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APRIL 8, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: DOUG SOSNIK AND KAREN HANCOX

SUBJECT: DAILY REPORT

1996 PRESIDENTIAL
Polls

NY TIMES/CBS POLL

Their poll, conducted 3/31-4/2 among 1,257 registered voters, found you leading Dole by ten percent, a significant drop from last month. The poll also found 84 percent of those polled "favor raising the minimum wage from $4.25/hour to $5.15/hour by July 1997" while only 13 percent opposed a raise. Also, 37 percent said abortion should be generally available, 17 percent said more restrictions should be applied, 34 percent said "abortion should be against the law except in cases of rape, incest, or to save the mother's life" and 10 percent said "abortion should not be permitted at all."

	Now	3/96		Now
Clinton	49%	53%	Clinton	44%
Dole	39	36	Dole	33
			Perot	18
Clinton	48%		Clinton-Gore	48%
Dole	37		Dole-Powell	46
Nader	8			

JOB APPROVAL	Approve/Disapprove
Overall	48%/40%
Foreign policy	43%/43%
Economy	42%/49%
Dole appproval as Senate Maj. Leader	52%/31%
Gingrich approval as Speaker	32%/49%

TIME/CNN POLL

Their poll, conducted 3/28-4/2 among 2,432 registered voters, found you leading Dole by a wider margin than the NY Times poll. Seventy-one percent of those with a preference said they would "definitely vote for" the candidate, compared to 28 percent who may change their mind.

Clinton	55%
Dole	41

HARRIS POLL

Their poll, conducted 3/28-4/1 among 1,007 adults, found your approval rating at 52% approve/47% disapprove. In comparison, Dole only received a 36% approval rating, Gingrich was measured at 30%, and only 22% approve of Ross Perot.

ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

Their poll, conducted in late March among 835 registered voters, found your job rating at 49% excellent/good, 28% fair, and 23% poor. Those figures compare to the figures in the newspaper's previous poll (last May) which measured 38% excellent/good, 29% fair and 29% poor.

QUINNIPIAC COLLEGE (NJ)

Their poll, conducted 3/28-4/1 among 908 registered NJ voters, found you leading Dole in the Garden State. Although both Powell and Whitman have declined the VP's position, it is interesting to note that Powell would help Dole more than Governor Whitman. Your job performance was measured at 57% approval, comparable to Whitman's 59% approval. On the issue of abortion, 54% said abortion should be generally available, 30% wanted some limitations, and 13% were anti-choice.

	Now	2/96
Clinton	54%	51%
Dole	34	38

Clinton/Gore	52%	Clinton/Gore	49%
Dole/Whitman	36	Dole/Powell	41

HERALD DISPATCH/WOWK TV (WV)

A new poll released on Friday (842 registered voters) showed you leading Dole by 20 percent.

Clinton	54%	Clinton	52%
Dole	34	Dole	31
		Perot	11

CANDIDATES

Bob Dole

Dole is concluding his Florida vacation today. Tomorrow, he will travel to Charlotte, NC, to attend a campaign rally at Elizabeth Dole's home town and then will return to Washington.

STATE-BY-STATE REPORT/ NON-PRESIDENTIAL

Delaware

Governor Carper (D) signed legislation April 5 making it more difficult for minors to buy cigarettes. The bill, which takes effect in 90 days, bans most cigarette vending machines, and makes selling individual cigarettes illegal. Tougher penalties will also be imposed on people who sell tobacco products to minors. Some anti-smoking groups are not altogether thrilled with the bill because it contains a "pre-emption" clause which prevents local governments from passing laws that are stricter than the new state law. However, supporters of the bill say that it would have been virtually impossible to pass the bill without the clause.

Illinois

It has been widely reported that unnamed sources, close to the case, report that former Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D) has agreed to plead guilty to two federal corruption charges as part of a tentative deal under which prosecutors would recommend a 17-month prison term and a $100,000 fine as his sentence. With the trial's May 15 start date approaching, Rostenkowski could appear in court as early as sometime this week to enter the plea though no proceeding has yet been scheduled. Rostenkowski was indicted on 17 felony counts in May, 1994. Last month, the judge in the case threw out four of the counts.

Kentucky

Perry County Democratic party officials now acknowledge that they were given money to do "vote-hauling" for Governor Patton's campaign last November. County officials, earlier, said they had not received money, but after one official was shown an endorsed check by The Courier-Journal they suddenly remembered. Immediate allegations are that the vote-hauling was directly for Paul Patton, and not for a coordinated campaign. The distinction is important because party expenditures found to be specifically for Patton would be charged against his $1.8 million spending limit.

Massachusetts

A Boston Herald poll conducted April 3-4 surveyed 401 Massachusetts voters finding Senator John Kerry (D) ahead of Governor Bill Weld: (margin of error 5%)

	Now	1/1996	11/1995
Kerry	46%	44%	46%
Weld	41%	44%	38%
Undecided	13%	12%	12%

Kerry has an edge over Weld with Democratic voters (72% - 17%), but the poll shows that Weld has 10 point edge (47% - 37%) with independent voters which comprise roughly 40% of the voting population in Massachusetts and could be the determining factor in such a tight race. Independent voters have been steadily drifting away from Kerry since a November 1995 poll which had him with a five point lead among independents. A January 1996 Herald poll showed Weld with an eight point lead among independents.

Kerry and Weld meet tonight for the first of a series of seven televised debates. The Boston Herald said, although the debate tonight may help define the race, the results from the recent poll show that Kerry currently has an edge in how he is perceived by Massachusetts voters. By a margin of 88% to 66%, voters said that Kerry has the right experience for the job.

New Hampshire

With Governor Steve Merrill (R) not running for re-election, both the Republican and Democratic field of candidates will be taking shape in the coming weeks. U.S. Representative Bill Zeliff (R-01) will announce at 2:00 April 9 whether or not he will seek the Republican nomination. He is expected to run, and given his popularity, this could deter other Republicans from running.

Democrats considered to be players for the Senate race are State Senator Jeanne Shaheen and state party Chair Joe Keefe. However, Keefe is more likely to run for the 1st CD seat. He lost to Zeliff in the 1990 House race. The filing deadline for both races is June 14 and the primary is September 10.

Oklahoma

Your visit to Oklahoma was very well received. The people were very pleased that you and the First Lady spent so much time with them, particularly the time you spent shaking hands with the 3,000 people in attendance at the Convention Center. Clips are attached from this visit.

Pennsylvania

The Philadelphia Daily News has endorsed U.S. Representative Bob Borski (D-03) over Democratic challenger John Kates for the Democratic primary. Borski faces a tougher challenge this fall against Republican Joseph McColgan.

The normally conservative Pittsburgh Tribune Review today carries a surprisingly supportive piece on you in regards to Whitewater. The editorial stands up for you and the First Lady and bids you the strength to continue serving despite the hypocritical accusations being tossed about by the opposition. The article is attached.

South Carolina

Senator Strom Thurmond announced his reelection bid today for an 8th term and had several campaign stops around the state.

Vermont

U.S. Representative Bill Paxon (R-NY), Chair of the NRCC, was in Montpelier April 4 for a Republican Party fundraiser. Paxon told the crowd that they would "pull out all of the stops" to defeat "that god-awful Bernie Sanders." The NRCC will be able to give Sanders' challenger, State Senator Susan Sweetser (R), the maximum $123,000 to spend on polling and advertising. They will also be able to give Sweetser $10,000 to spend as she chooses. In addition, the RNC and the Vermont Republican Party can give Sweetser $10,000 each. During his remarks at the fundraiser, Paxon spoke of all the promises that Congressional Republicans had kept including welfare reform, Congressional reform and cracking down on illegal immigration -- he did so without mentioning the "Contract with America."

West Virginia

The same Hearld-Dispatch poll mentioned above shows that Senator Jay Rockefeller would be favored by 69% to 13% to GOP candidate Betty Burkes for the U.S. Senate.

Inside Politics/ April 8, 1996

Rostenkowski/IL05. The first segment used reports that Dan Rostenkowski has reached a plea bargain agreement with federal prosecutors as a springboard for a discussion about Democratic prospects for defeating freshman Rep. Michael Patrick Flanagan (R) and regaining his seat. The theme of the piece was "if the Democrats can't win here, where can they win?" The report included portions of a recently conducted interview with Rostenkowski in which he said that the seat "should be in the Democratic column, no doubt about that" but added that "Flanagan is a resourceful young man" and that the GOP will invest a lot of resources in the race. (Rostenkowski refused to discuss his legal troubles with the interviewer.) Observers gave Flanagan's opponent, state Rep. Rod Blagojevich (D), a very good shot at unseating him. Flanagan was pictured, meanwhile, as a tireless optimist, saying "we beat 'em [the Democrats] once, we'll beat 'em again."

Thurmond. The program then briefly noted that Senator Strom Thurmond (R-SC) announced for an eighth term today.

Texas. The next report focused on the Democratic run-off to challenge Senator Phil Gramm (R-TX). High school teacher Victor Morales (D) leads Rep. John Bryant 41%-34% in the most recent poll, though 25% are still undecided. Bruce Morton opened the story by referring to Bryant as "liberal, pro-choice, he stands up for the little guy" but adding "this time, he's running against the little guy." The story noted the shoestring nature of Morales' campaign -- self-financed bumper stickers make up the vast bulk of his advertising and he campaigns across the state in his pick-up trick -- but also noted that Bryant lacks the money to get his name out with a statewide TV blitz.

The report noted that Bryant has the support of the state Democratic establishment while Morales has a name that resonates with a large portion of the Democratic constituency, and one that he shares with Attorney General Dan Morales (D). It concluded by noting that most of the Democratic establishment that opposes Morales still considers him a "nice guy." Columnist Molly Ivins called him a "sweetie pie" but worries that by the end of the race against Gramm, he will be "minced sweetie pie." She added that to call him an "under-puppy" against Gramm would be too generous.

Forbes. Steve Forbes says he thinks Bob Dole will sign onto the flat tax concept, saying he has "said some nice things about it." Dole's response to whether he plans to embrace the concept: "not that I know of." He says he is still studying the Kemp Commission report.

Poll. The CNN Election Monitor poll (conducted March 28-April 2, m/e +/- 2.5%) reports that you hold a 55%-41% lead over Dole. The poll in November showed you with a 48%-42% lead.

Bill Schneider reported that much of your gains have come from former Dole supporters. While you have retained virtually all of your support from November, only 83% of those who said they backed Dole in November said they planned to do so now, with 11% switching to you and 6% moving to undecided. Dole has not lost support among Republicans, rather his support has eroded among Independents and moderates. For example, among last November's Dole supporters who consider themselves moderates, 57% have switched to supporting you while 33% still support Dole. According to the poll the major sources of Dole's erosion are unease about the GOP Congress, voters' belief that you handled the budget impasse more responsibly than the GOP and concern over Medicare.

Schneider concluded by noting that your victory in 1992 was fueled by dissatisfaction with President Bush, while the GOP gains in 1994 were driven largely by dissatisfaction with your administration. For the moment, he said, you enjoy your lead due to dissatisfaction with the GOP Congress.

Swing Voters. The final segment was Judy Woodruff's discussion with a group of undecided swing voters in Bergen County, NJ. Each person in the group had children and their children's future was the group's number one concern. (Education was the issue of greatest concern in the above-mentioned Election Monitor poll, the story noted.) Underlying their concern for their children was stress about the economy, corporate layoffs and stagnant wages. Despite their dissatisfaction with the Clinton-Dole match-up, none of the possible Independent candidates excited them. Several members of the group had strong negative feelings about Perot. The prospect of Colin Powell on the GOP ticket excited the group, with two shown saying it would definitely push them into the Dole camp. The report concluded that "the overriding attitude is one of indecision."

'Likeable' Clinton holds lead, poll says

BY SANDRA SOBIERAJ 4/5/96

The Associated Press

☆☆☆ Campaign '96

WASHINGTON — President Clinton's lead over Bob Dole held steady through the Republican primary season, with voters overwhelmingly picking Mr. Clinton as the more likeable, compassionate and innovative candidate, says a national poll released Thursday.

The voter survey by the nonpartisan Pew Research Center also found a substantial independent streak: As many as one in five voters said they would vote for a third-party candidate in a presidential election held today. In such a three-way scenario, an unnamed hypothetical candidate would garner more of the vote than the only likely real candidate, Ross Perot.

In numbers unchanged from Pew's January survey, Mr. Clinton would win 53 percent to Mr. Dole's 41 percent in a head-to-head matchup. Add in a hypothetical third candidate and Mr. Clinton's lead improves slightly, to 15 points over Mr. Dole, with the independent candidate claiming 20 percent of the total vote.

Mr. Perot would take 16 percent in a three-way vote. The survey also found that Mr. Perot appeals to a substantially different constituency — less affluent, less educated and less Republican — than the one that voted for him in 1992, only half of which said they would support him again.

Andrew Kohut, director of the Pew center, warned against reading too much into Mr. Clinton's steady lead over Mr. Dole, saying voters have not yet focused on the challenger's strengths. Indeed, where the Senate majority leader is considered to have an edge — in areas like "gets things done" and "honest and truthful" — he scores only marginally higher than the president.

By contrast, when voters are asked to select the candidate best described by phrases "personally likeable," "cares about me" and "has new ideas," they pick Mr. Clinton by margins as wide as 45 points. Even 44 percent of Mr. Dole supporters said Mr. Clinton was more likeable.

The survey results, which have a 4-percentage-point margin of error, were based on telephone interviews conducted between March 28 and March 31 with a random sample of just over 1,100 voters.

Columbus Dispatch (OH)

Party Pooper?

Slightly more than 10 years after a group of moderate-to-conservative Democrats set out to pull their party in a new, more successful direction, the Democratic Leadership Council is facing its greatest challenges. Recent successes have been matched with fresh setbacks, and the future looks uncertain.

BY ELIZA NEWLIN CARNEY

Please don't call Al From a "centrist." Tagged with that label during a recent interview, From, president of the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC), responded by flipping over a sheet of paper and scribbling madly.

From squiggled a circle on the left, labeled "LD" for liberal Democrats, and another on the right, marked "CR" for conservative Republicans. He then drew a straight line between the two and stabbed his pen in the middle.

There in the center, From said, is where many would like to pigeonhole the Democratic Leadership Council. But that's not where the DLC belongs, he insisted, sketching furiously again. From's final circle landed above and beyond "LD" and "CR," the third point in an imaginary triangle.

"It's not a matter of splitting the difference between the Left and the Right, or liberals and conservatives, or Democrats and Republicans," he said. "It's a matter of defining a set of policies that are no longer on the continuum of the Left-Right debate."

Given what the DLC is up against these days, it's not surprising that From should resort to creative measures to explain himself. Slightly more than 10 years after a group of moderate-to-conservative Democrats set out to pull their party in a new, more successful direction, the DLC is facing even greater challenges—and opportunities.

In theory, the council and its think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute (PPI), should be sitting pretty. The DLC's former head is now President of the United States, thanks in part to a campaign built on such council ideas as reinventing government, establishing work-based welfare reform and creating an AmeriCorps national service program.

Many DLC tenets, once considered too conservative by wary Democrats, have won broad credibility since the Republican takeover of Congress. These include many proposals traditionally associated with the GOP, from expanding international trade to reining in entitlements, investing in military technology and fighting teen pregnancy and breakdown of the family.

But the council's recent successes have been matched with fresh setbacks, and the future looks uncertain. The DLC's relations with the White House deteriorated in the previous Congress after President Clinton parted ways with the council on health care and other key issues. Things have improved somewhat, but the PPI has failed to fill a niche as the President's think tank, his prime source of ideas, as many had expected it to do.

Though some of its proposals have resonated on Republican-run Capitol Hill, the council's pragmatic, moderate approach has been at odds with the highly partisan tone of the 104th Congress. While the organization has strong advocates in the Senate, most notably the DLC's current chairman, Joseph I. Lieberman, D-Conn., much of its House support has evaporated. *(For more on Lieberman, see box, p. 769.)*

Many House moderates, including the former DLC chairman, Dave McCurdy, D-Okla., took a beating on Election Day 1994. That robbed the council and the PPI of House champions who might have turned their ideas into action. The election returns also underscored the challenge that faces the DLC in its struggle to build a political movement that transcends Left and Right. At a time of growing political polarization, some wonder whether the council's measured, moderate message will ever excite broad support.

SEEKING THE SWINGS

Public opinion polls showing that voter identification with the two major parties is declining and that growing numbers of Americans identify themselves as independents have convinced the DLC that the swing vote is the key to Democrats' survival.

"When you have 40 per cent of the people who now identify themselves as independents, [and] when you have 6 in 10 people say that they're open to a third-party candidate for President, it tells me

that there's a lot of discontent," From said. "And the discontent isn't coming from the extremes, but it's coming from the center of the electorate."

This free-floating bloc, tagged alternately by pollsters as the "sensible center" or the "radical middle," is the group that the council—not to mention scores of political aspirants of all stripes—has set out to influence.

In the past four years, the organization has commissioned two major surveys of independents by Democratic pollster Stanley B. Greenberg, chief executive officer of Greenberg Research Inc. and formerly Clinton's pollster in chief.

Greenberg's findings have helped define the DLC's core agenda: help middle-class families through job training, deficit reduction and tax cuts; reverse social breakdown by tackling illegitimacy and crime and overhauling the welfare system; and repair broken government systems by "reinventing" the federal bureaucracy.

For some Democrats, the council's program leans too far rightward for comfort. When DLC and PPI analysts decry racial quotas, out-of-wedlock births and burdensome government regulations, for example, they can be hard to distinguish from Republicans.

Indeed, the council's strategy is patterned after conservative models. Not unlike House Speaker Newt Gingrich of Georgia, who used GOPAC, the political action committee that he previously chaired, to build a Republican "farm team," the DLC has set out to groom a network of state and local lawmakers as "new" Democrats. The council often teams up with conservative groups on areas of common interest. Gingrich himself was a lead speaker at a recent forum hosted by the PPI and the Hudson Institute, the conservative Indianapolis-based think tank, on the future of NATO.

"We're willing to compare notes, argue, debate, discuss, with virtually anybody, the project of creating a new politics for the information age," said Will Marshall, a former speechwriter for several Democratic Senate campaigns who co-founded and has been president of PPI since its inception. "What we're interested in doing is sparking a wider political movement for change that we think will probably wind up transforming both parties."

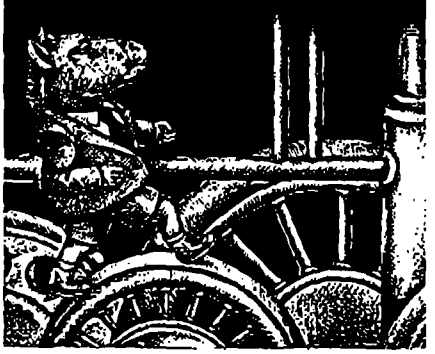
The council also hasn't been shy about taking on traditional Democratic constituents, such as organized labor and liberal interest groups. In the future, From argues, political coalitions will be built not around established interests, but around ideas.

Well and good, some Democrats say, but elections aren't won on swing voters alone.

"The reality is that labor unions and minority voters are an incredibly important part of the Democratic base," said Democratic pollster Geoffrey D. Garin, president of the Garin-Hart-Yang Research Group. "It's kind of silly and dangerous to ignore that reality. . . . The DLC is sometimes too deliberately confrontational with important parts of what makes the Democratic Party work."

Garin acknowledged, however, that the council has "done a great service to the Democratic Party" by articulating credible positions on social issues and government reform. And despite lingering suspicions from some quarters, the DLC enjoys unprecedented credibility among many leading Democrats.

At a time of growing political polarization, is the DLC spinning its wheels with moderate messages?



"The DLC is quite mainstream now within the Democratic Party," Greenberg said. "It kind of makes them uncomfortable, because Al From enjoys his 'bad guy' image."

One of the founders of the DLC, From has hit some high points and some brick walls during his tenure with the organization. Now 52, From joined the council from a post as executive director of the House Democratic Caucus, and as of 1994, pulled down a salary of $225,000. He was well groomed for the prominent role that he played in Clinton's election and on the White House transition team, having served as deputy adviser on inflation under President Carter.

But tensions flared between From and Clinton following the 1994 election losses, which many Democrats blamed on the President. From's willingness to challenge the Administration, and to question such Democratic sacred cows as affirmative action, have left some more-liberal colleagues cold. But From, if not universally liked, is widely respected. He did, after all, help deliver for Democrats their first presidential victory in 16 years.

Ironically, the 1994 debacle also made From's job a little easier. In part, the election convinced many Democrats that the council was right after all in pressing the party to moderate its messages. Now that they are in the minority, many Democrats are regrouping and groping for new ideas. The council and the PPI, which have a combined budget that grew from $307,000 in 1985 to $4.3 million last year, thanks to a loyal base of Democratic Party donors, are ready and willing to step in.

"It's very important for us to get our intellectual homework done during this period when we have the chance to do it," said David E. Skaggs, D-Colo., who heads the House Democratic Study Group, a congressional membership organization that leans to the left. The DLC can help Democrats fashion "an intellectually vital policy message," he said.

Relations with the Democratic National Committee, once strained, have also eased now that Sen. Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn., chairs it. Dodd, who shares a home state and a warm friendship with Lieberman, says the two organizations are interdependent.

"If you have the ideas, and you don't have a vehicle, it's the tree falling in the forest that no one hears," Dodd said. "And if you have the vehicle and no policy, you're not going anywhere."

The PPI, in particular, has forced both Democrats and Republicans to take the council seriously. The PPI's heft belies its small size. It's heavily outgunned on the right by a thicket of well-financed conservative think tanks. The Heritage Foundation, for example, has a membership of 240,000, compared with 4,000 members of the DLC. Heritage's annual budget, which approaches $23 million, dwarfs the combined DLC-PPI budget.

But a star-studded cast that toils in the tastefully decorated offices of the DLC's elegant, three-story office building on Capitol Hill has helped earn the PPI a reputation as a "Mighty Mouse," as *The Washington Post* once dubbed it.

The PPI's 15-person staff includes such experienced journalists and policy wonks as Robert J. Shapiro, who's worked at *The New Republic* and *U.S. News & World Report* and advised more than one Democratic presidential campaign; Kathleen Sylvester, formerly a reporter with NBC News, the Associated Press and National Public Radio; and Robert A. Manning,

FOR NOW, FENCE MENDING IS A CHIEF PRIORITY

Some political analysts have their doubts about whether the progressive message of the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) can sway many votes, but Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman, D-Conn., has done his part to prove them wrong.

Indeed, Lieberman, who chairs the DLC, is walking, talking evidence that a so-called new Democrat can win at the ballot box—and win big. In 1994 Lieberman trounced his Republican Senate challenger by 67-31 per cent, a startling margin given Democrats' poor showing almost everywhere else that year.

At 54, Lieberman has advanced quickly in a political career built on challenging the status quo. "His stature," said Senate Minority Leader Thomas A. Daschle, D-S.D., who tapped Lieberman as a deputy whip, "has grown immensely in the short time that he's been here."

Lieberman's popularity among his Democratic colleagues is striking given how many disagree with him on contested issues. A former Connecticut attorney general and state senator, Lieberman has aligned himself with Republicans on Capitol Hill in areas ranging from television and video game violence to defense spending and capital gains tax cuts.

John Eastle

Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman, D-Conn. A "new Democrat" who can win

But his reputation as a maverick appears to have ruffled few feathers among leading Democrats, perhaps thanks to his easygoing and understated manner. If anything, Lieberman is regarded more as a bridge builder and peacemaker than a zealot.

"He doesn't treat this business like a war, like you have to defeat the enemy," said Sen. Dan Coats, R-Ind., who sits with Lieberman on the Armed Services Committee and is one of his biggest fans. "He might see it as a war of ideas, but never of personalities. And there's a huge difference between the two."

