governance. As Washington steps back from the impossible task of micro managing our incredibly complex and diverse society, local governments, individual citizens, and community institutions must assume more responsibility for tackling public problems.

In the new division of responsibility, government remains indispensable but its role changes. Government must be a catalyst of public action rather than a creator of programs. It must collect and spread information that is essential to informed debate and public deliberation. It must invest in promising public enterprises without trying to manage or control them. It must sustain institutions, especially public education, that promote equal opportunity and it must referee economic competition. It must continue to set and enforce public health and safety standards. And the national government must continue to

concern itself with national matters: conducting defense and foreign policy, advancing our global economic and environmental interests, regulating interstate commerce, and protecting civil rights and liberties. But wherever possible, government at all levels must now empower people and communities to do things for themselves rather than delegating that responsibility to central bureaucracies.

This new philosophy of civic empowerment expands individual choice and strengthens community institutions, not to make government irrelevant, but to make it a more effective instrument of our common life. Indeed, the more we rely on political decentralization and individual choice, the more we need shared goals, clearly articulated, to guide our endeavors and to unite our country. Unity of ends, diversity of means: that is *e pluribus unum* for the twenty-first century.

Five Strategies for Renewing Our Democracy

Equality of opportunity, mutual responsibility, self-governing citizens and communities—these are the organizing principles of the New Progressive politics. They point toward radically different governing strategies that confront five overriding challenges facing our nation as we approach the twenty-first century:

- We must restore the American Dream by accelerating economic growth, expanding opportunity, and enhancing security.
- We must reconstruct our social order by strengthening families, attacking crime, and empowering the urban poor.
- We must renew our democracy by challenging the special interests and returning power to citizens and local institutions.
- We must defend the common civic ideals and the spirit of tolerance that enables America to draw strength and unity from its amazing diversity.
- And we must confront global confusion by building enduring new international structures of economic and political freedom. Unfortunately, the major parties today avoid these urgent tasks, either because the most likely solutions challenge current arrangements and interests, or because they believe there is no political constituency for actually solving problems. Yet the large and growing body of independent voters who have abandoned both parties suggests the emergence of a constituency for radical change.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97

Bob | Bruce | Erskine
Somewhat like Dr Koop is right on this - pls look into & advise
BK

Date: January 15, 1997

To: The President

From: Chick Koop

Re: Delivering Hospice Care to patients who unexpectedly live longer than six months.

Current law imposes a lifetime limit on Medicare liability for hospice care. Despite this cost cap, well-meaning but ill-formed Office of the Inspector General of HHS (OIG)[Operation Restore Trust] auditors have begun aggressively denying hospice care to patients who live longer than six months. They are assuming that patients who live too long were referred in error or through fraud. Obviously, palliative medicine doesn't work that way. Good medical care can and should sometimes make people live longer. Not only will these denials bankrupt the involved hospices but all hospices will be afraid to continue to care for terminal patients with non-cancer diagnoses who make up the bulk of the "long survivors." In addition, this will increase the social pressure to legalize physician-assisted suicide as a way to solve the financial problem of caring for too-slow-to-die patients.

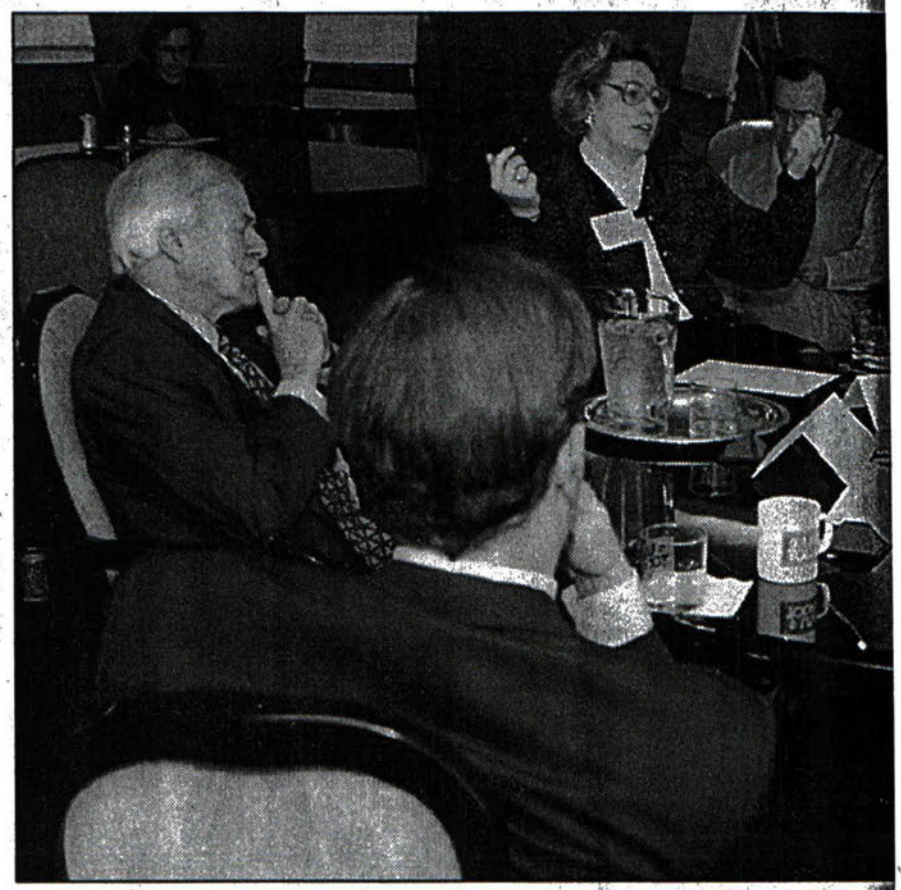
Limiting access to care is not the way to prevent fraud in health care delivery. I believe any recourse other than action by you, Mr. President, would be ponderous and ineffective until the damage is done. Please stop this audit in its current form. Ask HCFA and the OIG to work with the American Academy of Hospice and Palliative Medicine and the National Hospice Organization to develop appropriate audit screens and outcome measures for this emerging component of health care.

Robin

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97

Around the table on the

As the nation prepared for President Clinton's second inaugural, USA TODAY assembled a panel of presidential historians and scholars to discuss changing American perceptions of the highest office in the land.



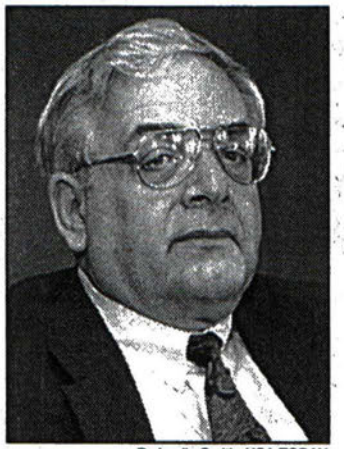
The roundtable: The five scholars Tuesday discuss the powers and pressures of the pre

Richard Benedetto: The American people have long expressed ambiguous feelings about the presidency. On one hand they revere the office and exalt its occupants, while on the other hand they have often been its severest critics. Can we talk about that?

Michael Riccards: It's the ambivalent feelings of a democratic people toward authority in general and that's become accentuated. Doris Kearns Goodwin in her fine study of (Franklin) Roosevelt mentioned how people in the middle of the Great Depression would put on their Sunday best, which oftentimes wasn't much, because the president of the United States was riding down the center of town.

We've lost even that notion of deference. In part it's a consequence of Vietnam and Watergate, the general condemnation of actions of presidents, but we've also become a more cynical people.

Michael Beschloss: The ambivalence problem really comes from the office itself, because the founders constructed this sort of bizarre office which is two things that are sort of contradictory. On the one hand you have the role of the chief of state, which is a president as a unifying figure whom parents bring up their children to be like, who conducts diplomacy around the world as sort of an emblem of American society. And then in the same human being — you find this in very few systems around the world — you have



By Leslie Smith, USA TODAY

Riccards: The great ones combine vision with 'an exquisite sense of timing.'

Typically in America, presidential candidates and presidents when they are defeated, shift and retreat. Clinton is an example.

Beschloss: Oftentimes presidents feel that the only reward for displaying political courage is that historians say nice things about them 30 or 40 years later. And when you're in the presidency and particularly when you're running for reelection, that might seem like pretty small reward.

There really is another payoff, and that is when a president like Truman in '48 or Reagan after his (GOP nomination) defeat in '76 takes a position that seems risky or bold and then convinces the American people to change their view and support him. It

THE ROUND-TABLE PANEL

Five distinguished scholars discussed the presidency in a 90-minute roundtable conversation with USA TODAY national political correspondent **Richard Benedetto.** This page presents highlights of the discussion. The panel:

Michael Beschloss, presidential historian and author of several books on the presidency, including *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1960-63*. His specialty has been to examine how presidents call upon their political skills and personal character, and their willingness to take risks, to lead in times of crisis.

James MacGregor Burns, Leadership Academy, University of Maryland, and Pulitzer Prize-winning historian and presidential biographer (FDR, Kennedy). His many textbooks have been primers on American history and political science, and his two biographies of Roosevelt demonstrate the importance of bold leadership as the key to presidential success.

Stephen Hess, Brookings Institution presidential scholar, author of nine books and White House staffer in four

administrations (
er, Nixon, Ford a
He has studied th
effects of the me
presidency and
and the changing
plexity and cacop
presidential races
book: *Political Dy*
from Adams to K

Michael Riccards
of Fitchburg (Ma
College and autho
Ferocious Engine
racy: A History o
ican Presidency.
ume work shows
ican concepts of t
presidency, and e

rary atmosphere is that if you fight for ideals that may not be

da items were ac
first term so wh

got also a political leader who is necessarily partisan, has to divide people, has to run for office and choose enemies.

For someone to carry off both roles harmoniously is a very tough job.

Stephen Hess: Presidents complain from time to time about being president, but it's something of an affectation. There really is no shortage of people who want to be president. ... Most of them enjoy very much most of their time in the presidency. It certainly gives them an opportunity that comes to few human beings to make a difference in the lives of the people of the country and the world.

Shirley Anne Warshaw: The president is the leader of our policy-making structure. He's the leader of the free world in addition to that. Americans look for leadership. The president is the only national leader we have today.

Benedetto: Presidents have often found themselves torn between sticking to their principles and ideals and the world of *realpolitik*. How have presidents bridged this gap?

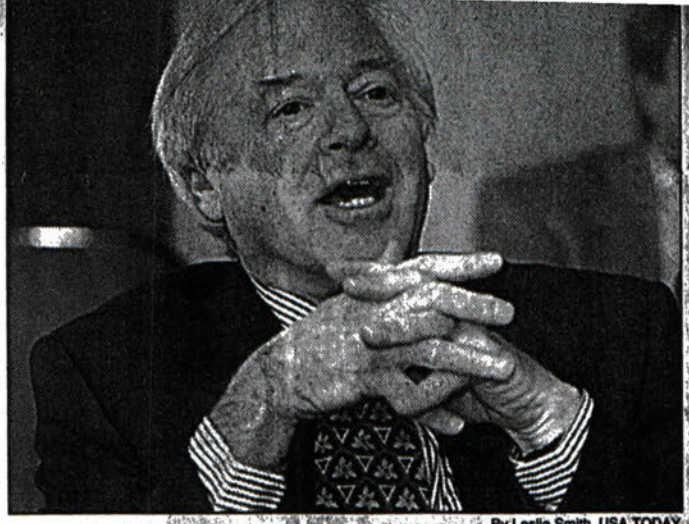
James MacGregor Burns: Well, usually what they have done is to forget their ideals and to go about the practical job of governing and getting reelected. I haven't seen many examples of presidents who have been willing to face defeat as they have pursued their ideals.

A great example of courage in the presidency is Harry Truman sticking to his policies in 1948 when he was running for election, and he was broke and everybody said he was going to lose, and he stuck to his positions and won.

And I would make the same point about Ronald Reagan. The impressive thing about Reagan was his willingness to pursue his conservative ideals even when he was defeated.



By Leslie Smith, USA TODAY



By Leslie Smith, USA TODAY

Hess: 'Great presidents have vision . . . some grand scheme that sticks together and defines where they want the country to go.'

increases their authority. ... So if you're a president who wants to expand your reputation and your authority, one way of doing that is by taking a risky position on a major issue and enlisting the power of the presidency and your own talents to convince Americans to support you. If it works, you will be a much more powerful and prestigious president.

Hess: The great presidents also have vision. It's George Bush's "vision thing." You can have vision and not be a great president, but you can't be a great president without vision. ... My view of vision is some grand scheme that usually sticks together and defines where they want the country to go. It's not a separate item here and there.

Clinton lacks vision. Bush and Carter lacked vision. Reagan had vision; Nixon did at least in foreign policy. Johnson had it in domestic policy. ... The ones with vision weren't all successful because you've got to take that vision and get from here to there. Some stumbled along the way.

Riccards: Presidents are basically politicians, and the important skill for politicians is to be able to somehow put the vision part and an exquisite sense of timing together. You have to both be able to mobilize people, but also know when the time is right to be able to choose an appeal that's efficacious but not contrived. That's really what great presidents are able to do.

Warshaw: But it's very important we say two things. One is that many of the Republican presidents that we say "had a vision" were attempting to dismantle something rather than [illegible] something. Creating because it involves building far different and far larger coalitions of support. Two, when we talk about vision, what we're really talking about is a very narrow set of goals. Vision is an agenda that can be measurably achieved. A vision is not some grand scheme for changing the world. What presidents have to do is have a short list of measurable achievable objectives, four, five, and that's what a vision is. Can we in the four years of my term make measurable changes?

Burns: Vision is important; I wish we had a better word for it. But let's look for a moment at an example of vision, which would be Roosevelt's Four Freedoms. That was an example of somebody who during the war when he might only have talked about military successes took the trouble to spell out four great ideals for Americans. He did that against the background of something he called the Economic Bill of Rights. So it was very substantive.

Beschloss: FDR is a very good example of where it really does enhance a president politically to be operating on both levels:

Roosevelt always said a president should be pre-eminently a moral educator, but at the same time he knew that Americans would fight World War II more effectively if they felt that they were doing it for certain ideals rather than simply to preserve American power in the world.

He also knew that if you're the leader of a political movement that you would like to extend into the future, you can do that more effectively if millions of people are bound to you by certain ideals.

Quick Clinton point: One

[illegible] dizing your political position. And one result of what has happened in 1996 could be that political leaders all the way down to the school board level looking at Clinton as the most successful politician in America may very well say the key to his huge comeback was that he didn't take risks. He followed the polls. ... It could have a very damaging effect throughout the political system because you're going to have many fewer people willing to take risks.'

Riccards: One can be critical in that area, but it seems to me that (Clinton) has taken risks where people said that he had the least experience: foreign policy. He has consistently done the unpopular thing or made the decision that most people had qualms about in areas like Bosnia, Northern Ireland, the Middle East. The president has really recognized the importance of the peacekeeping role of the United States as the great and lasting superpower.

Beschloss: But the one place that Bill Clinton has been almost silent is in talking about foreign policy to the American people. Haiti is a very good example. He didn't give a major statement on why he thought it was possibly necessary to go to war in Haiti to change the government until the Thursday before the Sunday on which the invasion was to begin. I would say that is not in the tradition of presidents going to the American people and going to Congress and educating them about a foreign issue that may involve some sacrifice.

Russia is another example. We all had very good luck last summer that Boris Yeltsin was able to defeat the Communists. Had that not happened, it would have had an almost hysterical reaction among the American people, largely because their president for the previous 3½ years did not expend very much political capital in explaining to them what was at stake in Russia.

Warshaw: Americans want decisive leadership. ... To have that, which the American public wants, there is a need for this clear set of goals and objectives, short and sweet, and how we accomplish them. Part of the problem with this administration is the president had during the '92 campaign a fairly short set of goals and objectives that included health reform, welfare reform, education reform, environmental

somewhat at risk

Hess: Clinton h
ority domestical
balanced budget
that's it, it's very
to do anything el
ly. So that may
he moves to fore
cause he's got n
the things he m
like to do domes

Benedetto: Th
nominating sys
have now was su
reform. It was s
more democrat
posed to be mor
gone wrong?

Burns: Well, t
progressive mo
gave us the nom
made a terrible
idea was that s
could bypass th
ties, which they
simply corrupt
and give the ch
electorate, that
better.

Parties play
dously importa
ducing great le
country, and no
tional level. Yo
like New York,
stronger parti



Beschloss: Pr
someone to c

strong conve
was a party sy
ed both amor
Republicans
leaders of t
We're not g
New York a
states today.
this tremend
nominating s

Hess: Wha
(in the pri
was when su
wanted to
whole thing

something of an affectation. There really is no shortage of people who want to be president. ... Most of them enjoy very much most of their time in the presidency. It certainly gives them an opportunity that comes to few human beings to make a difference in the lives of the people of the country and the world.

Shirley Anne Warshaw: The president is the leader of our policy-making structure. He's the leader of the free world in addition to that. Americans look for leadership. The president is the only national leader we have today.

Benedetto: Presidents have often found themselves torn between sticking to their principles and ideals and the world of *realpolitik*. How have presidents bridged this gap?

James MacGregor Burns: Well, usually what they have done is to forget their ideals and to go about the practical job of governing and getting reelected. I haven't seen many examples of presidents who have been willing to face defeat as they have pursued their ideals.

A great example of courage in the presidency is Harry Truman sticking to his policies in 1948 when he was running for election, and he was broke and everybody said he was going to lose, and he stuck to his positions and won.

And I would make the same point about Ronald Reagan. The impressive thing about Reagan was his willingness to pursue his conservative ideals even when he was defeated.



By Leslie Smith, USA TODAY

Warshaw: Americans want leadership and clear goals.



By Leslie Smith, USA TODAY

Hess: 'Great presidents have vision . . . some grand scheme that sticks together and defines where they want the country to go.'

increases their authority. . . . So if you're a president who wants to expand your reputation and your authority, one way of doing that is by taking a risky position on a major issue and enlisting the power of the presidency and your own talents to convince Americans to support you. If it works, you will be a much more powerful and prestigious president.

Hess: The great presidents also have vision. It's George Bush's "vision thing." You can have vision and not be a great president, but you can't be a great president without vision. ... My view of vision is some grand scheme that usually sticks together and defines where they want the country to go. It's not a separate item here and there.

Clinton lacks vision. Bush and Carter lacked vision. Reagan had vision; Nixon did at least in foreign policy. Johnson had it in domestic policy. ... The ones with vision weren't all successful because you've got to take that vision and get from here to there. Some stumbled along the way.

Riccards: Presidents are basically politicians, and the important skill for politicians is to be able to somehow put the vision part and an exquisite sense of timing together. You have to both be able to mobilize people, but also know when the time is right to be able to choose an appeal that's efficacious but not contrived. That's really what great presidents are able to do.

Warshaw: But it's very important we say two things. One is that many of the Republican presidents that we say "had a vision" were attempting to dismantle something rather than to create something. Creating is always much more difficult because it involves building far different and far larger coalitions of support. Two, when we talk about vision, what we're really talking about is a very narrow set of goals. Vision is an agenda that can be measurably achieved. A vision is not some grand scheme for changing the world. What presidents have to do is have a short list of measurable achievable objectives, four, five, and that's what a vision is. Can we in the four years of my term make measurable changes?

Burns: Vision is important; I wish we had a better word for it. But let's look for a moment at an example of vision, which would be Roosevelt's Four Freedoms. That was an example of somebody who during the war when he might only have talked about military successes took the trouble to spell out four great ideals for Americans. He did that against the background of something he called the Economic Bill of Rights. So it was very substantive.

Beschloss: FDR is a very good example of where it really does enhance a president politically to be operating on both levels:

Roosevelt always said a president should be pre-eminently a moral educator, but at the same time he knew that Americans would fight World War II more effectively if they felt that they were doing it for certain ideals rather than simply to preserve American power in the world.

He also knew that if you're the leader of a political movement that you would like to extend into the future, you can do that more effectively if millions of people are bound to you by certain ideals.

Quick Clinton point: One problem with the contempo-

the polls. . . . It could have a very damaging effect throughout the political system because you're going to have many fewer people willing to take risks.

Riccards: One can be critical in that area, but it seems to me that (Clinton) has taken risks where people said that he had the least experience: foreign policy. He has consistently done the unpopular thing or made the decision that most people had qualms about in areas like Bosnia, Northern Ireland, the Middle East. The president has really recognized the importance of the peacekeeping role of the United States as the great and lasting superpower.

Beschloss: But the one place that Bill Clinton has been almost silent is in talking about foreign policy to the American people. Haiti is a very good example. He didn't give a major statement on why he thought it was possibly necessary to go to war in Haiti to change the government until the Thursday before the Sunday on which the invasion was to begin. I would say that is not in the tradition of presidents going to the American people and going to Congress and educating them about a foreign issue that may involve some sacrifice.

Russia is another example. We all had very good luck last summer that Boris Yeltsin was able to defeat the Communists. Had that not happened, it would have had an almost hysterical reaction among the American people, largely because their president for the previous 3½ years did not expend very much political capital in explaining to them what was at stake in Russia.

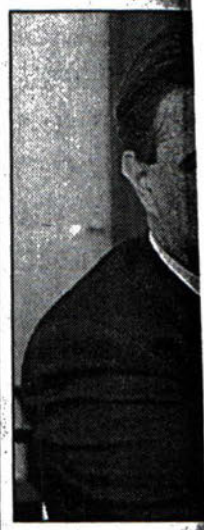
Warshaw: Americans want decisive leadership. . . . To have that, which the American public wants, there is a need for this clear set of goals and objectives, short and sweet, and how we accomplish them. Part of the problem with this administration is the president had during the '92 campaign a fairly short set of goals and objectives that included health reform, welfare reform, education reform, environmental reform. But none of those agen-

the things he like to do dom

Benedetto: nominating s have now was reform. It was more democra posed to be mo gone wrong?

Burns: Well, progressive mo gave us the nom made a terrible idea was that could bypass th ties, which they simply corrupt and give the cho electorate, that better.

Parties playe dously importan ducing great lea country, and not tional level. You like New York, stronger parties



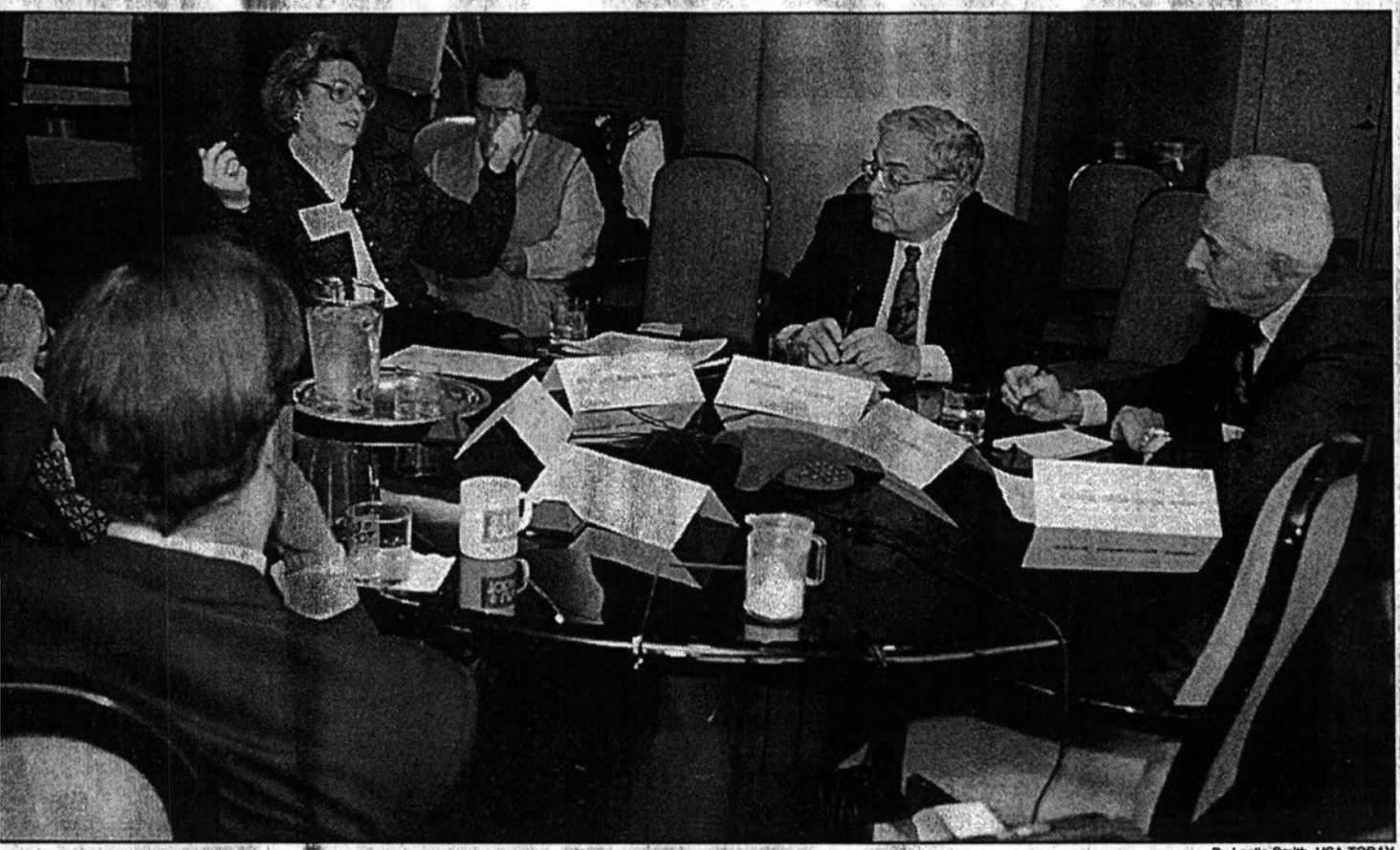
Beschloss: Presid someone to carry

strong convention was a party system ed both among De Republicans some leaders of the 2 We're not getting New York and the states today. Again this tremendous c nominating systen

Hess: What wen (in the primaries was when sudden wanted to be fi whole thing was over (in March).

TODAY ROUND TABLE

ble on the Oval Office



By Leslie Smith, USA TODAY

cholars Tuesday discuss the powers and pressures of the presidency and how Americans view the person in the Oval Office.

D-TABLE PANEL

James MacGregor Burns, Leadership Academy, University of Maryland, and Pulitzer Prize-winning historian and presidential biographer (FDR, Kennedy). His many textbooks have been primers on American history and political science, and his two biographies of Roosevelt demonstrate the importance of bold leadership as the key to presidential success.

Stephen Hess, Brookings Institution presidential scholar, author of nine books and White House staffer in four administrations (Eisenhower, Nixon, Ford and Carter). He has studied the changing effects of the media on the presidency and Congress, and the changing style, complexity and cacophony of presidential races. His latest book: *Political Dynasties from Adams to Kennedy*.

Michael Riccards, president of Fitchburg (Mass.) State College and author of *The Ferocious Engine of Democracy: A History of the American Presidency*. His two-volume work shows how American concepts of the presidency, and expectations of the president, have changed over time, and how each president has put his own stamp on the office. (President Clinton said recently that he is reading the book).

Shirley Anne Warshaw, Gettysburg College political scientist and author of *The Domestic Presidency: Policy Making in the White House*. Her work focuses on the way presidents organize their staffs and give individuals power and authority, and how that affects the ability of their administrations to succeed.

rary atmosphere is that if you fight for ideals that may not be initially popular, you're jeopar- | da items were achieved in the first term, so where does he go? That decisive leadership is | there was a progression where this thing would go on seriatim through June, very often at

shift we've all seen. What also becomes important is that the presidents themselves have to decide how they're going to organize their office.

Republicans seem to have followed Dwight Eisenhower in choosing a strong-chief-of-staff model. It's served them well. And Democratic presidents have had a difficult time in part because they have not really put that strong chief of staff model in place right away. That's been one of the major differences in the modern presidency.

Beschloss: It does make the president rather dependent on the people who happen to be on his staff. Ronald Reagan's chief of staff during the first term was James Baker, who had a history in Washington in dealing with Congress, and who had a lot to do with the legislative successes of the Rea-

fight for ideals that may not be initially popular, you're jeopardizing your political position. And one result of what has happened in 1996 could be that political leaders all the way down to the school board level looking at Clinton as the most successful politician in America may very well say the key to his huge comeback was that he didn't take risks. He followed the polls. . . . It could have a very damaging effect throughout the political system because you're going to have many fewer people willing to take risks.

Riccards: One can be critical in that area, but it seems to me that (Clinton) has taken risks where people said that he had the least experience: foreign policy. He has consistently done the unpopular thing or made the decision that most people had qualms about in areas like Bosnia, Northern Ireland, the Middle East. The president has really recognized the importance of the peacekeeping role of the United States as the great and lasting superpower.

Beschloss: But the one place that Bill Clinton has been almost silent is in talking about foreign policy to the American people. Haiti is a very good example. He didn't give a major statement on why he thought it was possibly necessary to go to war in Haiti to change the government until the Thursday before the Sunday on which the invasion was to begin. I would say that is not in the tradition of presidents going to the American people and going to Congress and educating them about a foreign issue that may involve some sacrifice.

Russia is another example. We all had very good luck last summer that Boris Yeltsin was able to defeat the Communists. Had that not happened, it would have had an almost hysterical reaction among the American people, largely because their president for the previous 3½ years did not expend very much political capital in explaining to them what was at stake in Russia.

Warshaw: Americans want decisive leadership. . . . To have that, which the American public wants, there is a need for this clear set of goals and objectives, short and sweet, and how we accomplish them. Part of the problem with this administration is the president had during the '92 campaign a fairly short set of goals and ob-

first term, so where does he go? That decisive leadership is somewhat at risk now.

Hess: Clinton has one top priority domestically. He wants a balanced budget. . . . Given that that's it, it's very hard for him to do anything else domestically. So that may be the reason he moves to foreign policy, because he's got no money to do the things he might otherwise like to do domestically.

Benedetto: The presidential nominating system that we have now was supposed to be a reform. It was supposed to be more democratic. It was supposed to be more open. What's gone wrong?

Burns: Well, that's where the progressive movement which gave us the nominating system made a terrible mistake. Their idea was that somehow if we could bypass the political parties, which they looked on as simply corrupt and archaic, and give the choice back to the electorate, that we would do better.

Parties played a tremendously important role in producing great leadership in this country, and not just at the national level. You take a state like New York, which did have stronger parties and had a strong convention system. This was a party system that recruited both among Democrats and Republicans some of the great leaders of the 20th century. We're not getting that from New York and the other great states today. Again, because of this tremendous change in the nominating system.

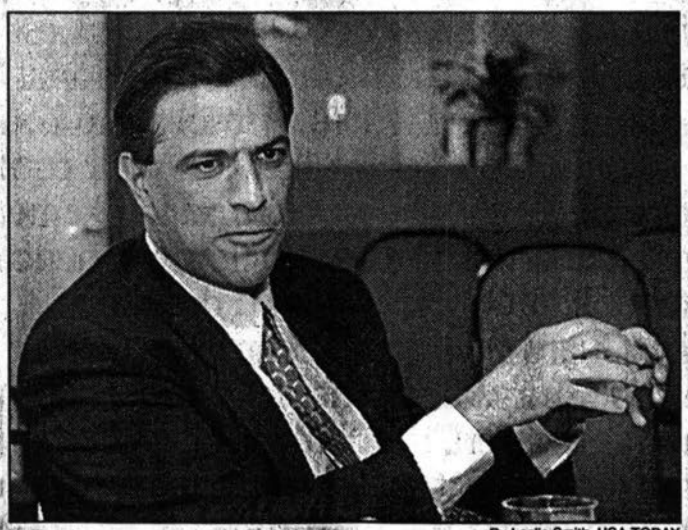
Hess: What went very wrong (in the primaries) last year

this thing would go on seriatim through June, very often at one-month intervals. A candidate could get started without a great deal of money, without being the front-runner, and do quite well in small states like Iowa and New Hampshire. Money came to him as he succeeded and he had enough time to move on to the next state.

Beschloss: This all really began in 1968 when many worried that within the Democratic Party a huge number of delegates were chosen even before the calendar year 1968. There was a feeling that you should change the system. . . . The intention was simply to make this more of a hybrid system: some presidential primaries to allow voters to get into this directly; some state conventions so that you've got statewide activists and officials; and some caucuses so you've got activists on the precinct and the district level. . . .

The problem is it's no longer a hybrid system; it's a system that is hugely dominated by presidential primaries.

Benedetto: To what degree are presidents a captive of their staffs? To what degree do the staffs make decisions or drive decisions?



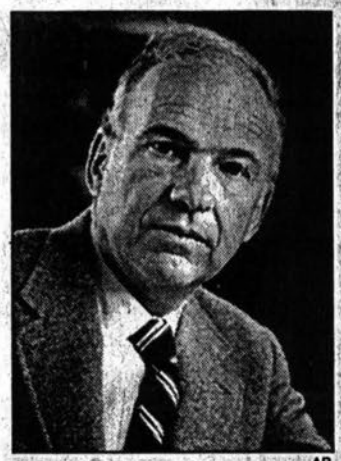
By Leslie Smith, USA TODAY

Beschloss: President is both a unifying figure and a politician: 'For someone to carry off both roles harmoniously is a very tough job.'

Warshaw: It depends on whether the president has laid out a clear vision. During the campaign, they need to establish the goals and objectives for the administration. It's the task of the White House staff to move those goals and objectives to the Cabinet offices with very specific policy initiatives.

Riccards: As the office has grown enormously since '33 the presidents are very depen-

islative successes of the Reagan first term. And then Reagan made Donald Regan his chief of staff in 1985. That had a lot to do with the disasters of '85 and '86. So when you have a president who is somewhat disengaged, the downside is your taste in people better be awfully good.



AP

Burns: A president's pragmatism often outweighs idealism.

Hess: Generally we have to be careful about thinking that the president is putty or being manipulated by his staff. The staff is there to serve the president, and by and large, they do it. Sometimes less well than in other cases.

Burns: Could I bring in another aspect: the staff as a source of ideas to a president. When I think back not only to Roosevelt, where he was surrounded by people who were tremendously imaginative in the whole policy area, but the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, where the presidents had in the White House people with ideas. These people were feeding the president ideas. I would say that a crucial aspect of presidential greatness is the ability to listen to people with ideas and advance those ideas to the people.

Beschloss: That's a terrific point. One measure of a president is how comfortable he is with people who will stand up to him and in some cases be independent and say things that he might not like to hear. Another test is to what degree the people whom a president promotes and brings to national prominence turn out to be national leaders in the future.

Burns: Great leadership is a matter of people with ideas they believe in strongly pushing relentlessly for them so they come to stand in history as representing those ideas. And



, USA TODAY

may very well say the key to his huge comeback was that he didn't take risks. He followed the polls. . . . It could have a very damaging effect throughout the political system because you're going to have many fewer people willing to take risks.

Riccards: One can be critical in that area, but it seems to me that (Clinton) has taken risks where people said that he had the least experience: foreign policy. He has consistently done the unpopular thing or made the decision that most people had qualms about in areas like Bosnia, Northern Ireland, the Middle East. The president has really recognized the importance of the peacekeeping role of the United States as the great and lasting superpower.

Beschloss: But the one place that Bill Clinton has been almost silent is in talking about foreign policy to the American people. Haiti is a very good example. He didn't give a major statement on why he thought it was possibly necessary to go to war in Haiti to change the government until the Thursday before the Sunday on which the invasion was to begin. I would say that is not in the tradition of presidents going to the American people and going to Congress and educating them about a foreign issue that may involve some sacrifice.

Russia is another example. We all had very good luck last summer that Boris Yeltsin was able to defeat the Communists. Had that not happened, it would have had an almost hysterical reaction among the American people, largely because their president for the previous 3½ years did not expend very much political capital in explaining to them what was at stake in Russia.

Warshaw: Americans want decisive leadership. . . . To have that, which the American public wants, there is a need for this clear set of goals and objectives, short and sweet, and how we accomplish them. Part of the problem with this administration is the president had during the '92 campaign a fairly short set of goals and objectives that included health reform, welfare reform, education reform, environmental reform. But none of those agenly. So that may be the reason he moves to foreign policy, because he's got no money to do the things he might otherwise like to do domestically.

Benedetto: The presidential nominating system that we have now was supposed to be a reform. It was supposed to be more democratic. It was supposed to be more open. What's gone wrong?

Burns: Well, that's where the progressive movement which gave us the nominating system made a terrible mistake. Their idea was that somehow if we could bypass the political parties, which they looked on as simply corrupt and archaic, and give the choice back to the electorate, that we would do better.

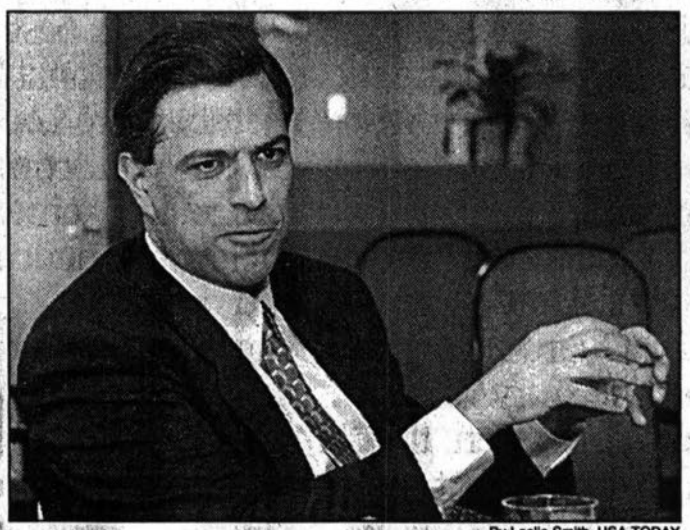
Parties played a tremendously important role in producing great leadership in this country, and not just at the national level. You take a state like New York, which did have stronger parties and had a strong convention system. This was a party system that recruited both among Democrats and Republicans some of the great leaders of the 20th century. We're not getting that from New York and the other great states today. Again, because of this tremendous change in the nominating system.

Hess: What went very wrong (in the primaries) last year was when suddenly every state wanted to be first and the whole thing was immediately over (in March). Before that ceeded and he had enough time to move on to the next state.

Beschloss: This all really began in 1968 when many worried that within the Democratic Party a huge number of delegates were chosen even before the calendar year 1968. There was a feeling that you should change the system. . . . The intention was simply to make this more of a hybrid system: some presidential primaries to allow voters to get into this directly; some state conventions so that you've got statewide activists and officials; and some caucuses so you've got activists on the precinct and the district level. . . .

The problem is it's no longer a hybrid system; it's a system that is hugely dominated by presidential primaries.

Benedetto: To what degree are presidents a captive of their staffs? To what degree do the staffs make decisions or drive decisions?

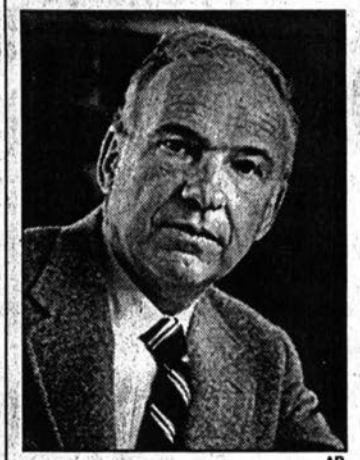


By Leslie Smith, USA TODAY

Beschloss: President is both a unifying figure and a politician: 'For someone to carry off both roles harmoniously is a very tough job.'

Warshaw: It depends on whether the president has laid out a clear vision. During the campaign, they need to establish the goals and objectives for the administration. It's the task of the White House staff to move those goals and objectives to the Cabinet offices with very specific policy initiatives.

Riccards: As the office has grown enormously since '33 the presidents are very dependent upon their staff and more so than on their Cabinet. That obviously has been a historic



AP

Burns: A president's pragmatism often outweighs idealism.

Hess: Generally we have to be careful about thinking that the president is putty or being manipulated by his staff. The staff is there to serve the president, and by and large, they do it. Sometimes less well than in other cases.

Burns: Could I bring in another aspect: the staff as a source of ideas to a president. When I think back not only to Roosevelt, where he was surrounded by people who were tremendously imaginative in the whole policy area, but the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, where the presidents had in the White House people with ideas. These people were feeding the president ideas. I would say that a crucial aspect of presidential greatness is the ability to listen to people with ideas and advance those ideas to the people.