Coats, a committed Christian, said that Lieberman—the chamber's only Orthodox Jew—has garnered wide respect as a man of faith and conviction. Lieberman also has a reputation as a hard worker who does his homework.

"He's quiet, as we all know, but very persistent, and very prepared," said Sen. Harry M. Reid, D-Nev. "If you have an issue that you want to discuss with Lieberman, you should be prepared to discuss it in detail. He's not superficial. He knows more than what the name of the bill is."

Lieberman's skill in unifying disparate factions has proved invaluable to the DLC, which he's chaired since last year. He's been a fulcrum between the council and the White House, thanks in part to his long friendship with Clinton.

The Senator is also mending fences between the DLC and the House, where the organization's support has recently dwindled. Last month, Lieberman launched what will be a series of regular policy breakfasts for like-minded Senate and House Members, and DLC experts. "My hope is that we can create a DLC presence, a 'new Democrat' presence, in the House," Lieberman said.

Lieberman would like to see the council intensify its focus on economic policy and tax reform, "to be constructively involved in the debate about the economy and the insecurity that middle-class wage stagnation has caused." He also wants the organization to become more outspoken in what he called "the values debate," including cultural, moral and family issues.

National security is another priority for Lieberman, who's emerged as a leading defense and foreign policy expert in the Senate.

A recent report ("Defense in the Information Age: A New Blueprint") by the Progressive Policy Institute, the research wing of the DLC, which took issue with the Clinton Administration's defense spending plans and called for more high-technology military investment, was widely circulated in defense circles. *(See NJ, 3/16/96, p. 582.)* In addition to the bipartisan commission on military strategy called for in the report, Lieberman wants to create a pro-defense Democratic study group aligned with the DLC.

So respected is Lieberman in the defense community, in fact, that some have mentioned him as a possible future Defense Secretary.

But for the moment, Lieberman is focused squarely on his Senate work, and on expanding the DLC's base. In keeping with his reputation for reaching across party lines, Lieberman doesn't plan to rely on Democrats alone. "What the DLC is trying to do is really to create common ground, based on new ideas, with Democrats and Republicans," he said. "We don't kid ourselves. We know that a lot of times the ideas that we're generating are not going to command universal support within the Democratic Party, perhaps not even a majority of the Democratic Party. But we hope they're the kind that will engage some independent Republicans."

who's worked as a Defense adviser to both the Bush and Clinton Administrations.

With its 1992 book, *Mandate for Change*, which laid out a plan of action for the incoming Clinton Administration, as with a host of handbooks, pamphlets and policy papers on subjects ranging from defense to the environment, the PPI has set out to win public support for its iconoclastic brand of progressive thinking.

"I think the Right is better positioned than ever to try to frame the national debate on its terms," said Chuck Alston, editor in chief of the DLC's magazine, *The New Democrat*, and a former political reporter for Congressional Quarterly Inc.'s *Weekly Report*. "What we want to try to do is develop a beachhead and battle to reverse this trend."

Unlike many other Washington think tanks, the PPI enjoys a direct link with state and national elected officials positioned to act on DLC ideas. PPI welfare reform experts Lyn A. Hogan and Ed Kilgore, for example, worked with Capitol Hill Democrats in this Congress to incorporate elements of the PPI's "Work First" welfare legislation into both the House and the Senate Democratic welfare bills. Two of the first five bills that Senate Minority Leader Thomas A. Daschle of South Dakota introduced last year started as PPI initiatives.

APR-05-96 FRI 23:43 P.04

"No other organization provides us with as many legitimate legislative opportunities as the DLC," Daschle said. He added that "responsible legislation must be created from the center out—both philosophically as well as politically, it has to start at the center. That creates a win-win situation for Democrats, and that's what the DLC provides us."

The council bills itself as more than simply a think tank, however; it's "an idea and action network." Certainly the organization's ambitions are huge. The DLC has set out to create a national network of like-minded state and local government officials, as well as academics and community activists, building on its 15 state affiliates.

In that vein, the DLC has begun aggressively packaging its materials in an easy-to-use format and getting them out to key Democrats. These include a handy reference manual dubbed *The Idea Book* to help state legislators draft bills based on DLC welfare, crime, defense and other policies.

Other recent projects include expanding *The New Democrat*, which appears six times a year and has a circulation of 9,000, a World Wide Web site, a toll-free information number and a fax newsletter.

Richard A. Bloom

Democratic Leadership Council president Al From "The discontent isn't coming from the extremes."

"Particularly after the 1994 elections, we realized that in order to have the type of impact that we'd like to have in the political marketplace, we have to reach out [more broadly]," said DLC field director Simon Rosenberg, a former policy director at the Democratic National Committee.

The council doesn't get involved in election campaigns, but it's been pouring resources into its nonprofit research and educational affiliate, the Progressive Foundation. (The foundation is located in the same building as and shares some staff with the DLC and PPI.) Unlike the PPI, though, the foundation is a nonprofit 501(c)3 that's strictly nonpartisan. (As a 501(c)4, the PPI may engage in advocacy, and contributions to it are not tax-deductible.)

With the help of several scholars from around the country, the foundation is drafting what Marshall called "a manifesto for the new progressive politics" that will spell out an ideological agenda and road map of sorts for future political leaders. The foundation is also delving into environmental policy and is gearing up to release comprehensive position papers on social security and tax reform.

The DLC's grand plans go beyond simply changing the Democratic Party. The organization envisions itself ushering in a new progressive era in American politics.

"Our thesis is that the old industrial order of American politics is crumbling all around us, and we have to create new political and governing approaches to replace those that don't work very well," Marshall said.

Marshall and his colleagues at the council say they are convinced that a new generation is poised to take up the "new Democrat" banner. They point to a record 2,000 attendees at the DLC's annual convention in Washington last November and to DLC initiatives that are taking off in the states.

Nine states have adopted elements of the PPI's Work First welfare reform plan, for example; four have passed legislation promoting "second chance" homes (supervised group residences) for teen mothers, as the DLC recommends; and several more are expected to follow suit.

Some 20 states have adopted legislation to promote so-called charter schools, a concept spearheaded by the DLC and promoted by Clinton. The idea is to provide entrepreneurial groups of parents and teachers with public support for alternative schools, as long as the institutions live up to established performance standards.

"The DLC consistently gives local policy makers information, and a fresh perspective, on issues that are very difficult to solve," said Ted A. Mondale, a Minnesota state senator who's active in the DLC and is the eldest son of ex-Vice President—and unsuccessful presidential candidate—Walter F. Mondale, now the U.S. ambassador in Tokyo.

DIVIDED DEMOCRATS

On the national level, however, the DLC has faced more of an uphill climb. The organization has, in fact, achieved one of the two goals that it laid out in 1985: electing a Democratic President. But its second goal—changing the party and defining a new progressive politics—may be more distant than ever. If anything, Clinton's presidency has shown just how bumpy the DLC's road will be.

"We have not been able to usher in a new era of progressive reform in the country," From conceded. "And that is a challenge that still eludes the President."

It wasn't supposed to turn out that way. Clinton's election, which propelled the DLC to national prominence and clinched its stature as a Washington powerhouse, landed several high-profile council analysts—including Bruce N. Reed—in top White House posts. (Reed's prominence has grown steadily; he's now Clinton's assistant for policy planning.) There were plenty of early successes—an expanded earned-income tax credit; the North American Free Trade Agreement, AmeriCorps, reforms to "reinvent" the federal government—all pushed heavily by the DLC and the PPI.

But these were overshadowed by Clinton's disastrous health care reform plan, which the council and its congressional allies opposed, and by the President's failure to push for timely welfare reform. In part, DLC officials underestimated the resistance that they would face from more-liberal Democrats on Capitol Hill, and in some quarters of the Administration.

"We hoped that if a young, vigorous, progressive President were elected, the party would choose to follow," said William A. Galston, a DLC senior adviser and former deputy assistant to Clinton for domestic policy who's now a professor at the University of Maryland's School of Public Affairs. "And that turned out not to be the case. Bill Clinton campaigned and won in 1992 on the basis of ideas that were

broadly accepted in the country, but not so broadly accepted within his own party."

That discovery in part explains the DLC's drive to cultivate a national support network outside the Beltway.

Both sides play down any lingering DLC-White House tensions. "I think that the differences have always been exaggerated," said Elaine C. Kamarck, a former PPI senior fellow and now senior policy adviser to Vice President Albert Gore Jr., himself a DLC alumnus.

Clinton was greeted with a standing ovation at the DLC's national convention in November. From hails Clinton's January State of the Union address, in which the President declared that "the era of big government is over," as a political watershed.

But some analysts say that DLC Democrats remain frustrated that they don't enjoy greater leverage at the White House. The fact remains that Clinton has toed the council line less faithfully as President than he did as a candidate.

"The person who many people thought would be their champion, Bill Clinton, has been inconstant in relationship with what they [the DLC] were set up to do," said David M. Mason, vice president for government relations at the Heritage Foundation, which has worked with the DLC on a number of issues. "In a lot of ways, they were situated to be the think tank of the Clinton Administration. And it hasn't worked out that way."

The council's stature on Capitol Hill also has slipped. The 1994 elections tore a hole in the DLC's congressional support. Of the scores of Democrats ousted, many were moderate-to-conservative Members with ties to the council. The rout was a painful repudiation of the notion that so-called new Democrats represent the party's future.

One of those who wagered his political career and lost was McCurdy, who chaired the DLC from 1993-95 and was defeated in his Oklahoma Senate bid by Republican James M. Inhofe. McCurdy had headed the Mainstream Forum, a House coalition that boasted more than 60 members.

McCurdy's old group still exists, headed by Rep. Jim Moran, D-Va., but it's been overshadowed by the smaller, more aggressive Blue Dog coalition run by Rep. Gary Condit, D-Calif. Condit said that the Blue Dogs regard the DLC as a helpful and informative group, but he conceded that "we don't have a lot of contact with them."

House Republicans, too, report little interaction with the DLC, despite the organization's track record of working with the GOP in areas of shared interest. "I can't think of a single project where they have reached out to us all this year," a House Republican leadership aide said.

John Eisele

Former DLC chairman (and ex-Rep.) Dave McCurdy of Oklahoma
His defeat on Election Day 1994 deprived the council of an effective advocate.

Particularly distressing to some party leaders is that many moderate-to-conservative Democrats, who in theory should have been naturally aligned with the council, have abandoned their party altogether in favor of the GOP. "The door was open to the DLC," said Sen. John B. Breaux, D-La., a former DLC chairman. "I just wish more of them had come through it."

At the same time, one of the DLC's signature issues—welfare reform—has all but run aground amid political gamesmanship. For an organization that aims to bring both parties together around commonsense policy solutions, Capitol Hill has proved a more hostile environment than ever.

"The public is becoming less partisan, more independent and less extreme, whereas Congress seems to be becoming more partisan, less independent and in some ways more extreme," Lieberman said. But, he added, "If the electoral system is working well, this won't go on very long."

Some political analysts wonder, however, whether the DLC message has enough edge to rally large numbers of voters. If Democrats have enjoyed a recent bounce in the polls, partisan attacks may deserve more credit than DLC policies. A Democratic pollster confided, "We get a lot more political traction out of fighting what the Republicans are doing than we do out of promoting some new initiative in policy area X, or Y or Z."

A problem for the DLC is that many of the groups that care about the organization's prime concerns—teen pregnancy, for example, or family breakdown—already belong to the Republican coalition. Another is that voters in the middle don't tend to rally around galvanizing, unifying issues, such as abortion rights or environmental protection.

"So-called swing voters, however defined, typically tend to be a very amorphous group," said William G. Mayer, an assistant professor of political science at Northeastern University and the author of a forthcoming book titled *The Divided Democrats*. "They're not organized, they're ideologically diverse, there isn't one central thing that they're all in favor of."

It's still a toss-up, of course, whether the council—and the party it represents—can capture those voters in 1996. The election's outcome, some Democrats say, could prove crucial to the DLC.

A looming question is whether a party built on DLC principles can attract swing voters without alienating large chunks of loyal Democrats. A major test will be how the council handles the conundrum posed by such mushrooming social insurance programs as social security and medicare—programs that moderate leaders say they want to rein in, but which are hugely popular.

Whether the DLC succeeds or fails, some Democrats are convinced, will also determine the party's future. "I don't think there's room for two Democratic Parties," Mondale of Minnesota said. "I think the question is, what is the heart and soul of the party?"

From, however, says he isn't worried about intraparty disagreements, or even very much about this year's elections. "We are thinking very much in the long term," he said. The DLC isn't out to win popularity contests, but to define a politics that can rally majority support—even if it takes 10 years. In the meantime, the third circle on From's imaginary triangle is still unlabeled. It remains to be seen whether voters can fill in the blank. ■

APR-05-96 FRI 23:46 P.06

Pittsburgh Tribune-Review

JOHN MACHADO TR! A8 4/7

Smoke-and-mirrors bunch blames it all on Clintons

As the snide remarks about Hillary Rodham Clinton's success with a $1,000 investment wane, I understand where the Tower of Babble gets his mud to sling. He takes real life conservative experiences and transfers them to the Clintons who lost money in Arkansas investments where others manipulated funds.

The ditto machine attacks, even as it bemoans "guilt by association" shadowing Mr. Buchanan.

Coloring the first couple uniquely suspicious, the smoke and mirrors bunch ask that you overlook the Silverado S&L, featuring Jeb Bush who was paid to "know nothing" while on the board of one of the most costly of all the bailout clients.

You are further asked to look beyond Lamar Alexander's stint as governor of Tennessee. Don't think he's entirely out of the picture. Conventions make strange bedfellows. This gent makes Hillary's investment success look like passbook savings. One "George Washington," no lie, netted more than $600,000 for a guy who doesn't know the price of eggs. Few governors, presidents or first ladies do. But few of them run around in plaid shirts trying to be regular folk.

When hundreds of thousands of bucks from the university you run, with lots of taxpayer dollars, end up with a landowner to whom you happen to be married, you don't have to know the price of eggs or milk. Mrs. Alexander, by her innocent self, turns $10,000 into $320,000 and the investment wasn't put up until the return was assured. Is she a honey or what?

It's amazing how readily you can fit a GOP favorite into the Limbaugh oratory every time he says, Clinton, and end up with the truth. Today's message from Rush is: if a lie is repeated often enough, people believe it and Clinton lies. You can substitute the messenger himself for "Clinton" in that message.

The local boys do their ditto duty, often with Rush's precise words, as they defend Pat Buchanan, rail at Clinton and gloss over the financial windfalls enjoyed by Elizabeth Dole or Bob's aid to Gallo Brothers, political donors and champions of corporate welfare.

The Clintons' image is tinted by every event in Arkansas history, including CIA capers but, if a Buchanan associate is shown to be a bigot, there must be a "liberal media" conspiracy. American media, most competitive in the world, couldn't be a liberal media if they tried. It wasn't the "liberal media" disposing of that once-dear associate even as Buchanan and the Christian Right vowed to "stand by him." Adios, Amigo.

Lord, give the Clintons the strength to keep on serving. I promise I'll be good. Oh, could I have one of those one dollar investment deals, a flat tax that favors me, Pirate baseball all afternoon every day, a trip from Oz to Kansas for my buddy Bob, and a bumper sticker that makes me a holy patriot.

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Prison for Rosty in Plea Deal

Reportedly to Get 17 Months, $100,000 Fine

By Adrienne Drell and Chuck Neubauer
Staff Reporters

Former U.S. Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, once a Chicago political giant and one of the most powerful men in Washington, is expected to plead guilty to corruption charges and agree to serve 17 months in prison, sources say.

Rostenkowski, 68, is expected to agree to pay a $100,000 fine under a tentative agreement in which he would plead guilty to two of 13 criminal charges stemming from his alleged theft or misuse of congressional and campaign funds, sources said, confirming a Newsweek magazine report.

The former congressman could not be reached late Sunday for comment. Dan K. Webb, the Chicago attorney who leads his defense team, had no comment when asked to confirm the plea arrangement.

However, sources said that Webb and federal prosecutors in Washington, D.C., have reached an accord that would allow Rostenkowski to avoid a far longer prison term.

Negotiations got under way late last year after a jury in a related case convicted a Rostenkowski associate, Robert L. Russo, of perjury and obstruction of justice.

The tentative deal comes one month before Rostenkowski was to go to trial on charges that he employed ghost payrollers, embezzled money from the House Post Office in bogus stamp purchases, misused funds on vehicles he claimed were mobile offices and billed his congressional expense account for fine china and special chairs given to friends.

Rostenkowski's expenditures were the subject of a Chicago Sun-Times investigation. He subsequently was charged with stealing or misusing $695,000 in congressional and campaign funds.

In the past, Rostenkowski has insisted he was not interested in a plea bargain. Friends and colleagues said he might find cutting a deal more attractive now that he's out of Congress and has lost most of his ability to raise defense funds.

Rostenkowski still could back out of the proposed agreement. Before his 1994 indictment, he walked away from a plea agreement negotiated by his former lawyer, Robert Bennett.

Columbus Dispatch (OH)

CD ■ Friday, April 5, 1996

New law ends farm subsidies

Clinton signs bill phasing out guarantees

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Clinton reluctantly signed historic farm legislation yesterday that snaps the decades-old link between crop prices and government subsidies.

Although the law lifts many government controls on farmers, it "fails to provide an adequate safety net for family farmers," the president said.

He opposed the key farm provisions, saying growers need to know what the government has in mind for them as they head to the fields.

The law ends government-guaranteed prices for corn, other feed grains, cotton, rice and wheat — a staple of U.S. farm policy since the Depression. Instead, farmers will get guaranteed payments that decline over seven years and an immediate end to most planting controls. The payments total $36 billion over seven years and account for most of the spending in the $47 billion law.

"This farm bill is the most historic change in American agriculture since the 1930s," said Sen. Dick Lugar, R-Ind., chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee. "Production and supply controls will end, and farmers will produce for the market for the first time since the Great Depression."

The administration opposed the bill because it gives farmers a windfall of high payments when skyrocketing market prices mean traditional subsidies would have fallen sharply. Afterward, the guaranteed payments dwindle, giving growers little protection if prices collapse.

Clinton said he would propose legislation next year to restore the safety net.

Supporters of the new law say the guaranteed payments would put financial planning and risk management into the hands of farmers while guaranteeing farm programs against almost certain cuts.

Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman said the department will work on creating tools for farmers to find alternatives to traditional subsidies.

Although the administration opposed the core provision, the bill held enough sweeteners to avoid a veto, including money for conservation and environmental protection and for rural development and research, and a guarantee that food stamps and other nutrition programs will continue while Congress works on overhauling the welfare system.

The law means important changes for dairy farmers, too. It ends a special tax on dairy producers and phases out the government support for butter, powdered milk and cheese over four years.

Akron Beacon-Journal (OH)

Clinton signs new law cutting farmers loose

• President says lack of safeguards in bill worries him

Associated Press AP 4/5/96

WASHINGTON: President Clinton yesterday quietly and reluctantly signed historic farm legislation that snaps the decades-old link between crop prices and government subsidies.

Although the law rightfully lifts many government controls on farmers, it "fails to provide an adequate safety net for family farmers," the president said.

Clinton opposed key farm provisions but said growers must know what the government has in mind for them as they head to the fields this spring. Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman pledged the department would do everything in its power to carry out the law.

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Clinton said he would propose legislation next year to restore the safety net. Congress will definitely get a shot at crafting farm legislation when the law expires in seven years.

KANSAS CITY STAR 4/5

No smiles as farm bill is signed

President vows to revisit plan, get protections for farmers.

By JAMES KUHNHENN
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON — This is history in the making? No fanfare, no dignitaries, no Rose Garden ceremony?

President Clinton on Thursday signed a seven-year, $47 billion farm bill that ends the New Deal policies that have been a staple of American agriculture for 60 years.

But Clinton, in word and deed, made his distaste for the legislation evident.

There was no photo opportunity at the White House with the key Republican congressional backers of the bill. No farmers flown in to witness the ceremony. No pens to hand out. No sunny smiles.

Rep. Pat Roberts of Kansas, Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana and Majority Leader Bob Dole, all key figures in getting the bill through Congress, had to settle for faxing their words of endorsement.

The low-key nature of the event was to some extent

See **PRESIDENT, A-13, Col. 1**

President signs farm legislation but event is missing smiles, fanfare

Continued from A-1

prompted by the somber, grieving mood that befell Washington upon the death of Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, whose plane crashed in Bosnia Wednesday.

But it was also clear that this was legislation Clinton found little delight in signing.

"I am signing H.R. 2854 with reservation because I believe the bill fails to provide an adequate safety net for family farmers," he said.

The new farm bill is the most comprehensive piece of agriculture legislation since the Depression. It would stop the practice of subsidizing farmers for certain crops when commodity prices are low and would end government controls over decisions about planting.

Instead, wheat, corn, cotton and rice farmers will receive guaranteed but declining payments over the next seven years that are designed to wean them from government subsidies and move them into a free-market farming economy.

"This bill changes the way farmers have operated for 60 years," Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman said in a news conference after Clinton signed the bill. "This will affect farmers all over the country."

Farmers will have from late May to Aug. 1 to sign up for the transition payments. Under the law, any farmer who does not sign up by Aug. 1 will be ineligible for the payments for the entire seven years.

The bill, months behind schedule, comes as farmers already make their spring planting decisions. But farm groups were simply glad to have it done.

"It's kind of like wine," Kansas Farm Bureau President Gary Hall said. "The longer you wait the better it is."

High corn and wheat prices and a strong demand for exports have painted a rosy picture for agriculture for the next few years. But the Clinton administration fears that adverse weather or other natural disasters could put farmers in a precarious situation.

Small family farmers say they will be vulnerable to changes in the market.

"I expect that many more small, family-run farms will be squeezed out by larger farm operations that are more efficient and have greater economies of scale," said Jeff Conrad, the managing director of the Hancock Agricultural Investment Group, a subsidiary of John Hancock Financial Services.

One benefit of the bill, Conrad said, is that such consolidation could result in lower food prices at the grocery store.

But farmers were attracted to the bill because it gives them the means to pay back $1.7 billion in so-called advanced deficiency payments. Those payments are based on the expectation that market prices for commodities such as wheat or corn will fall below target prices set by Congress. This year, prices were higher, but yields were poor and farmers were left owing the government money.

Troubling to some farmers, however, is what happens after seven years. As written, the bill would end all subsidies to farmers in seven years. But it also contains a fall-back provision that forces Congress to reconsider farm programs in 2002.

"There is concern about what happens in seven years," Hall said.

But Hall, who supports the bill, pointed out that it also provides for a commission to determine what direction to take national farm legislation in the next century.

Glickman vowed that if Clinton wins reelection, the administration will work to rewrite aspects of the bill to shore up protections for farmers. He did not specify possible changes, but one would be to adjust marketing loans.

But the bill's congressional advocates left no doubt that if they have their way, American farm policy is on a new direction to stay.

"We are giving more freedom and more flexibility to the American farmers, finally allowing...producers to plant for the market and not for the government," Dole said in a statement from Bal Harbour, Fla., where he is vacationing.

 CD 4/8/96

Columbus Dispatch (OH)

Reformers say Social Security on its last legs

By Jonathan Riskind
Dispatch Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Imagine half your paycheck going for Social Security and Medicare taxes.

Unthinkable? Guess again, say some economists, public policy advocates and politicians.

Unless big changes are made — and soon — an already expensive system of benefits will be out of control, they say.

Republicans in Congress and President Clinton have proposals to eliminate the deficit by 2002, but it's time to look further into the future, says Rep. John R. Kasich, House Budget Committee chairman.