Beschloss: That's a terrific point. One measure of a president is how comfortable he is with people who will stand up to him and in some cases be independent and say things that he might not like to hear. Another test is to what degree the people whom a president promotes and brings to national prominence turn out to be national leaders in the future.

Burns: Great leadership is a matter of people with ideas they believe in strongly pushing relentlessly for them so they come to stand in history as representing those ideas. And that applies whether they're presidents or Cabinet members or staff members.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 23, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN HILLEY JH

SUBJECT: SENATE LEGISLATIVE AGENDA

I. Republican Agenda

On January 21, Majority Leader Trent Lott and Majority Whip Don Nickles, R-Okla., introduced their top ten list of bills and one resolution, encompassing the heart of the Republican agenda for the 105th Congress. Lott said the list represents a consensus of the 55 Republican members of the Senate, but he said individual Republicans may disagree on some of the specifics.

The following is a list of the Republican's first 10 bills:

-S.J. Res. 1, Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment

-S1, "Safe and Affordable Schools Act." This bill would shift more responsibility for education to the local level and give parents more flexibility in choosing a school. The bill provides $50 million for between 20 and 30 school choice pilot programs, establishes a grant program funding local efforts to improve unsafe schools, and provides access to block grant funds to states for establishing school choice programs, teacher incentive programs and to establish same-gender schools. Additionally, the bill provides $7 billion over seven years in tax relief for parents with children in college or "on the verge of going" and for parents with young children who want to prepare themselves for the high cost of education. The bill would also fully fund the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act by authorizing an additional $10 billion over seven years and would provide $400 million for block grants for states to establish programs combating illiteracy. A separate $100 million fund provides "incentive grants" encouraging local innovation addressing illiteracy.

-S2, "Family Tax Relief Act." The bill would make a variety of changes in tax law, including a $500 per child tax credit, new incentives to invest in IRAs, an overhaul of the death or estate tax and a reduction in the capital gains tax rate. The package would reduce taxes by $163 billion over five years, according to a Republican fact sheet, which said $130 billion would benefit working families.

-S3, **"Omnibus Crime Control Act."** As introduced by Senator Hatch, the legislation is extremely broad in scope. It contains provisions targeted at issues such as the exclusionary rule, terrorism, possession of firearms during a federal crime, the federal death penalty, violence against women and children, juvenile justice, gang crime, and white collar crime. It also includes several anti-drug proposals, such as amending the methamphetamine statute enacted last year in order to increase sentences for trafficking in methamphetamine.

-S4, **"Family-Friendly Workplace Act."** The bill is Senator Ashcroft's proposal on comp time/flex time. It permits employers to schedule employees for more than 40 hours a week without paying overtime as long as the total number does not exceed 80 hours over two weeks. The Administration has expressed its opposition to this proposal. In addition, it contains the Republican comp time provisions that permit an employer to offer comp time in lieu of overtime pay.

-S5, **"Product Liability Act."** This bill would overhaul product liability laws with the aim of reducing liability for manufacturers developing new products. The bill is the same as the Gorton-Rockefeller bill that was vetoed during the last Congress because it unfairly tilted the legal playing field. The measure places caps on punitive damages but may permit judges to exceed caps. Additionally, it abolishes joint and several liability for noneconomic damages and tolls the statute of limitations in the event of a stay or injunction against an action.

-S6, **"Partial-Birth Abortion Act."** This bill aims to ban this abortion procedure. It is the same as the version that was vetoed by the President during the previous Congress. The bill would criminalize the use of the partial-birth method of abortion. The bill provides a life, but not a health, exemption for mothers. The President vetoed the previous bill because there was no exemption to protect the health of the mother.

-S7, **"National Missile Defense Act."** The bill calls for mandatory deployment of a limited NMD system by 2003. The system must be capable of defending the territory of the U.S. and capable of being augmented to meet more sophisticated future threats. Under the legislation, this system must contain interceptors, ground-based radars, space-based sensors and battle management elements. The bill urges you to amend the ABM Treaty for the deployment of an NMD system, and requires that any such agreement be submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent. If within one year of the enactment of the bill, the Administration has not completed ABM negotiations, the Congress and the President shall consider withdrawal from the ABM Treaty.

-S8, **"Superfund Cleanup."** The bill aims to reduce litigation associated with the cleanup of toxic waste sites. Upon cursory review, this new bill makes an effort to round-off some of the sharp edges of last year's legislation sponsored by Republicans and opposed by the Administration. However, considerable differences remain on key issues, such as: retroactive liability; natural resources damages; the states' role, and judicial review of remedies. One bright spot is that the bill appears to replicate much of the

Administration's position on brownfields using grants to assess sites and clean them up.

-S9, "Paycheck Protection Act." The bill makes it a violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act for a union to assess or collect dues from members or non-members if any part of those dues will be used for political activities, unless the union has obtained the prior written consent of each individual. The current law says that employees who are not union members cannot be assessed dues that will be used for political purposes if they object. However, under current law, non-members must object, and union members must live with the democratically determined policies of their union. The bill also makes it a violation of the FEC Act for a national bank or corporation to assess or collect fees from stockholders or employees as a condition of employment if any part will be used for political activities, unless each individual has given prior written consent. However, this provision essentially states the law as its already written.

-S10, "Violent Juvenile Offenders Act." The bill would treat violent and repeat juvenile offenders as adults. Specifically, the bill targets youth gangs and drug-related crimes. The bill would provide $2.5 billion over five years in new incentive grants for states to enact accountability-based reforms in juvenile justice systems. The bill authorizes efforts aimed at trying violent juvenile offenders as adults; establishes the ability of states to collect juvenile criminal records, fingerprints and photographs and to share criminal histories and information within a state, with other states, and with the federal government. Under the bill, states will be eligible to receive federal funds to help provide for the adult prosecution of juveniles 14 or older who commit violent crimes such as murder, forcible rape, armed robbery, and assault with a deadly weapon or offenses involving controlled substances or involving the possession of a firearm or a destructive device.

II. Democratic Agenda

On January 21, Minority Leader Tom Daschle introduced the ten bills at the top of the Democratic agenda for the 105th Congress.

The following is a list of the Democrat's first 10 bills:

-S11 Campaign Finance. A bill that would overhaul campaign finance laws and institute voluntary spending limits on congressional campaigns. The bill: 1) Bans PAC's in Senate elections; 2) provides incentives (such as reduced rate television and radio time and low cost mailing) for candidates who voluntarily agree to aggregate campaign spending limits; 3) bans soft money; 4) makes it extremely difficult for political parties to run either independent expenditure ads or express advocacy ads on behalf of their candidates for federal office; 5) expands the definition of independent expenditures to include issue advocacy spending designed to influence voters; and 6) bans lobbyists from contributing to a candidate's campaign if they have lobbied the candidate or his staff within the last year (this provision includes the President and Vice President) 7)improves FEC enforcement capabilities, and 8) bans foreign nationals from influencing or directing

the contributions or permanent resident aliens; 8) provides qualified candidates with equal, reduced-rate, adjacent broadcast time to answer independent expenditure advertisements.

-S12 College Aid. This legislation would provide two new types of assistance to families with college-age children, including a $1,500 per year tax credit, known as a HOPE scholarship, for the first two years of post-secondary education. The measure also includes a $10,000 per year tax deduction for "qualified education expenses."

-S13 Health Coverage for Children. A tax credit for working families to help cover the costs of child health care for children up to 18 years in age. The bill includes coverage for pregnant women. The tax credit would cover most of a private health insurance premium for the lowest-income families and decrease on a sliding scale for families with higher incomes. The bill requires that insurance companies do business with the federal government to develop children's-only policies.

-S14 Pension Protection. A measure that broadens the availability of IRAs by doubling over time the income thresholds for IRAs to $80-100,000 for joint filers and $50-70,000 for single filers. It also unlinks the spousal rule on IRAs and increases the flexibility for withdrawals to pay for higher education, medical expenses, etc. It also includes a Boxer provision to prevent employers from requiring employees to invest in employer's securities or assets. The bill would provide the 1% employer match that was included in the President's NEST proposal but not enacted last year and enhance the ability to audit the approximately $950 billion of currently unaudited pension plans.

-S15 Juvenile Justice. A measure that would increase federal penalties for juvenile offenders and authorize more than $1 billion to states to build more facilities for the placement of juvenile offenders. Additionally, the bill puts an additional 25,000 police officers on the street by extending the COPS Program for two years, extends the Violence Against Women Act, increases federal penalties for juveniles by raising the mandatory release age from 21 to 26, and targets gang violence.

-S16 "Cattle Industry Improvement Act." A measure which would require the Department of Agriculture to define and prohibit noncompetitive practices in the livestock industry.

-S17 "Working Americans Opportunity Act." A measure which would overhaul the federal job training system by consolidating job training programs and increasing flexibility and accountability in the job training system. The bill would consolidate certain Federal job training programs by developing a system of vouchers for dislocated workers and economically disadvantaged adults.

-S18 "Brownfield and Environmental Cleanup Act." The measure would direct the EPA to establish a grant program for local governments to clean up brownfield sites, which are abandoned industrial sites that can ruin the ecosystem of surrounding areas.

The measure would also limit liability for prospective purchasers interested in developing brownfield areas.

-**S19 "Working Families Child Care Act."** This legislation would expand the Child Care Development Block Grant (CCDBG) program and increase child care programs for infants, especially for care during non-traditional working hours. The bill increases authorization of CCDBG funds to $2 billion for FY 1997 to FY 2002, including $1.4 million in mandatory spending over the next six years. Additionally, the bill authorizes $500 million for FY 1997 to FY 2002 to carry out the following activities in areas where shortages of child care exist within a state: infant care programs; before and after school programs; resource and referral programs; nontraditional work hour child care programs; extending the hours of kindergarten programs to provide full-day services, and any other child care programs that the Secretary determines are appropriate.

-**S20 "Targeted Investment Incentive and Economic Growth Act."** The measure aims to encourage small business development by allowing the capital gains on the sale of small business stock to be deferred if they are fully reinvested in other small business. It would also increase the number of qualified small business stocks by raising the asset threshold to $100 million from $ 50 million. It would also qualify more family owned businesses for estate tax relief. The bill would increase the annual contribution limit on IRAs to $2,500 from $2,000 and allow family farmers to rollover up to $400,000 of the gain on the sale of their farm into a qualified pension saving vehicle, such as an IRA. The bill includes the President's proposal to exempt the first $500,000 in profit on the sale of a home from capital gains taxes. Additional provisions would allow states to use up to ten percent of their unobligated balances in the Highway Trust Fund to provide funding for State Infrastructure Banks and make permanent the expiring employer-provided educational assistance tax exclusion.

PRESIDENTIAL PUNDITRY

By Bob Klahn / Edited by Will Shortz



1/19/97

ACROSS

1 Mogul capital of India
5 Pundit
10 Dead duck
15 Tormé forte
19 Dinner's often on him
20 "Les Miz" setting
21 1836 battle site
22 Like some traffic
23 Movie about a boy's Presidential aspirations?
25 —— Drusilla (mother of Tiberius)
26 Trigger puller?
27 Home of the Minotaur
28 Tango maneuver
29 Places for races
30 95-Down finisher
31 Cause of inflation?
32 Presidential biography by Noël Coward?
36 Italian wine region
37 —— Hall (historic Princeton site)
39 Bank deposit
40 Great time
41 "That is to say ..."
42 Stuffed shirt
44 "Dirty Hands" playwright
46 China setting
47 Spruce
50 Gulf
52 Christie's "—— M?"
53 Country guitar player, e.g.
56 At bat stat
57 What the First Lady's critics did over a bottle of bathtub gin?
61 Indianapolis's —— Dome
62 Cliff hanger?
64 Rembrandt van ——
65 Skittish
66 Dreamscape artist
67 One of the Horae
68 Current choice
70 Exclusive
71 Pickle flavoring
72 Basketball maneuver
73 Shelved for now
75 Hollow
76 Pizazz
77 Gained a lap
78 Mathematical rules governing the Vice President's macarena?
81 Hard-rock connection
82 Turn into something big
84 Memo starter
85 Prominent tower
86 Agonize
87 Rec center
88 At the scene
91 1984 Peace Nobelist
93 Children's author Eleanor
95 New Deal proj.
96 Narrowly defeats
98 S.A.T. score
102 60's draft deferment category
103 Vice President's wife at the Starlight Diner?
106 Belfast grp.
107 Baseball Hall-of-Famer Waite ——
108 Basil's "Captain Blood" co-star
109 Catch on
110 Pert
112 Flood avoider
113 Timex rival
114 Head and tail of the victorious First Cat?
116 Avalon, for one
117 Chihuahua bites
118 Bye word
119 Atlantic City attraction
120 "Clueless" lead role
121 "—— Canyon"
122 Skein game?
123 Contemporary of Garbo

DOWN

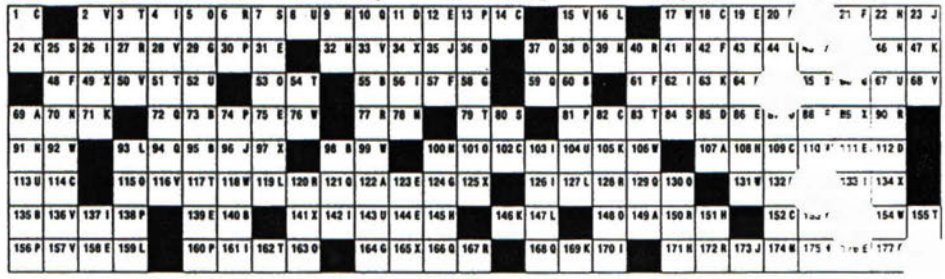
1 Depth charge
2 Extolment, in hymns
3 Cowboys
4 Be a partner in crime
5 Obsolete geog. abbr.
6 Like unkept yards
7 Stands by for
8 "Aïda" setting
9 Returns home?
10 Lively dance in duple time
11 "Sleuth" co-star
12 Old 48-Down kingdom
13 Iago's wife
14 Rake over the coals
15 Arrive in droves
16 Star of a sitcom in which the First Daughter learns syntax?
17 Whitney Houston's record label
18 Get, as a radio broadcast
24 Prohibit
33 One of Nintendo's Mario Brothers
34 African antelope
35 Detroit brew
38 Scout
41 Essex exclamation
43 Kitchen fixture
45 Comings and goings
46 With a twist?
47 Gallivant
48 Basque, e.g.
49 Where the President went without collecting $200?
51 Hitchcock classic
53 Defiant words
54 Overshadow
55 Umbrella alternative
57 Balmoral Castle river
58 Where Gideon defeated the Midianites
59 Off one's trolley
60 Humbert Humbert's obsession
63 Publicity
66 Burns and Allen, e.g.
69 Staff leaders
71 Inc. listings
73 "The Three Sisters" sister
74 On the clothesline
78 Moves like a comet
79 Band command
80 Purple shade
83 Into the wind
86 It's a wrap
88 Not neat
89 60-Down's creator
90 Show piece?
92 Clipped
93 Italian or Mexican, e.g.
94 Rushing sound
95 Terrorist tactic
97 Coin of the realm
99 Actress Jacqueline
100 Sleuth Lupin
101 Attacks violently
103 They're held for questioning
104 Words of resignation
105 Short dogs, for short
111 Grills
114 Wit
115 Good name for a lawyer?

For any three answers, call from a touch-tone phone: 1-900-884-CLUE 75¢ each minute.

ACROSTIC

By Thomas H. Middleton

Guess the words defined below and write them over their numbered dashes. Then transfer each letter to the correspondingly numbered square in the pattern. Black squares indicate word endings. The filled pattern will contain a quotation reading from left to right. The first letters of the guessed words will form an acrostic giving author's name and title of work.



A. Kisser; mug; puss 107 149 69 122
B. Satisfied 135 73 140 55 95 60 98
C. Large boa 18 14 152 82 109 114 102 1
D. Mighty 85 38 11 112 65 36
E. Eavesdropping (2 wds.) 111 12 31 86 75 176 139 144 158 123 19
F. "When the Midnight Choo-Choo Leaves for ——" (1912 Berlin song) .. 21 42 48 88 57 61
G. Nothing (Brit. dial.) 124 29 164 58
H. Entices 9 108 151 171 145 22
I. "As the —— after the water brooks ..." (2 wds.; Psalm 42:1) 56 137 142 126 26 62 4 170 103 133 161
J. Twin son of Jacob and Rebekah 173 23 96 35
K. 1948 Irwin Shaw novel (2 wds. after "The") 20 169 24 63 71 105 43 146 47 153
L. Fired; detonated (2 wds.) 93 159 119 44 127 147 16
M. Apprehend; secure; engage 32 39 132 100 174 78
N. Seaport, Shandong province, China ... 64 175 70 91 41 46
O. Surname of Greek patriot brothers .... 163 115 130 5 101 87 [illegible] 148 53
P. What Pooh Bear fell off for exercise .. 156 160 138 13 74 81 [illegible]
Q. Unsettled (4 wds.) ..... 66 94 121 168 177 72 [illegible] 70 59 166
R. Elegance of feeling, taste, etc. 172 90 6 77 120 167 41 150 128 27
S. Saki story featuring a hyena 7 80 25 84
T. Sailors' songs ..... 83 155 3 51 117 79 [illegible] 54
U. Hardships 104 113 52 143 67 8
V. Living on land and in water ..... 116 2 110 136 28 33 51 [illegible] 157 68
W. 1959 one-act play by Edward Albee (2 wds. after "The") ..... 17 131 99 76 154 92 [illegible] 106
X. "—— does not match any waistcoat but a yellow waistcoat, demmit" (3 wds.; "Nicholas Nickleby") ..... 45 34 89 97 134 141 [illegible] 125 49

TOVP – per our discussion
esp. 78A
103A —
THE PRESIDENT WAS SEEN BC
1-27-97

REVISED

'97 JAN 25 PM6:02

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-25-97

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS FOR THE ALFALFA CLUB DINNER

THE CAPITOL HILTON

JANUARY 25, 1997

Bill

This was very good — should do
Signed copy of remarks
+ thanks to all who
helped — BC

Good evening, President Rockefeller, Senator Lott, General Powell, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen of the Alfalfa Club, ~~and a special hello to anyone listening to these remarks on police scanner.~~

It's an honor to share this dais with so many important political figures: Governor Bush, General Powell, Senator Lott, and Mr. Forbes. I spent Inaugural week surrounded by people who want me to succeed . . . ~~and~~ tonight, I'm surrounded by people who want to succeed me.

I'm glad I came here tonight, but if you read page 176 of a recent memoir by a certain political consultant, you'll learn that even this wasn't my idea.

I want to congratulate Senator Lott on his nomination as the Alfalfa Party's candidate for President. That was a great acceptance speech you gave, Senator. But I think we both know who's going to take credit for it.

Last week, Trent was introduced on *Meet The Press* as "the most prominent Republican in Washington." I was relieved to hear that.

After I signed the Welfare Bill, some people started calling me "the most prominent Republican in Washington" . . ~~and I was worried it would catch on!~~

If Trent Lott is the most prominent Republican in Washington, then Colin Powell is the most prominent Republican in theory. General Powell seemed poised to ascend to the highest ranks of national politics, until he started taking career advice from Mario Cuomo. Keep it up

I know Elizabeth Dole is also here tonight. She was just with us at the White House when I presented Senator Dole with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest honor a president can bestow upon a citizen.

It was especially moving to me because it was the first time in a long time Bob Dole and I had been together in a room without Jim Lehrer.

I was so happy I invited him to spend the night in the Lincoln bedroom — on the house.

That ceremony was one of those moments when you realize the twists of fate that make all the difference between victory and defeat.

As I placed the medal around Senator Dole's neck, I remember thinking: "there but for the grace of God goes Lamar Alexander."

I'm glad to see Jay Rockefeller and Steve Forbes here tonight -- it's nice to know that the Alfalfa Club has finally decided to offer reduced price tickets.

I want to congratulate Senator Rockefeller for his inauguration as president of the Alfalfa Club. I don't like to brag, Jay, but anyone can get elected as president of the Alfalfa Club once. Call me when you become a two-termer.

Much has been made of the fact that I'm the first Democrat to be elected to two terms since FDR. Keep it up.

I was last here was during my first term, which of course has been followed by this, my second. ~~When you've been elected to this many terms -- "this" being two -- you've entered a special category in presidential history~~. You may be interested to know that we've had fifteen two-term presidents, of which I am one. So you are looking at one/fifteenth of all the two-term presidents in American history.

Or if you prefer, 2/30ths, the operative number being two. As in terms. Which I am serving. (whisper - "2")

And as we look upon the dawn of my second term, let us prepare as a nation to build a bridge over the 22nd Amendment.

Now that I've won a second term, which I believe (2) I've mentioned, I can turn my attention to the history department of the Electoral College. The media have made a lot of noise recently about my so-called obsession with my place in history. But as usual, they overstate the case.

Of course, it is hard to ignore the deliberations of history's jury. So we're going to be more pro-active about managing our place in history. This week at the White House, we operationalized something called the Posterity War Room.

I haven't seen the Mag. this pumped in years.

We will take our case to the media. Tomorrow morning, McCurry is going on *A&E Biography*, Erskine Bowles will be on the History Channel, and Roy Romer is meeting with the editors of the World Book Encyclopedia.

My media team is busy putting together spots that will go negative on James Buchanan and Warren Harding. Bring 'em down a peg.

And James Carville has announced he is mounting a full-scale assault on the resident scholars of the Heritage Foundation . . . I can't stop him but God knows I've tried.

The Posterity War Room has already put together a Comparative fact sheet on this. And at this very moment, it's being faxed and e-mailed to surrogates and supporters all across America. I'd like to share some of it with you:

Bill Clinton added 1.5 million acres of land to our national parks; by his own admission, George Washington was personally responsible for the deforestation of cherry trees.

Bill Clinton reduced crime on our streets; Thomas Jefferson's Vice President shot a guy!

Bill Clinton signed more nuclear disarmament agreements than James Madison, Andrew Jackson and James K. Polk combined.

Bill and Hillary Clinton have made more of an effort than FDR to seek the counsel of Eleanor Roosevelt.

Whatever history's final verdict, it can't change the fact that I just had one of the most wonderful years of my life.

In 1996, I won re-election, my family and I were happy and healthy, and I made good on last year's resolution to construct a metaphor to the 21st century.

I've heard it disparaged, but I am very committed to building that bridge -- a metaphor that has inspired millions of Americans and a good number of dentists.

But as far as the present is concerned, I have been worried about the rancor that infects our political life. The American people want us to put aside petty bickering and attend to the important work they sent us here to do. I believe we can and must work together. And in my upcoming State-of-the-Union address, I will lay out my vision for bipartisanship and a renewed era of good feelings.

My fellow Americans, I see an America where . . . a president from one party and a House Speaker of another might sit down together in fellowship to split an extra large pizza with sausage and peppers.

I see an America where Sunday morning talk shows end with a McLaughlin Group Hug.

I see an America where Crossfire is hosted by Dennis Ross.

~~I see an America where Newt Gingrich picks up his cell phone and calls Jim McDermott just to say "hi."~~

I see an America where Patrick Kennedy and Strom Thurmond double date on Saturday nights.

I see an Amer where Tom DeLay brings ~~Mitch~~ the Brss Roundtable to one of my coffees.

~~I see an America where the Congressional Ways and Means Committee studies ways to be nice.~~
I see an Amer in AG Names Jesse Helms on the 1st 100 Anniv of the 21st C.

I see an America where Rush Limbaugh and Al Franken co-chair the Publishers' Clearinghouse Sweepstakes.

Ann Richards
— Treat those shares Jim Hightower
having may w/ ~~Ann Richards~~.
— ~~Jackie Robinson~~
~~Jesse~~ about ~~Mr~~ Superlawyer.

And I see an America where the Republican elephant and the Democratic donkey are replaced with two, big purple Barneys.

My friends, I do see an America where we are united: by our humor, by our values, and by our willingness to work together. We may have our differences, but we share common dreams and we face common challenges -- our best hope is to meet them with a common sense of purpose. Sometimes it takes a day of pride and patriotism like the Inaugural to remind us; sometimes it only takes a night like this. And I want to thank the Alfalfa Club for giving me an opportunity to use all the jokes that didn't make it into my Inaugural address.

Thank you and good night.

###

VP

You should be familiar with this + our answers in case you're asked

BC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97

U.S. Eased Law On Terrorism To Aid Oil Firm

Exemption Let Occidental Seek Major Deal in Sudan

A1

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Staff Writer

Four months after President Clinton signed a law last year barring financial transactions between American corporations and countries accused of supporting terrorism, the administration quietly exempted one such country—Sudan—where a U.S. oil company was seeking a stake in a $930 million oil deal, according to federal officials and documents.

The August exemption to the 1996 Antiterrorism Act, which Clinton had signed with much fanfare in April, cleared the way for California-based Occidental Petroleum Corp. to negotiate with the Khartoum government despite the administration's avowed policy of restricting U.S. commerce with the seven nations blacklisted by the State Department for allegedly supporting terrorists. Two years ago, for example, Clinton forbade any U.S. oil company transactions with Iran.

Administration officials had long described Sudan as second only to Iran as a staging ground for Islamic extremists involved in subverting neighboring pro-U.S. governments. The U.S. government accused Sudan of involvement in an attempt to assassinate Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in 1995 and has pressed for tougher U.N. sanctions against Khartoum.

A State Department official, who spoke only on condition of anonymity, insisted that the exemption for Sudan—and a similar exemption for Syria, also put into effect in August—does not undercut the Antiterrorism Act. Section 321 of the law bars U.S. citizens and companies from financial dealings with terror-sanctioning countries; violators are subject to up to 10 years in prison. However, the law also permits the Treasury Department to grant exemptions, which occurred in the case of Sudan and Syria on Aug. 23.

Officials said the Syrian exemption was intended to encourage participation by Damascus in the Middle East peace process, although

See SUDAN, A25, Col. 2

SUDAN, From A1

Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman (R-N.Y.), chairman of the House Committee on International Relations, protested the "special loophole" in a letter to Clinton last fall and urged equal treatment for all "rogue regimes."

As for Sudan, the sequence of events leading to the exemption remains unclear. State Department officials acknowledge discussing the issue last summer with both Occidental Petroleum and its potential partner in the Sudan deal, Canada's Arakis Energy Corp. Occidental, founded in 1920 and taken over by industrialist Armand Hammer in 1956, is an $18 billion corporation that moved into the front rank of world oil giants after exploiting a huge, risky field in Libya in the 1960s.

Occidental has long been active in local and national politics; Federal Election Commission records show the company and its political action committees donated more than $600,000 to national political parties in the past two years, almost evenly divided between the Democratic and Republican parties, including a $100,000 donation to the Democrats last March 29. Senior company executives also donated nearly $100,000 to candidates, parties and political action committees in the past two years, according to federal records.

The exemption allowed Occidental to join Arakis in pursuing the development of a promising but abandoned oil field in southern Sudan containing an estimated 3.5 billion barrels. The anticipated yield of 150,000 barrels a day by 1999 is expected to provide a cash windfall for the radical Muslim regime in one of the world's poorest countries, according to industry analysts.

But Occidental's hopes of tapping the Sudanese oil field suffered a setback in late November, when the Khartoum government abruptly excluded the U.S. company from the development consortium, according to oil industry and U.S. government sources. The government reportedly was angered by a disclosure in The Washington Post that the Clinton administration was providing military assistance to three African nations supporting Sudanese rebels, the sources added.

Southern Sudan has been wracked by sporadic but seemingly intractable warfare for much of the past four decades. Rebel guerrilla forces drawn from the region's mostly black and Christian or animist population have been fighting for autonomy or outright independence from the Khartoum government, which is controlled by the Muslim Arabs who predominate in northern Sudan. Since 1972, when the war resumed after a decade of peace, more than a million lives have been lost to fighting and famine.

Despite repeated calls to the company's California headquarters and Washington office, Occidental officials declined to comment. National Security Council officials also did not respond to repeated requests for comment. A spokeswoman for the Democratic National Committee said: "Occidental has a long history of giving to Democrats. Our people had no knowledge of the [antiterrorism] legislation."

A Treasury Department official had no comment other than to say that the August exemption was supported by the State Department. Stephanie Eicher, a State Department spokeswoman, said last night that the department had "no immediate comment."

Response to Oklahoma

The law signed by Clinton in April—officially called the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act—had passed both houses of Congress by overwhelming margins. Drafted partly in response to the April 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, the law also was intended to prevent terror-supporting nations from making payments to U.S. citizens following Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi's effort a year ago to give $1 billion to Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. Libya is on the State Department's "terrorism list" along with Iran, Sudan, Syria, Cuba, North Korea and Iraq.

The August exemption explicitly authorized "all financial transactions with a terrorism list government" not already barred by other U.S. sanctions, such as those against dealings with Iraq, Iran, Libya, Cuba and North Korea. The exemption continues to prohibit U.S. citizens or companies from accepting "donations" offered by any country on the terrorism list.

State Department officials said the administration concluded that Congress had not intended to impose sweeping economic sanctions against Sudan under the 1996 Antiterrorism Act the way it had earlier in separate legislation against Iran and other nations on the list.

Rep. Bill McCollum (R-Fla.), chairman of the House crime subcommittee that handled the Antiterrorism Act, said he was unaware of Occidental's negotiations in Sudan and was disappointed at the administration's broad interpretation of the Antiterrorism Act. Allowing U.S. companies to invest in Sudan "appears to be something that violates our intent . . . and sets a precedent," McCollum added. "It was our intent that [U.S. companies] would not do business as usual."

John McLeod, chief executive of Arakis, said he flew to Washington

The Washington Post
THURSDAY, JANUARY 23, 1997

1/3

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97

early last summer in an effort to convince administration officials that the Sudanese government had moderated its support for terrorist groups. State Department officials displayed "a very neutral reaction" when told that Arakis wanted an American partner to help develop the Sudan field, McLeod said in a telephone interview from his company's headquarters in Calgary, Alberta.

"You're big boys. . . . We can't stop you from going there," McLeod quoted one U.S. official as telling him. The exemption, he added, "essentially opened up Sudan for investment."

An American oil firm, Chevron, had spent more than $1 billion developing the Sudanese field starting in the late 1970s but ended all operations in 1984 after rebels killed four employees at one of its installations. In June 1992, Chevron sold its production and exploration rights in a 42-million-acre tract to a Sudanese company, reportedly for $125 million.

Arakis gained control of the concession in 1994 and began putting together an international consortium to provide the cash and technical knowledge to begin drilling and to build a 950-mile pipeline to a Red Sea port. Occidental, according to McLeod, was considered Arakis's foremost candidate for partnership—if the Antiterrorism Act prohibition could be finessed.

Precedents during the Clinton administration were not encouraging, however. In March 1995, Clinton issued an executive order forcing Conoco Inc. to scuttle an agreement with the Iranian government under which the U.S. oil giant would have invested up to $1 billion in a pair of Iranian oil and gas fields.

But in considering exemptions to the Antiterrorism Act last summer, the administration rejected "simple parallelism" between Conoco's Iran investment and Occidental's ambitions in Sudan, a State Department official said. Circumstances and "the state of our dialogue" with Sudan were "very different" from Iran, the official explained, and "to make use of the economic stick against Sudan gratuitously made no sense at all."

When Occidental executives inquired about operating in Sudan, another State Department official added, they were told, "It's legal."

A Hidden Hand

Precisely who in the government decided to exempt Sudan remains unclear, as does the distinction now being drawn between Sudan and Iran. The two countries are close allies. Both actively support Islamic extremist groups opposed to the Middle East peace process and both allegedly harbor terrorists who have attacked Egypt, Saudi Arabia and other Arab nations friendly to the United States.

The State Department was sufficiently concerned about the safety of U.S. diplomats in Khartoum to order them out of the Sudanese capital a year ago. Last April, the United States expelled a Sudanese diplomat in New York after linking him to an alleged plot to bomb the U.N. headquarters. A spokesman for the State Department's Office for Counter-Terrorism said there has been no discernible change in Sudan's support for international terrorism.

The exemption is all the more puzzling given the administration's decision last fall to provide surplus U.S. military equipment to Ethiopia, Eritrea and Uganda, three African countries supporting Sudanese opposition groups trying to topple the Khartoum government. After Khartoum vetoed Occidental's participation in the oil project—apparently in retaliation against that U.S. move—Arakis announced a partnership in southern Sudan with the state-owned oil companies of China and Malaysia. But oil industry sources said U.S. companies remain interested in doing business in Sudan.

The administration's exemption of Sudan and Syria from Section 321 provisions of the Antiterrorism Act was scarcely noted in Congress. Congressional aides who discussed the exemptions with administration officials said they were not advised of Occidental's interests. Instead, State Department officials expressed concern that the law's rigid language would even preclude U.S. embassies from paying water and electricity bills in countries on the terrorism list, the aides added.

Staff researcher Alice Crites and William Casey, director of computer-assisted reporting, contributed to this article.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

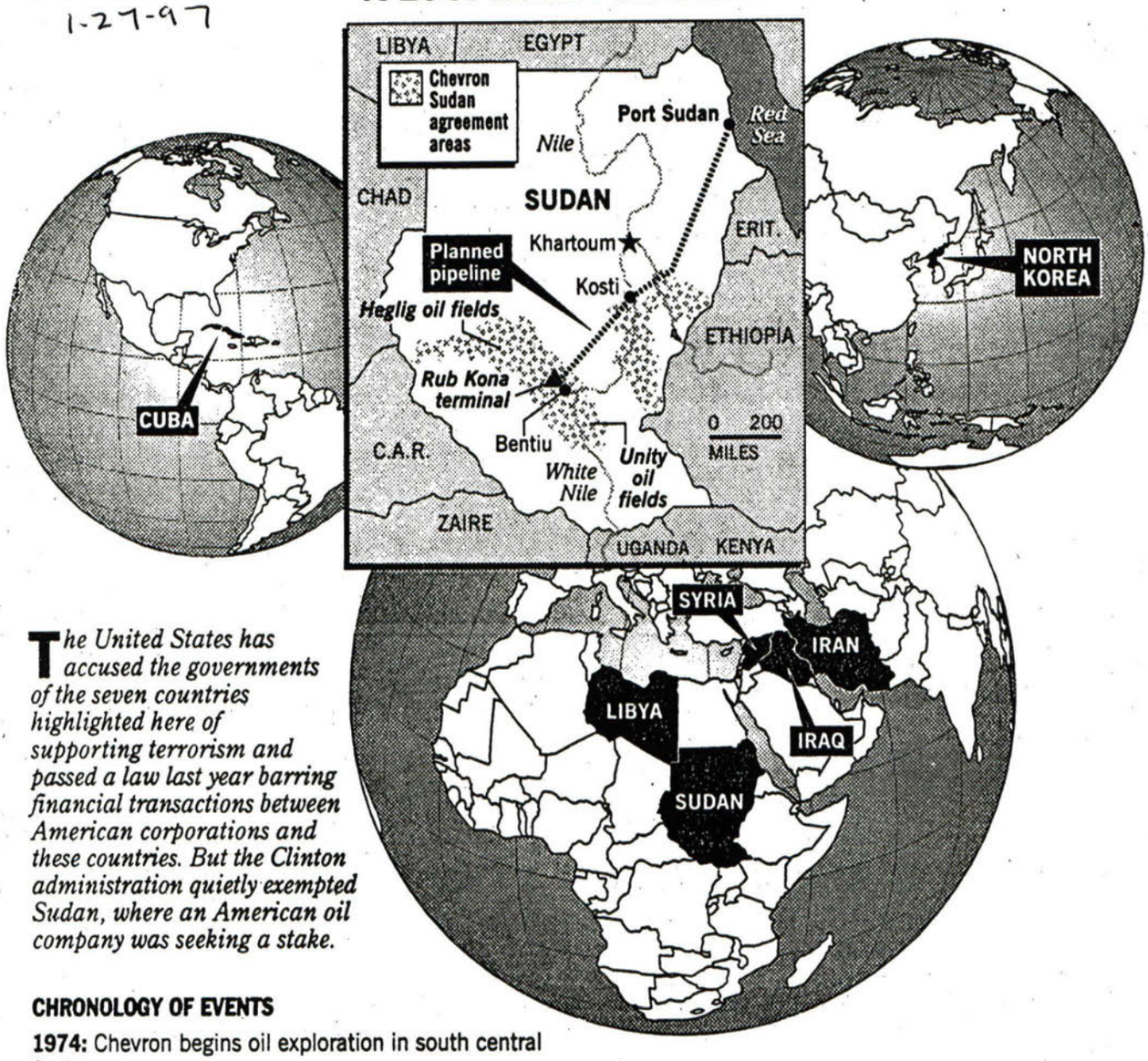
For a profile of Occidental Petroleum Corp. and an overview of the Sudanese oil industry, click on the above symbol on the front page of The Post's site on the World Wide Web at http://www.washingtonpost.com

The Washington Post
THURSDAY, JANUARY 23, 1997

3

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97

A LOOPHOLE FOR SUDAN



The United States has accused the governments of the seven countries highlighted here of supporting terrorism and passed a law last year barring financial transactions between American corporations and these countries. But the Clinton administration quietly exempted Sudan, where an American oil company was seeking a stake.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1974: Chevron begins oil exploration in south central Sudan.

1978–'79: Chevron discovers oil in the Muglad basin and begins developing the Unity and Heglig oil fields.

1984: Chevron suspends operations after four employees are killed in a rebel attack on a base camp at Rub Kona.

1992: Chevron sells its exploration and production rights to Concorp International, a Sudanese company. Sudanese government awards Chevron's old concession to the State Petroleum Corp., a private Sudanese firm with close ties to the government and a partner of the Canadian oil company Arakis Energy Corp.

1993: Sudanese government signs 25-year production sharing agreement with Arakis.

1994: Arakis acquires State Petroleum Corp.

1995: President Clinton issues an executive order forcing Conoco Inc. to break an agreement with the Iranian government to invest in the expansion of two Iranian oil and gas fields. Clinton cites Iran's support of international terrorism and efforts to undermine Middle East peace process as main reasons for his action.

1996

April: Clinton signs into law the Antiterrorism Act; Section 321 bars Americans from engaging in financial transactions with governments on the U.S. list of states accused of supporting terrorism and imposes fines of up to 10 years in prison.

August: Treasury Department issues regulations implementing Section 321, in effect exempting transactions with Sudan and Syria.

November: Sudanese government decides to exclude Occidental Petroleum from the Arakis-led consortium, seeking to develop old Chevron oil fields and build a 950-mile pipeline.

December: Arakis announces it has signed a deal with China National Petroleum Corp; Malaysia's state oil company, Petronas, and the Sudanese government to build the pipeline and produce initially 150,000 barrels daily. Arakis chief executive John McLeod says Sudan excluded Occidental for "political reasons."

The Washington Post
THURSDAY, JANUARY 23, 1997

3/3

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1/27/97

RICHARD W. FISHER

January 17, 1997

Dear Mr. President,

During my 1994 U.S. Senate campaign, I was constantly urged to "run away from Bill Clinton." I refused to do so, always replying that "I want to go to Washington to help President Clinton do good works." I still do.

Mr. President, I have been under consideration for the job as UnderSecretary of State for Economic, Business and Agricultural Affairs. Mack can give you the background on this matter. It is a position for which I am particularly well suited and trained. Strobe Talbott can tell you of the strong endorsements I have received from a long list of good people, ranging from Lloyd Bentsen to Dick Lugar. Yet, it appears this post will go to another able person.

I would still like to serve you at State or Treasury. Without a timely word from you, however, I fear I will fall through the cracks.

This note is to respectfully ask you to personally intervene on my behalf and make it known that you would like to have me serve in your Administration. I promise I will serve you with distinction and do you proud.

With thanks and all good wishes,

Richard

4600 TCB TOWER WEST • 2200 ROSS AVENUE • DALLAS, TEXAS 75201-2790 • 214/665-6900 • FAX 214/665-6940

January 17, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

cc: Erskine Bowles
John Podesta
Ron Klain

FROM: DOUG SOSNIK

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97

97 JAN 17 PM 8:05

SUBJECT: 1997-1998 ELECTIONS

The purpose of this memo is to give you an overview of the 1997-1998 elections. We need to not only help Democrats be in the strongest position possible as election dates roll around, but also, we need to assess our obligations and get feedback from both of you as to how you want us to handle requests for fundraisers and campaign events.