The Westerville Republican is a fervent advocate of reining in Social Security.

He recently held a committee hearing on what is called "generational accounting," or figuring out what current policies will cost future generations.

He plans to take his cause to supposedly apathetic young people by holding a similar hearing in a few months on a college campus.

"Young people in America are being ripped off and it's got to stop," Kasich says. "People don't know about this (or) they don't understand it."

Democratic Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, who was co-chairman of a commission that evaluated entitlements, also wants to slow the growth of entitlements.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, Social Security payments will balloon to $563 billion in 2006 compared with $348 billion this year, if nothing is changed. Medicare will go to $463 billion from $196 billion. Both programs are guaranteed to all seniors, regardless of income.

Medicaid and the other entitlement programs serving the poor, students and veterans would rise to $420 billion from $191 billion.

Social Security and Medicare are supposed to be paid from trust funds with assets to cover all the people who have contributed payroll taxes.

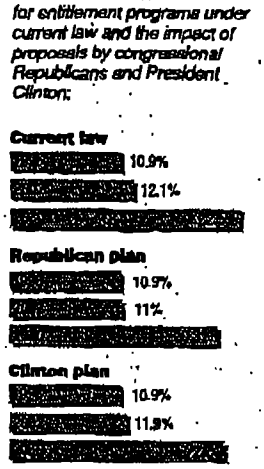
However, they essentially spend most of what they take in each year, providing only promises to future generations that they, too, will get benefits to which they are entitled.

Social Security will begin running deep deficits about 2015, predicts Peter G. Peterson, president of the Concord Coalition, a bipartisan anti-deficit organization. That's when the so-called Baby Boom generation starts retiring in earnest.

The annual budget deficit is said to have "fallen" to $140 billion, but that counts "surpluses" from Social Security and other funds such as the transportation trust fund. Minus those basically paper balances, the 1996 deficit is projected at $205 billion.

Growing guarantees

Here is a comparison of spending as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product for entitlement programs under current law and the impact of proposals by congressional Republicans and President Clinton:



Source: Concord Coalition

Dispatch graphic

"After 2015, too many retirees and too few active workers make that Social Security balance fall like a bungee jumper who forgot to buckle his cord," Peterson has said. Too many policy-makers and legislators in Washington seek short-term fixes that are endangering the financial future of their children and grandchildren, says economist Laurence J. Kotlikoff, a prominent advocate of the drastic overhaul of government programs like Social Security.

Kotlikoff and other economists predict a tax rate of 84 percent for all purposes for future generations if current spending policies continue.

"We have politicians down there in Washington, for the most part, as opposed to responsible adults," Kotlikoff said in a recent interview. "How can anybody let this fiscal train wreck go on and not try to deal with it?"

There is little difference among current spending policies and the GOP and Clinton proposals to balance the budget, the Concord Coalition says. In the long run, neither proposal reduces entitlement spending significantly.

Various advisory groups are beginning to tout proposals to reform Social Security, including the possibility of making it private.

However, "for all this talk about deficit reduction, they are still nibbling around the edges," says Martha Phillips, the Concord Coalition's executive director and a former GOP congressional budget aide.

Despite Kasich's and Kotlikoff's contention that there has been little debate on the issue, polls show Americans are aware of the problem.

A recent Gallup Poll conducted for *The Dispatch* and WBNS-TV showed that only 17 percent of central Ohioans who aren't retired expect to receive all the Social Security money they have been promised.

Still, some politicians and advocates worry that generational accounting is an excuse to deprive the elderly and poor of needed benefits.

"Generational accounting should not be used simply to justify the massive and unrealistic cuts in Medicare, Medicaid and other programs that were part of the budget passed by Congress last year," says Rep. Martin Sabo of Minnesota, the ranking Democrat on the House Budget Committee.

"If the American dream is eroding . . . it is not because we spend too much on the most vulnerable in our society, but because we have devoted too little of our attention and creativity to the economic problems of millions of American families."

Kasich defends the GOP plan as a necessary and fair first step in trying to pare programs and move authority to the states. But he intends to push for more substantial action.

"What generational accounting is designed to do is tell people what their (tax) bills are going be throughout their lifetime," Kasich says.

"If young people's bills are going to be sky high . . . the future will be bleak. If we make some changes and common-sense decisions so they can have higher savings and investment and more jobs and lower taxation, then the 21st century can be America's best century."

KANSAS CITY STAR 4/5

English as official language is pondered

Missouri legislators ready for another tough fight on issue.

By MARY SANCHEZ
Staff Writer

The perennial battle to make English the official language of Missouri is under way again in Jefferson City, but this time opponents are girding for a tough fight.

Twenty-three states have adopted similar legislation, creating a momentum that backers hope will fuel their efforts.

A House bill received overwhelming approval Tuesday by a 135-20 vote.

"These kinds of bills are very difficult to stop once they get going," said Marsha Richeson, a Jefferson City lobbyist with the American Civil Liberties Union.

U.S. English, a Washington-based organization that since 1983 has championed English as the nation's official language, has lobbied heavily on behalf of the Missouri bill.

Opponents say the bills encourage discrimination against immigrants and are unnecessary because 97 percent of the U.S. population speaks English.

"These bills are dangerous," Richeson said. "In many states where this kind of language is passed, it legitimizes discrimination and encourages it."

But supporters say the bills will streamline government and improve communication

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Missouri legislators set to debate language issue again

Continued from C-1

among citizens.

"English is the unifying language," said Daphne Magnuson, a spokeswoman for U.S. English. "It is the common glue that holds us together."

Magnuson said 323 languages are spoken in the United States.

"Obviously, it's important to set some kind of policy in place right now for multilingualism in government," she said. "There just isn't any policy for what government services should be done in other languages."

U.S. English is not opposed to providing some emergency health-care services in foreign languages, but it thinks that efforts such as printing tax instructions in Spanish are a waste of government money, Magnuson said.

The Supreme Court last week agreed to hear a case that will decide the constitutionality of an English-language law in Arizona.

Two Kansas City area legislators are backers of the state measure, and U.S. Rep. Bill Emerson, a Missouri Republican, is sponsoring legislation at the federal level.

Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole has said he supports making English the official language.

Similar bills introduced in the Kansas Legislature this year stalled in committee.

Supporters of the Missouri legislation say the bill will keep tabs on state spending to print forms, such as driver's license tests, in languages other than English.

"This is not a punitive bill," said state Rep. Bill Franklin, a Democrat from Independence who sponsored the legislation. "This is a bill for the future."

Officials of the Guadalupe Center, a Kansas City agency that advocates for the rights of Hispanics, plans to lobby when the bill goes to the Senate.

"It's a done deal in the House, but we can't take anything for granted with the Senate," said John Munoz, a spokesman for Guadalupe.

State Rep. Bonnie Sue Cooper, a Kansas City Democrat, sponsored an amendment that calls for agencies to conduct a public meeting each time they want to print information in a language other than English. The agency would have to include the cost of preparing those materials as a separate budget item.

No one knows how much is spent each year on such efforts.

Cooper said she got much of the wording for the bill from U.S. English.

"We're talking about a very expensive way to spend taxpayers' money," Cooper said. "I am trying to avoid a problem before there is one."

U.S. English says other states with high immigrant populations have seen an increase in the costs of providing such services.

Richeson and other bill opponents fear that few agencies in Missouri would go to the trouble of holding the open meetings. Instead, efforts to help people with limited English proficiency would be scrapped, they said.

Cooper's amendment would not apply to foreign-language courses or English-as-a-second-language classes, the promotion of international commerce, tourism and sporting events, and translation needed for court proceedings.

But the amendment also allows for Missouri citizens to sue if they think the bill is not being enforced.

Richeson said that wording can be dangerous. Any citizen, regardless of whether he is involved in a language issue, could challenge it.

In this way, programs that affect people who do not speak English fluently can be dismantled, she said.

Cooper said government agencies should print some health information, such as AIDS warnings, in several languages. However, she thinks public schools should not accommodate parents who do not speak English.

Of the 4.7 million people in Missouri who are age 5 and over, 1,812 can't speak any English, according to the 1990 census.

"This bill is legislation in search of a problem, and we don't have a problem," Richeson said.

David Holsclaw, program coordinator of the Don Bosco Center/Penn Valley Community College English as a Second Language program, agreed.

Holsclaw, who has testified against such legislation, said it is illogical that Missouri will ever have the number of Spanish-speaking immigrants of the states bordering Mexico.

Holsclaw said publicity about such language bills usually generates discrimination because people misunderstand the bill or use it as a rationale to hurt immigrants.

Holsclaw also disputes claims that the bill will encourage immigrants to learn English quickly.

The Don Bosco Center helps about 2,000 people a year learn English. Other area English-language programs have had to expand in recent years to accommodate people wanting to learn English.

"People don't need the state legislature to tell them it is important to learn English," he said. "But it takes a few years, and while they are learning, they might need to go the hospital or take a driver's test or pay their state taxes."

ON THE NET

- Text of Missouri's common language bill: http://www.house.state.mo.us/BILLS/HB772.HTM
- U.S. English: http://psych.pomona.edu/kevin/PPA/USEnglish.html
- HandsNet on "English only": http://www.handsnet.org/handsnet/handsnet2/Articles/art.827160246.html

KANSAS CITY STAR 4/5

Missouri House passes bill to make schools safer

Senate approval likely. Carnahan pleased with plan.

By WILL SENTELL
Jefferson City Correspondent

JEFFERSON CITY — Despite its brief entanglement in a legislative spat, a bill designed to make Missouri's public schools safer has won final House approval and stands a good chance of becoming law, backers say.

Rep. Steve McLuckie of Kansas City, the chief sponsor, said he thinks the Senate will approve the bill, and an aide to Gov. Mel Carnahan said Carnahan is generally pleased with the measure so far.

"People are really concerned about this," McLuckie said of public school violence.

The bill, one of Carnahan's priorities, was sidetracked last month when House debate was abruptly halted after House leaders had left for a political fund-raiser in Springfield. The end to the proceedings caused Republicans to angrily protest.

Embarrassed Democrats reopened the debate the next day and tentatively approved the bill. The measure won final approval Tuesday by a vote of 145-1.

The bill would:

- Pave the way for more school districts to set up alternative schools for disruptive students.

"Hopefully it helps turn troubled youths' lives around," McLuckie said.

- Force school officials and juvenile authorities to communicate with each other more when students commit crimes. Schools would have to report a wide range of offenses, including drug and weapons possession, and juvenile authorities would have to notify schools when students are accused of those same types of offenses.
- Require a hearing before students suspended for 10 consecutive days or more for violence can resume school. The student and a parent or guardian have to first meet with school officials.
- Provide for discipline records to follow students when they enter a new school.

"These violent kids have to transfer, and receiving districts have no idea what kind of kid they have," McLuckie said of current practices.

Alternative schools are the key to the bill.

While exact figures are not available, alternative schools now provide nontraditional teaching methods to help students with behavioral and other problems.

"The traditional school hasn't worked for these youngsters, so they need something different," said Joan Solomon, director of urban education for the Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education. Students attend the schools from several weeks to several years, Solomon said.

Brad Ketcher, Carnahan's director of legislative affairs, said Carnahan wants the Senate to reinsert a key provision removed by the House.

It would create the crime of assault while on school property and make it a felony. Critics charged the provision would be too harsh and prosecutors would apply it selectively.

Carnahan favors the provision because it would give prosecutors another tool to fight school violence, Ketcher said.

"And as the governor has traveled around the state, the thing that has really gotten their attention is the felony proposal," he said.

Carnahan recommended $18 million for his safe-schools package, the House $12 million and the Senate $10 million, said Mark Ward, state budget director.

A final figure will be decided by the May 17 adjournment.

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ALBUQUERQUE JOURNAL

Saturday, March 30, 1996
Metropolitan Section

N.M. Women Detail Concerns

White House Aide Meets With Group

BY RORY MCCLANNAHAN
Journal Staff Writer

Thirty-one New Mexico businesswomen, volunteers and mothers met with a representative from the White House on Friday with women's issues on their minds.

Betsy Myers, director of Women's Initiatives and Outreach for the White House, was at the Los Griegos Community Center to listen to concerns of New Mexico women. The discussion was part of an ongoing series of round-table meetings throughout the country that give women an opportunity to voice opinions and discuss issues. Staff members in the Clinton administration are part of the groups.

"All of us want to feel the government is paying attention to our needs," Myers said.

The Woman's Initiatives and Outreach office was created in 1995, Myers said, to keep the president informed about women's issues. Myers was an administrator in the Small Business Administration, where she worked in the women's business office, before taking the post in the White House.

The women at Albuquerque's meeting needed no encouragement as they talked about problems ranging from inadequate prenatal care to education. Concern over the affordability of higher education for lower-middle class families was another topic raised as was the need for programs that increase opportunities for women.

Issues about families also were discussed. Many of the women were concerned that parents are becoming strangers to their children because job pressures cause single parents and dual-income families to spend less0 time with their children.

Another hot topic was the minimum wage. Myers said women are affected by low wages, but the president supported raising the minimum wage.

"About 60 percent of people making minimum wage are women," Myers said.

The round-table meeting was held, Myers said, because the administration is interested in hearing about women's issues. Sometimes problems that women face aren't heard by lawmakers because women aren't vocal enough about problems, Myers said. Women feel like they are left out of the system and the government won't help if they do have problems, she said.

"The reason the average woman feels she doesn't rate is because she feels disconnected from government," Myers said.

Former New Mexico first lady Clara Apodaca, who is an administrator in the Treasury Department, said it is important for women to participate in round-table discussions so problems aren't ignored.

"We want to hear from you, we want to hear about your issues so we can report back to the president," Apodaca said.

NEW YORK TIMES Subject: '96 CAMPAIGN Date: 4/4/96 Page: A12 1 of 1

ADVERTISING

Democrats' Attack Ads Home In on Dole

By JAMES BENNET

WASHINGTON, April 3 — Senator Bob Dole did not get much of a honeymoon from the Democrats.

Just days after Mr. Dole locked up the Republican Presidential nomination, overcoming an unexpectedly brutal advertising blitz by his opponents in the primaries, the Democrats unveiled their first television commercial attacking him exclusively.

The advertisement, which the Democratic National Committee began broadcasting around the nation last weekend, inverts a Republican criticism of the President by declaring that it is Senator Dole — called simply "Dole" in the commercial — who is trying to foil Mr. Clinton's legislative aims.

"The President cuts taxes for 40 million Americans," the announcer says, before the screen fills with black-and white footage of a seemingly weary Mr. Dole. "Dole votes no."

Almost continually since September, the Democratic National Committee has been running advertisements promoting Mr. Clinton's stance on the Federal budget and attacking Congressional Republicans in general. Democrats familiar with the campaign say it is now costing about $1 million a week, and reaching up to half the country.

The Democrats have targeted swing Congressional districts in states like Ohio and Michigan, as well as smaller markets where they can saturate the air waves at lower cost. The Republican Party is husbanding its resources until later in the spring, a spokesman said.

Democratic officials said they began broadcasting the commercials last fall to avoid losing the initiative in the budget battle, as they said they did in the health care fight. But the advertisements have come to serve two purposes, the Democrats acknowledged, because Mr. Dole is both Senate majority leader and Presidential candidate.

A long-running barrage of commercials shifts focus.

Because the advertisements do not specifically endorse or oppose a candidate, under Federal election laws the Democratic National Committee and state Democratic organizations can pay for them without dipping into campaign money that is limited by Federal law.

And, because the party is airing them, Mr. Clinton can portray himself as above the political fray. "I think we should put off the politics for a little longer," he told reporters on Tuesday, declining to discuss his view of Mr. Dole or to specify which issues he expects to define their differences. Mr. Clinton has not officially announced that he is running for re-election.

Mr. Dole dismissed Mr. Clinton's comments. "Same old President, trying to have it both ways," he said on Tuesday, while vacationing in Bal Harbour, Fla. "Telling the Democratic committee to go out and bash Bob Dole, but then go out and make a public statement that we ought to stop playing politics."

Typical of the previous Democratic advertisements is a second commercial that the Democratic National Committee is now broadcasting. It features photographs of Mr. Dole with Speaker Newt Gingrich, but does not name them.

The narrator says that Mr. Clinton is seeking "education, job training, more police" but "Republicans will stop at nothing to stop President Clinton." The advertisement displays slow-motion footage of Mr. Dole and Mr. Gingrich, set to ominous piano music. In contrast to shots of Mr. Clinton in full color, the footage of the Republicans appears to have been black and white originally, then tinted a sickly green.

Ed Gillespie, the communications director for the Republican National Committee, said that the Republicans would not respond immediately to the Democratic advertisements. He said that because the Democrats could rely on labor unions to help with their political organizing, they were able to devote more resources to advertising.

"We can't match them dollar for dollar," he said. "But we will be advertising in the spring and summer."

NEW YORK TIMES Subject: 96 CAMPAIGN Date: 4/4/96 Page: 1 of 1

THE AD CAMPAIGN

Clinton Takes On Dole in a New Commercial

The Clinton campaign has begun broadcasting a new 30-second television commercial around the country.

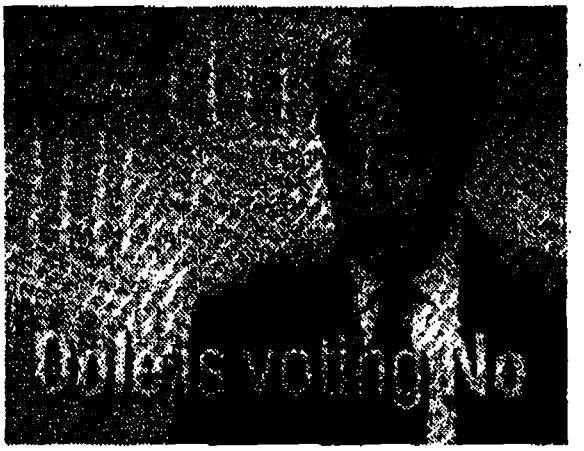
PRODUCER Squier, Knapp, Ochs Communications

ON THE SCREEN The advertisement opens with Senator Bob Dole declaring that President Clinton vetoed "the first balanced budget in a generation." As the announcer cuts in to present what he calls the facts, the advertisement intersperses full-color shots of Mr. Clinton speaking on the stump with black-and-white footage of Mr. Dole. Also included is film of elderly people reading, young people studying and children carrying recycling bins. The closing shots are of a young couple walking, the woman holding a baby.

SCRIPT Bob Dole: "We sent him the first balanced budget in a generation. He vetoed it. We're going to veto Bill Clinton."

The announcer: "The facts? The President proposes a balanced budget protecting Medicare, education, the environment. But Dole is voting no. The President cuts taxes for 40 million Americans. Dole votes no. The President bans assault weapons; demands work for welfare while protecting kids. Dole says no to the Clinton plans. It's time to say yes to the Clinton plans — yes to America's families."

ACCURACY The advertisement is accurate, but voters could draw false inferences — for example, that Mr. Dole opposes a balanced budget, tax cuts, or welfare changes that would force recipients to work.



Further, Mr. Dole has not voted against Mr. Clinton's budget, which was never voted on in the Senate. But Mr. Dole has opposed the President's budgetary priorities, and the "Clinton plans" in general.

SCORECARD The advertisement presents itself as a defense of Mr. Clinton, but functions as an attack on Mr. Dole. It seeks to inoculate Mr. Clinton against Republican accusations that he stands in the way of a balanced budget and changes in welfare, while portraying Mr. Dole as uninterested in protecting the environment, the elderly, or children. One risk to the strategy is that voters might believe that the President, given the powers of his office, should have been able to accomplish his goals, and is making excuses for not doing so. *JAMES BENNET*

Lat'r os a ıc Dep ties Aren't Doomed to Tension and Excess

LOS ANGELES TIMES Subject: POLICE Date: 9/15/96 Page: 1 of 2

■ Police: Those who blame Proposition 187 or 'immigrant bashing' are just trying to make political hay.

By ELTON GALLEGLY

Like almost everyone who has seen the videotaped beating of two illegal aliens by Riverside County sheriff's deputies, I was outraged by what appears to be a clear case of excessive force. Since the incident, though, that sense of outrage has been compounded by the actions of those seeking to misrepresent this regrettable incident for personal and political gain.

Literally minutes after these brutal images were captured and broadcast, immigrant-rights activists began beating a path to the media's doorstep, anxious to attribute the actions of these officers to an "anti-immigrant, anti-Mexican" fervor sweeping the country. That is simply not the case.

It would be nearly impossible to find anyone willing to condone the specific actions of these rogue cops or police brutality in any form, for any reason. Those entrusted to preserve public safety and uphold the law must, at all times and in all situations, maintain high standards and professionalism. But it should be obvious that the use of excessive force in this instance had a lot less to do with the immigration status or nationality of the victims than with the fact that the occupants of this truck evaded authorities for 90 minutes, at speeds upward of 80 mph, while hurtling pieces of metal and other projectiles at those in pursuit.

It is apparent that these officers did not respond appropriately to this case of willful mayhem, but to argue that their billy clubs were somehow unleashed in deference to Proposition 187 borders on the absurd. For the advocates fighting for headlines and air time, though, truth doesn't seem to matter. They apparently are much more interested in misleading the public and turning a tragic situation into political and rhetorical hay.

Heeding the strong will of the American public, Congress is on the brink of enacting the toughest anti-illegal immigration legislation in years. Those seeking to preserve the ability of immigrants to come here, illegally—though few are willing to publicly embrace that agenda any more—must see this incident as an opportunity to make one last stand for the status quo. That unspoken strategy is as misguided as it is regrettable.

It is curious that none of those so appropriately offended by the conduct of the sheriff's deputies has had even one unkind word for the smugglers whose actions set this whole tragic episode in motion. I wonder what the effect would have been if the videotape had begun back in Mexico, with lawless scoundrels offering to illegally transport their countrymen and women across the border, at great personal risk to them, for a hefty fee. In the case of those blaming this incident on xenophobia and "immigrant bashing," I am quite sure the additional footage would have no effect at all.

Rep. Elton Gallegly (R-Ventura County) is chairman of the Congressional Task Force on Immigration Reform.

LOS ANGELES TIMES Subject: POLICE Date: 4/5/96 Page: 2 of 2

By FRANK del OLMO

It's all too easy for police abuse watchdogs to fault the Riverside County Sheriff's Department in the aftermath of the videotaped beating of two illegal immigrants by a pair of deputies—especially in Los Angeles' Latino community, where resentment over historic cases of police misconduct has been augmented by anger over verbal immigrant-bashing by politicians.

But critics eager to lump this incident in with the 1991 beating of Rodney King by Los Angeles police officers don't know the Riverside Sheriff's Department that this L.A.-bred Chicano came to know while working as a reporter for The Times and, earlier, the Riverside Press-Enterprise.

Until recently, the most noteworthy thing about Riverside's deputies was how well they generally got along with Latinos in the many rural communities they patrol in a giant county that sprawls from L.A.'s eastern suburbs to the Arizona border, almost 200 miles away. News reports in the aftermath of Monday's incident suggest that, to Latinos in Riverside, that once-sterling image has been tarnished in recent years. But when I first got to Riverside in 1969, the contrast from Los Angeles was palpable.

I was expecting the tension that underlay police-community relations in my hometown—not just in the city itself, but in the unincorporated areas like East Los Angeles that are patrolled by Los Angeles County sheriff's deputies. In 1970, those tensions would explode into major riots. But in Riverside I was immediately struck by how Latino activists gave deputies credit for doing their job fairly.

This was at a time when Latino activists were venting anger over years of perceived abuse by police—not just modern cops like LAPD's, but historic boogeymen like the Texas Rangers. To hear a Chicano say anything nice about cops was rare.

At first, I cynically assumed that the sheriff's deputies looked good in comparison to the Riverside police, whose reputation in the Casa Blanca barrio was akin to the LAPD's on the Eastside.

But then I met Lt. Paul Yoxsimer.

An Indio native who joined the Sheriff's Department in 1966, Yoxsimer was a key player during one of the toughest situations I ever covered as a reporter, the 1973 grape strike in the Coachella Valley. It was called by the United Farm Workers union to protest sweetheart contracts between local ranchers and the Teamsters union, and was marked by repeated clashes between UFW pickets, Teamster goons and farm security guards. Often caught in the middle, trying to be evenhanded, were deputies from the Indio substation under Yoxsimer's command.

They kept the peace. Later on in that year-long dispute, in other counties, UFW members would die in strike-related confrontations. But no one was ever seriously hurt in Riverside County. And for that, everyone gave credit to Yoxsimer and his men.

No less a Chicano hero—and knowledgeable critic of rural sheriff's departments—than the late UFW leader Cesar Chavez once told me that Yoxsimer was "the fairest cop we ever dealt with."

That was after Yoxsimer died suddenly of a brain hemorrhage in early 1974 at the age of 31. Not only did hundreds of uniformed police officers show up at his funeral, but so did UFW members bearing the same red-and-black union flags they carried on picket lines. It was the most profound sign of respect Chavez could show anyone.

Clearly, Yoxsimer was a different breed of cop. And he convinced me that the police agency he worked with was different, too—at least to the degree that it tolerated an introspective young lieutenant who composed classical music in his spare time.

I asked him once why his officers got along with minorities at a time when barrio residents referred to cops as "pigs" or worse. His answer was characteristically candid.

"This is a big county," he reminded me. "Most of my people ride alone in their patrol cars. Even a tough cop tends to be a bit more diplomatic when his backup is far away."

That pragmatic wisdom has come back to me a lot lately—after the King beating and the 1992 riots that followed, and when I saw the videotape of Monday's incident. I can only speculate what Yoxsimer, had he lived, would have made of it.

He was fair, so he'd probably argue that the deputies deserve some understanding—an adrenaline rush after a high-speed chase may have clouded their judgment. And he was compassionate, so I expect he'd have sympathy for the beaten immigrants. He'd also be proud of the openness and candor with which Riverside County officials are handling this case. He might even cite that as reason to hope that any lessons learned from this travesty could keep something similar from happening again.

And because of Yoxsimer's reputation, I'd probably give his department the benefit of the doubt.

That's what Riverside's Latino community needs to do now. A lot of things can change in 20 years, of course. Maybe they have—and not for the better—in both the city and county police forces. But any agency, any community, with a history of good cops like Paul Yoxsimer to call on has reason to hope things can be made better again.

Frank del Olmo is assistant to the editor of The Times and a regular columnist.

NEW YORK TIMES Subject: Minimum Wage Date: 4596 Page: 1 of 1

Boost the Minimum Wage

There is a strong case for raising the minimum wage by a modest amount. Unfortunately, the issue is caught up in election-year politics, making compromise unlikely. Senate Democrats rounded up 55 members last week to force a vote on it, but they needed 60 votes so the effort failed. Few Democrats shed tears, since they could pin the defeat on the majority leader, Bob Dole.

The Democrats proposed raising the minimum wage over two years to $5.15 an hour, which would raise earnings for these workers by 90 cents an hour, or about $1,800 a year. Even at $5.15, the minimum wage would, after taking account of inflation, remain 15 percent below its average value during the 1970's.

Will low-paid workers lose their jobs if employers must pay higher wages? Yes, but there is widespread agreement among economic studies that the impact would be very small. A 90-cent wage hike would probably wipe out fewer than 100,000 of the approximately 14 million low-paid jobs in the economy — less than a 1 percent loss. Indeed, 100,000 represents only about half the number of jobs the economy typically creates each *month*.

The benefits of a higher minimum wage would be substantial. At $4.25 an hour, minimum-wage workers cannot count on earning their way out of poverty. But at $5.15 an hour, or $10,700 a year, the goal is in reach. By combining earnings, food stamps worth about $3,000 and tax credits of $3,500, such workers can clear the poverty threshold for a family of four — about $16,000 — even after payroll taxes. That would be a victory for public policy.

The Republicans criticize the minimum wage as a crude antipoverty tool, and in a sense they are right. For one thing, about 40 percent of the recipients are teen-agers, some from middle-class families. A better tool, which enjoys bipartisan support, is the earned income tax credit. The tax credit directly benefits low-paid workers, either by cutting their taxes or, if they owe no tax, giving them a check from the Treasury. The credit is structured to encourage the poor to go to work without hitting their employers.

There are, however, limits to how much higher Congress can push the tax credit. Congress sets the credit for poor workers, and phases it out as wages rise. The higher the initial credit is, the faster the phaseout must become in order to limit the impact of the tax credit on the deficit. But phasing out the tax credit hits near-poor workers just like a tax hike — discouraging them from working longer hours or taking higher-paid jobs.

The best antipoverty strategy is to mix tax credits and minimum wages. At President Clinton's urging, Congress recently raised the tax credit. The next step is to raise the minimum wage by the modest amount the Senate Democrats have proposed. The Democrats should try again. Republicans supported such policies in the past. Perhaps Senator Dole can summon the will to do so this election year.

LOS ANGELES TIMES Subject: CAMPAIGN '96 Date: 4-8-96 Page: A5 1 of 2

RONALD BROWNSTEIN/WASHINGTON OUTLOOK

Growing Field of '96 Candidates May Help to Propel a New Political Force

Party of five?

How about a setting for six?

It's now conceivable that five, and possibly six, nationally known presidential candidates will crowd onto next fall's ballot. The list starts, of course, with President Clinton and Sen. Bob Dole, the presumed Republican nominee. Ross Perot's new Reform Party also will field a candidate—almost certainly Perot himself.

Then there's Ralph Nader, who will offer himself in California and several other states as the Green Party's candidate. Former Connecticut Gov. Lowell P. Weicker is planning to announce soon whether he will make a bid—either for the Reform Party's nomination or on an independent ticket with Tom Golisano, a deep-pockets New York businessman.

Meanwhile, conservative activist Howard Phillips says his U.S. Taxpayers Party intends to place Patrick J. Buchanan on the ballot, whether he likes it or not. And the Libertarian Party—which was only a blip in 1992 but attracted nearly 1 million votes in the 1980 presidential race—is placing its hopes for revival on Harry Browne, an investment advisor who advocates not flattening but eliminating the federal income tax.

Even setting Browne into a different category, and assuming either Buchanan or Weicker stays at the gate, this could still be the longest list of well-known presidential contenders ever presented to Americans. Even the celebrated divided elections of 1824, 1860 and 1948 offered only four choices. In a political world that has, for generations, effectively amounted to a choice between Coke and Pepsi, 1996 could be the equivalent of introducing Mango Madness, Peach Ice-Tea and Cantaloupe Cocktail.

The potential proliferation of presidential contenders has implications on two levels: for the 1996 election and for the longer-term structure of American politics in a period of economic turmoil and electoral turbulence.

This year, these outside rail candidates are important for how they might affect Clinton and Dole, the only two contenders with any realistic chance of winning. Even Perot, if he runs, would be hard-pressed to become a serious contender—as he very much appeared to be four years ago this spring.

Perot still consistently draws about 15% to 18% in surveys measuring support for the fall campaign. But his erratic behavior in 1992 left scars that may make it virtually impossible for him to grow back toward the 30% or more that he attracted during the initial infatuation with him four years ago. When the Pew Research Center late last month asked voters what one word came to mind when they heard the name Perot, the top seven finishers were: rich, crazy, idiot, egotistical, nuts, money and arrogant.

Gordon Black, a pollster who has advised Perot, notes that the Texas billionaire turned around similarly negative attitudes in the fall of 1992 with strong performances in the presidential debates. Black insists that Perot could make converts again with a well-run campaign after the Reform Party convention, now scheduled for Labor Day.

But Perot's constricted base will make it difficult for him to match his 19% showing in 1992. Four years ago, Perot attracted voters from across the educational and income ladder; this time, his support has narrowed toward voters who are younger, less educated and less affluent—the most alienated segments of the electorate.

Political analysts are poring over poll results to determine whether Perot would take more votes from Clinton or Dole. But the concentration of Perot's support among voters dissatisfied with the country's direction makes it likely he would hurt Dole more than Clinton. In the end, most discontented voters—at least the ones who vote—tend to vote against the incumbent president. Perot would peel away a measurable slice of that vote from Dole.

None of the other candidates are likely to make anywhere near as big a splash as Perot in 1996, although they all might matter at the margins. To the extent Nader attracts votes with his un-campaign—he will speak out in the press and perhaps distribute audio and videotapes, but says he plans no advertising or conventional rallies—they will come from liberals who would otherwise prefer Clinton.

Buchanan's presence on the ballot would hurt Dole—although Buchanan's impact would be far greater if he's a willing candidate, which now appears unlikely. If he runs as an independent, Weicker would draw some liberal votes from Clinton, although he might mostly cannibalize independent votes from Perot. If Browne can bring the Libertarian Party back anywhere near the million-vote level, that won't be good for Dole.

It's far too early to say how all of these competing considerations might affect this year's outcome. More intriguing, and more important, is whether this flurry of independent activity will advance the development of a viable new alternative to the two major parties beyond 1996.

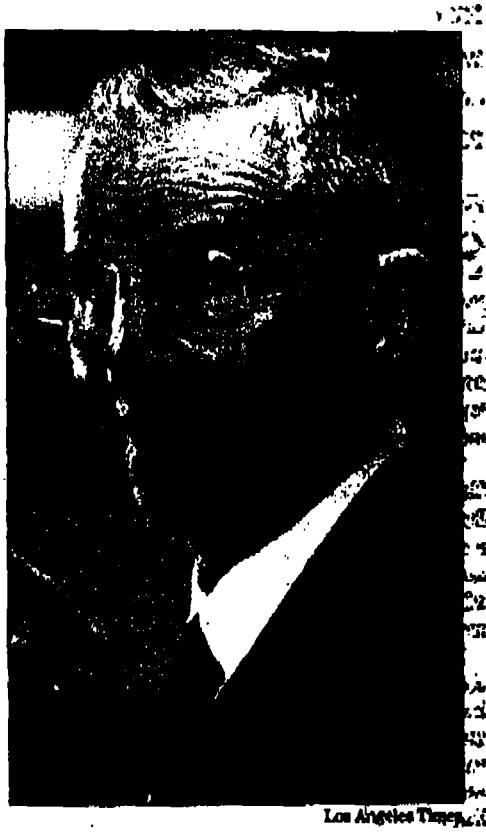
Nader sees 1996 as a step toward "a negotiated political system" reminiscent of Europe, "where the Republicans or Democrats are going to have to negotiate with parties that are forming on their left, center or right"; he says his goal this year is to lay the groundwork for "a large, small party on the progressive side" that could attract 5% to 7% of the vote in 2000 and push the Democrats to the left.

Virginia Postrel, the perceptive editor of the libertarian magazine Reason, expects not a lasting third party, but a proliferation of challenges that compels the two major parties to "reconstitute" themselves in new ways to survive—just as the Democratic Party subsumed the Populists a century ago by adopting much of their agenda. Former Colorado Gov. Richard D. Lamm likewise expects a new alternative to gradually "eclipse" one of the existing parties—as the Republicans replaced the Whigs just before the Civil War. "There is an opening right up the middle," he said.

None of this is inevitable, much less imminent. But dissatisfaction with both parties is cracking open their shared political monopoly. Perot's 1992 vote marks one measure. Polls offer another: Majorities of Americans now routinely say they would be open to a third party, and in the Pew Center poll, one-fifth of voters said they would be inclined to vote for an unnamed independent against Clinton or Dole. And if the successive stumbles of Clinton in his first two years and the

LOS ANGELES TIMES Subject: Date: 4-8-96 Page: A5 2 of 2

Los Angeles Times



Los Angeles Times

Ralph Nader, left, will represent Green Party in California and several other states in presidential race, while Ross Perot is likely to be a candidate for his Reform Party.

Republican Congress in 1995 demonstrate anything, it is that neither party now controls a stable majority of public support.

Even more fundamentally, the development of new political alternatives fits the ongoing disaggregation of American life. The explosion of new information options (from talk radio to tabloid TV to the Internet) has undercut the hegemony of the mainstream media; big department stores are being undermined by specialty retailers and mail-order distributors; even as the Fortune 500 downsizes, more Americans work for small business or their own companies.

Converting this general sympathy for new choices into a viable political alternative (or alternatives) remains a formidable challenge. Campaign-finance and ballot-access laws favor the existing major parties. Voters remain deeply reluctant to "waste" ballots on candidates unlikely to win.

Ironically, Perot now presents a special problem to the development of alternatives. Only Perot among this flock of independents has the money, determination and following to build a national party infrastructure. But any effort associated with Perot could face a low ceiling of potential support because so many Americans now doubt him. And as long as Perot (or another candidate from his Reform Party) is in the field, he divides the independent vote. "It's a real dilemma," said Lamm, who leads a group of politicians trying to craft a new centrist agenda.

Other hurdles persist. Advocates of new alternatives split between those who think the parties are too much alike (liberals like Nader, libertarians like Postrel) and those who think they have abandoned the center by exaggerating their differences (Perot, Lamm). The constituency open to new choices itself divides between socially conservative, economically populist blue-collar voters and upper-income suburbanites at the opposite pole on both sets of issues.

No one will solve these problems well enough to meaningfully threaten the Republicans or Democrats in 1996—and maybe not in 2000. But anxiety over the country's future, and the waning authority of all centralized institutions, is likely to continue unraveling the tight two-party weave of American politics since the Civil War. Loose ends are dangling—awaiting a political movement with the imagination and stamina to stitch them into a new partisan pattern.

The Washington Outlook column appears here every other Monday.

The Sacramento Bee

Labor's political comeback

COMMENTARY
Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover

WASHINGTON – When Democratic Party Chairman Don Fowler attacked Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole the other day for blocking a Senate vote on raising the minimum wage, the Republican reply was that Fowler's remarks were a payoff to the AFL-CIO for its newly announced plan to spend $35 million against GOP candidates this fall.

If so, the labor federation wasn't getting much for its money. Vice President Al Gore, in an appearance before the recent special AFL-CIO convention that endorsed the Democratic ticket for re-election, had already vowed that his party would fight resolutely not only for the minimum wage increase, but also for a host of labor's other legislative objectives.

Gore assured the cheering convention that President Clinton would continue his opposition to the permanent hiring of striker replacements, employers' diversion of pension funds for other uses, "company-dominated unions" and Republican attempts to roll back regulations governing workplace safety.

MORE THAN a payoff to organized labor, the remarks of Gore and Fowler underscore the rehabilitation of common purpose between the Democratic Party leadership and the labor movement as the Republican-controlled Congress has moved in the past year to reject or trim pro-labor federal programs.

"On almost every topic that matters to working families," Gore told the convention, "there is a Grand Canyon of disagreement that separates President Clinton from our Republican opponents."

The new leadership of the AFL-CIO, the result of an unprecedented insurgency by a majority of the federation's union leaders against the establishment led by Lane Kirkland and then his long-time lieutenant, Tom Donahue, has decided with a vengeance to become a serious political player once again.

> The new leadership of the AFL-CIO has decided with a vengeance to become a serious political player once again.

The $35 million will go mostly for radio and television ads "educating" working men and women about the voting records of targeted House Republican freshmen on labor issues. The effort dovetails, if it is not precisely coordinated with, the Democratic Party's objective to regain control of the House and strip Rep. Newt Gingrich – called "the pied piper of the preposterous" by Gore – of the speakership.

The figure of $35 million eclipses by far what the AFL-CIO has ever spent in attempting to affect the outcome of congressional races, and the Republicans not surprisingly are crying foul. Republican National Chairman Haley Barbour has charged that "the union bosses intend to buy Democrat [sic] control of the House with the forced dues of union members, 40 percent of whom voted Republican" in the last election.

Steve Rosenthal, the AFL-CIO's new political director, says polls of the membership indicate overwhelmingly that union men and women want the federation to become much more active in informing them about who is and who isn't voting labor's agenda. There are internal procedures, he says, whereby members can prevent their dues from being spent against their wishes, but very few have ever resorted to it.

"For years the AFL has been seen as an inside Washington player," he says. "Our strength is outside Washington. What we're doing is rebuilding that strength."

PART OF the effort will be the mobilization and training of 3,000 union men and women in key congressional districts in getting out the vote, and a "union summer" of recruitment with a goal of 1 million new members.

An obvious objective in all this will be to bring back into the fold blue-collar workers who have been voting Republican – the "Reagan Democrats" who defected in 1980 and still haven't come home – by arguing that the Republicans they sent to Congress in the 1994 Gingrich "revolution" are no friends of theirs.

The rap at Dole and other Republicans on minimum wage is only the beginning of a rejuvenated labor-Democratic partnership to reverse that revolution next fall.

Tribune Media Services

City, Bomb Survivors

President Visits Site Of Blast

By Chris Casteel
Washington Bureau

President Clinton, who came to Oklahoma City just a few days after the bombing of the federal building last year, made a return trip Friday to measure the community's progress toward healing. He mixed in a lot of hand-shaking and a little politics.

Clinton and first lady Hillary Clinton spent all afternoon in Oklahoma County, making stops at three sites in downtown Oklahoma City before going to Edmond. The president was warmly received in Oklahoma City and enthusiastically greeted at the University of Central Oklahoma.

The reason for his trip, and the primary focus of his remarks in Oklahoma City, was the upcoming anniversary of the bombing that killed 168 people and injured hundreds more. He didn't visit the bombing site last year — the search efforts were still going on — but he laid a wreath Friday on the narrow grassy stretch where the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building stood.

His remarks were laced with symbolism, references to Good Friday and Easter and with comments regarding his own pain in losing Commerce Secretary Ron Brown and other friends this week in a tragic plane crash in Croatia.

At one stop, Clinton compared the city to a tree across the street from the bomb site.

"Everybody wants to know why this tree stood up when the bomb went off," Clinton said. "It lost its leaves and its bark and it's still kind of ugly, but it survived and it's going to bloom again. Why is it going to bloom again? Because its roots kept it strong and standing.

"The survivors and the spirit of this community are blooming again because your roots kept you strong and standing."

Clinton is going to be in Russia on April 19, but he wanted to observe the anniversary of

See CLINTON, Page 2

— Staff Photo by Steve Sisney

President Clinton visits with Anita McCaskell, 12, of Oklahoma City following his speech to victims' families and survivors at the Myriad Convention Center.

Clintons Share Strength, Grief With Oklahomans

By Penny Owen
Staff Writer

Parents came in their Sunday best, rescuers in dress blues and gloves. Children, wearing colorful neckties and bows, displayed near-perfect behavior.

The president and first lady had already heard many of their stories: the rehabilitation of those who survived the terrible blast. The late-night agony of missing a husband or a child. The camaraderie of co-workers who removed rubble from one another, and the simple luck of a sidewalk smoker who stepped two feet out of the way, in time to avoid death.

More than 3,000 of these people, each with a horror story about a year old, attended Bill and Hillary Clinton's speeches Friday at the Myriad Convention Center. Few, if any, left disappointed.

"I took it very personally," Alexis Franklin said in her acclaim of the president's speech. Franklin served on the board of directors for America's Kids day-care center in the Murrah Building, where more than a dozen children

See MYRIAD, Page 2

Clinton's Visit

- Crowd Enthusiastic on UCO Campus
- City Man Near Motorcade Arrested
- Help Sought for Trial Telecast — **Page 15**

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Myriad

From Page 1

died. She also works in the U.S. Bankruptcy Court, two blocks from the bombing site.

It impressed her, she said, that even with the loss of U.S. Commerce Secretary Ron Brown two days earlier, the Clintons came to Oklahoma City.

For many, attending the speech became a time to emphasize the positive arising from April 19 — the community spirit and the bond formed between those who suffered.

They referred to President Clinton's statement of how Oklahomans drew "our national family closer together" and of the first lady's praise of Oklahoma resilience and compassion.

"Politics, religion, everything went out the window. Everyone just pitched together," recalled Ballamay Butler, a Regency Tower resident who moved back after being displaced for six months because of the bombing.

Others latched on to the spiritual tone of the speeches, such as President Clinton's comparison of Oklahoma to the rock where a wise man built his house, which would not crumble under adversity.

"He and Hillary both have felt that Oklahomans were kind of outstanding," said Wanda Webster, who was working in the Housing and Urban Development office when the bomb went off.

Nerelyne Pope, who lost her daughter, Brenda Daniels, in the April 19 bombing, drove from Wichita Falls, Texas, to see the president — just one trip of many, she said, to keep up with the past year's events.

Daniels worked in the America's Kids day-care center. Officials in Oklahoma send her notice of bombing-related news.

"They keep me informed about everything and I appreciate that," said Pope, who was with two great-granddaughters. "Anything that's talking about the bomb victims and the families, I want to be around."

There are those, though, who don't.

"I think it's just too painful to come back down here. There's several that went out on workman's comp from the stress and everything," said Cindy Scarbrough, a liaison to the U.S. Marshal's office for the Army National Guard, who was across the street in the federal courthouse when the bomb went off.

"They just didn't want to come down here and face it yet. They're not ready."

Others, like Social Security claims representative Dan DeMoss, relived April 19, this time with bewilderment and fascination over how something like leaving his desk for a moment saved his life, yet left others around him dead.

DeMoss, a hemophiliac, suffered a punctured ear drum, cuts and bruises. He recalled climbing out of the building, through a skylight on the south side, just as rescuers shouted out a second bomb scare.

"People started running away and I was reaching out to everybody," DeMoss said. "I thought I might've looked like a monster or something."

DeMoss also recalled the kindness in the bomb's aftermath. He had moved to Oklahoma City from Chicago 12 years earlier. Now he calls Oklahoma home.

"You know, really, I would never go back," he said. "Because people here in Oklahoma really care about each other."

Aren Almon, whose 1-year-old daughter, Baylee, was killed, praised the Clintons for coming to Oklahoma City though they were grieving themselves.

Like many attending who lined up to greet the Clintons, she shared a brief, personal moment.

"I asked them if they remembered me, because we went to the White House last July," Almon said. "And (Hillary) said, yeah, they remembered me, and they were asking how I was doing now and said that their prayers are still with me."

Some simply came out of gratitude for those who survived.

"We were here for thankfulness today, because we had two miracles on the day everybody else had all that tragedy," said Shirley Coleman, whose daughters, Melissa Erhard and Stacey Coleman, were at the Journal Record Building and survived the blast.

Erhard said she was outside smoking a cigarette, on the sidewalk facing the federal building, when it blew up.

Jamie Genzer, a federal credit union employee, wasn't so lucky. Genzer was killed, leaving behind her young son and daughter, who attended the president's speech.

"It's kind of neat — it's not every day you get to meet the president," Kyle Genzer, 15, said afterward.

The president's visit is the first in a string of events Oklahoma City will face for the bombing anniversary. That brought reflection on both the past and the future.

Almon said her toughest day will come April 18, which would have been Baylee's second birthday.

"I think the anniversary won't be as hard as her birthday," she said.

Clinton

From Page 1

the bombing. Though he canceled much of his schedule after the plane crash killed Brown and 34 others, he decided not to scratch the Oklahoma City trip.

The trip Friday began much like the one last year, with the Clintons planting a tree on the White House lawn to remember lost federal workers. This year, however, the tree was for those killed in the plane crash.

The president also signed a proclamation declaring April 19, 1996, as a National Day of Remembrance of the Oklahoma City Bombing and asking that all people observe a moment of silence at 9:02 a.m. CDT. Clinton spent about an hour Friday in the quiet, bombed-out block, where the buildings still standing are either boarded up or damaged or both. After laying the wreath at the site, Clinton went across the street and spoke to a couple of hundred people seated in chairs.