The gubernatorial races will be the most important elections in 1997 and 1998. There will be 36 governorships up for election covering 84% of the population. These races will serve as a bellwether for several reasons: more power is moving to the states and who people elect to steer that power will be important; the ten biggest states, population-wise, will have elections; and many of the Republicans seeking a governors seat will likely look at seeking their party's nomination for President in the year 2000. The long term politics of the nation will run through the governor's mansions --- just look at the issues being discussed in the 1997-1998 gubernatorial elections: welfare in Wisconsin, taxes and their reduction in New Jersey and Texas, etc.

As for the Senate, historically the party out of power gains seats during second term midterms. Democrats have more vulnerable seats up for election in 1998 and therefore, the trends are likely to hold.

The biggest danger on the House side is the potential of mass exodus by senior Democrats. There is a concern that Democratic senior members of Congress, discouraged by potentially facing more years in the minority, will retire in large numbers. The retirements in the south in 1996 were a large factor in preventing Democrats from regaining the House.

Recruitment

While the Hill Leaders will be focused on fundraising early in 1997, we can have the biggest immediate impact by helping to recruit strong candidates and doing all we to ensure our strongest candidates face no primary challenges (an example is the race against Senator D'Amato, we have a better chance of winning the seat if there is no Democratic primary.) We have to make a decision early if this will be a priority and decide where we need to weigh in.

Per Phil
copies should
be sent to
Sosnik
Podesta
schedulers

Candidate Assistance

We also need to establish our policy for fundraising assistance as soon as possible. I see no reason to deviate from the policy established in 1996 -- each Senate incumbent running for re-election should get one fundraising event from one of the principals (preferably the fundraisers will be in D.C.) and there should be no fundraising for individual House members -- principals should only do fundraisers for the DCCC. Given our debt situation with the DSCC and DCCC they must understand that all funds raised by us go first and foremost to debt retirement.

The only two statewide races in 1997 (the governor races in Virginia and New Jersey), will receive a lot of press attention. Lt. Gov. Don Beyer has announced for governor in Virginia (George Allen is term-limited) and he has already requested fundraising assistance from the President and Vice President. The situation in New Jersey is still very much up in the air, but we will have to assist the eventual nominee.

The DSCC has requested four fundraising events for early 1997: New York, Washington, D.C., Florida and California. We have not yet received the DCCC's requests for their debt retirement schedule. We have given the DSCC dates for NY, Miami, and California. They have agreed to hold off on a D.C. event until after the DNC gala in April.

1997 Elections*

In 1997, Democrats should run strong in the mayoral elections and should be competitive in the Virginia gubernatorial race and possibly in New Jersey. Lt. Gov. Beyer (D) and Attorney General James Gilmore (R) are the likely nominees. In New Jersey, Governor Whitman, despite strong popularity, could have a competitive election if former Senator Bill Bradley enters the race, as has been speculated. Otherwise, this race will be difficult for the Democrats. (Other potential Democrats are Rep. Rob Andrews, Woodbridge Mayor Jim McGreevey, Hudson County Executive Bobby Janiszewski, Cherry Hill Susan Bass Levin and former Governor Jim Florio.)

There are 10 mayoral races in major cities: seven Democratic seats and two Republican seats appear safe. Cincinnati, which currently has a Democratic mayor, chooses its mayor from the leading vote-getter on the city council, therefore it is hard to identify the leading candidate. Miami is also a question mark because there may not be an election at all if the current fiscal crisis leads residents to vote to dissolve the city and become part of the larger Metro-Dade government.

1998 Elections

The Republicans appear to have the early advantage in most gubernatorial and Senate races because of the large number of safe incumbents running for re-election. With redistricting on the horizon in the year 2000, control of governorships will be important to the Democrats chances of regaining a majority in the House during the next decade. Of the 36 elections for governor, 24 seats are held by Republicans; 11 by Democrats, and one by an independent. At least nine of those elections will be for open seats (4 Republican; 5 Democratic). Currently, the majority of Republican governors running for re-election appear safe or likely to win. The possible exceptions are in Connecticut and New York where Governors John Rowland and George Pataki have favorability ratings under 50%. Governor Mike Huckabee could be vulnerable if he has a poor legislative session and a strong candidate opposes him.

1998 Gubernatorial Elections

Five of the nine open seats are held by Democratic governors. The Republicans are likely to hold onto Iowa and pick up Nebraska -- Democrats do not have potential strong candidates in either state. Of the toss-ups, it will be a challenge for the Democrats to hold onto the Florida governorship. The Democrats have a better than even chance of holding onto Colorado and Nevada and picking up seats in Minnesota and Massachusetts (assuming Governor Weld does not run). California, Ohio, Georgia and Arizona are dead even. Illinois and Michigan could become competitive if Governors Edgar and Engler decide not to run for re-election. In the best case scenario assuming that all incumbents remain safe, the Democrats hold onto four of their five open seats (losing Nebraska) and win four Republican open seats (plus Virginia in 1997), for a net gain of four seats.

1998 Senate Elections

In the Senate, the chances of losing seats appears more likely than picking up seats at this time. There are 32 senators (18 Democrats and 14 Republicans) currently running for re-election, and one Republican seat (Indiana) is open. The Indiana seat of retiring Senator Dan Coats looks almost certain to become Democratic. Yet the vast majority of Republican incumbents currently look secure or likely to win. Senator Judd Gregg of New Hampshire is the only one that appears vulnerable with favorability ratings in the low 40s. North Carolina Senator Lauch Faircloth and Georgia Senator Paul Coverdell could also face tough races against strong opponents.

What makes the Democratic position weak is the possibility of several senators retiring in the South. Right now Arkansas Senator Bumpers is the most likely to retire. The word is Kentucky Senator Ford and South Carolina Senator Hollings will seek re-election. Hollings may have a competitive election if former Governor Carroll Campbell runs against him. Senator John Glenn may also retire, which would likely pave the way for a Republican win in Ohio. Even if Glenn runs, he faces a tough race against popular Governor Voinovich. Illinois Senator Carol Moseley-Braun is not likely to face a primary challenge, but will face a very difficult general election. Given the history of mid-term elections and the current political climate, it is hard to come up with a scenario in which the Democrats net more than one new seat. It seems more likely that the Republicans will at least break even, if not pick up a couple of seats.

The current make-up of the Senate is 55 Republicans to 45 Democrats. While it is still very early, if one goes strictly by the early ratings, there are six seats considered "lean Democrat" and only three seats considered "lean Republican." Under a worse case scenario, if Republicans held all their lean seats and we lost all ours, they would actually hold a 61 to 39 majority leaving no filibuster threat from Democrats.

* The race judgments are from both the Political staff and the Cook Report.

1997 Political Activity

Revised January 17, 1997

State	Primary election	General election	Previous results	Statewide race
NM	N/A	*85-90 days after the confirmation of Rep. Richardson (D-3rd)	Richardson (D) 67% Redmond (R) 30% Nagel (L) 2%	**Congressional: LIKELY DEM.** Rep. Richardson (D) has resigned to become Ambassador to the Union Nations. **Democrats**: Corporation Commissioner Eric Serna, Santa Fe Mayor Debbie Jaramillo, Corporation Commissioner Gloria Trestiani **Republicans**: '96 congressional nominee Bill Redmond; '94 congressional nominee Greg Bevis; State Senator Joe Carraro; Frank Bond **Green**: Santa Fe Councilman Chris Ward
NJ	June 3	Nov. 4	Whitman (R) 49% Florio (D) 48%	**Gubernatorial: LIKELY REP.** Governor Christie Whitman is seeking re-election. **Democrats:** Cong. Rob Andrews (D-01); Woodbridge Mayor/st. Rep. Jim McGreevey; Hudson Co. Exec. Bobby Janiszewski; Cherry Hill Mayor Susan Bass Levin; frmr. Gov. Jim Florio; Frmr. Senator Bill Bradley
VA	June 10	Nov. 4	Allen (R) 58% Terry (D) 41%	**Gubernatorial: TOSS UP.** Gov. George Allen (R) is term-limited. **Democrats:** Lt. Gov. Don Beyer **Republicans:** Atty. Gen. James Gilmore

City	Primary election	General election	Significant mayoral races
Los Angeles, CA	April 8	June 3 Run-off election	**LIKELY REP.** Mayor Richard Riordan (R) is seeking re-election. **Democrats:** St. Sen. Tom Hayden
Miami, FL	Nov. 1	Nov. 4	**SOLID DEM.** Mayor Joe Carollo (D) is seeking re-election.
Atlanta, GA	N/A	Nov. 4	**SOLID DEM.** Mayor Bill Campbell (D) is seeking re-election. **Democrats:** City Councilman Marvin Arrington
Detroit MI	Sept. 9	Nov. 4	**SOLID DEM.** Mayor Dennis Archer (D) is seeking re-election.
Minneapolis, MN	Sept. 9	Nov. 4	**SOLID DEM.** Mayor Sharon Sayles Belton (D) is seeking re-election.
St. Paul, MN	Sept. 9	Nov. 4	**SOLID REP.** Recent party switcher Mayor Norm Coleman (R) is seeking re-election. **Democrats:** City Council President David Phune
St. Louis, MO	March 4	April 1	**SOLID DEM.** Mayor Freeman Bosley (D) is seeking re-election. **Democrats:** Clarence Harmon
Albuquerque,NM	Oct. 5	Nov. 3 Run-off election	**SOLID DEM.** Mayor Marty Chavez (D) is expected to seek re-election.
New York City, NY	Sept. 9	Nov. 4	**LIKELY REP.** Mayor Rudy Giuliani (R) is seeking re-election. **Democrats:** City Council member Sal Albanese; Reverend Al Sharpton; Manhattan Borough Pres. Ruth Messinger; Bronx Borough Pres. Fernando Ferrer
Cincinnati, OH	N/A	Nov. 4	**TOSS UP.** Top vote-getter among city council candidates is named mayor.
Cleveland, OH	Sept. 30	Nov. 4	**SOLID DEM.** Mayor Mike White (D) is seeking re-election.
Houston, TX	N/A	Nov. 4	**TOSS UP.** Mayor Bob Lanier (D) is not seeking re-election. **Democrats:** Fmr. Drug Czar Lee Brown, St. Rep. Sylvester Turner **Republicans:** Rob Mosbacher, Jr.
Seattle, WA	Sept. 16	Nov. 4	**SOLID DEM.** Mayor Norm Rice (D) is expected to seek re-election.

1998 Gubernatorial and Senate Races

Revised January17, 1997

State	Primary date	General date	'92 /'94 General results	Gubernatorial and Senate Races
AK	Aug. 25	Nov. 3	Knowles (D) 41% Campbell (R) 41% Coghill (I) 13% Sykes (Green) 4% Murkowski (R) 53% Smith (D) 38% Jordan (Green) 8%	**Gubernatorial: LIKELY DEM.** Governor Tony Knowles (D) will seek re-election. **Senate: SOLID REP.** Sen. Frank Murkowski (R) is seeking re-election.
AL	June 2	Nov. 3	James (R) 50% Folsolm (D) 49% Shelby (D) 65% Sellers (R) 33% Shockley (L) 2%	**Gubernatorial: SOLID REP.** Gov. Fob James (R) will seek re-election. **Senate: LIKELY REP.** Sen. Richard Shelby (R) is seeking re-election.
AR	May 21	Nov. 3	Huckabee (R) assumed office 7/96 Bumpers (D) 60% Huckabee (R) 40%	**Gubernatorial: LEAN REP.** Gov. Mike Huckabee (R) is likely to seek re-election. **Democrats:** St. Rep. Bobby Hough, FEMA director James Lee Witt **Senate: SOLID DEM/TOSS UP** with retirement. It is unclear if Sen. Dale Bumpers (D) will run.
AZ	Sept. 8	Nov. 3	Symington (R) 53% Basha (D) 44% McCain (R) 56% Sargent (D) 32% Mecham (I) 11%	**Gubernatorial: OPEN (R)-TOSS-UP.** Gov. Fife Symington (R) is term-limited. **Democrats**: '94 gubernatorial candidate Eddie Basha. Former Phoenix Mayor Paul Johnson **Republicans**: Attorney General Grant Woods, Rep. Matt Salmon (R-01) **Senate: SOLID REP.** Sen. John McCain (R) is expected to seek re-election.
CA	June 2	Nov. 3	Wilson (R) 55% Brown (D) 41% Boxer (D) 48% Herschensohn (R) 43%	**Gubernatorial: OPEN (R)-TOSS-UP.** Gov. Pete Wilson (R) is term-limited. **Democrats**: Lt. Gov. Gray Davis, Sen. Dianne Feinstein, White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta, Controller Kathleen Connell **Republicans**: Attorney General Dan Lungren, Rep. Chris Cox (R-46th) **Senate: TOSS UP.** Sen. Barbara Boxer (D) is expected to seek re-election, likely without a primary. **Republicans**: San Diego Mayor Susan Golding, Rep. Chris Cox (R-46th), Treasurer Matt Fong, Sec. of State Bill Jones
CO	Aug. 4	Nov. 3	Romer (D) 55% Benson (R) 39% Campbell (D) 52% Considine (R) 43%	**Gubernatorial: OPEN (D) -TOSS UP.** Gov. Roy Romer (D) is term-limited. **Democrats**: Lt. Gov. Gail Schoettler, Former Congresswoman Pat Schroeder **Republicans**: Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell **Senate: LEAN REP.** Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R) is expected to seek re-election. **Democrats**: unclear

CT	Sept. 8	Nov. 3	Rowland (R) 36% Curry (D) 33% Groark (ACP) 19% Scott (I) 11% Dodd (D) 59% Johnson (R) 38%	**Gubernatorial: TOSS UP.** Governor John Rowland (R) will seek re-election. Democrats: Bill Curry; AG Richard Blumenthal; Sec. State Miles Rappoport; house speaker Tom Ritter; Bridgeport Mayor Joe Ganim; Rep. Barbara Kennelly **Senate: SOLID DEM.** Senator Chris Dodd (D) will seek re-election
FL	Sept. 1	Nov. 3	Chiles (D) 51% Bush (R) 49% Graham (D) 65% Grant (R) 35%	**Gubernatorial: TOSS UP.** Gov. Lawton Chiles (D) is term-limited. **Democrats:** Lt. Gov. Buddy MacKay, Insurance Commissioner Bill Nelson, Atty Gen. Bob Butterworth **Republicans:** Jeb Bush **Senate: LIKELY DEM.** Sen. Bob Graham (D) is seeking re-election. **Republicans:** St. Sen. Charlie Crist, U.S. Rep. Bill McCollum
GA	July 21	Nov. 3	Miller (D) 51% Millner (R) 49% Coverdell (R) 51% Fowler (D) 49%	**Gubernatorial: TOSS UP.** Gov. Zell Miller (D) is term-limited. **Democrats:** Lt. Gov. Pierre Howard, St. Rep. Roy Barnes, Labor Sec. David Poythress **Republicans:** Att. Gen. Mike Bowers **Senate: LEAN REP.** Sen. Paul Coverdell (R) will run for re-election.
HI	Sept. 19	Nov. 3	Cayetano (D) 37% Fasi (Best) 31% Saiki (R) 29% Inouye (D) 57% Reed (R) 27% Martin (Green) 14%	**Gubernatorial: LIKELY DEM.** Gov. Ben Cayetano (D) is expected to seek re-election. **Democrats:** Honolulu Mayor Jeremy Harris **Senate: SOLID DEM.** Sen. Daniel Inouye (D) is expected to seek re-election. **Democrats:** Former Gov. John Waihee
IA	June 2	Nov. 3	Branstad (R) 57% Campbell (D) 42%	**Gubernatorial: LIKELY REP.** Gov. Branstad or Sen. Grassley will likely be the Republican nominee. **Democrats:** St. Sen. Tom Vilsack, businesman David Lyons
ID	May 26	Nov. 3	Batt (R) 52% Echohawk (D) 44% Kempthorne (R) 57% Stallings (D) 43%	**Gubernatorial: LIKELY REP.** Gov. Phil Batt (R) is expected to seek re-election. **Senate: SOLID REP.** Sen. Dirk Kempthorne (R) is expected to seek re-election.
IL	March 17	Nov. 3	Edgar (R) 64% Netsch (D) 34% Moseley-Braun (D) 53% Williamson (R) 43%	**Gubernatorial: LIKELY REP.** Gov. Jim Edgar (R) is expected to seek re-election. **Democrats:** Former DOJ official John Schmidt **Senate: TOSS UP.** Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun (D) is seeking re-election. **Republicans:** Rep. John Porter, State Comptroller Lolita Didrickson
IN	May 5	Nov. 3	NA	**Senate: SOLID DEM.** Sen. Dan Coats (R) is retiring. **Republicans:** '96 Lt. Gov. nominee George Witwer, Sec. of State Sue Ann Gilroy **Democrats:** former Gov. Evan Bayh

KS	Aug. 4	Nov. 3	Graves (R) 64% Slattery (D) 36% Brownback 54% Dicking 43%	**Gubernatorial: LIKELY REP.** Gov. Bill Graves is expected to seek re-election but he might have a primary challenge. **Democrats:** Insurance Commissioner Kathleen Sebelius, House Minority Leader Tom Sawyer **Senate: LIKELY REP.** Sen. Sam Brownback will seek re-election. Democrats: No strong candidates to date.
KY	May 26	Nov. 3	Ford (D) 63% Williams (R) 36%	**Senate: LIKELY DEM.** Assuming Sen. Wendell Ford (D) will seek re-election.
LA	Oct. 3	(Nov. 3)	Breaux (D) 73% Khachaturian (I) 9% Stockstill (R) 8% Accardo (D) 7% Strong (R) 4%	**Senate: SOLID DEM.** Sen. John Breaux (D) will seek re-election. **Republicans:** Woody Jenkins
MA	Sept. 15	Nov. 3	Weld (R) 71% Roosevelt (D) 28%	**Gubernatorial: TOSS UP.** Although Gov. Bill Weld (R) has said he would not seek a third term, he could change his mind and announce for re-election. **Democrats:** Rep. Joe Kennedy; Atty Gen. Scott Harshbarger **Republicans:** (if Weld retires) State Treas. Joe Malone; Lt. Governor Paul Cellucci
MD	Sept. 15	Nov. 3	Glendening (D) 50% Sauerbrey (R) 50% Mikulski (D) 71% Keyes (R) 29%	**Gubernatorial: TOSS UP.** Governor Parris Glendening (D) will seek re-election. **Democrats:** Harford Co. Exec. Eileen Rehrmann; Rep. Ben Cardin (D-03); House Speaker Cass Taylor; Balt. Co. Exec. Dutch Ruppersberger **Republicans:** '94 nominee Ellen Sauerbrey **Senate: SOLID DEM.** Senator Barbara Mikulski (D) will seek re-election. **Republicans:** Rep. Bob Erlich (R-02)
ME	June 9	Nov. 3	King (I) 35% Brennan (D) 34% Collins (R) 23% Carter (Green) 6%	**Gubernatorial: LIKELY INDEPENDENT.** Governor Angus King (I) will seek re-election.
MI	Aug. 11	Nov. 3	Engler (R) 61% Wolpe (D) 38%	**Gubernatorial: LEAN REP.** Gov. John Engler will likely seek re-election. **Democrats:** former E. Lansing Mayor Larry Owen, former DOL official Doug Ross, State Sen. Jim Berryman
MN	Sept. 8	Nov. 3	Carlson (R) 62% Marty (D) 33%	**Gubernatorial: TOSS UP.** Gov. Arne Carlson is retiring. **Republicans:** Lt. Gov. Joanne Benson, St. Paul Mayor Norm Coleman **Democrats:** Atty Gen. Skip Humphrey, former State Sen. Ted Mondale, former State Auditor Mark Dayton, Hennepin County Atty Mike Freeman
MO	Aug. 4	Nov. 3	Bond (R) 52% Rothman-Serot (D)45%	**Senate: LIKELY REP.** Sen. Kit Bond is expected to seek re-election. **Democrats:** Atty Gen. Jay Nixon
NC	May 5	Nov. 3	Faircloth (R) 50% Sanford (D) 46%	**Senate: LEAN REP.** Sen. Lauch Faircloth (R) will seek re-election. **Democrats:** Att. Gen. Mike Easley, '96 Senate candidate Charlie Sanders

ND	June 9	Nov. 3	Dorgan (D) 59% Sydness (R) 39%	**Senate: SOLID DEM.** Sen. Byron Dorgan is seeking re-election. **Republicans:** Gov. Ed. Schaefer, Sen. Maj. Leader John Dorso, wealthy farmer Jack Dalrymple
NE	May 12	Nov. 3	Nelson (R) 73% Spence (D) 26%	**Gubernatorial: LEAN REP.** Gov. Ben Nelson is term-limited. **Democrats:** Lt. Gov. Kim Robak, atty and '90 gubernatorial candidate Bill Hoppner **Republicans:** US West Exec. Jan Stoney, Lincoln Mayor Mike Johanns, State Auditor John Breslow
NH	Sept. 8	Nov. 3	**1996 Results:** Shaheen (D) 57% Lamontagne (R) 40% Gregg (R) 48% Rauh (D) 45%	**Gubernatorial: LEAN DEM.** Governor Jeanne Shaheen (D) will seek re-election. **Republicans:** Frmr. Rep. Bill Zeliff; '96 nominee Ovide Lamontagne **Senate: LIKELY REP.** Senator Judd Gregg (R) will seek re-election. **Democrats:** At this time, no Democrats have expressed interest in this race.
NM	June 2	Nov. 3	Johnson (R) 50% King (D) 40% Monadragon 10%	**Gubernatorial: LEAN REP.** Gov. Gary Johnson (R) is expected to seek re-election. **Democrats:** Albuquerque Mayor Marty Chavez
NV	Sept. 1	Nov. 3	Miller (D) 53% Gibbons (R) 41% Reid (D) 51% Dahl (R) 40%	**Gubernatorial: OPEN (D)-TOSS-UP.** Gov. Bob Miller (D) is term-limited. **Democrats:** Attorney General Frankie Sue Del Papa **Republicans:** Lt. Gov. Lonnie Hammargren **Senate: LIKELY DEM.** Sen. Harry Reid (D) is expected to seek re-election.
NY	Sept. 8	Nov. 3	Pataki (R) 49% Cuomo (D) 45% Golisano (INF) 4% D'Amato (R) 49% Abrams (D) 48%	**Gubernatorial: LEAN REP.** Governor George Pataki (R) will seek re-election. **Democrats:** State Comptroller Carl McCall; Rep. Chuck Schumer (D-09); Rep. Maurice Hinchey (D-26); Rep. Nita Lowey (D-18); NYC Council Speaker Peter Vallone **Senate: TOSS UP.** Senator Al D'Amato (R) will seek re-election. **Democrats:** NYC Public Advocate Mark Green; frmr. Rep. Geraldine Ferraro; Rep. Chuck Schumer (D-09)
OH	May 5	Nov. 3	Voincovich (R) 72% Burch (D) 25% Glenn (D) 51% DeWine (R) 42% Gravatt (I) 7%	**Gubernatorial: TOSS UP.** Gov. George Voinovich is running for the U.S. Senate. **Republicans:** Sec. of State Bob Taft, State Treas. Kenny Blackwell, State Auditor Jim Petro **Democrats:** Cuyahoga County Comm. Mary Boyle, former Atty Gen. Lee Fisher **Senate: LEAN DEM** - Unless Sen. John Glenn decides to retire. **Republicans:** Gov. George Voinovich
OK	Aug. 5	Nov. 3	Keating (R) 47% Mildren (D) 30% Watkins (I) 23% Nickles (R) 59% Lewis (D) 38%	**Gubernatorial: LIKELY REP.** Gov. Frank Keating (R) will seek re-election. **Democrats:** Fmr. Lt. Gov. Jack Mildren **Senate: SOLID REP.** Sen. Don Nickles (R) will run for re-election.

OR	May 19	Nov. 3	Kitzhaber (D) Smith (R) Wyden (D) Smith (R)	51% 42% 49% 48%	**Gubernatorial: LIKELY DEM.** Gov. John Kitzhaber (D) is expected to seek re-election. **Senate: LEAN DEM.** Sen. Ron Wyden (D) is expected to seek re-election. **Republicans**: St. House Speaker Bev Clarno, Labor Commissioner Jack Roberts
PA	May 19	Nov. 3	Ridge (R) Singel (D) Luksik (I) Specter (R) Yeakel (D) Perry (I)	45% 40% 13% 49% 46% 5%	**Gubernatorial: LIKELY REP.** Governor Tom Ridge (R) will seek re-election. **Senate: LIKELY REP.** Senator Arlen Specter (R) will seek re-election. **Democrats**: state party chair Mark Singel
RI	Sept. 8	Nov. 3	Almond (R) York (D) Healey (I)	47% 44% 9%	**Gubernatorial: LEAN REP.** Governor Lincoln Almond (R) will seek re-election. **Demcorats**: St. Senate Maj. Ldr. Paul Kelly; atty Frank Flaherty.
SC	Jun. 6	Nov. 3	Beasley (R) Theodore (D) Hollings (D) Harnett (R)	50% 48% 50% 47%	**Gubernatorial: LIKELY REP.** Gov. David Beasley (R) will seek re-election. **Republicans:** Atty Gen. Charles Condon **Democrats:** Charleston mayor Joe Riley **Senate: LEAN DEM.** Sen. Fritz Hollings (D) is expected to seek re-election. **Republicans:** Sec. of State Jim Miles, Former Gov. Carroll Campbell possibly
SD	June 2	Nov. 3	Daschle (D) Haar (R)	65% 33%	**Senate: SOLID DEM.** Sen. Tom Daschle is seeking re-election. **Republicans:** State Sen. Alan Aker
TN	Aug. 6	Nov. 3	Sundquist (R) Bredesen (D)	54% 45%	**Gubernatorial: LIKELY REP.** Gov. Don Sundquist (R) will run for re-election. **Democrats:** At this time, no Democrats have expressed interest in this race.
TX	Mar. 10	Nov. 3	Bush (R) Richards (D)	53% 47%	**Gubernatorial: LIKELY REP.** Gov. George Bush (R) will seek re-election. **Democrats:** St. Comptroller John Sharp, Land Commissioner Garry Mauro, Atty Gen. Dan Morales
UT	June 23	Nov. 3	Bennett (R) Owens (D)	55% 40%	**Senate: SOLID REP.** Sen. Robert Bennett (R) is expected to seek re-election.
VT	Sept. 8	Nov. 3	Dean (D) Gropper (R) Leahy (D) Douglas (R)	71% 23% 54% 43%	**Gubernatorial: SOLID DEM.** Governor Howard Dean (D) will seek re-election. **Senate: SOLID DEM.** Senator Patrick Leahy will likely seek re-election. **Republicans**: Rutland Mayor Jeff Wennberg; state Rep. Walt Freed; former state Rep. Sara Grear; former Lt. Gov. Barbara Snelling
WA	Sept. 15	Nov. 3	Murray (D) Chandler (R)	54% 46%	**Senate: LEAN DEM.** Sen. Patty Murray (D) is expected to seek re-election. **Republicans**: Reps. Jennifer Dunn (R-8th) and Linda Smith (R-3rd)

WI	Sept. 9	Nov. 3	Thompson (R) 67% Chvala (D) 31% Feingold (D) 53% Kasten (R) 46%	**Gubernatorial: LIKELY REP.** Gov. Tommy Thompson is seeking re-election. **Democrats:** Dane County Exec. Rick Phelps, Milwaukee Mayor John Norquist, Atty Gen. Jim Doyle **Senate: LEAN DEM.** Sen. Russ Feingold is seeking re-election. **Republicans:** Rep. Mark Neumann, State Sen. Bob Welch
WY	August 19	Nov. 3	Geringer (R) 59% Karpan (D) 40%	**Gubernatorial: LIKELY REP.** Gov. Jim Geringer (R) is expected to seek re-election.

1997 GUBERNATORIAL RACES

NEW JERSEY	**Christine Todd Whitman (R)**
Filing Deadline:	**April 10**
Primary:	**June 3**
General:	**November 4**

Governor Whitman was elected in 1993 after narrowly defeating former Democratic Governor Jim Florio (49% - 48%). Whitman has been a popular governor -- a September 1996 Mason-Dixon poll showed her with a 57% job approval rating -- and many pundits believe she will be difficult to beat. Nonetheless, the field of Democrats vying to unseat her could be expansive. U.S. Representative Rob Andrews (D-01) and Woodbridge Mayor and state Senator Jim McGreevey (D) have both formally announced formation of exploratory committees and are almost certain to announce a run soon. Hudson County Executive Bobby Janiszewski (D) is considering a run, and Cherry Hill Mayor Susan Bass Levin (D) is also considering the race. Although he is being discouraged, former Governor Jim Florio (D) is hinting at staging a comeback, and the *Star-Ledger* reports this week that former Senator Bill Bradley (D) has been "putting out feelers" about getting into the race. If Bradley were to enter, he would be the favorite to win the Democratic nomination. A Bradley-Whitman match up would be their second. Bradley barely held onto his Senate seat when challenged by Whitman in 1990.

VIRGINIA	**Open (R)**
Republican Primary:	**June 10**
Democratic Convention:	**May 10**

Governor George Allen (R) is term-limited. The race will be a contest between Lieutenant Governor Don Beyer and Attorney General James Gilmore. It is considered a toss-up. With the primary field having been cleared for both candidates, the general election virtually has already begun. Beyer recently made a gaffe by saying he would support the FDA regulation of nicotine if the state did not take better measures to curtail teen smoking. Such a statement could hurt him in the southern part of the state.

1997 SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION

3RD DISTRICT: **Bill Richardson (D)**
Primary: **N/A**
General: **85 - 90 days following the resignation of Rep. Richardson**

PRESIDENTIAL RESULTS:

1996		1992		
*Clinton	98,730	Clinton	95,233	51%
Dole	70,793	Bush	63,032	34%
Perot	10,516	Perot	27,081	15%

*Bernalillo and Santa Fe counties results have not yet been certified by the Secretary of State's office.

Due to the appointment of Rep. Bill Richardson (D-3rd) as Ambassador to the United Nations, state Democratic and Republican Party central committees will meet one week after Richardson has been confirmed to select their nominees for the seat. The special general election will be held 85-90 days following. Possible Democrats include Corporation Commissioner Eric Serna, Santa Fe Mayor Deborah Jaramillo and Corporation Commissioner Gloria Trestiani. Possible Republicans include '96 nominee Bill Redmond, '94 nominee Greg Bevis, state Senator Joe Carraro and key GOP activist Frank Bond. Possible Green Party candidates include Santa Fe Councilman Chris Ward.

1997 MAYORAL RACES

ALBUQUERQUE	**Martin "Marty" Chavez (D)**
Primary:	**October 5**
General:	**November 3 (Run-off)**

Mayor Martin "Marty" Chavez (D) is seeking reelection to a second term in office. Chavez was overwhelming elected to office in 1993 and is expected to easily win reelection in October. Chavez has continued to expressed interest privately and publicly about challenging Governor Gary Johnson (D) in 1998. Chavez currently enjoys an approval rating of 70% among city residents. The mayoral race is nonpartisan.

ATLANTA	**Bill Campbell (D)**
General:	**November 4**

Bill Campbell (D) is seeking reelection as mayor of Atlanta. His chief rival will be Democratic city councilman Marvin Arrington, a wealthy, African-American attorney. This race is expected to be tight and very bitter as Arrington has already begun to attack the mayor. Arrington has great support in the liberal African American community and will most likely challenge Campbell from the left.

CINCINNATI	**Roxanne Qualls (D)**
Primary:	**NA**
General:	**November 4**

It is impossible to predict who will be the next mayor of Cincinnati since they have no mayoral race per se. The top vote getter in the city council race is named mayor. Qualls has done a good job and there is little doubt that she will win election to the council, but her vote total could be eclipsed by a fellow Democrat, a Republican or a "charter rights" (third party) candidate.

CLEVELAND	**Mike White (D)**
Primary:	**September 30**
General:	**November 4**

Mike White is well-positioned to win reelection. Though he is very unpopular with labor, his favorable rating is high and he has a very large war chest. He is not expected to draw a serious opponent.

DETROIT	**Dennis Archer (D)**
Primary:	**September 9**
General:	**November 4**

Mayor Archer's reelection campaign is very solid, politically and financially. Only one minor candidate is currently running against him and no major opponent is expected to enter the race.

HOUSTON **Open (D)**
General: **November 4**

Houston Mayor Bob Lanier (D) is term-limited. Former Clinton Administration Drug Czar Lee Brown (D) has been the most visible and the most organized of the announced candidates, but many Democrats are waiting to see how the field fills out before they name him a frontrunner. Among the names mentioned for a possible run for mayor are former state assemblyman Sylvester Turner (D) and the son of a former Bush cabinet member, Rob Mosbacher, Jr. (R).

LOS ANGELES **Richard Riordan (R)**
Primary: **April 8**
General: **June 3 (Run-off)**

Mayor Richard Riordan (R) is seeking reelection to a second term in office. Riordan was elected to office in a June 1993 runoff and is expected to win reelection in April. State Senator Tom Hayden (D) is the only Democratic challenger who has filed for the nonpartisan mayoral race. Hayden will have an uphill battle against the well-financed Riordan who will be able to dominate the television market. Hayden is expected to run a guerrilla campaign, probably low on money even if he kicks in up to $100,000 of his own, trying to capture attention by playing off the news or creating it. **Positioning: Given the Administration's past relationship with Riordan, any interest regarding the non-partisan race will have to be made early.**

MIAMI **Joe Carollo (D)**
Primary: **November 1**
General: **November 4**

The Miami mayoral race is overshadowed by this year's referendum to incorporate the city into greater Miami-Dade Metro. Mismanagement of city funds has left Miami near bankruptcy and the Governor has appointed Lieutenant Governor Buddy MacKay as chair of an oversight committee to help the city achieve financial stability. Regardless, incumbent Mayor Joe Carollo (D) says he will run for reelection. Carollo was elected mayor in a special election to replace longstanding mayor Steve Clark, who died last summer of cancer. He will be challenged by Xavier Suarez (I), who has claimed that Miami's financial mess has been overblown by the Chiles administration and the media.

MINNEAPOLIS **Sharon Sayles Belton (D)**
Primary: **September 9**
General: **November 4**

Sayles Belton, the city's first African American mayor, has bolstered support in the past year for her reelection by being tough on crime and against busing. At this time, she has no serious opposition but the Republican Party is expected to draft a businessperson to challenge her. She is expected to win easily.

NEW YORK CITY **Rudolph Giuliani (R)**
Primary: **September 9**
General: **November 4**

Mayor Rudy Giuliani was elected in 1993 after defeating former Mayor David Dinkins. He has been a popular Mayor and his approval ratings have been consistently high. Although he will be very tough to beat, there are many Democrats interested in taking him on. Two have already announced their intention to run -- City Council member Sal Albaneses and the Reverend Al Sharpton. Other Democrats considered likely to run are Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger and Bronx Borough President Fernando Ferrer. New York City Comptroller Alan Hevesi, who was once considered likely to run for Mayor, announced last month that he would not. **Positioning: We have cultivated a strong relationship with Giuliani through the years. We should be sensitive to this fact as we will be supporting a Democrat in the general election.**

SEATTLE **Norm Rice (D)**
Primary: **September 16**
General: **November 3**

Mayor Norm Rice (D) has not publicly announced his intentions to run for reelection. Rumors have begun to surface that Rice may opt not to seek a second term in office, following his unsuccessful bid for the governor's seat last year. He is expected to make an announcement in the next month. Rice was elected to office in 1993 and was expected to face little or no opposition in this year's election. The mayoral race is nonpartisan.

ST. LOUIS **Freeman Bosley (D)**
Primary: **March 4**
General: **April 1**

Though St. Louis is 70% African American, Bosley is the first African American to serve as mayor. He will face a tough primary challenge this year from Clarence Harmon (D), also an African American and a very popular former chief of police. Harmon was ousted from his police chief post by Bosley last year and replaced with a crony. He charges that Bosley's administration is incompetent and corrupt. (There have been several scandals but none have implicated the mayor himself). Bosley is organizing a strong campaign team and currently has a 10-1 fundraising edge, but Harmon is backed by the St. Louis business community so he is expected to be financially competitive. Governor Carnahan is actively supporting Bosley. In the unlikely event that Harmon upsets Bosley, the seat should remain Democratic given the demographics of the city.

ST. PAUL **Norm Coleman (R)**
Primary: **September 9**
General: **November 4**

Though St. Paul is a heavily Democratic city, its popular mayor, Norm Coleman, switched to the Republican Party last month in preparation for a '98 gubernatorial bid. He is fashioning himself as a "Kemp Republican," very concerned about inner city problems. Coleman is being

challenged by several far left local candidates including City Council President Dave Phune but is expected to win easily.

1998 SENATE RACES

ALABAMA **Richard Shelby (R)**
Primary : **June 2**

Shelby appears all but unbeatable having lost virtually no support in Alabama since he switched parties in the immediate wake of the 1994 elections. The senator has amassed a large war chest of $2.8 million and has a strong network of both Democrats and Republicans loyal to him in the state. The state Democratic party is now struggling to recruit candidates in the hopes that they can find someone strong enough to make Shelby focus on his race and not spend his money electing Republicans to other offices. It is expected that Shelby will easily win reelection in this Republican-leaning state, and it is highly unlikely the Democratic candidate will request a visit by an Administration principal.

ALASKA **Frank Murkowski (R)**
Primary: **August 25**

Senator Murkowski is expected to face little or no opposition in next year's race. Murkowski has been reelected twice in contests that attracted little attention outside Alaska. Murkowski has been a major proponent for ANWR drilling and backed the timber harvest in the Tongass forest suspended by the Clinton Administration. Murkowski has never received as much as 55% of the vote, but his chairmanship of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee is highly valuable to Alaska and should leave him in a strong position for 1998.

ARIZONA **John McCain (R)**
Primary: **September 8**

Senator McCain was elected to office in 1986 and reelected in 1992. McCain is expected to run for reelection in 1998 and is expected to face a Democratic nominee with little or no name recognition. Although the state chose a Democratic presidential nominee for the first time since 1948, state Democrats are reluctant to take on the formidable senator. Raising his national profile, McCain served as a senior advisor in the GOP presidential campaign of Bob Dole and he should have no difficulty in raising money for the race. A poll conducted by the Behavior Research Center of Arizona in July found that McCain remains Arizona's most popular elected official. In the poll, 46% rated McCain's performance as excellent or good. There is speculation McCain will look at a run for President in 2000 if he runs strong in 1998.

ARKANSAS **Dale Bumpers (D)**
Primary: **May 21**

Although Senator Bumpers has not publicly announced his intentions, many in Arkansas speculate he will not run for a fifth term. He will be 72 years old in 1998. His lack of a coordinated fundraising effort ($115,000 cash on hand) also fuels suspicion he may decide to retire. Democrats are concerned the party will not have a credible candidate to replace Bumpers. Given Senator Tim Hutchinson's (R) 1996 win over Winston Bryant (D) to replace retiring Senator David Pryor, Bumpers' seat, which would be considered safely Democratic, will become

competitive if Bumpers does not run. The Democratic candidate will likely ask the President for assistance in his campaign. **Positioning: Given the Democratic losses in statewide elections in 1996, we need to know how likely Bumpers is to resign, and if he is stepping down, what we are going to do to clear the field and ensure a strong candidate in 1998.**

CALIFORNIA **Barbara Boxer (D)**
Primary: **June 2**

Senator Boxer will face a tough race in 1998. Boxer has yet to publicly announce her intentions to run, however she has reportedly raised about $1,500,000 and has $800,000 cash on hand. It has been widely assumed in California political circles that Boxer will face a very tough reelection in 1998, and many state Republicans are lining up to run against her, hoping that a plurality primary win can catapult them into the Senate. Possible Republican candidates include, San Diego Mayor Susan Golding, Rep. Chris Cox (R-46th), state Treasurer Matt Fong, and Secretary of State Bill Jones.