He dedicated a plaque for a new daycare center. Two daycare centers, one in the Murrah Building and one in the YMCA across the street, were destroyed by the blast.

Accompanying the Clintons at the wreath laying were six children who were in the Murrah Building daycare center and survived the blast.

Clinton bowed his head for a few moments in front of the wreath, and the children put long-stemmed roses on it.

A state employee stood on the remains of the building's plaza playing "Amazing Grace" on bagpipes.

Gov. Frank Keating and Oklahoma City Mayor Ron Norick thanked the president for his efforts to help the city in the last year and assured him that the community was rebuilding. Keating also thanked the president for coming to Oklahoma City at "such a difficult time" for him.

Both of the Clintons spoke to about 3,000 people — bombing survivors and their relatives and victims' family members — at the Myriad Convention Center downtown. And both got standing ovations.

Hillary Clinton said the destruction downtown reminded her of the buildings she saw in Bosnia when she visited that war-ravaged country last month.

"We don't know how well the people there will be able to overcome their own legacy of bitterness and hatred and violence," she said. "But we do know that here in Oklahoma City, the buildings may still stand half destroyed but the spirits are springing forth."

Clinton told the survivors and victims' families that, in dealing with the loss of his own friends, he was grateful for their example.

"On this Good Friday, what you have done has demonstrated to a watching and often weary and cynical world that good can overcome evil, that love can outlast hate, that the light of human life can shine on through the most terrible darkness. And so I thank you for that. And I know that you could not have done it without your faith."

After their remarks at the Myriad, the Clintons spent 90 minutes shaking the hands of the people in the audience. Some of those meeting the Clintons walked away crying after sharing something personal with them; others left smiling.

President Clinton shook many hands at each of the sites where he gave remarks, the last of them being the University of Central Oklahoma, where his longtime friend, former Gov. George Nigh, is president.

At UCO Clinton also met with members of the committee he set up to distribute scholarships to the children of those killed in the bombing.

Nigh, the committee chairman, said $9 million had already been raised toward the goal of a $10.5 million endowment.

Clinton's speech at UCO veered off a couple of times into politics, which he avoided at the Oklahoma City stops. He told students that the world held more opportunity for them but also a lot of danger.

He said he hoped a balanced budget agreement could still be reached this year and that student loans should not be cut. He also said the anti-terrorism bill was still not in the shape he wants it in.

"We've got to make sure terrorists pay for what they're doing," he said.

Thousands of students and faculty members, many of whom had waited in a chilly wind for hours, cheered the president and rushed to shake his hand after he finished his remarks.

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Clintons Urge Healing, Hope

By Julie DelCour
World Staff Writer

OKLAHOMA CITY — This congregation of survivors, a year further along yet a lifetime sadder, heard a sermon of salvation on Good Friday from a president, who thanked them for drawing "our national family closer together."

President Clinton, speaking at the Myriad Center to an audience of more than 2,000, including victims and families of those lost in the April 19 bombing, said he was glad to revisit the people he had thought of so often.

"I have relived the moments of last year many times in my mind since I was here with you. I have wondered how you were doing and prayed for your strength."

Clinton said that as Air Force One passed over Arkansas Friday morning, he recalled an old gospel hymn written in his home state.

"Further along we'll know all about it. Further along we'll understand why. Rise up, my brothers, and walk in the sunshine. Further along we'll understand why."

Clinton said he had come to Oklahoma City to give thanks to its people, who he and Mrs. Clinton described as resilient and courageous.

"On this very difficult and painful day for me, when I have lost a great and good

See Clinton on A-3

Anti-Terrorism Bill Stressed in UCO Talk

By Brian Ford
World Capitol Bureau

EDMOND — Saying that they have first-hand knowledge of the impact of terrorism, President Clinton Friday urged Oklahomans to support a stronger federal anti-terrorism bill.

Speaking to thousands of students and others on an outdoor platform during a cold and blustery day at the University of Central Oklahoma, Clinton asked Oklahomans to support tougher proposed anti-terrorism measures "because you will have more weight than most people. This state has suffered. This state has felt it."

Clinton's speech at the UCO was his last public appearance in a one-day tour of the Oklahoma City area to commemorate last year's bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building. He said he would not be able to attend the April 19 ceremonies in order to attend a nuclear summit abroad.

Thousands of people lined up for more

See UCO on A-3

World staff photo by Stephen Pingry/ AP, Pool Photo/Daily Oklahoman

Above, President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton attend a memorial service on Good Friday with families and victims of the April 19, 1995, terrorist bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building that left 168 people dead in Oklahoma City. At left, as their parents, Jim and Claudia Denny, and the president and the first lady watch, two survivors from the America's Kids day-care center in the federal building Brandon and Rebecca Denny place flowers on a spring bouquet at the memorial site.

Tulsa World
SAT APRIL 6 1996.

. . . Clinton

Continued from A-1

friend . . . the power of your example is very much with me," Clinton said, referring to the death of Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, who was killed in a plane crash Wednesday in Croatia.

"On this Good Friday what you have done has demonstrated to a watching and often weary and cynical world that good can overcome evil, that love can outlast hate, that the light of human life can shine on through the most terrible darkness," Clinton said.

Clinton came to the Myriad from a memorial service at the nearby bomb site, now just a grassy expanse where the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building once stood.

With a cold north wind blowing during that high noon ceremony, several of the six children who survived the blast danced around the president as he lay a wreath with 168 flowers at the site to commemorate those lost. The six children are the only survivors from the America's Kids day care center inside the Murrah Building, where 15 children died. Each of the six, ranging in age from 2 to 6, carried a red rose to place by the wreath.

From the bomb site, the president and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton walked across the street to a stage by an elm tree known as the "survivor tree." Only 50 feet from the blast, it is the only surviving tree in the immediate area. The president dedicated a plaque to be hung in a newly constructed YMCA day-care center. Both the YMCA day care and the Murrah Building facility were destroyed in the blast.

Later, at the Myriad, Clinton said that before he left Washington, he and the first lady had planted a dogwood tree on the White House lawn in memory of Brown and the 34 others lost in the plane crash.

"It is very near the one we planted a year ago, before we came to be with you for the first time, in honor of the loved ones that you lost. A year ago I noted that the dogwood tree embodies the lesson of the Psalms, that the life of a good person is like a tree whose leaf does not wither; that just as a tree takes a long time to grow, sometimes wounds take a long time to heal," Clinton said.

"Well, your tree has taken root on the South Lawn of the White House. In a few weeks it will flower. The healing power of our faith has also taken root and must bloom again here."

Many of the upturned faces in the audience bore scars from the bombing a year before. Daina Bradley, who lost a leg, two of her children, and her mother in the tragedy, sat in a wheelchair listening to the president speak.

"I know a lot of you are still hurting, but I hope as Sunday comes you'll be able to find some comfort in that. Your healing has to go on. A lot of you probably still have your doubts about all of this. I'm sure there's some lingering anger, and even some rage and dark and lonely nights for many of the family members," Clinton said.

"I can only say to you that the older I get the more I know that we have to try harder to make the most of each day and accept the fact that things will happen we can never understand or justify."

The Clintons came to Oklahoma City two weeks before the first anniversary of the bombing because the president will be at an arms summit in Russia on April 19.

Mrs. Clinton told the audience — which gave her two standing ovations — that "no words can ever do justice to what has happened here or to what has been accomplished in the thousands upon thousands of individual struggles and challenges you have faced. But I hope you know that across our country, particularly in the next days, Americans are looking to you, to the families gathered here, as a testament to the strength of the human spirit and to our common humanity."

On Friday the president proclaimed April 19 as a National Day of Remembrance and asked Americans to observe a moment of silence that day at 9:02 a.m., the time of the explosion.

World staff photo by Daryl Wilson

President Clinton greets a member of the audience at the Myriad Center on Friday. Clinton spoke to victims and families of the April 19 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building.

. . . UCO

Continued from A-1

than a block outside the university to see Clinton.

"This state understands the human dimension of people killing innocent people for perverted, malicious, political reasons. To say in simple terms, this is not a political issue, this is not a partisan issue, this is not an ideological issue."

Clinton said it was almost a year ago that he presented a proposed anti-terrorism bill and "it is still not in the shape it needs to be."

He said the United States is threatened by both "home-grown terrorists" such as the Unabomber, and foreign terrorists, such as those who bombed the World Trade Center in New York City.

Both brands can take advantage of modern computer technology to gather deadly information that makes the United States more vulnerable than ever to terrorists acts, he said.

"We can't let terrorism pay," Clinton said. "We've got to make sure the terrorists pay for what they are doing."

"We don't want our home-grown terrorists or foreign terrorists to get their hands on nuclear material that with just the size of a wafer you can make a bomb ten times more powerful than the one that destroyed the federal building in Oklahoma City."

Clinton asked the audience to imagine what would happen if the kind of bombing that occurred in Oklahoma City took place five to seven times in different parts of the United States within a month, killing 3,000 people.

"This is what happened in Israel just a few weeks ago," he said. "It can paralyze a country. It can take its heart out. It can take its confidence away and make young people believe they have no future."

He said the federal bill should include requirements for markers in commercial explosives so that authorities can trace them to where they were purchased.

"Contractors don't have a thing to fear," Clinton said. "They need to buy explosives. But if explosives are used to kill innocent civilians we ought to be able to find where they came from."

The bill also should give the U.S. attorney general the power to stop terrorist groups from raising money in the United States, Clinton said.

"And if we catch people doing it, we ought to be able to throw them out of the country immediately, not in a long drawn out process."

Clinton also said police should be able to have the best technology in the world to monitor the activities of terrorist groups "We can do that without violating the civil liberties of the American people," he maintained.

Clinton visited UCO to ask a committee that has helped raise $9 million for the scholarships of the children of the Murrah bomb victims to raise an additional $1.5 million.

Gov. Frank Keating said Thursday that $10.5 million is necessary to take care of the higher education needs of the 185 children of those parents who either died or were injured in the blast. Keating said the $10.5 million would take care of their education needs for the next 20 years.

Herald 4/5/96

cont.

Poll shows Kerry with slim edge over Weld

WILLIAM F. WELD

BOSTON HERALD

POLL

By JOE SCIACCA

U.S. Sen. John F. Kerry has pulled ahead of Gov. William F. Weld but has yet to block Weld's surge among independent voters as the two candidates race for their first Senate campaign debate, a new Herald poll shows.

The poll shows Kerry holding 46 percent to Weld's 41 percent with 13 percent undecided. Kerry's lead can be attributed to inroads he has made among Democratic voters who dominate the state's electorate.

Among Democrats, Kerry leads Weld 72 to 17 percent, up five points since January. But Weld has a 10-point lead among independent voters, who could play the deciding role in their close battle.

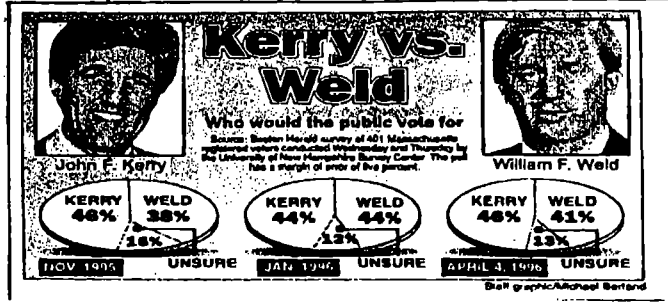
"It's an extremely tight race," said Herald pollster R. Kelly Myers, director of the University of New Hampshire Survey Center.

"Kerry is clearly leading, but he is losing the battle among independents. He definitely needs to stem that tide," Myers said.

The drift away from Kerry among independent voters is growing. In November, Kerry had a five-point lead among independents, but in January, Weld had an eight point lead. Today, Weld leads by a 47 to 37 percent margin.

Turn to Page 20

JOHN F. KERRY



Staff graphic/Michael Bertand

Dems push Kerry past Weld in Senate race

From Page 1

Kerry had a five-point lead among independents, but in January, Weld had an eight point lead. Today, Weld leads by a 47 to 37 percent margin.

On Monday, Kerry and Weld meet in the first of a series of seven televised debates sponsored by the Herald, Boston Globe and the city's television stations.

The two candidates were locked in a virtual tie in Herald polling in January, with each receiving 44 percent. Kerry had a 12 point lead in November.

The debate may help define the race for voters, but Kerry appears to have an edge in how he is currently perceived.

Voters give Kerry higher ratings in experience and clout on Capitol Hill in what Myers calls "a clear case of the power of incumbency."

About 83 percent of the voters said Kerry has the "right experience" for the job compared to 66 percent for Weld.

When asked to rate the candidates on the "ability to get things done in Washington," 70 percent agreed that Kerry has the clout while only 55 percent gave Weld the nod.

Kerry has served in the Senate since 1984 and is running for a third 6-year term. Weld has only recently become a player on the national scene, but has argued he would have more influence in the Republican-controlled Congress.

Kerry also scored highest in possessing the "personal qualities to be a U.S. senator," ranking 78 percent to Weld's 67 percent.

Weld's numbers showed concern among voters on other important issues, however.

Only half of those polled agreed that Weld "cares about the average citizens" as compared to 69 percent for Kerry.

Half of the voters also believe Weld "would say anything to get elected," as compared to 43 percent who have that view of Kerry.

This voter perception could benefit Kerry as he dismisses Weld's "taxes, crime and welfare" mantra as little more than pushing the hot button issues for political gain.

"Looking at these numbers, there seems to be a little less trust in Bill Weld among the voters," Myers said. "He has further to go to close the credibility gap."

The poll was conducted yesterday and Wednesday among 401 Massachusetts voters, and has a margin of error of 5 percent.

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APRIL 26, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: DOUG SOSNIK AND KAREN HANCOX

SUBJECT: DAILY REPORT

STATE-BY-STATE REPORT / NON-PRESIDENTIAL

Alabama

Governor Fob James (R), in hot water over the fact that almost half of Alabama's boards and commissions do not have black members, pledged yesterday to make his appointments reflect the state's population. The state is 25 percent black. The lack of minority representation was revealed when a report released Wednesday by the Department of Examiners of Public Accounts found that 45 percent of the boards had no blacks and only 20 percent had more than one black.

Arizona

According to a poll conducted for KAET-TV and Arizona State University, 54% of Arizona residents are dissatisfied with Governor Fife Symington's (R) performance in office, while 35% approve of his job performance. The poll of 864 registered voters statewide was conducted earlier this month.

A bill that would have given the state legislature the authority to allocate federal block grant funds was vetoed yesterday by Symington who called the enactment of the proposal premature. Earlier this year Symington said he would endorse such a plan once the legislature gave him line-item veto authority.

Native American Indian gaming continues to enjoy broad support in Arizona, according to two new polls released yesterday. The Rocky Mountain Poll conducted by the Phoenix-based Behavior Research Center found that 61% of Arizonans would oppose outlawing Indian gaming and that only 33% would back such a move. The Rocky Mountain poll was based on interviews with 708 adults statewide. A second poll found even stronger support for Indian casinos, with 69% saying they supported Indian gaming and 25% opposed it. This poll was based on interviews with 864 registered voters statewide. Both polls were conducted earlier this month.

California

The Los Angeles Board of Education fended-off intense public pressure to immediately appoint the district's highest ranking Latino as the next superintendent, choosing instead to spend time considering its options. The decision not to name Deputy Supt. Ruben Zacarias touched off angry protests from Latino activists, who vowed to express their displeasure with drastic measures, such as recalling School Board member David Tokofsy, who represents a majority Latino district. Next week, the Board intends to begin weighing decisions such as whether to conduct a local or nationwide search for the position.

More than half the campaign contributions made in 1995-1996 to Republican California legislators, legislative candidates and other state elected officials came from the tobacco industry, according to a study released yesterday. The analysis by the University of California at San Francisco said Republicans received 56% of the money given out by tobacco companies between January 1995 and March 1996. In the 1993-1994 election cycle, Republicans received 45% of the donations. The study noted however that Mayor Willie Brown (D) of San Francisco led lawmakers last year in collecting tobacco money.

Hawaii

Hawaii's legislative session ends at midnight tonight, and state House and Senate conferees were still exchanging proposals on an amendment to the state Constitution to ban same-sex marriages and to open the way for domestic partnerships for same-sex marriages. It is not known whether Governor Cayetano (D) will sign a same-sex marriages bill if it passes the legislature.

Illinois

The First Lady's trip to Springfield and tornado-ravaged Decatur yesterday was a tremendous success, generating a great deal of enthusiasm and positive media coverage. In Springfield, Mrs. Clinton visited with some preschoolers at a child development center, participated in a roundtable with parents and addressed a packed auditorium at the University of Illinois. In Decatur, she was joined by FEMA Director James Lee Witt.

The state House voted overwhelmingly (87-13) in favor of a measure which adds same-sex unions to the list of marriages prohibited in Illinois. It is now on its way to Governor Engler (R) who is expected to sign it.

Iowa

Senator Tom Harkin told Iowa reporters yesterday that "it's time to renew the push" to enact welfare reform. Harkin said he envisioned "a contractual setup that the government outlines it's responsibilities, what it will do, and the welfare recipient outlines his or her responsibilities." The plan would also include increased efforts to collect child support and increases in the minimum wage. It is modeled after an Iowa program which requires welfare recipients to sign an agreement specifying how they plan to work their way off welfare. In exchange the state agrees to provide job training and child care. Unlike the Iowa plan, however, Harkin opposes specific time limits for eligibility.

During a taping yesterday of Iowa Public Television's "Iowa Press" Governor Terry Branstad lent credence to a long-rumored job switch with Senator Grassley when he said if "Senator Grassley decided to run for governor and wanted me to run for the Senate, I guess it's something I'd need to look at." Branstad was careful to make it clear that the decision on initiating the job switch was Grassley's.

Massachusetts

The Boston Globe reports that Governor Bill Weld (R) is hoping the state's stabilization fund of unspent funds will reach the $526 million threshold which would allow him to return the money to taxpayers in the form of an increase in personal exemptions. The "rainy day" fund, where unspent funds from state agencies are deposited, is currently at $450 million. Conventional wisdom is that Weld would announce this "tax cut" in September before the new fiscal year begins in October. This would fall about six weeks before voters go to the polls to determine the Senate race in which Weld is portraying himself as a taxcutter. Weld's press secretary says that even though the Governor is keeping his eye on the fund, "Sometimes good governing and good politics intersect. The Governor has a good fiscal record and this is a good reflection of that."

Minnesota

A state report released yesterday showed that state Republican Party organizations collected nearly three times more cash than their DFL counterparts last year and had nearly twice as much cash on hand as 1996 began.

New York

A Quinnipiac College Poll conducted April 18-23 surveyed 715 New York voters and found that Mario Cuomo, Geraldine Ferraro and Public Advocate Mark Green lead Senator D'Amato in 1998 Senate race scenarios. Of the Democrats tested, only State Comptroller Carl McCall trails D'Amato in a matchup. The results are:

Cuomo	51%	Ferraro	48%	Green	43%	McCall	40%
D'Amato	39%	D'Amato	39%	D'Amato	39%	D'Amato	38%
Undecided	11%	Undecided	13%	Undecided	19%	Undecided	22%

The poll also finds D'Amato's approval rating among New Yorkers is 37% with 53% disapproval. This rating is consistent with a March 4 Quinnipiac poll which showed his approval/disapproval at 34% - 55%.

North Carolina

Senate candidates Harvey Gantt and Charlie Sanders continue their attacks. In support of balancing the federal budget, Sanders said yesterday, "We don't have to do what Harvey Gantt did when he was mayor of Charlotte, raise taxes and fees." Gantt shot back that he was expecting this from Sanders, saying he asked for extra taxing authority from the General Assembly in order to keep property taxes low. Gantt started a 50-town tour yesterday and continued to hit Sanders on the cost of prescription drugs. Sanders said he is unique in that he's the first candidate to run against Jesse Helms who doesn't have a political record that Helms can use in negative ads. Sanders announced he is loaning his campaign $1 million.

Ohio

Mrs. Gore was very well received in Cincinnati yesterday. She delivered an address on community involvement to the Jewish National Fund of Cincinnati, greeted the crowd at the Cincinnati Flower Show and attended a DNC fundraiser.

Oregon

The national Republican Party has dropped mention of GOP Rep. Wes Cooley from a campaign ad running on Portland TV stations. The ad depicts a couple lamenting President Clinton's veto of a GOP tax cut. The original version ended with an announcer noting that Cooley and GOP freshman Jim Bunn supported the tax cut. The new ad drops the reference to Cooley. Cooley is from Eastern Oregon's 2nd district and has had a run of bad publicity in recent weeks. He is being investigated by the Oregon Secretary of State's office for his false statements of his Vietnam war efforts in 1994 congressional campaign literature.

Texas

Secretary Dan Glickman is in the Texas Panhandle visiting sites of drought-ravaged wheat crop. The Agriculture Department reported this week that more than two-thirds of the crop is in poor condition or worse. Today, he will be in Tulia and Dimmit, 70 miles north of Lubbock. He told reporters that the new farm bill will likely mean no extra payments for farmers since the idea behind it is no disaster programs. But he added that most wheat producers will be eligible for government payments even though prices are at historically high levels. Coupled with crop insurance most producers have taken out, there many be enough money to cover all losses. The farm program and crop insurance is the equivalent of disaster insurance, Glickman said. Senator Dole said this week there is a chance Congress will reconsider a farm disaster bill.

Virginia

Leslie Byrne shut down her campaign yesterday acknowledging that Mark Warner has wrapped up the Democratic nomination for the U.S. Senate. But her rhetoric remained hostile and charged the state Democratic Party with voter fraud. She said Warner strong-armed would-be Byrne voters during the Democratic caucuses. Black voters for Byrne were quizzed by voting officials before receiving their ballots, she charged, like in "the Virginia of the pre-Civil Rights era."

West Virginia

Democratic Gubernatorial Candidates Joe Manchin and Charlotte Pritt both vowed not to run negative campaigns during an editorial meeting yesterday. Both have been running highly negative ad campaigns. Apparently, they were backed into making the pledge.

Wisconsin

Gov. Tommy Thompson (R) signed into law yesterday his Wisconsin Works (or W-2) program designed to end welfare in the state by the year 2000 calling it "the biggest change in social policy in this country in 50 years." It would replace AFDC with job placement and training services for an estimated 53,200 of the state's 65,000 welfare recipients. After two consecutive years or a lifetime total of five years, W-2 participants will be dropped from the program. Counties and private agencies will work with welfare parents to match them to jobs. The state expects nearly 8,000 to find unsubsidized jobs paying an average of $5.99 an hour, 26,600 will get subsidized community service jobs at $3.19 an hour and 13,300 will receive transitional jobs paying $2.98 an hour.

Rep. Steve Gunderson has notified Republicans in his district that he will not seek re-election, a decision he originally announced in 1994. In a statement Gunderson said that while "hundreds of people across this district, this state and this country have asked me to run again for Congress ... I would not participate in a primary that divided this party." Republicans have been unable to convince former state legislator James Harsdorf to bow out of the Republican primary in deference to Gunderson. Gunderson said in 1994 that it would be his last campaign.

Wyoming

The Natural Law Party's petition drive to win a spot on Wyoming's general election ballot was questioned yesterday by Wyoming's Secretary of State, Diane Ohman (R). Ohman announced yesterday that voters in four counties have complained they were misled into signing petitions that call for the Natural Law Party to win a spot on the ballot. The Natural Law Party announced yesterday that their presidential candidate, John Hagelin, will be in Cheyenne on Tuesday to personally turn in 12,000 signatures. Only 8,000 signatures are needed by May 1 to win a spot on the November ballot.