COLORADO **Ben Nighthorse-Campbell (R)**
Primary: **August 4**

Senator Nighthorse Campbell has recently expressed interest in retiring after serving one term in office. In March 1995, Campbell switched parties to the GOP. State Democrats have vowed to take back the seat from Nighthorse-Campbell and have campaigned for Governor Roy Romer (D) to challenge him in 1998. If Nighthorse-Campbell does retire, he would become the third consecutive Colorado Senator to step down after one term.

CONNECTICUT **Chris Dodd (D)**
Primary: **September 8**

Senator Dodd won election to a third term in 1992 with 59% of the vote, and is expected to easily win election to a fourth term. He is very popular in Connecticut, and names of possible Republican challengers have yet to surface. Former Congressman Gary Franks (R) said last year that he would challenge Dodd for the Senate in 1998. However, given the fact that Franks lost his congressional seat in 1996 and that he is not well liked by the Connecticut Republican establishment, it is likely that Franks will not run.

FLORIDA **Bob Graham (D)**
Primary: **September 9**

Senator Graham is tremendously popular in Florida and is expected to win reelection to the Senate. Last year it was widely speculated he would return home to run for governor in 1998, an office he held from 1979 to early 1987, when he became a senator. Despite heavy lobbying by many Democrats who believe he is the only candidate who can defeat likely Republican candidate Jeb Bush (R), he announced in November 1996 he would not run for governor. Instead, he will run for a third term in the Senate. He has $787,000 cash on hand according to the latest FEC report. He has already requested that the President travel to Florida for a fundraiser for his U.S. Senate campaign. Republican state Senator Charlie Crist has already

announced he will run for his party's nomination. U.S. Representative Bill McCollum (R) is rumored to be looking seriously at a possible bid.

GEORGIA **Paul Coverdell (R)**
Primary: **July 21**

Senator Paul Coverdell squeaked by Senator Wyche Fowler in the 1992 run-off and is considered vulnerable in 1998. Encouraged by Senator Cleland's (D) victory over conservative Guy Millner, Democrats think Coverdell can be defeated by a well-financed conservative Democrat. It is not expected the Democratic candidate would request the President attend any campaign events in Georgia, although we could expect requests to attend fundraising events in Washington. However, there has been little discussion of possible Democratic candidates. The strongest Democrats are running for governor. Zell Miller announced late last year he would not be a candidate for the U.S. Senate.

HAWAII **Daniel Inouye (D)**
Primary: **September 19**

Senator Inouye has held statewide elective office since Hawaii attained statehood in 1959. Inouye's campaign in 1992 may have been his last and it is not clear whether Inouye will run again in 1998, when he turns 74. Former Governor John Waihee (D) has expressed privately he is interested in running for the Senate if Inouye retires. Inouye supported Waihee for governor and is expected to name Waihee as his successor if he retires in 1998. A decision from Inouye is not expected until early summer.

IDAHO **Dirk Kempthorne (R)**
Primary: **May 26**

Senator Kempthorne is expected to seek reelection and easily win reelection in 1998. Kempthorne won the Senate seat in 1992 after two-term incumbent Republican Steve Symms announced his retirement in August 1991. Kempthorne is expected to face a Democrat with little or no name recognition in the general election.

ILLINOIS **Carol Moseley-Braun (D)**
Primary: **March 17**

While Democrats agree that Moseley-Braun is a very weak candidate, no one seems willing to challenge her for the nomination with the possible exception of former attorney general Roland Burris. She has already lined up significant financial and political commitments (including Mayor Daley, who announced on January 16 that he will co-chair her campaign) and officials who will be on the ballot with her in 1998 believe that even though she might lose her race, she will be a great benefit to the rest of the ticket in terms of turnout. Those who will likely seek the Republican nomination include two pro-choice Republicans, Rep. John Porter and State Comptroller Lolita Didrickson. The wild-card entry could be right-winger Al Salvi, the 1996 Republican U.S. Senate nominee.

INDIANA **Open Seat (R)**
Primary: **May 5**

Senator Dan Coats announced his resignation last month amid reports that he was lagging 25 points and $1 million behind popular Governor Evan Bayh. George Witwer, a newspaper editor and the running mate of 1996 Republican gubernatorial nominee Stephen Goldsmith, and Secretary of State Sue Ann Gilroy are currently casting about for support for the Republican nomination. Other Republicans mentioned by the media but considered unlikely to make the race include Rep. David McIntosh and Marilyn Quayle. Currently, this seat presents the Democrats' best pickup opportunity for 1998.

KANSAS **Sam Brownback (R)**
Primary: **August 4**

Brownback defeated Jill Docking, a strong, well-funded candidate, by a 54%-43% margin last fall for the right to serve out the remainder of Bob Dole's term. He has strong support within his party and at this time, no Democrats have expressed any interest in challenging him.

KENTUCKY **Wendell Ford (D)**
Primary: **May 26**

Senator Ford, who will be 74 years old in 1998, is expected to win reelection easily in Kentucky. Though he has begun fundraising for the race, there is a possibility that he many not run. His age and his reported weariness of senate work in the minority contribute to speculation he will not seek reelection. The President won Kentucky narrowly in 1996, but the Democratic senate candidate was defeated in a landslide. Many people in the state believe Ford is the only candidate who could reasonably be expected to win a difficult election in Kentucky, given the trends toward electing Republicans to federal offices and the political climate surrounding tobacco. If he runs, Ford will keep his distance from the Administration and will be unlikely to ask for help from the President or the Vice President. **Positioning: I will talk to Senator Daschle about the best way of locking Ford into committing to another term.**

LOUISIANA **John Breaux (D)**
General: **October 10**
Run-off (if necessary): **November 3**

Senator Breaux has not announced his intentions but it now appears that he is focusing on reelection. If Breaux runs for reelection, it is expected he would win, although he will have to heal wounds remaining in the African American community from the racially divisive Landrieu U.S. Senate campaign. For a short time, Breaux was said to be interested in a possible ambassadorship in Europe. The President, who won Louisiana by twelve points in 1996, should expect a request from Breaux to assist in his campaign in Louisiana. No one thinks this race will be as easy as his last one. If Democratic factions decide to run other candidates, Breaux could find himself in a battle for reelection. Breaux has amassed a significant war chest of $1.4 million, which will make many Democrats pause before taking him on.

MARYLAND **Barbara Mikulski (D)**
Primary: **September 15**

Senator Mikulski won election to a second term in 1992 with 71% of the vote and she should easily win reelection in 1998. She is very popular in Maryland, and names of possible Republican challengers have yet to surface. In recent days, however, there has been talk in some Republican circles of pushing Congressman Bob Erlich (R-02) to run. Although this would make for an interesting race, Mikulski would remain the overwhelming favorite to win.

MISSOURI **Kit Bond (R)**
Primary: **August 4**

Though Governor Carnahan has said publicly that he is considering a bid against Bond, he is unlikely to do so. The most likely challenger to Bond is Attorney General Jay Nixon, the highest vote-getter in the state. Nixon is capable of raising the funds needed for the race with the help of Governor Carnahan who is more interested in serving out his term as governor and running against Sen. John Ashcroft in 2000. Bond is vulnerable due to the many negative stories written in the past four years about his divorce and the alleged squandering of his family fortune and alcohol abuse. It is unlikely that Bond will step aside due to his party's weak bench.

NEVADA **Harry Reid (D)**
Primary: **September 1**

Senator Reid is expected to seek reelection in 1998. Reid combines a moderate-to-liberal voting record on most issues with a strong partisan commitment though he is anti-abortion. Reid may face a challenge in the primary from Governor Bob Miller (D). This match would be a toss up. Miller has increased his national profile by serving as chairman of the National Governors' Association (NGA). No Republicans have expressed interest in challenging Reid.

NEW HAMPSHIRE **Judd Gregg (R)**
Primary: **September 8**

Senator Judd Gregg will be running for a second term in 1998, having narrowly won his first term in 1992 (48%-45%) over Democrat John Rauh. The 1998 race will be interesting. Many of the Democrats who ran for various offices in New Hampshire in 1996 and lost, could resurface in 1998 to challenge Gregg. However, Gregg was elected Deputy Chief Whip by the Republicans, and his close relationships with Senator Trent Lott (R-MS) and others in the Republican leadership could be beneficial to his efforts in 1998.

NEW YORK **Alfonse D'Amato (R)**
Primary: **September 8**

Senator Al D'Amato will seek election to a fourth term in 1998. D'Amato is considered very vulnerable given his incredibly low job approval ratings (30% according to an October 9 *Buffalo News* poll) which show him to be the least popular United States senator. There could be a crowded Democratic primary of people wishing to challenge him. New York Public Advocate

Mark Green (D) announced last spring that he would run for reelection in 1997, but also said that he is considering challenging D'Amato in 1998. Green lost a Senate challenge to D'Amato in 1986 (57% - 41%). There is also speculation that Congressman Chuck Schumer (D-09) may consider challenging D'Amato for the Senate seat if he does not run for Governor against Pataki. Although there was speculation last summer that Lt. Governor Betsey McCaughey-Ross (R) would run against D'Amato in the Republican primary, that no longer appears likely. This could be one of the most closely watched Senate races in 1998. **Positioning: In order to defeat D'Amato, we need to decide as soon as possible on a Democratic candidate to support.**

NORTH CAROLINA **Lauch Faircloth (R)**
Primary: **May 5**

Senator Lauch Faircloth is seen as vulnerable in a state that has a growing number of moderate Republicans moving into the state. His lack of fundraising to date ($22,000 cash on hand and $60,000 in debt) also suggests some vulnerability, although he should be well-financed given his support by conservative political organizations in the state and his personal wealth. Faircloth has also taken steps to be in a position to take care of his constituents by gaining a seat on the Senate Appropriations Committee. Helms was hurt by criticism last year that he did not tend to his constituents. Faircloth has vowed to bring more pork to North Carolina during the 1997-98 Congress.

Former Glaxo CEO Charlie Sanders has all but announced his candidacy. Sanders, a conservative businessman who was considered to have the best profile to defeat Helms, lost the primary to Harvey Gantt in 1996. State Attorney General Mike Easley is also expected to run. Easley is very popular statewide and has many chits to call in for the Democratic primary. In 1990, he lost to Harvey Gantt in the primary run-off, but endeared himself to the African American community by endorsing Gantt and actively campaigning for him in the general election. Easley has continued to be very visible, most recently appearing on several televised public service advertisements. Lieutenant Governor Dennis Wicker is an outside possibility to run, but most people think he is interested only in the governorship.

NORTH DAKOTA **Byron Dorgan (D)**
Primary: **June 9**

Dorgan is very popular and should have no trouble winning reelection unless popular Governor Ed Schaefer, who won in 1996 with 66% of the vote, challenges him. A Dorgan-Schaefer match up would be an expensive and hard-fought contest but Dorgan would likely prevail. Other possible Republican challengers are Senate Majority Leader John Dorso and wealthy farmer Jack Dalrymple who ran against Kent Conrad in the 1992 special election.

OHIO **John Glenn (D)**
Primary: **May 5**

For well over a year, popular Governor George Voinovich has been organizing his campaign to unseat Glenn. Most political insiders are predicting that Glenn will decide not to run for reelection because of his age and his distaste for raising the amount of money it would take to

defend his seat against such a strong opponent. If Glenn does not make the race, Voinovich is a virtual lock. No top Democrat will take him on. **Positioning: I will speak with Sen. Daschle about how we keep Glenn in the race or recruit the strongest possible candidate to run against Voinovich.**

OKLAHOMA **Don Nickles (R)**
Primary: **August 5**

Nickles is expected to win easily. No Democrats have been talked about as possible candidates.

OREGON **Ron Wyden (D)**
Primary: **May 19**

Senator Wyden won a seat to the Senate in a special election to replace former Senator Bob Packwood (R). Possible Republicans include Labor Commission Jack Roberts and Schools Superintendent Norma Paulus.

PENNSYLVANIA **Arlen Specter (R)**
Primary: **May 19**

Although he made comments to the contrary last year, it appears as though Arlen Specter will seek a fourth term in 1998. In 1992, Specter narrowly defeated Democrat Lynn Yeakel (49%-46%) although he out spent her 2-1. The Democratic field of candidates has yet to take shape. However, there is speculation that former Lt. Governor Mark Singel may make a run. Although most Democrats in Pennsylvania are not fond of Singel, they would support his candidacy for lack of a better alternative. A Specter-Singel match up would probably mean a fifth term for Specter.

SOUTH CAROLINA **Ernest "Fritz" Hollings (D)**
Primary: **June 9**

There is speculation that Senator Hollings is concerned about his reelection chances in 1998. Secretary of State Jim Miles (R) has already announced he is a candidate. However, the most serious challenge could come from former governor Carroll Campbell (R). Recent public polls show that Hollings would lose to Campbell by a large margin. The talk in South Carolina is that Strom Thurmond (R) will retire his seat later this year after becoming the oldest U.S. senator in history. It is believed that Governor Beasley, who faces his own reelection battle in 1998 that will pit him against right-wing Republicans upset with his reversal on flying the confederate flag over the Capitol, would then shore up his base by appointing Governor Campbell to Thurmond's seat. Secretary of State Jim Miles (R) has announced he is a candidate.

SOUTH DAKOTA **Tom Daschle (D)**
Primary: **June 2**

Daschle should have no problem winning reelection. His favorable rating is high and he will certainly have sufficient funds to wage a strong campaign. His only announced opponent to date

is 33-year old, right-wing State Senator Alan Aker. Aker has said that he intends to model his campaign after the 1994 George Nethercutt-Tom Foley race in Washington State painting Daschle as a man who cares more about his national influence than the people of his state.

UTAH **Robert Bennett (R)**
Primary: **June 23**

Senator Bennett is expected to seek reelection in 1998 and will more than likely face a Democrat with little or no name recognition. In the 1992 primary, Bennett spent $1.4 million of his own money and won 51% - 49%. In the general election, Bennett faced Congressman Wayne Owens, whom he deafeated 55% - 40%. In the Senate, Bennett has complied a solid conservative record and he is considered a possible supporter of a consumption or flat tax.

VERMONT **Patrick Leahy (D)**
Primary: **September 8**

Senator Leahy has already begun raising money in preparation for his campaign. Nonetheless, there has been some speculation that he may retire. If Leahy does seek a fifth term, however, he should be easily reelected. Republicans mentioned as possible challengers to Leahy are Rutland Mayor Jeff Wennberg (R), state Representative Walt Freed (R), and former state Representative Sara Grear (R). Others have speculated that former Lt. Governor Barbara Snelling, who has fully recovered from a stroke she suffered during her challenge to Governor Howard Dean last year, might run for the Senate. If Senator Leahy does retire, there have been no Democrats mentioned who might wish to succeed him -- aside from some speculation that Governor Howard Dean might be interested.

WASHINGTON **Patty Murray (D)**
Primary: **September 15**

Murray was one of those 1992 winners who would have seemed an unlikely victor in any previous year, but was an unstoppable force in what many called the "the year of the women." Murray announced last May that she intends to run for reelection in 1998 and noted that she will focus her energy during the last two years of her current term on battling for the interests of children and families. At her news conference in Washington, D.C., Murray set out an ambitious agenda to bolster health care, education, and restore a sense of community to America's children. Murray is expected to face intense competition from state Republicans, including Reps. Linda Smith (R-3rd) and Jennifer Dunn (R-8th) and former state House majority leader Dale Foreman, who also ran for governor in 1996.

WISCONSIN **Russ Feingold (D)**
Primary: **September 9**

Feingold is in a strong position for reelection. His fundraising is going well and he has kept his campaign promise to visit every county in the state each year for "listening sessions." The most likely challenger to him is right-wing Rep. Mark Neumann. Two state senators are looking at the race as well including Bob Welch who ran against Herb Kohl in 1994. Feingold is expected to

campaign on a balanced budget and campaign finance reform which should help deflect the liberal label Neumann will try to stick on him.him. **Positioning: You should extend an offer to help Feingold in his race to shore up your relationship.**

1998 GUBERNATORIAL RACES

ALABAMA **Fob James (R)**
Primary: **June 2**

Democrats consider Governor James vulnerable in 1998. A recent poll taken by the state Democratic party shows James has a 51% approval rating, but only 34% believe he deserves reelection. Lieutenant Governor Don Siegelman is reported to be looking closely at the race, and has over $1.5 million in his war chest.

ALASKA **Tony Knowles (D)**
Primary: **August 25**

Governor Tony Knowles was elected to office in 1994, having won with less than 600 votes. Knowles is expected to face stiff opposition from state Republicans and to encounter strong criticism of his handling of the oil exploration of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR).

ARIZONA **Open Seat (R)**
Primary: **September 8**

Governor Fife Symington (R) is term-limited and is expected to play little or no role in the 1998 gubernatorial race. Due to Symington's recent bankruptcy problems, state Republicans feel the governor could serve as a liability to the future GOP gubernatorial nominee. State Democrats are hoping to capitalize on the recent historical Democratic presidential win and feel more confident taking on the open gubernatorial seat than trying to unseat Senator John McCain (R), who is up for reelection as well. Possible Republican candidates included Rep. Matt Salmon (R-01) and Attorney General Grant Woods. Possible Democratic candidates include former Phoenix mayor Paul Johnson and '94 gubernatorial nominee Eddie Basha.

ARKANSAS **Mike Huckabee (R)**
Primary Election: **May 21**

Governor Huckabee succeeded Governor Jim Guy Tucker (D) after Tucker resigned in July 1996 following his conviction in federal court. Huckabee was praised during his transition for his level-headed approach to governing, but Democrats believe that Huckabee will have a difficult time with the state legislature this year. Huckabee will certainly run for governor in 1998 and may face possible Democratic challengers in Bobby Hough, the speaker of the state house, and James Lee Witt, the President's FEMA director.

CALIFORNIA **Open Seat (R)**
Primary: **June 2**

Governor Pete Wilson (R) is term-limited and is expected to play a highly visible role in the 1998 elections. The gubernatorial race had begun to take shape before the end of 1996 campaign. State Democrats and Republicans are currently challenging Proposition 198, which

would create an open primary system in the 1998 election and the state's new campaign funding law, Proposition 208, which limits donations to statewide candidates to $500 from each voter. Possible Democrats include, Senator Dianne Feinstein, Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis, White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta, Controller Kathleen Connell, and Airlines Executives Al Checchi. Possible Republicans include Attorney General Dan Lungren and Rep. Chris Cox (R-46th).

COLORADO **Open Seat (D)**
Primary: **August 4**

Governor Roy Romer (D) is term-limited in 1998. Lieutenant Governor Gail Schoettler (D) is the likely successor to the governor. However, Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R) has publicly expressed interest in returning home and running for the open seat. Possible Democrats also include former Congresswoman Pat Schroeder and Republicans include Attorney General Gale Norton, who ran for the Senate in 1996.

CONNECTICUT **John Rowland (R)**
Primary: **September 8**

Governor Rowland was elected with only 36% of the vote in 1994 -- narrowly defeating Democrat Bill Curry who received 33% of the vote. The ACP (A Connecticut Party) candidate, Eunice Strong Groark, received 19% of the vote, and Independent candidate, Tom Scott, received 11% of the vote. A September 1996 Mason-Dixon poll showed Rowland with a 49% job approval rating. Rowland is in pretty good shape currently, but could be vulnerable against a strong Democratic candidate. The field of Democratic candidates is beginning to taking shape. It is widely known that Bill Curry (D) is planning to run again, and other Democratic prospects include Attorney General Richard Blumenthal, Secretary of State Miles Rappoport, House Speaker Tom Ritter, Bridgeport Mayor Joe Ganim and U.S. Representative Barbara Kennelly.