MISCELLANEOUS

Attached please find a memo sent by Reps. Bob Walker and Jim Nussle to all House Committee chairmen and Subcommittee chairs. They are looking for info on waste, fraud and abuse in the Clinton Administration, influence of Washington labor bosses and examples of ethical lapses in the Clinton Administration. Mike McCurry was asked about the memo on INSIDE POLITICS.

Inside Politics / April 26, 1996

The opening segment, by Wolf Blitzer, was on the President's testimony on Sunday. Mark Fabiani was quoted as saying that the American people will see that this is all politics and that this just is not a big issue. Blitzer said that we are not too concerned with the content of your testimony, rather how the Republicans will try to use this to their advantage by distorting your images and words. Floyd Brown, the mastermind behind the Willie Horton ad in '88, says that he is considering going to court to get the whole tape. James Carville closed by saying that Americans are realizing how "sickly obsessed" Republicans are with Whitewater and that they wish the Republicans would "shut up."

Brooks Jackson reported that House Republican leadership sent out a memo earlier this week asking committee chairmen and sub-committee chairmen to dig up dirt from their files on the Administration. A spokeswoman for Newt says it is the constitutional duty of Congress to make sure that tax dollars are being spent appropriately and that there is nothing wrong with the action requested in the memo. Jackson said that requests such as this one is not limited to Republicans, noting John Dunghill's similar request in '88 on Reagan.

The REC will be running $8-20 million in tv and radio ad May 15-25 in "battleground states." They will cover such issues as crime and welfare, with character as the underlying theme. As you know, Mrs. Clinton spoke at EMILY's List today and said she "expects the worse" in campaigns this year. They showed a clip of her talking about the relentless negative campaign we can expect from the Republicans.

The next segment previewed Ross Perot's interview with David Frost of PBS (to air on Sunday). Perot is calling for attacks against you and the First Lady to end saying that abuse of a pet in a similar fashion would lead to arrest. Of the '92 campaign, he claimed that "very senior" Bush advisers "begged" him to stay in the race so that you wouldn't beat Bush by a huge landslide, noting his 19% of the vote.

Judy Woodruff conducted a live interview with McCurry and he began by saying that he feels sorry for Dole who is having such a bad week. When Woodruff insinuated that McCurry was "piling on," he immediately denied this, saying that he is sincere in his sympathy for Dole. He said that your comments on Ken Starr's potential conflict speak for themselves and would not comment further. On the subject of the "dig up dirt" memo from the Hill, McCurry said it is obvious that the Republicans are urgently scrambling and that they are resorting to this tactic because they are desperate.

Woodruff reported that Republicans will be running an ad in Miami's newspaper on Monday claiming "federal judgeships for sale" and asked how we would respond. McCurry made note that Dole has supported 182 of the 185 judges you have appointed and said they have, on average, given longer sentences.

The NY Times reported that you have won the political and public relations battle over the budget but the Republicans won the policy war. McCurry countered that you have been working all along to balance the budget and that this is not a Republican "win." He said you are focusing on governing right now and getting a budget that is good for the country, and that politics should be saved for the fall.

Bill Schneider analyzed the role of the Vice President, and Al Gore's job performance. Calling the VP your biggest cheerleader and occasional attack dog, he noted the unusually influential and key political role Gore plays. The embodiment of the New Democrat, a platform he ran on in '88, Gore reinforced your image as a New Democrat in '92. He is the czar of reinventing government and the key environmentalist who caused the Republicans to blink on the riders in the budget battle. But his biggest achievement, proclaims Schneider, is the appointment of Peter Knight as campaign manager. Calling it the "play of the week," he said Gore has won on issues (environment) and organization (Knight). As George Bush was the first VP to win in over 100 years and followed the extremely popular President Reagan, Gore's chances rest heavily on your popularity level four years from now.

MEMORANDUM

To: All House Full and Subcommittee Chairmen
From: Bob Walker and Jim Nussle
Subject: Request for information - URGENT
Date: April 23, 1996

On behalf of the House Leadership, we have been asked to call all committees for information that you already have on three subjects listed below. We are compiling information for packaging and presentation to the Leadership for determining the agenda. You are a tremendous source for this project. The subjects are:

- ☐ Waste, Fraud and Abuse in the Clinton Administration
- ☐ Influence of Washington Labor Union Bosses/Corruption
- ☐ Examples of Dishonesty or ethical lapses in the Clinton Administration

Please have your staff review pertinent GAO reports, Inspector General reports or committee investigative materials or newspaper articles for departments and agencies within your jurisdiction that expose anecdotes that amplify these areas.

Send your material to Gini Thomas at H-226, U.S. Capitol or fax it to 6-1116. We need this information as soon as possible -- no later than close of business on Friday, April 26.

496-5034

cc: House Republican Leadership and committee staff directors

You already know that liberal Paul Wellstone voted to raise your taxes by more than $3800 a family then spent billions more on welfare. But did you know that in the 5 liberal years that Wellstone has been in Washington, our debt has skyrocketed to $5 trillion. It's a fact. and still liberal Paul Wellstone refuses to vote for a real balanced budget. Instead he's voted to spend billions more on wasteful government spending, that's right billions more. Liberal Paul Wellstone even voted to spend our tax dollars an alpine slide in Puerto Rico and a casino in Connecticut. That's not Minnesota, but it is Paul Wellstone. Call liberal Paul Wellstone at 800-642-6041. Tell him to stop wasting our hard earned money. Tell him to vote for Congress's balanced budget plan.

Paid for by the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

Media Buy Monitor
Ads Purchased between April 20-25, 1996

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE.

WCCO-AM. New Ads Purchased. 4/29 - 5/3. Mon- Fri. "Extension of ad buy."

1) 6 - 10 am. 7 spots total: 2 on Mon, 2 on Tues, 1 on Wed, Thurs, Fri.
7 ads X $625 = $4375.

2) 10 am - 3 pm. 13 spots total: 3 on Mon, 1 on Tues, 3 on Wed, 3 on Wed, 3 on Thur, 3 on Fri.
13 ads X $175 = $2275.

3) 8 pm - midnight. 14 spots: 3/day on Mon-Thurs, 2 on Fri.
14 ads X $50 = $700.

Total ad buy: 30 ads, $7350.

KSTP-AM. New ads purchased. "Taking a Walk With Wellstone."

1) 4/25-4/26. 6 - 10 am. Thurs, Fri. 1 ad/ day.
2 ads X $175 = $350

2) 4/25-4/26. 11 am - 1 pm (Rush) Thurs, Fri. 1 ad/ day.
2 ads X $300 = $600

3) 4/29-5/3. 6- 10 am. Mon, Tues, Thurs. 1 ad/day.
3 ads X $175 = $525

4) 4/29-5/3. 11 am - 1 pm. Mon, Wed, Fri. 1ad/day.
3 ads X $300 = $900

Total ad buy: 10 ads, $2375.

DULUTH/RANGE RADIO.

KDAL. 610 am 95.7 fm. Ads purchased: "Issue Adverstising." 4/16-5/3.. 6 - 10 am. 2- 4 ads/day, hlaf on am, half on pm.

Total ad buy: 96 ads, $4560.

KXTP/WDSM/KTCO. 728-6406. Ads purchased:

1) KTCO-FM. 4/15-5/3. 3 ads/day, M-F. Ran throughout the day.
45 ads X $10 = $450

2). WDSM. 4/15-4/24. 2 ads/ day, 8 - 10 am, M-F. Ran in morning.
20 ads X $7.50 = $150

Total ad buy: 65 ads, $600.

WEBC AM/WAVC FM/KKCB. 4/16-4/18. 10 ads purchased:
1) 4/16 - 4/18. 2 ads/day.

2) 4/19. 1 ad.

3) 4/22 - 4/24. 1 ad/day.

Total ad buy: 10 ads, $200.

WWJC. No ads running.

WEVE. 741-5922. GERRY SYLVESTER. BACK TOMORROW. (4/26).

WKKQ/WTBX. 262-4545. L/M. Jean Holgate.

WMFG AM/FM. 263-7531. BACK AT 1- DENNIS MARTIN.

FARGO-MOREHEAD. KQWB. No ads purchased.

ROCHESTER. KNXR. No ads purchased.

ST. CLOUD. KKSR. No ads purchased.

KNSI. L/M.

WJON. L/M.

KXSS. L/M.

Total NRSC Purchases: 211 ads, $15085.

DNC Research

Tracking Report Update

An up-to-the-minute report on the 1996 GOP National Campaign Trail

Friday, April 26, 1996

SECOND PRODUCT LIABILITY SPOT ON AIR

Script synopsis of the second product liability ad that was seen in Detroit 4/25 & 4/26/96

This is not an exact transcript

Appeared on NBC channel 4 WDIV Detroit (audience is generally African Americans and moderates).

WOMAN TALKING:

Twice I was clinically dead with no heartbeat or blood flow to the brain, because of cardiac arrest, but the doctors were able to save me because of some medical devices or products.
If President Clinton vetoes the product liability bill, doctors won't have these devices anymore.

Grand jury to examine Dole funds

List of workers at business run by campaign official ordered.

By JOE STEPHENS
Staff Writer

A federal grand jury in Boston is investigating allegations that Sen. Bob Dole's presidential campaign received thousands of dollars in illegal campaign contributions from workers at a company headed by one of his national vice chairmen.

Sources confirmed Thursday that the jury has subpoenaed a list of company employees and their addresses. The subpoena also reportedly seeks a list of outside sales representatives who work with the firm, Aqua-Leisure Industries of Avon, Mass.

The subpoena was issued just days after a story in *The Kansas City Star* detailed the allegations.

The newspaper reported Sunday that contributors linked to the company claimed that workers were illegally reimbursed for giving to Dole's campaign.

The sporting goods company is run by Simon Fireman, a national vice chairman of

See **FEDERAL**, A-15, Col. 1

Kansas City Star 4-25

KC Star 4-26

Federal grand jury is investigating allegations of money-laundering

Continued from A-1

finance for Dole's campaign. Four contributors said his executive assistant gave some workers stacks of $100 bills last year and told them to return with checks made out to "Dole for President." They reported personally receiving $5,000.

Fireman was in Asia Thursday and unavailable for comment. Earlier, he and his assistant, Carol Nichols, denied any wrongdoing.

Carl Leppo, a lawyer for Nichols, said Thursday he could neither confirm nor deny the grand jury investigation.

Federal records show that last year Fireman, his workers and their families sent Dole's campaign 40 individual checks totaling $40,000.

The gifts came not only from top managers, but also from secretaries, a bookkeeper and a warehouse manager.

Bank records show large amounts of cash flowed into some contributors' personal checking accounts just before the donations.

There has been a flurry of activity this week after the allegations.

On Sunday, Dole called for a federal investigation.

"If somebody did that, they're in deep trouble," Dole said on CBS' "Face the Nation."

"If somebody violated the campaign law, whether it's my campaign or Bill Clinton's or anybody else, they are going to have to suffer the consequences," he added while leaving CBS' studio.

On Monday, the general counsel for his campaign wrote the Federal Election Commission, seeking an inquiry. The same day, an FBI spokesman in Boston acknowledged his agency was looking into the allegations, and sources said agents had begun visiting contributors.

The public advocacy group Common Cause joined the debate Tuesday, also urging an FEC investigation.

Clvd Plain Dealer

GOP gets cuts; Clinton saves his favorites

PD 4/26/96

FROM WIRE REPORTS

WASHINGTON — If you haven't felt the impact of Washington's budget battle, you probably won't even notice the $20 billion in fiscal year 1996 budget cuts to which Congress and the White House finally have agreed.

But there will be changes for members of the military who are HIV positive, for the timber industry and loggers in the Northwest and Alaska, for youths looking for federally-funded summer jobs, and for family planning organizations that sponsor foreign abortion clinics.

House Budget Committee Chairman John Kasich, the Westerville, Ohio, Republican, boasted that the final agreement cuts 200 "wasteful Washington programs" — mainly smaller programs such as the U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration ($14 million in savings), which enticed foreigners to visit the United States.

Despite Kasich's claim, the legislation funds most of the items that caused the most contention — including President Clinton's AmeriCorps program, his program to put additional police officers on the streets, the Goals 2000 education program and environmental programs the GOP had vowed to scuttle.

The legislation makes little difference to most federal agencies, which have been operating under spending reductions for seven months.

The Republicans also abandoned their ambitious plans for scrapping federal agencies, including the Commerce Department, in favor of across-the-board reductions that affected almost all federal programs.

Among those feeling the biggest bite is the Legal Services Corp., which provides legal aid to the poor. Funding was reduced $122 million to $278 million. But there is $1.4 billion to help hire 100,000 local police officers.

Controversial provisions opposed by environmental organizations continue, allowing the timber industry to salvage dead and dying trees in Northwestern forests. But the legislation also sets new restrictions on harvesting timber in Tongass National Forest in Alaska.

Budget highlights

The $159 billion budget Congress passed Thursday is about $20 billion smaller than the 1995 budget. Some major cuts:

Goals 2000 education reform
$350 million
Down $22 million

Pell grants for college students
$4.8 billion
Down about $1.2 billion

Environmental Protection Agency
$6.5 billion
Down $700 million

Housing and Urban Development
$19 billion
Down $5.5 billion

National Aeronautics and Space Administration
$14.4 billion
Down $473 million

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Labor Department funding was restored, with $600 million earmarked for Summer Jobs programs and $1 billion for the Job Corps. Education programs were trimmed 6 percent, but the GOP dropped its plans for drastic cuts in student loan programs.

Congress did agree to repeal a ban on HIV-infected persons from serving in the military, which was adopted earlier this year.

GOP conservatives opposed to federal funding of abortion won a significant concession with legislation prohibiting funding of organizations involved in family planning after July.

But Rep. David Obey of Wisconsin, the ranking Democrat on the House Appropriations Committee, said none of the cuts represented a major setback for Clinton.

"He did not move the goal posts," Obey said, noting that Clinton won almost everything the president sought.

Democrats pointed to the $7.2 billion that would be spent for education for school districts with large numbers of poor children. That would be the same as last year, but $1.2 billion more than the original House figure, a cut Democrats had warned could cost the jobs of 40,000 teachers.

They also noted the funds they won for the Environmental Protection Agency, bringing its 1996 budget to $6.5 billion — $700 million less than it spent last year. The EPA had been forced to cut back on inspection and enforcement activities because of money shortages since last October, but is expected to have additional funds to deal with backlogs, according to administration sources.

Republicans said the measure would eliminate more than 200 programs, though most of them were relatively tiny and obscure.

But there were big programs, too, that will swallow large reductions.

Grants to states for social services will be $2.4 billion, or $419 million less than a year ago. Pell grants for college students will be $4.8 billion, about a one-fifth cut from last year. The Department of Housing and Urban Development will see a $5.5 billion reduction in its budget to $19 billion.

The Goals 2000 program received $350 million, down $22 million from last year, but it originally was targeted for elimination by the House.

NASA's $14.4 billion budget for 1995 will be $473 million lower this year. And the national service program, a top Clinton initiative aimed at prodding young people to do community work, would be cut in half to $402 million.

Among other programs:

✓ The advanced technology program, an initiative that provides grants to companies investing in high-tech efforts, would receive $221 million, compared to $90 million sought by the House.

✓ There would be $625 million for summer jobs for youths, a program the House tried to kill.

Akron Beacon Journal - OH.

Rush on to claim win on budget

Associated Press

...ne Majority Leader Bob Dole ...t) and House Speaker Newt ...rich meet with reporters.

• Finally, a deal is reached on U.S. government spending. Clinton preserves several programs and GOP cuts total $23 billion. Both are eager to declare victory

BY DAVID HESS AND HEATHER DEWAR
Knight-Ridder Newspapers

ABJ 4/26 Pg

WASHINGTON: Like any compromise, the belated deal struck on the 1996 budget by the White House and congressional Republicans had winners and losers.

But to hear leaders on both sides exult about it yesterday, you'd think that everybody won.

That's the essence of compromise, said freshman Rep. David Weldon, R-Fla., one of the House's most conservative members. "You could never get a deal unless both parties could come away from the table and declare victory."

The House approved the $160 billion package by a resounding 399-25 vote and the Senate did likewise later last night on an 88-11 vote, sending it to President Clinton for his signature, expected sometime today. The bill funds the federal government through the rest of fiscal 1996, which ends Sept. 30.

Enactment of the bill marks the end of the long 1996 budget standoff, which included two partial government shutdowns totaling 27 days. And it would mark the start of political maneuvering to claim credit and assign blame for the outcome as well as the opening shot of the battle over next year's budget.

In the end, Republican negotiators caved in to the president on a range of issues from education and the environment to community policing and summer jobs for youth. Clinton won $953 million more for aid to disadvantaged students that the Republicans originally proposed, and $625 million for summer jobs for youth, which the GOP had abolished. He got another $1.4 billion for his "cops on the beat" program, which Republicans initially replaced with block grants to

See BUDGET, Page A9

Budget highlights

The $160 billion budget Congress passed yesterday is about $23 billion smaller than the 1995 budget. Some major cuts:

Goals 2000 education reform	$350 million, down $22 million
Environmental Protection Agency	$6.5 billion, down $700 million
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	$14.4 billion, down $473 million

Associated Press/T. Tho

The Beacon Journal • Friday, April 26, 1996, Page A9

BUDGET

Environmental issues called false GOP victory

Continued from Page A1

states and cities.

The president also prevailed in his efforts to shield Medicare and Medicaid from sharp cutbacks.

". . . We got significantly more funding . . . and they backed off of their indefensible attacks on the (Environmental Protection Agency) and environmental enforcement," said Rep. Martin Olav Sabo of Minnesota, the senior Democrat on the Budget Committee.

But Republicans boasted that they managed to cut $23 billion in spending from the level in last year's budget, to go along with another $20 billion they stripped from previously approved 1995 spending. That makes for a grand total in savings of $43 billion since the GOP took control after the '94 elections.

"That's about $700 in savings for every working family in America," said House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga.

"No, we didn't get everything we liked, but it's a remarkable step in the right direction toward balancing the budget," he said.

Republicans also cited anti-abortion initiatives that remained in the bill, including one that sharply cuts funding for family-planning services overseas.

But Democrats were able to scrap the GOP-sponsored provision that would have let states deny abortion funding for poor women who are victims of rape or incest.

Perhaps most important, the Republicans managed to alter the whole thrust of the longstanding argument over national spending priorities. They have forced Clinton to accede to the goal of balancing the budget in seven years. And they prompted him, in his State of the Union message last winter, to acknowledge that "the era of big government is over."

Gingrich said the 1997 and subsequent rounds of budget-cutting will have to focus on welfare and health-care spending. That will be accomplished in part, he said, by shifting the responsibility for welfare and Medicaid programs to state governments and by cutting back on Medicare spending.

Some of the last things to be resolved in the 1996 budget bill involved environment issues.

The compromise leaves some controversial Republican-backed environmental provisions in the bill, but it allows the president to waive them, meaning that they will never become law.

One participant in the negotiations called the compromise "a fig leaf" that allows Western conservative legislators to tell their constituents they won the battle, but leaves the White House winning the war.

The Republicans abandoned their hard-line stance on the budget after polls showed little public support for the earlier government shutdowns and growing public approval of Clinton.

"We realized we had to get this stuff behind us," said California Rep. George Radanovich, president of the GOP's rowdy freshman class.

"We now know we need to change the subject, to formulate a positive message about 'changing America for the better' rather than the negative message we've had about cutting programs," he said. "We lost the battle of public opinion, now it's time to regroup. We need to do a better job of explaining why we're here."

Some of the older hands in Congress say it was a learning experience for their fiery and impatient young colleagues.

"It was an object lesson," said Rep. Henry Hyde, R-Ill., chairman of the Judiciary Committee, who has served 21 years in the House. "When you don't have the votes to override a veto and the president stands fast, you've got to compromise. Up to now, that's been a concept that was hard to come by around here."

Akron Beacon Journal ABJ Friday, April 26, 1996, Page A3

Clinton prepares for testimony

• Democrats fear GOP will get copy of Whitewater trial videotape and use it in Dole campaign attack ad

BY SONYA ROSS
Associated Press

WASHINGTON: President Clinton said yesterday he hoped his videotaped testimony in a Whitewater trial wouldn't "be abused in any way," and he suggested that he agreed with criticism of prosecutor Kenneth Starr.

The president spent part of the day preparing for Sunday's videotaped questioning. His administration already is arguing against the release of the videotape outside the courtroom.

A big concern: that snippets could end up in Republican TV ads during the fall campaign.

"I think that the American people and the press should have access to my testimony, but that it shouldn't be abused in any way," Clinton told reporters.

His aides were more direct.

"We don't want to see it in a campaign ad," said press secretary Mike McCurry. "It should not be misused by those who would try to take political advantage of the president's appearance, because he's coming forward in good faith to deliver the truth."

The president's testimony Sunday could take up to eight hours. His videotaped responses will be played back in a Little Rock courtroom for the fraud and conspiracy trial of Gov. Jim Guy Tucker and James and Susan McDougal, who are accused of misusing nearly $3 million in government-backed loans in the mid-1980s.

Clinton has not been charged in the case. The McDougals, who were once Clinton's partners in the Whitewater real estate development, subpoenaed him to testify. Defense lawyers will question the president, followed by a cross-examination by prosecutors.

While not directly criticizing Starr, the Republican who heads the Whitewater investigation, Clinton picked up on statements of others who want Starr removed for purported conflicts of interest and political partisanship.

"The facts are what they are, and they're plain for all to see now," Clinton said.

White House aides worked yesterday on whether Clinton would be filmed in his office or in the White House residence. They also worked to prevent voters from misunderstanding the testimony.

"He isn't being asked to testify by the prosecution here. The president is cooperating as any citizen would," said White House counsel Mark Fabiani.

But aides were most edgy about custody of the tapes. They fear that a copy of the tape could wind up in the hands of Republican opponents, then in a campaign ad.

Those worries are valid, said David Axelrod, a Democratic media consultant in Chicago.

"The right kind of material in their hands obviously would be useful in terms of propping up Dole. I'm sure the image of the president testifying is something they'd like to have," Axelrod said.

Cleveland Plain Dealer

Minimum wage rides again

By HELEN DEWAR
and JOHN E. YANG
WASHINGTON POST

PD 4/26/96

WASHINGTON — From the Senate lawn to the House floor, Democrats yesterday stepped up their campaign of oratory, ridicule and guerrilla warfare to shame Republican leaders into scheduling votes on raising the minimum wage — with no success.

Republicans responded by accusing them of using the issue as a "cynical ploy" to get votes and argued that raising the minimum wage is not the answer to raising low-income workers' take-home pay. In the House, Republican leaders succeeded, 220 to 200, in blocking a move by Democrats to force a vote on legislation to raise the wage floor. The move came just a day after House Republican leaders virtually ruled out a vote on the matter this year.

Yesterday's vote came on a procedural point and did not reflect the likely vote on actual legislation. Thirteen Republicans broke ranks with their leaders on the procedural vote, but nearly two dozen Republicans have said they would vote for a minimum-wage increase — enough to ensure passage if Democrats stick together in support of the bill. Only four Democrats broke ranks yesterday.

"The Republicans . . . have embarked upon a strategy of ducking this issue," said House Minority Whip David Bonior, Democrate of Michigan. He said House Majority Whip Richard Armey, Republican of Texas, intends to block an increase, while Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, Republican of Kansas, wants to bury it in a larger package filled with extraneous matters.

Rep. Pat Williams, Democrat of Montana, brought a Dickensian touch to the debate, lifting a small plastic bowl toward the ceiling and, playing the role of a minimum-wage worker beseeching Congress, begged: "Please, sir, may I have more?"

Wednesday, House Republican leaders pledged to consider ways "in the near future" to "increase family take-home pay" as part of their effort to avoid a vote on raising the minimum wage.

At a news conference on the Senate lawn, Democrats took issue with some of these proposals, especially one endorsed by Armey that would provide a government subsidy for minimum-wage workers with families, financed by eliminating the earned income tax credit for workers without children.

It "combines the engineering of Rube Goldberg and the economics of Karl Marx," said Vice President Al Gore, who was flanked by Labor Secretary Robert Reich, House and Senate Democratic leaders and two low-income women who argued for the minimum-wage increase. "It is straight out of 'The Wizard of Oz': no heart, no brain, no courage," Gore added.

Columbus Dispatch

Judge selection hasn't varied under Clinton

Dole keeps up criticism of appointments

Sen. Bob Dole
. . . sees liberal trend

WASHINGTON (AP) — Sen. Bob Dole is assailing President Clinton over his judicial appointments, but most of the names came from senators in the nominees' states — as they have for as long as anyone can remember.

And besides, said Erwin Chemerinsky, a law professor at the University of Southern California, "It has always been the prerogative of the president to put people on the courts that the president believes in."

"John Adams put John Marshall on the Supreme Court because they were both Federalists," he noted.

Whatever the politics, legal experts say merit has played an increasingly strong role in choosing federal judges during the past few decades.

Home-state senators of the opposing political party can blackball a nomination, and the Clinton administration regularly consults with Republicans to head off trouble.

Dole, the all-but-certain Republican presidential nominee, has repeatedly accused Clinton of naming liberal judges who are soft on criminal defendants. The president contends Republicans are trying to cover up their own weak record on crime.

The controversy has placed federal judges in the political spotlight and brought attention to a nomination process that by and large has worked smoothly during the Clinton administration.

The Senate has confirmed 153 Clinton-nominated federal trial judges, 30 appellate judges and two Supreme Court justices since January 1995, when the GOP took control of Congress.

Following longstanding tradition, trial-level district court judges are recommended by home-state senators from the president's political party. Those senators often create judicial selection panels to help them decide.

Like his Republican predecessors, Clinton generally accepts the senators' recommendations so long as the candidate survives an investigation and interviews.

Merit is the main consideration, and senators also are urged to recommend women and minorities, said Eleanor D. Acheson, assistant attorney general for policy development. Judicial selection is coordinated between her office and the White House counsel's office.

The president keeps the prerogative to name appellate judges himself, although he receives suggestions from lawmakers, interest groups, bar associations and even people who recommend themselves.

Input from the opposition party can go further than simple acquiescence. For example, New York's senators have agreed to share the nominating privilege, with the senator whose party does not occupy the White House making one of every four recommendations.

There is no doubt that politics and patronage are involved. Dole this week sharply attacked Clinton nominee Charles "Bud" Stack, a prominent Democratic fundraiser who has been nominated for a seat on the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

"Apparently Mr. Stack's most important qualification is his prowess as a political fund-raiser," Dole said in calling for Stack's withdrawal.

Larry Klayman, chairman of the conservative Judicial Watch, said judges should be picked by independent panels without relying on political considerations.

Under the current system, "we basically have politicians as judges," Klayman said. He faults both conservatives and liberals, saying some Reagan-era judges have shown a lack of concern about discrimination against minorities.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch 4-26

Mr. Dole's Phony Issue — II

The way Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole makes it sound, federal Judges Rosemary Barkett and Leonie Brinkema are looking for every chance to unlock the nation's prison cells. Judges Barkett and Brinkema are two members of what Mr. Dole referred to in a speech last week as President Bill Clinton's "Hall of Shame" — judges supposedly soft on crime.

Mr. Dole attacked them with misleading snippets of information.

For example, he criticized Judge Barkett for two passages from a 1992 murder case when she was a member of the Florida Supreme Court. One passage says that the killer in the racially motivated murder had "socially redeeming values." The other passage says it "was not simply a homicide case, it is also a social awareness case." Mr. Dole likened this language to using a "sledgehammer against . . . the rule of law."

The sledgehammer is in Mr. Dole's hands. The two passages are from a 1992 dissent written by Parker Lee McDonald, a conservative member of the Florida Supreme Court. Judge Barkett signed on to the dissent, but didn't write it.

One of the issues in the case was whether the death sentence against former civil rights worker Jacob John Dougan was proportional to other death sentences in Florida. The dissent said it was not, pointing out that Dougan had worked with black youths and that his only previous run-in with the law had been a lunch counter sit-in. The point was that Dougan had a more redeeming character than most on death row.

When the quotes are placed in context, they do not convey the bleeding-heart mentality that Mr. Dole was imputing to Judge Barkett. In any case, the words were not Judge Barkett's, though she did side with them. One thing that Mr. Dole neglected to mention about Judge Barkett, incidentally, was that she voted to uphold death sentences in 200 cases.

Mr. Dole's criticism of Judge Brinkema involved a case where she reduced the sentence of a man guilty of murder for hire. But most of the appeals from her Virginia trial court over the last two years have involved issues where she ruled in favor of prosecutors — including appeals of stiff drug sentences. Nor are her decisions predictably liberal. She affirmed the denial of health benefits in an AIDS case, dissolved an injunction blocking a highway project and threw out a sex discrimination case.

By using selective quotes and ignoring a judge's full record, an irresponsible politician can make any member of the bench look sappy. One could do the very same thing to a U.S. senator. Mr. Dole has come close to claiming that any judge who rules in favor of a defendant is soft on crime. Judges who uphold defendants' rights now must fear that they will be denounced and ridiculed, which is hardly conducive to the impartial application of the law. Mr. Dole's injudicious remarks about the judiciary raise serious doubts about whether the country should want him wielding the power of appointment.

Columbus Dispatch

CD 4/26/96

Perot calls for an end to attacks on Clintons

WASHINGTON (AP) — Ross Perot says President Clinton and his wife should be spared personal attacks from Republicans and other critics, suggesting such jabs are "demeaning the office of the presidency."

"We are going to really damage the willingness of the best people in the country to ever serve in that office," he said in an interview with David Frost to be broadcast tonight by the Public Broadcasting Service.

Perot had some kind words for Clinton, suggesting he had grown with the job and put a more effective team in place.

■ Reform Party cleared of wrongdoing in county / 1C

Even so, the 1992 independent presidential candidate said he still sees a pressing need for a new party, saying both Clinton and the GOP-led Congress have broken campaign promises.

Perot is working to get his Reform Party on the ballot in all 50 states for the fall presidential election.

He has been coy about who would be his party's presidential nominee. In the Frost interview, he all but ruled out commentator Pat Buchanan, saying, "I don't think it can happen."

BUDGET BATTLE TAKES SHAPE

n Environmental Policy Fight, Republicans Retreat

By Bill Lambrecht
Post-Dispatch Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Republican negotiators signaled a turning point for their party and the political debate this year when they backed away from budget provisions that weakened protections for wetlands, forests and endangered species.

The change in sentiments capped a two-week period in which the Republican Party was confronted by difficult and sometimes wrenching preparation for this year's political campaigns.

In those two weeks, the Republicans have lost a push for term limits and endured a split in their ranks over increasing the minimum wage. They lost a proposal by Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole of Kansas for medical savings accounts amid sniping by fellow Republicans that Dole's campaign for the presidency has become stumbling and unfocused.

Their shift in environmental policies that broke a long budget logjam marked a retreat from policies that Republicans began carving in stone when they took control of Congress.

The change in sentiment, along with a speech this week by House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., suggested that the Republicans may take a more moderate approach to environmental policy and to better explain the regulatory changes they hope to make.

Saying that Republicans had "mal-positioned" themselves, Gingrich sounded environmental themes in his speech and outlined a less-aggressive role in trimming anti-pollution rules.

"Humans are in the environment," Gingrich said in a speech Wednesday to the Environmental Policy Institute in Washington, a nonpartisan think tank. "Humans have an impact. But it is a garden. And if we think of the Earth as a garden, then we have stewardship responsibilities to creatively work together. . . . And we need to be aware of what we are doing, as a species."

Hours later, Republican negotiators dropped their insistence on a series of riders, or budget bill attachments, that would have limited protections on wetlands, forests and endangered species.

The wetlands change, which had been pushed by Sen. Christopher S. Bond, R-Mo., would have removed the Environmental Protection Agency's authority over wetlands under the Clean Water Act and left the regulatory power with the Army Corps of Engineers. Bond argued that involving two agencies was costly and unnecessary; environmental advocates contended that such a change would weaken protections.

Bond said Thursday that Republican leaders had determined that the wetlands change and other proposals "weren't worth fighting over. . . . The leadership made the decision that to get a bill signed into law with the kind of significant cuts that this bill provides, it was worth giving up" the environmental changes.

Bond said he would consider attaching his wetlands plans to other pending legislation. But, he conceded, "I'm not sure how easy it's going to be to get anything done."

Republicans also backed away from riders that would have curbed more listings of species on the Endangered Species Act, permitted more logging on federal lands and lifted some protections on the Mojave National Preserve in California. A provision that permits more logging in Alaska's Tongass National Preserve was dropped with the agreement that the government would compensate timber workers who lose their jobs.

The negotiators completed their agreement with a face-saving device that technically permitted the changes to remain in the bill but allowed the president to remove them when he signs it, as he has promised.

The change in sentiments by Republicans reflected polls showing the popularity among voters of environmental protections and, as Gingrich noted, a failure to make a case for some of the changes they have tried to make. President Bill Clinton and Democrats in Congress have served notice that they intend to deploy environmental issues in the coming election campaigns.

In his widely noted speech this week, Gingrich proposed "a new environmentalism" that would protect people quicker and at a lower cost. But he acknowledged that campaign year positioning could make it more difficult to get agreement on divisive issues like a new Superfund law to clean up toxic waste sites.

The politics of the environment weighed especially heavy on Republicans this week because of Earth Day, which took place Monday and spurred unity among conservation groups that had been missing earlier in this Congress. Ken Cook, a former St. Louisan who heads the Environmental Working Group in Washington, asserted that environmental advocacy groups "were declared dead" a year ago.

"In a perverse way, we're indebted to the Republican leaders," Cook said, referring to their aggressive efforts to trim back environmental regulations. "The question is now whether they try these same approaches more subtly or whether they go back to the bipartisan, moderate Republican tradition that has been the key to getting things done in Washington."

The first test of the Republicans' new approach could occur next month when Congress takes up a bill that would compensate property owners if government actions diminish the value of their land. Dole has promised a vote on the so-called "takings" legislation, even though pro-conservation forces argue that it could force agencies at all levels of government to cut back on enforcing environmental laws.

Before the House approved the budget bill, Gingrich argued that the Republicans had won a remarkable achievement "in a situation where we have a more liberal president trying to get more spending and trying to get more bureaucracy."

Rep. Sidney Yates, D-Ill., who was a member of the Senate-House conference that negotiated the budget bill, said in the floor debate that he had refused to sign the agreement because some of its budget reductions took money from national parks and jeopardized wetlands.

But Rep. David Obey, D-Wis., the senior Democrat on the House Appropriations Committee, said that some of its protections stretched even beyond U.S. borders by committing $15 million to to help Russia deal with aging nuclear power reactors and the leaking reactors at Chernobyl, site of the world's worst nuclear accident.

Charlotte Grimes of the Post-Dispatch Washington Bureau contributed to this article.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch 4-26

Labor Ready To Go To War Over Midwest In Presidential Race

With the major coastal states and the Northeast seen as likely to end up in the Democratic column, and the Republicans counting on the South and West, the presidential war apparently will be waged in the Midwest.

Organized labor, whose plans to play a major role are raising the ire of its opponents, is seeking to energize working-class voters in this region. And the 1.2-million-member Illinois AFL-CIO appears more aggressive than it has in memory.

On Labor Lobby Day last week, the labor federation brought to Springfield about 15,000 workers from 800 locals, the largest union rally the state capital has seen. They heard a fiery speeche from the national AFL-CIO's secretary-treasurer, Richard Trumka.

Trumka, who brings a coal miner's credibility and an attorney's articulation, made about as bold an appeal to class warfare as this country will tolerate as he blasted GOP control of Congress and the Illinois Legislature.

"Nobody has to tell an Illinois trade unionist there's a war raging, because you are on the front lines fighting every day," Trumka said, referring to the state's high-profile labor struggles of recent years.

"When [Republicans] got elected and took over in Springfield, they made the Capitol a branch office of the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers and drew a bull's-eye on the back of every working man and woman in Illinois," Trumka said.

In communicating the event, Illinois union leaders are using unusually sharp and partisan language. Generally, labor speaks of legislators being friendly or unfriendly and leaves it at that, but in the state AFL-CIO's legislative bulletin President Don Johnson blasts "the shabby treatment [workers] have received from conservatives in both the state Legislature and the Congress."

The unionists scoffed at the "controlling hierarchy's" efforts to prevent workers from talking to legislators after the rally, and derided the "show of cowardice."

The state AFL-CIO also claims "vicious attacks from conservatives in Congress" on the Occupational Safety and Health Administration threaten workers' safety. The release calls such actions part of the "sinister attacks by the conservatives in their war on the American worker."

Why the vehement and confrontational language?

"The Midwest is probably going to be your key battleground," national AFL-CIO spokesman James Parks said Thursday from Washington. "You've got some states with large union memberships: Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri. We're going to try to mobilize them around some key issues: minimum wage, health care, education, pension security.

"Clearly, in places where feelings have been raised by events of the past year — Illinois with Decatur, Michigan with the Detroit newspaper strike — there's a little more militancy from workers."

□

St. Louis continues to supply a good number of national labor leaders, unsurprising given the area's labor traditions and continuing union strength.

Newest is John J. Flynn, recently elected to the No. 2 job — secretary-treasurer — of the International Union of Bricklayers & Allied Craftsmen at its convention in Chicago. He beat a candidate from Canada.

The 95,000-member Bricklayers were founded in 1865 and are the oldest continuously operating union in the country. About 2,000 St. Louisans belong.

Flynn, 61, grew up in Jennings and later lived in Ellisville. He'll be the union's chief administrative officer. Flynn has served as assistant to the union's president and as executive vice president.

An amateur light-heavyweight boxer as a youngster, Flynn worked out in a local gym with Sonny Liston, but Flynn's eyes cut too easily. He started laying bricks 43 years ago, after high school, and rose to business manager of Bricklayers Local 1 in 1971.

He served as president of the St. Louis Building and Construction Trades Council and chairman of the St. Louis County Democratic Party.

The Bricklayers' international membership has fallen from a high of 160,000 in 1970. Flynn plans to step up organizing efforts, having committed $15 million this year. His goals are basic: "Just help our union survive. First, to stabilize the membership, then to increase it."

The Columbus Dispatch
Friday
APRIL 26, 1996

Miller says Perot party in the clear

Irregularities were alleged in 1995 petition drive

By Darrel Rowland
Dispatch Statehouse Reporter

In their second major victory in less than a week, supporters of Ohio's newly recognized Reform Party yesterday were cleared of wrongdoing in Franklin County.

"It is my conclusion that, given the state of the evidence available to this office at this time, prosecution for violations of (the) Ohio Revised Code ... is not warranted," Franklin County Prosecutor Michael Miller said in a letter to Secretary of State Bob Taft.

Taft had referred to prosecutors in Franklin and Montgomery counties assertions that some signatures were faked and others were not properly witnessed in a Reform Party petition drive last year.

Only allegations in Montgomery County remain under consideration for the party founded by Texas billionaire Ross Perot. Taft announced last Friday that a supplemental petition drive had qualified the party to put a presidential candidate on Ohio's general election ballot in November.

"I always knew I never did anything wrong," said Sandra Reckseit of Worthington, field coordinator for the Reform Party in Ohio and Indiana. "I'm glad they investigated and did their job."

Detectives working for Montgomery County Sheriff Gary Haines turned up possible wrongdoing by five petition circulators. Miller's declaration does not change Haines' view of his county's cases.

"I think we could successfully prosecute all five of those cases," Haines said. "The elections process is one of the most important heritages we have, and we ought to do the most we can to protect it."

Former Perot supporter Anne Saucier, whose hundreds of calls to petition signers brought about the investigation, said she expected Miller's decision not to prosecute. "I'm not surprised," she said.

The key to Miller's determination is the definition of "witness." Under Ohio law, those who circulate petitions declare under penalty of election falsification they have "witnessed the affixing of every signature."

REFORM PARTY from 1C

Many Franklin County petition forms were circulated by Reckseit. Several signers said they got the petition from someone who did not come close to matching Reckseit's description.

However, investigators were unable to disprove Reckseit's claim that she was at least in the general area where the petition forms were circulated, and that while others may have solicited signatures, she witnessed them — even if from a distance.

"I was always where I could see somebody signing," Reckseit said. "I think we did the best we could to witness all of them that way."

Miller wrote, "Given the breadth of the term 'witness' and the fact that a criminal case must be proven beyond a reasonable doubt, it is my conclusion that a criminal prosecution is not warranted at this time."

Investigators also found that none of the Franklin County signatures was faked, although there were initial misunderstandings. For example, the name of one man who was in a veterans hospital at the time his name appeared on the petition actually was signed by his son, who has the same name.

Although Miller deemed there was insufficient evidence for criminal prosecution, John Bender, Taft's chief elections counsel, stood by the decision to throw out more than 700 petition signatures from Franklin and Montgomery counties because of irregularities.

Bender said signatures can be invalidated if there is "some credible evidence" of improprieties and that standard was met in the Franklin County probe.

"It was sufficient in our view to disqualify those signatures," Bender said. "Overall, I think the process was very well handled. This is a good example of the various responsibilities of different parts of the system."

Springfield, IL

First lady first-rate

Talks with kids, listens to parents

By ELIZABETH BETTENDORF
STAFF WRITER

Gary Armour stood outside the Lincoln Land Community College Child Development Center, his homemade tie with its bright, toddler-size handprints rippling in the breeze. All around him Secret Service agents prowled the grounds of the low-slung brick building on Shepherd Road in preparation for Thursday's midday visit of Hillary Rodham Clinton.

But Armour's concerns were much more personal.

His wife, Barbara, died seven months ago of leukemia. His daughter, Elizabeth, is a student at the day-care center where Mrs. Clinton would hold an intimate, 30-minute roundtable discussion with Armour and about a half-dozen other people, mostly working parents like himself who worry about the fate of their children.

A professor of biology at MacMurray College in Jacksonville, Armour, 38, has come to rely heavily on the Lincoln Land fa-

See LISTENS on page 4

Chris Young / The State Journal-Register

Mrs. Clinton rests her hand on the shoulder of tornado victim Mary Peters during the first lady's tour of a damaged Decatur neighborhood Thursday.

Decatur tornado victims take a break for visit

By ROSALYNNE HARTY
REGIONAL EDITOR

DECATUR — Tornado victim Kelly Miller told Hillary Rodham Clinton what it was like to have a tornado come roaring down on her house late last week.

"It was loud — extremely loud," said Miller, tears welling. "I held my kids to my arms, put a pillow over our heads, and all of us just prayed to God to keep us safe."

Cleanup work in a west side Decatur neighborhood ground nearly to a halt Thursday afternoon as hundreds of residents gathered in on-again, off-again rain to meet the first lady.

One of the most serious tornado-related injuries occurred in Miller's basement, where volunteer storm-watcher Lonnie McVeigh had taken shelter moments before the funnel hit. McVeigh, who suffered a shattered pelvis and other injuries, was credited with first spotting the tornado's formation and alerting emergency agencies.

The Home Park neighborhood Mrs. Clinton visited showed damage that ranged from freakishly splintered trees and roofs sent aloft, to an entire house moved off its foundation.

The first lady's visit was the first break many families and volunteers had taken since tornadoes struck the city last Thursday and Friday nights.

"We've been working around the clock," said Jeannie Mattingley, whose 70-year-old father's home was among those demolished.

The neighborhood is mostly Republican, and some residents had mixed feelings about what they saw as partly election-year politics. Nonetheless, a loud cheer went up when Mrs. Clinton headed across the street to shake hands with residents who'd been told to keep their distance.

Mattingley, who is also Republican, said she was nonetheless pleasantly surprised when she heard the Democratic first lady was coming, just the day before.

"I was glad — this way she can go back and tell the president we need federal assistance," Mattingley said. "You can see it on TV, but it's not the same thing. In person, you can see how bad it is. It makes you want to cry."

Residents did have some good news to share Thursday, according to Desiree Gutierrez. A kitten in the most-damaged house

See VICTIMS on page 4

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Sofd - SJR Friday, April 26, 1996

LISTENS

From page 1

cility's staff in the months following his wife's death.

"Unlike other day-care centers where there's so much chaos, this one provides stability," Armour said of the place where his 4-year-old daughter spends nine hours a day. "They told me when she had good days and bad, when she didn't eat or when she had bad dreams."

In honor of Mrs. Clinton's visit, Elizabeth, one of about 65 kids at the child-development center, was practicing printing her name in blue felt marker on a scrap of newsprint.

"My autograph," Elizabeth explained earnestly to the first lady, who spent a half-hour navigating her way through the brightly lit room with its tiny bean-bag chairs, play kitchen, computers, building blocks and paper-plate mobiles that drifted like clouds from the ceiling.

The center, visited by a White House advance team earlier this week, was selected as a stop on Mrs. Clinton's visit because it is thought to be a fine example of a well-run, nurturing day-care program. Its eight teachers hold two- and four-year college degrees; they are paid above minimum wage and provided with health, dental, vacation and sick-time benefits — amenities sometimes lacking from other day-care jobs.

"The teachers tend to stay a long time," said Armour. "Because there's consistency, there's a lot of support — like extended family. When it came time to explain my wife's death, I had educated professionals to deal with. They told me that when Elizabeth brings it up, to let her talk about it for a while, to get it out."

Almost immediately after her arrival, Mrs. Clinton made her way to a small table where several children had been finger painting from recycled yogurt and sour cream tubs.

"I saw you on the computer," said one boy."

"Did you see my cat?" asked Mrs. Clinton.

One little girl presented her with a plastic cup filled with water, dandelions and violets.

"Are the violets out?" inquired the first lady, who seemed completely unconcerned about the fate of her knee-length navy suit and pink shell sweater. Another child handed her a decorated envelope made of newsprint filled with (of all things) grocery-store coupons.

"This is a wonderful envelope," exclaimed Mrs. Clinton, who had earlier handed out color photographs of Socks-the-Cat autographed with a tiny paw print.

The children took turns writing their names on a piece of paper on a clipboard propped on the lap of Mrs. Clinton, who also wrote her name in red marker. One little girl, Jenna Taft, snapped everyone's picture with an old camera. When it jammed, the first lady offered to help: "Let's see, honey, bring it here," she said, advancing the film.

"Good!" she declared after Jenna clicked the shutter a second time.

Later, Mrs. Clinton was escorted into the center's observation room lined with one-way windows. She talked about the need for children to be stimulated emotionally, physically and intellectually. She spoke of the demand for quality afterschool care. She inquired about the need for child care in the Springfield area.

But mostly, she listened as parents — several of whom were asked to participate by the day-care administrators — told her their stories.

Gary Armour was impressed. Later, as he crouched into a tiny plastic chair, sharing lunch with Elizabeth (who clutched her photo of Socks in one hand as she balanced spoonfuls of apple sauce with the other), he reflected on her unexpectedly personal visit.

"I knew she (Hillary Clinton) was a parent," he said, "But to have that much feeling for people who were not much like her was very impressive."

Elizabeth's perception of the first lady was much more modest:

"I thought she was cute," she said.

Springfield, IL

SJR.