FLORIDA **Open Seat (D)**
Primary: **September 9**

Governor Lawton Chiles (D) is term-limited. The campaign for governor is expected to be between Lieutenant Governor Buddy MacKay and Republican Jeb Bush, who lost a close race to Governor Chiles in 1994. The field was essentially cleared for MacKay when Senator Bob Graham, who was pushed hard to run by many Democrats who believe he is the only Democrat who can beat Bush, announced late last year he would not run for governor. Attorney General Bob Butterworth, who has a strong base in Broward County, is not running according to MacKay's supporters, and Insurance Commissioner Bill Nelson has stated he has no plans to run. Another possible candidate, Agriculture Commissioner Bob Crawford, is considered unlikely to run. Bush has continued campaigning for governor since his loss four years ago. He has strong ties in the Hispanic community, especially with Cuban-Americans. MacKay has been saddled with the perception he cannot win statewide alone, a label MacKay carries from his failed 1988 U.S. Senate race against Connie Mack. Two variables will affect MacKay's gubernatorial campaign: (1) the public approval of the Clinton administration in Florida; and (2) MacKay's handling of the Miami fiscal crisis. MacKay, who put his political capital on the line to help

Clinton/Gore win Florida, is tied publicly to the President. If the President has high favorables in 1998, MacKay will benefit. In December, the governor named MacKay the chair of the oversight commission addressing Miami's fiscal crisis. If the commission succeeds and avoids getting drawn into Miami's messy racial politics, his candidacy will benefit.

GEORGIA **Open Seat (D)**
Primary: **July 21**

Governor Zell Miller (D) is term-limited. The Democratic primary for governor will be a dogfight with several major office holders running for the nomination. Lieutenant Governor Pierre Howard, state Representative Roy Barnes and state Secretary of Labor David Poythress are all planning to run. Howard and Barnes are considered the favorites. Barnes has raised $220,000 in the last few months, and Howard also has been raising money aggressively. For the Republicans, Attorney General Mike Bowers is expected to run. It is also possible that Guy Millner, who lost to Max Cleveland in the U.S. Senate race last fall and to Governor Zell Miller in 1994, might make one more attempt at elective office. The Democratic nominee is unlikely to request help from the President or Vice President during the campaign.

HAWAII **Ben Cayetano (D)**
Primary: **September 19**

Lieutenant Governor Ben Cayetano's (D) election as governor in 1994 was due less to the strength of his Democratic machine than to the weakness and division of his opponents, winning the race with only 37% of the vote. In office, Cayetano reluctantly cut spending increases sharply and declined to raise taxes: in tandem with mainland politics. Cayetano will face stiff primary opposition from Honolulu Mayor Jeremy Harris (D), who has privately begun to raise money for the race. Cayetano publicly endorsed Harris' opponent in last year's mayoral race. Due to the Democrats' significant edge in registration, the seat should remain Democratic.

IDAHO **Phil Batt (R)**
Primary: **May 26**

Governor Phil Batt will face a Democratic nominee with little or no name recognition in the 1998 election. Batt is expected to receive strong criticism for his handling of the nuclear waste issue in the state. However due to the large Republican registration edge in the state, he will win reelection. Possible Democrats include Controller J.D. Williams, and '96 Senate nominee Walt Minnick.

ILLINOIS **Jim Edgar (R)**
Primary: **March 17**

Popular Gov. Jim Edgar is likely to seek reelection. John Schmidt, an early supporter of the President's and a former DOJ appointee, has already begun to organize his campaign against Engler. Though he has no name identification, he is personally wealthy, a strong fundraiser and will likely have the support of his former boss, Mayor Daley. It is possible that U.S. Attorney Jim Burns might run though he has angered many Democrats and minorities with his

investigation and indictments in the "Silver Shovel" matter which involved city council members taking bribes to overlook toxic waste dumping in their wards. Edgar will be very tough to beat.

IOWA **Terry Branstad (R)**
Primary: **June 2**

Though Branstad announced over a year ago that he would not seek reelection, he has wavered in the past two months. This has angered many Republican activists who believe that Branstad has dominated state politics long enough and that others deserve a turn. Key to this race is Senator Grassley's decision (expected in the next few months) on whether or not he will seek reelection or become a candidate for governor. David Oman, a wealthy businessman and former chair of the state Republican Party, has indicated that he will run no matter who is in the race. At this time, there are no strong contenders on the Democratic side.

KANSAS **Bill Graves (R)**
Primary: **August 4**

Though Governor Graves has very high approval ratings, he is very unpopular with the right-wing of his party because of his actions on abortion and taxes. A challenge from within his own party is possible with State Republican Chair David Miller and Speaker Tim Shallenburger the most likely candidates. The right-wing forces showed their strength last year when then-Rep. Sam Brownback defeated the Governor's chosen successor to Bob Dole, Lt. Governor Sheila Frahm, in a landslide. If he is not bloodied by a challenge from a fellow Republican, finding a strong Democrat to run against him will be difficult. Possible Democratic candidates include: Insurance Commissioner Kathleen Sebelius, House Minority Leader Tom Sawyer and 1996 U.S. Senate nominee Jill Docking.

MAINE **Angus King (I)**
Primary: **June 9**

Governor Angus King (I) won a four-way race in 1994, narrowly defeating former Governor Joe Brennan (D) 35% - 34%. Republican candidate Susan Collins received 23% of the vote, and another Independent candidate received 6%. Although King won by far less than a majority of Maine voters, he is very popular and should be elected to a second term. A September 1996 Mason-Dixon poll showed him with a 78% job approval rating. At this point, there is little speculation about possible Democratic challenges to King in 1998.

MARYLAND **Parris Glendening (D)**
Primary: **September 15**

Governor Parris Glendening (D) was elected in 1994 with 50% of the vote, defeating Republican Ellen Sauerbrey by less than 6,000 votes. Sauerbrey has already announced her intention to challenge Glendening in 1998 and pundits believe it could again be a very tight race. Glendening is very vulnerable and is not expected to go unchallenged in the Democratic primary. Harford County Executive Eileen Rehrmann (D) has said she is interested in challenging Glendening and there is speculation that U.S. Representative Ben Cardin (D) and House Speaker

Cass Taylor (D) may decide to challenge Glendening as well. Baltimore County Executive Dutch Ruppersberger (D) has said he will hold off until early 1998 to see where the Governor's numbers are before he decides whether or not to run.

MASSACHUSETTS **Bill Weld (R)**
Primary: **September 15**

It is not yet known whether or not Governor Bill Weld will retire after serving two terms. If he does retire, Lt. Governor Paul Cellucci (R) is the heir apparent for the Republican nomination though State Treasurer Joe Malone (R) may also decide to run should Weld retire. On the Democratic side, U.S. Representative Joe Kennedy (D-08) has already announced his intention to run and Attorney General Scott Harshbarger (R) is also considering a run. If Weld does decide to seek a third term, he will be very difficult to beat.

MICHIGAN **John Engler (R)**
Primary: **August 11**

Popular Governor John Engler has not yet decided on a reelection bid. If he runs, he will be very tough to beat. Former East Lansing Mayor Larry Owen, former U.S. Department of Labor official Doug Ross and state senator Jim Berryman have begun organizing their campaigns for the Democratic nomination. None are considered particularly strong candidates against the incumbent or in an open race. If Engler decides not to run, State Senate Majority Leader Dick Posthumus would become the Republican frontrunner though other local officials and members of the congressional delegation would consider the race as well.

MINNESOTA **Open Seat (R)**
Primary: **September 8**

With popular liberal Governor Arne Carlson (R) retiring, much has already been written about this race which features four famous sons: former State Sen. Ted Mondale (son of Walter Mondale), Attorney General Skip Humphrey (son of Hubert Humphrey), Hennepin County Attorney Mike Freeman (son of former Governor Orville Freeman) and former State Auditor and multi-millionaire Mark Dayton (son of the department store scion). It is possible that Hennepin County Commissioner and DFL chair Mark Andrew may enter the race as well. Though most observers now give Humphrey the edge in the Democratic primary, the race could change significantly with a party endorsement or if a woman enters the race. The most likely contenders on the Republican side are Lt. Gov. Joanne Benson and St. Paul Mayor Norm Coleman, who, as mentioned above, switched parties just last month. It is possible but unlikely that former Rep. Vin Weber will run. Coleman has received some flack for the switch from the media who are calling it "opportunistic." Also, fourteen Republican state senators issued a release the day of Coleman's announcement saying that he was not invited to join their party and that they would not let him use his switch to mount a bid for governor in 1998. Coleman could opt instead to run for a lower statewide office or against Rep. Bruce Vento (D).

NEBRASKA **Open Seat (D)**
Primary: **May 12**

Governor Ben Nelson, the Democratic nominee for U.S. Senate in 1996, is term-limited. Lt. Governor Kim Robak is considering the race but will likely not run after the relentless Republican negative attacks against her during Nelson's campaign for the Senate last year for her pro-choice position and her husband's lucrative state lobbying business. (If he had been successful in his Senate bid, she would have ascended to the governorship.) Bill Hoppner, attorney, former truck company executive and former chief of staff to then-Governor Bob Kerrey might make the race. Possible Republican candidates include: Jan Stoney, a retired US West executive who ran a credible race against Sen. Bob Kerrey in 1994, Mike Johanns, mayor of Lincoln, and John Breslow, State Auditor. Nelson's loss has put the state Democratic Party in a state of turmoil. At this point, the Republicans have the edge in this contest.

NEVADA **Open Seat (D)**
Primary: **September 1**

Governor Bob Miller (D) is term-limited. Lieutenant Governor Lonnie Hammargren (R) has announced his campaign for governor. On the Democratic side, Las Vegas Mayor Jan Laverty-Jones, who challenged Miller in a bitter primary battle in 1994, has privately expressed interest in running for the office. Possible Democrats include Attorney General Frankie Sue Del Papa and state Rep. Dina Titus.

NEW HAMPSHIRE **Jeanne Shaheen (D)**
Primary: **September 8**

New Hampshire governors are elected every two years. Shaheen ran a very aggressive general election campaign in 1996 and enjoyed a fair amount of support among Republicans and Independents. In 1998, Shaheen will run for reelection, and although she is not likely to face any primary opponents, both 1996 Republican gubernatorial nominee Ovide Lamontagne and Bill Zeliff are expected to run for the Republican nomination to unseat her. Given Shaheen's current popularity, she could be difficult to defeat.

NEW MEXICO **Gary Johnson (R)**
Primary: **June 2**

Governor Gary Johnson is expected to seek reelection. Johnson endured a serious of blunders in his first administration and has been criticized for abandoning many campaign proposals, including education reform. Johnson will face a tough fight in the general election. Albuquerque Mayor Martin "Marty" Chavez (D) is expected to enter the race. In public and private polls, Chavez has held a 5-7-point lead over the incumbent governor. Possible Democrats also include Attorney General Tom Udall and Secretary of State Stephanie Gonzales.

NEW YORK **George Pataki (R)**
Primary: **September 8**

Since upsetting Governor Mario Cuomo (D) in 1994, Governor Pataki has had consistently unimpressive approval ratings. The field of possible Democratic challengers for his 1998 bid is beginning to take shape. Those considered most likely to run are State Comptroller Carl McCall (D), Congressman Chuck Schumer (D-09), Congressman Maurice Hinchey (D-26), Congresswoman Nita Lowey (D-18) and New York City Council Speaker Peter Vallone. An October *Buffalo News* survey found Governor Pataki's approval rating at 49% -- placing him 41st among the nation's governors. Regardless, it currently appears that Pataki could squeak into a second term in 1998. State Democrats believe a strong Democratic challenger who is able to build statewide support early could make it a tight race.

In a sign that Governor Pataki and Senator D'Amato may be planning to closely coordinate their campaigns, the *New York Times* reported January 17 that more than one third of Pataki's current $5 million warchest was donated by the New York State Victory Committee -- a committee which is controlled by D'Amato. This was revealed in campaign finance reports filed January 16. In addition, the NY State Victory Committee contributed $1.9 million to Governor Pataki's campaign on the last day on 1996. Democrats are charging that the donations from the D'Amato controlled committee were intended to bypass limits which are placed on contributions to the Governor.

Govenor Pataki's $5 million is $2 million more than former Governor Mario Cuomo had at a comparable period during his race in 1994. Congressman Schumer has $5 million in an account that can be used for a gubernatorial race, and Comptroller McCall has $1.4 million in his campaign account.

OHIO **Open Seat (R)**
Primary: **May 5**

Popular Governor George Voinovich announced well over a year ago that he would run for the U.S. Senate instead of reelection. Secretary of State Bob Taft has already begun his campaign for the Republican nomination. African American right-wing State Treasurer Kenny Blackwell and State Auditor Jim Petro are possible contenders was well. Petro would pose the most serious threat to the Democrats because he, like Voinovich, has a very strong Cleveland base. The most likely Democratic candidates are Cuyahoga County Commissioner Mary Boyle and former Attorney General Lee Fisher. It is possible but not likely that former Governor Dick Celeste will enter the race as well. Any of these three would have a good shot at picking up the seat though Boyle is widely viewed as the strongest candidate.

OKLAHOMA **Frank Keating (R)**
Primary: **August 5**

Governor Frank Keating (R) will likely win reelection, although a recent *Tulsa World* poll shows his popularity has fallen 15 points to 63% favorability. At this point, there are no strong Democratic candidates interested in running against him. His favorability shot through the roof

after the Oklahoma City bombing, which offered him a platform as a statesman and conciliator. There have been some complaints in the last 10 months that the governor has used the bombing for political ends. The poll suggests the public approval of his handling of the bombing has worn off and that people are unhappy with his use of the taxpayer-supported state airplane for personal and political use. He is also getting a reputation for calling people childish names, such as teachers, whom he named "school teacher slugs." He has even been called "Governor Pop Off" in some newspapers. Nevertheless, Keating remains in a strong position. The best Democratic opponents would be either Attorney General Drew Edmonson or Mayor Susan Savage of Tulsa. Edmonson is said to want to win a second term as attorney general before he runs for higher office. Savage is unlikely to run because she has two teenage daughters in their last years of high school. Former Lieutenant Governor Jack Mildren, who lost to Keating in 1994, has indicated that he is interested in running again.

OREGON **John Kitzhaber (D)**
Primary: **May 19**

Governor John Kitzhaber is expected to face an easy reelection. Kitzhaber currently enjoys a 80% approval rating among state residents and state Republicans have privately concurred he will be hard to beat in 1998. Kitzhaber will more than likely carry other state Democrats to victory in the mid-term elections, most notably Senator Ron Wyden (D), who will run for a full term.

PENNSYLVANIA **Tom Ridge (R)**
Primary: **May 19**

Governor Tom Ridge is up for reelection to a second term. Currently, there is not much talk of Democrats who are considering challenging the popular governor. In addition, the attention Ridge received during the summer of 1996, when he was mentioned as a likely running mate for Bob Dole, gave him recognition among national Republicans which could be very beneficial in his bid for reelection.

RHODE ISLAND **Lincoln Almond (R)**
Primary: **September 8**

Governor Lincoln Almond (R) will seek reelection. Democrats most likely to challenge Almond in 1998 are State Senate Majority Leader Paul Kelly and attorney Frank Flaherty, who challenged former Governor Bruce Sundlun in the 1992 Democratic primary. Currently Almond does not appear very vulnerable but Democrats in the state will fight hard to regain the governorship.

SOUTH DAKOTA **Bill Janklow (R)**
Primary: **June 2**

Popular Governor Janklow will likely seek and win reelection. He has boosted his significant favorable rating by following through on his campaign pledge to reduce property taxes and is expected to have a very productive legislative session this year. To date, Senate Minority Leader

Bernie Hunhoff is the only Democrat to express interest in challenging Janklow.

SOUTH CAROLINA **David Beasley (R)**
Primary: **June 9**

Governor David Beasley will be tough to beat in a state that has become increasingly Republican. Beasley has strong conservative credentials, especially among the religious right. He won a tight race over a moderate Democrat in 1994. Yet he may need to shore up his moderate base in 1998 since he made national headlines recently for his proposal to remove the confederate flag from above the state capitol. He ran for governor on a pledge not to remove the flag. Possible candidates against Beasley include Charleston mayor Joe Reilly (D) and failed 1994 Democratic nominee Nick Theodore.

TEXAS **George Bush (R)**
Primary: **March 10**

Governor George Bush looks to be in a very strong position for reelection, although he faces a difficult legislative session that could leave him vulnerable six months from now. Texas will have a budget surplus, possibly more than $1 billion. Bush says he wants to give the voters a property tax cut. The assumption is he is laying the groundwork for a run for president in 2000. Comptroller of Public Accounts John Sharp (D) and other Democrats are planning to argue the money should be allocated to important state programs, like education. Despite his high favorables, Bush is not seen as invincible by many Democrats, who point to the fact that Texas has a history of defeating incumbent governors, even popular ones. The Democratic candidates most talked about are Land Commissioner Garry Mauro and John Sharp, who have long been competitors in Texas politics. Attorney General Dan Morales is said to be considering higher office, but most people think he will run for a third term as attorney general. If Mauro decides to run, he will likely request help from the President and Vice President.

TENNESSEE **Don Sundquist (R)**
Primary: **August 6**

Governor Don Sundquist looks likely to win reelection in 1998. He has very high favorability despite his critics' claims that he has not accomplished much as governor. It will be extremely difficult for a Democrat to raise the funds necessary to compete because the governor has been tapping most sources and making it clear that supporting a Democratic opponent will not be looked upon kindly. The Democrats believe they will need a candidate who is wealthy. Mayor Phil Bredesen of Nashville is the most obvious candidate, but it is unlikely that he would decide to run against Sundquist again. Bredesen's second term ends in 1999. He has said that he will not run for a third term. **Positioning: I will ask the Vice President how he wants to handle this race.**

VERMONT **Howard Dean (D)**
Primary: **September 8**

Vermont governors are elected every two years. Governor Howard Dean (D) easily defeated Republican John Gropper winning a third term in 1996. Dean, who has enjoyed favorable ratings in the 70% range since first being elected, should be easily re-elected to a fourth term in 1998. Names of possible Republican challengers to Dean in 1998 have yet to surface.

WISCONSIN **Tommy Thompson (R)**
Primary: **September 9**

Governor Thompson is well-positioned for reelection. He remains popular and has already amassed $1 million for his campaign. The most likely challenger to Thompson is Dane County Executive Rick Phelps. Milwaukee Mayor John Norquist and Attorney General Jim Doyle are also looking at the race but will likely decide that Thompson is too strong.

WYOMING **Jim Geringer (R)**
Primary: **August 18**

Governor Jim Geringer will seek reelection and is expected to face a Democrat with little or no name recognition. In the 1994 mid-term elections, Geringer easily prevailed over then Secretary of State Kathy Karpan (D), carrying all but one county.

SPECIAL ANALYSIS

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-27-97

The Impact of Medicaid Expansions

Until 1984, the close historical tie between Medicaid eligibility and participation in Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) limited Medicaid to single-parent households with very low incomes. Since 1984, eligibility has been expanded substantially. The increased coverage associated with these expansions has improved the health of infants and children. But the net increase in coverage was far less than the increase in eligibility.

Medicaid expansions and health outcomes. The period from 1984 to 1987 saw incremental increases in Medicaid eligibility to populations with circumstances similar to AFDC families. For example, coverage was extended to children of two-parent families meeting the AFDC income criteria and pregnant women who would become eligible for the program once their children were born. After 1987, Medicaid and AFDC eligibility were virtually decoupled. By 1992, states were required to provide Medicaid coverage to all children under the age of 6 living in households with incomes no more than 133 percent of the poverty line and to all pregnant women in such households.

These expansions produced important health improvements. For instance, making expectant mothers eligible for Medicaid greatly increased their chances of receiving prenatal care in the first trimester of pregnancy. Increased eligibility between 1984 and 1992 was associated with ~~roughly a 1.6 percent decline~~ in low-birthweight babies, a 7.3 percent decline in infant mortality and an 8.8 percent decline in child mortality.

Effects on Medicaid eligibility and coverage. Although eligibility expanded greatly, take-up rates in means-tested programs like Medicaid are relatively low and many of the newly eligible already had private health insurance. Hence, the net increase in Medicaid coverage was much smaller than the increase in eligibility. Between 1984 and 1992, the fraction of children eligible for Medicaid rose from 16 to 31 percent while the proportion actually covered by Medicaid increased from 13 to 21 percent. Among women, an increase in eligibility of more than 25 percentage points led to an increase in coverage of only about 2 percentage points for some types of expenses.

The net increase in health insurance coverage is even smaller, because the Medicaid expansions also decreased private health insurance coverage. Some families may have replaced costly private insurance with free Medicaid coverage, even though some family members who were not eligible for Medicaid may have lost coverage altogether as a result. Some employers may have reduced their coverage because they thought more of their employees would be eligible for Medicaid coverage.