Mrs. Clinton warmly received at UIS, LLCC

By DOUG POKORSKI
STAFF WRITER

Springfield gave a warm welcome to Hillary Rodham Clinton Thursday as the first lady visited the campuses of Lincoln Land Community College and the University of Illinois at Springfield.

Mrs. Clinton received several standing ovations from a crowd of nearly 2,000 at UIS's Sangamon Auditorium for her speech that emphasized the importance of education and of tolerance and mutual respect.

"There is no more important challenge facing us than how we will make our educational system not only work well and effectively, but make it open to all Americans," Mrs. Clinton said.

To improve the system, Mrs. Clinton said, it is first necessary to recognize that "there is a lot that works well in American education."

"We hear a lot about the the negative and not enough about the positive," she said.

She cited the new LLCC Child Care Center, which she toured earlier Thursday, as one of the good things about education.

"I saw in action today, when I was at the child care center, parents and teachers, experts and lay people, working to try to help working parents, parents who are in school, not only get their education and keep their jobs, but know that their children are being given the best opportunity possible to develop emotionally and physically and intellectually," she said.

Among improvements that should be made in education, she said, are the establishment of national goals and giving states and local school districts the responsibility to determine exactly how they will be achieved.

Referring to the successful UIS Prairie Stars soccer team and LLCC Loggers baseball team, Mrs. Clinton added, "Your soccer and baseball teams have not succeeded by not having goals. They've had goals and strategies to achieve those goals."

Bill Hagen/The State Journal-Register

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton gets a standing ovation after her speech at Sangamon Auditorium Thursday. At left is Springfield Mayor Karen Hasara and U of I President James Stukel. At the podium is UIS Chancellor Naomi Lynn. The Springfield High School choir provided music.

The education system needs to promote partnerships between schools and businesses, the first lady said, so the skills that students learn are the skills that are needed in the working world, and greater school safety is a prerequisite to having a successful educational system.

Parents should talk and read more to their children, and teachers should get better preparation, she said. Ways should be found to reward the best teachers that keep them in the classroom instead of promoting them to administrative positions.

She lauded the recent approval of legislation in Illinois that will permit the establishment of charter schools, which allow teachers to focus more on results than on process. And she encouraged state and federal legislators to maintain and strengthen their commitment to providing financial aid for college hopefuls.

Quoting Abraham Lincoln, Mrs. Clinton noted that in many respects the nation is still "a house divided against itself."

"We have our own divisions . . . that could be just as dangerous (as the ones Lincoln faced) if we don't address them," she said. "We have to be willing to work together, to treat each other with respect, to know that even if we look different, we are . . . working for the same opportunity to achieve the American dream."

According to Mrs. Clinton, other nations look to the United States as a model of how different people can work together for the common good.

"That may be our greatest export," she said.

Decatur, IL

Herald & Review

Friday
April 28, 1995
Decatur, Illinois

Serving Central Illinois Since 1873

LIGHTNING STRIKES TWICE

FACE TO FACE First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton talks with Mary Peters at Herns Park Avenue and Ravina Park Road. In the background is Peters' daughter-in-law, Diana Peters.

H&R photo — Harry Stockwell Jr.

First lady lauds efforts

1st Lady In State's Heartland

Sees Twister Damage In Campaign Stop

BY DAVE MCKINNEY
SUN-TIMES SPRINGFIELD BUREAU

SPRINGFIELD—First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton made an early campaign swing through the Illinois heartland Thursday, finger-painting with preschoolers, quoting Abraham Lincoln and touring storm damage.

It was the second time in six months that either the first lady or President Clinton had visited central or southern Illinois, expected to be a key state battleground in the November presidential election.

Hillary Clinton spent much of the day Thursday in Springfield, where she first visited a day-care center and later delivered a speech on education at the University of Illinois-Springfield.

Preschoolers smothered Clinton with hugs and presented her with a cup of dandelions at Lincoln Land Community College's Child Development Center. The first lady admired their finger-painting and posed in a tot-size chair as a beaming Jenna Taft, 8, lifted her camera and snapped a picture.

From there, Clinton went to the University of Illinois, where she told a crowd of about 1,600 educators and students, that much of public education "works well," but parents need to accept a greater role in teaching their children, starting first with turning off the television.

"One of the surest ways for parents to teach their children to read is to read more to their children," she said.

Clinton said schools should not shy away from setting academic goals and praised Illinois for authorizing earlier this year a network of 45 experimental schools known as charter schools.

Clinton also tipped her hat to Springfield's most famous son, borrowing lines from Lincoln's "House Divided" speech on slavery to urge Americans to respect one another and work together.

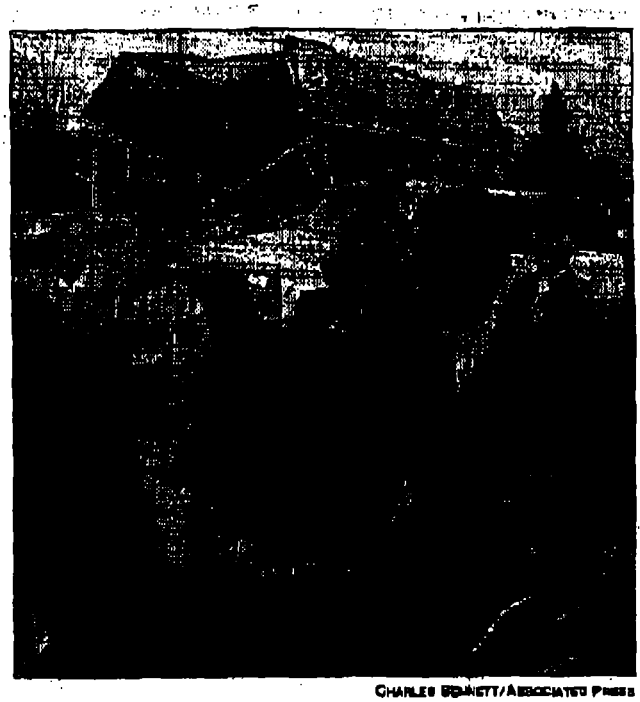
"That doesn't mean we all like each other. There are a lot of people I don't like," Clinton said to laughter and applause.

"I was raised to believe in school and in church and in my community that I had to respect people."

Clinton, who was in Denver on Wednesday, stopped in Springfield because she knows the university chancellor, Naomi Lynn. Clinton twice has invited Lynn to the White House, aides said.

Before returning to Washington, Clinton visited Decatur, where she chatted with Francis and Mary Tegers, whose home was heavily damaged by a tornado last Friday. She also spoke to about 100 people in a fire station.

Contributing: Associated Press



CHARLES BENNETT/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hillary Rodham Clinton talks with Decatur residents about damage from last week's tornadoes. She also stopped in Springfield, where she visited a day-care center and the University of Illinois.

Chicago Sun-Times 4-26-96

Chicago Sun-Times

First lady wants students to have the high-tech edge

By Christi Parsons
Tribune Staff Writer

SPRINGFIELD—As First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton toured a day-care center Thursday on the campus of a community college, a 4-year-old boy peered up at her and recognized a familiar face.

"I saw you on my computer yesterday," the child told Clinton, who talked a short time later about the need for students to have the advantages of modern technology and good equipment before a crowd of almost 2,000 at the nearby University of Illinois-Springfield.

Clinton scheduled a last-minute Illinois stop in a cross-country tour after tornadoes damaged several communities in the state. Included on her schedule was a visit to Decatur to talk with residents who lost homes and property in the storms.

While in the area, she also decided to visit a friend from last year's UN women's conference in Beijing, UIS Chancellor Naomi Lynn, and talk publicly about her favorite topic.

Though Clinton staff members swore that she wasn't on a tour to promote her book, "It Takes a Village," her address mirrored the thesis that the contributions of an entire community are needed to raise a healthy child.

"There is no doubt that the primary responsibility for our children rests with those of us who are parents and family members," Clinton told the crowd. "But I also know as a mother that there are thousands and thousands of other adults who will influence my child whether or not I would choose that."

She even threw in a plug for the concept of charter schools, a favorite cause of Gov. Jim Edgar and other leaders of the Republican-run state government. Charter schools are public institutions exempted from certain state mandates so that they can use more creative approaches to teaching.

Chgo Tribune
4-26-96

Chic Tribune

Milwaukee Journal Sentinel
Wednesday, April 24, 1996
Page 1B

Willkommen, Herr Kohl

There's no better setting for chancellor's U.S. visit

It makes such remarkable sense, you wonder how politicians thought of it.

President Clinton's plan to host the German chancellor in Milwaukee — the onetime "American Munich," the "German Athens" — for talks couldn't be more appropriate. It's like meeting with the Irish prime minister in Boston, with the king of Norway in Stoughton, with any of the queen of England's offspring in family court.

Where else could Helmut Kohl fly into a strange city and find half the grocery stores already named in his honor — on double coupon day, too?

And just wait until we tell him about the basketball arena in Madison. If a certain deep-pockets senator can keep a secret, we could do much for detente.

"Was ist das?" the chancellor will say.

"Der Kohl Center? Bier fuer alle."

Why not? Du lieber Himmel, this used to be a real German town.

"It once called itself the German Athens," wrote Robert Wells in "This Is Milwaukee," "a description that was half right."

The German part, he meant. Germans weren't Milwaukee's first non-Indian residents, but once they found the place they came in large numbers. By 1845 a third of Milwaukeeans were German-born, and they took their new city's politics as seriously as they did their beer.

DENNIS McCANN

Take the day a man named Morrisey tried to vote in a German neighborhood near City Hall.

"Some wide-awake bystander pointed out that Morrisey was not a German name," Wells wrote. "The Irishman naturally countered by knocking down his critic and before long there was a fine free-for-all going, with the Irish occupying the heights overlooking City Hall Square and lobbing rocks at the Germans, who formed ranks and attacked with clubs. . . .

"The fight continued until everyone got thirsty and it was time to put politics aside."

Milwaukee was once so German it had six German-language newspapers, and schoolchildren — even the kids of Yankee settlers — were required to learn the language. There were German saloons and theaters, and it's just unfortunate the legendary Milwaukee beer gardens are gone, because Kohl might

Please see McCANN *page 4*

McCann/There's no better site for chancellor's visit to U.S.

From page 1

have enjoyed a visit to one of those, too.

Capt. Pius Dreher's beer garden could hold 10,000 people and every Lent would host a gala snail dinner. Snails were soaked for hours, then boiled in white wine, reinserted in their shells and served.

The Menomonee beer hall on N. Water St. had a library of books in English and German for the professional men who stopped in, though English was usually a foreign language for the bartenders. The story goes that two young lawyers were arguing about literature one night, and one who was convinced a certain quotation was from the Bard asked for the Shakespeare behind the bar.

"Shake's beer?" the poor bartender repeated. "I got Best beer, Melms beer, Blatz beer — but no Shake's beer."

Most bartenders speak English now, so there should be no problems when the parties get thirsty and put politics aside. A point of protocol, though. If der Burgermeister Norquist allows Kohl to get beyond city limits, limit him to, say, Germantown.

But for the sake of American foreign policy, keep him out of West Milwaukee. If they billed Al Gore for a few "no parking" signs after his visit, imagine the deutsche marks they'd demand from a real live chancellor.

Milwaukee Journal Sentinel
Wednesday, April 24, 1996
Page 1B

Where should they visit? The invitations are flying

Restaurants, clubs jockey for position, but little is certain yet

BY MEG KISSINGER
of the Journal Sentinel staff

Oh, the nastiness.
The backbiting.
The innuendo.

Milwaukee is the city of gemuetlichkeit, all right. But since word got out that President Clinton is bringing German Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Milwaukee next month, folks here have been falling all over themselves to be on the list of places the dignitaries *must* see.

And, in the process of pumping up themselves, they're talking a little trash, German style.

"We have a lot more to offer than any German restaurant does," said George Enders, president of the United German Society, which operates from the Bavarian Inn in Glendale. "They've just got food. We've got singers and dancers."

Details still are sketchy but, according to Mayor John Norquist's office, the agenda includes a one-on-one session between the two leaders, a larger gathering with aides, and then a news conference and "a chance after their business is done to celebrate the connection between Germany and Milwaukee."

Circuit Judge Laurence Gram Jr., a member of several German singing and culture groups, says the summit should not be about food (even though both Clinton and Kohl are known for their hearty appetites) but about culture.

George Enders, United German Society:

"We have a lot more to offer than any German restaurant does."

"Helmut Kohl knows all about German restaurants. He eats in German restaurants every day," he said. "When I go to Europe, I don't eat at McDonald's. I think they should take the opportunity to come and see how we are preserving German culture."

Gram also recommends the Bavarian Inn, where former Presidents Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan have broken bread.

But that idea isn't going over well at City Hall, where they don't look kindly on the notion of a summit outside the city limits.

The phone rang all day Tuesday at City Hall with calls for the mayor to recommend this club or that dance group when Clinton and Kohl come a-calling on May 23.

"There's a lot of gemuetlichkeit going around," said Jeff Bentoff, a spokesman for the mayor's office.

Both the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Marquette University have offered facilities for the event.

Please see **VISIT** *page 4*

Visit/Invitations for Kohl are many, but little is set

From page 1

The Milwaukee Turners invited them for lunch. In fact, Turners president Gene Gilbert said he can't imagine why the two presidents would consider anything but Turner Hall.

"It's an absolute natural," he said. "This was the center of political activity beginning in 1855. The building was erected in 1883. This is where the Socialist Party met."

George Weiss, president and director of Milwaukee's German Fest, say he suspects that the visit is purely a political one, designed to give Clinton a flurry of publicity.

"The president and Chancellor Kohl are good friends," Weiss said. "He's coming to town to help him before the election because this is an area with a lot of Republicans."

Actually, Clinton carried Wisconsin in the 1992 election.

Whatever the reason, Milwaukeeans were scrambling Tuesday to dance and sing their way into the leaders' hearts.

The German Immersion School got Rep. Tom Barrett (D-Wis.) to personally write a letter of invitation to Clinton. A prominent area businessman (the mayor's office wouldn't say who) offered his house for dinner; the German-American Society offered dance troupes. At least one manufacturing plant wants the two to tour, and various hotels offered overnight rooms, even though Clinton and Kohl will not be staying overnight here.

They don't have to look too hard to find German culture, architecture and artwork. The city is loaded with examples. Frank Zeidler, Milwaukee's mayor from 1948 to 1960, offers these suggestions:

Culture: The Goethe House in the Milwaukee Public Library, home to 10,000 volumes of German books.

The convent at the School Sisters of St. Francis has beautiful German artwork, he said. The Wisconsin Club, formerly known as the Deutscher Club, looks German but actually was built by Alexander Mitchell, a Scotsman.

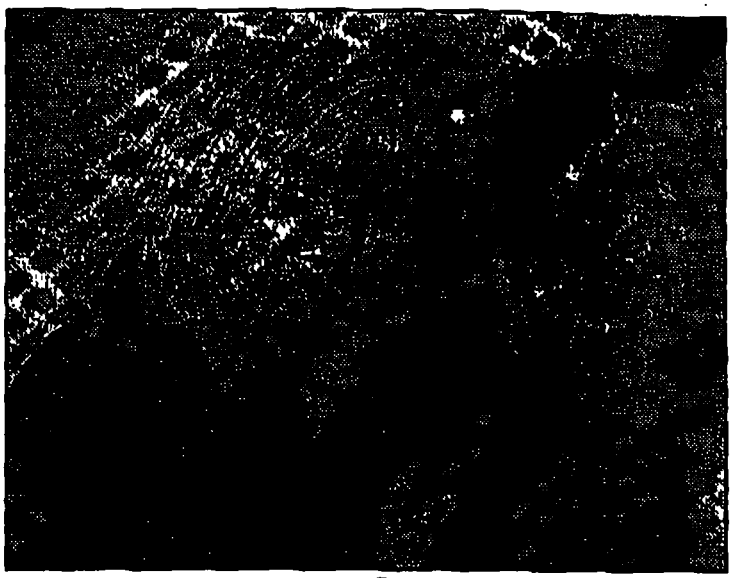
Churches: Old St. Mary's, 836 N. Broadway, built for German settlers in 1847; St. Michael's, 1445 N. 24th St., built for German and Austrian immigrants, now mostly attended by members of the Hmong community; and St. Paul, 2812 W. Wisconsin Ave., the oldest of the city's many Lutheran churches. Members there are descendants of the first immigrants.

History: Turner Hall, where labor leader Victor Berger once rallied his troops. Statues of von Steuben at Lisbon and Sherman avenues and Goethe and Schiller in Washington Park.

Beer: Sprecher Brewery in Glendale and the Water Street Brewery downtown.

Laughs: Take a picture of the water tower in New Berlin. "A lot of German tourists I know have done that. It gets a rise out of people back home," Zeidler said.

Cinci Enquirer



The Cincinnat Enquirer/Saed Hindash

Tipper Gore greets the crowd after addressing the Jewish National Fund at the Cincinnati Flower Show at Ault Park.

Tipper Gore encourages community involvement

CE 4/26/96

BY LAURA GOLDBERG
The Cincinnati Enquirer

Politics will be the bastion of "the cynical" if everyday people remove themselves from the process, Tipper Gore told a Cincinnati audience Thursday.

The wife of Vice President Al Gore, in a 10-minute speech to the Jewish National Fund of Cincinnati, said many believe politics is only for the cynical.

"It will only be for the cynical if everyone else stays out of the process," Mrs. Gore said.

Mrs. Gore told the group: "I believe that being active as you are in civic and community groups like the Jewish National Fund is absolutely essential to strengthening and supporting our communities."

It's important that everyone make individual contributions toward ensuring communities and the environment are safe for families and children, she said.

"We must at the same time remember we are all part of the larger community," she said. "Each of us is a part of something greater than ourselves."

Boston Globe 1 of 2

XFAX Globe 4/26

Weld, Democrats spar on triggering a tax cut

P1

By Frank Phillips
GLOBE STAFF

Gov. William F. Weld and his aides are scouring state accounts to build up a budget surplus big enough to trigger an automatic income tax cut at the height of his Senate campaign, but Beacon Hill Democrats are working to derail him.

The tax cut could be as much as $115 million – about $20 for individual taxpayers and $40 for married couples filing jointly – if the administration is able to add as much to the state's so-called stabilization fund as it has in past years.

Under state law, when the fund grows to a certain size, other funds left unspent at the end of the fiscal year and deposited in the "rainy-day account" must be returned to taxpayers in the form of an increase in the personal exemption on the state tax form.

If Weld is successful and such a tax cut is triggered this year, he would be able to announce it in September – when the state controller officially closes the books on the previous fiscal year – about six weeks before voters choose between him and US Sen. John F. Kerry.

Weld budget aides deny that they are making any greater effort to force state agencies to make savings and return money to the trea-

TAX CUT, Page 4

Logan makes parking free for first hour

By Matthew Brelis
GLOBE STAFF

Criticized for parking rates that are among the highest in the country, the Massachusetts Port Authority voted yesterday to let people park for free for the first 60 minutes at Logan Airport.

The hour-long grace period, which will go into effect May 1 and is expected to cost Massport between $4 million and $5 million a year, is viewed as the most generous in the nation. Parking rates for longer periods at Logan, which is owned and operated by Massport, will remain unchanged and are still among the most expensive in the nation.

Logan's parking rates were raised Jan. 1 and the increase, coupled with aggressive enforcement by State Police of a Federal Aviation Administration security alert prohibiting curbside parking,

LOGAN, Page 16

2 of 2

P2

Weld banks on building budget surplus to launch tax cut

■ TAX CUT
Continued from Page 1

surer this year.

But this year the stakes are a lot higher for Weld, who is trying to promote his image as a taxcutter and paint Kerry as a liberal who has repeatedly voted to raise taxes.

Sources close to the governor confirm that he and his political aides are anxiously eyeing the stabilization fund, which has gradually grown over the last few years and is close to the $526 million level that would force a tax cut.

"Sometimes good governing and good politics intersect," said Robert Bliss, the governor's press secretary. "The governor has a good fiscal record and this is a good reflection of that."

But House and Senate Democrats are not keen on giving Weld such a politically profitable tax cut, particularly when they also want to use the money to fill other budgetary purposes.

In the House budget, Speaker Thomas M. Finneran inserted language that would require $156 million in excess funds from fiscal 1996 to roll over into fiscal 1997, which begins July 1. That would all but kill any chance that the rainy-day fund would reach the tax-cut threshhold.

The Legislature can also approve supplemental budgets after the close of the fiscal year that would eat up most of the surpluses Weld may find.

But the tax issue may work to Weld's advantage even if the Legislature succeeds in blocking the cut. Weld would be sure to blast such tactics as "obstructionist" – more proof for his oft-repeated charge that Democrats, including Kerry, are free-spending liberals.

Bliss said that the governor's fiscal policies over the past five years have built the rainy-day account from zero to near the level that will trigger the tax cut. He denied that any unusual pressure was being applied to agencies this year to cut spending.

"There is no more pressure on agencies this year than in previous years," Bliss said. "We are not doing anything special to tamp down the rate of spending."

> **'Sometimes good governing and good politics intersect. The governor has a good fiscal record and this is a good reflection of that.'**
>
> ROBERT BLISS
> *Governor's press secretary*

The stabilization fund's balance is now $450 million and, assuming the Weld administration finds as much surplus money as it has in recent years, it could boost the account to as much as $640 million – about $110 million over the level that triggers the tax cut.

That money would be returned to taxpayers in the form of larger personal exemptions.

Secretary of Administration and Finance Charles Baker said he has not talked to Weld about the potential for a tax cut from the stabilization fund. He also said the Democrats' move to roll the reverted fund into the next fiscal year concerns him more than their denying Weld the tax cut.

"I am less concerned about the tax cut, than the fact I don't like spending money in one year with revenues that are generated in the previous year," Baker said. "The state did that in the 1980s and got into big fiscal trouble."

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Quinnipiac College Poll

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FOR RELEASE: APRIL 25, 1996

MARIO CUOMO, GREEN, FERRARO ALL WOULD BEAT D'AMATO QUINNIPIAC COLLEGE POLL FINDS;

Former Governor Mario Cuomo would beat Sen. Alfonse D'Amato 51 - 39 percent in a hypothetical match-up of the 1998 U.S. Senate race, according to a Quinnipiac College Poll released today. There were five percent undecided and six percent who refused to vote. While he has not indicated he is interested in running, Cuomo does better against the Republican incumbent than any of several possible Democratic challengers.

Former U.S. Congresswoman and one-time Democratic Vice Presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro beats D'Amato 48 - 39 percent with 13 percent undecided or refusing to vote, according to the independent poll by Quinnipiac College.

D'Amato would lose to New York City Public Advocate Mark Green 43 - 39 percent, 19 percent undecided or refusing.

D'Amato edges State Comptroller H. Carl McCall 40 - 38 percent, a statistical tie, with 22 percent undecided or refusing to vote.

If Lt. Gov. Betsy McCaughey challenged D'Amato in a Republican primary, D'Amato would win 59 - 22 percent among Republicans, with 18 percent undecided or refusing to vote.

Only 37 percent of New Yorkers approve of the job D'Amato is doing as Senator, while 53 percent disapprove, consistent with the 34 - 55 percent approval rating in the March 4 poll.

"Sen. D'Amato never does well in polls except the one that counts -- on election day," said Maurice Carroll, Director of the Quinnipiac College Polling Institute.

"While the scars of 12 years in office might cling to Gov. Cuomo, he's the strongest candidate against D'Amato.

-more-

"Lt. Gov. McCaughey shares a problem with Democrats Green and McCall: More than two-thirds of voters say they don't know enough about them. While Republicans are only lukewarm in their support for D'Amato, they'd give him an overwhelming primary victory over McCaughey.

"A lot can happen between now and 1998:

- "Sen. D'Amato can pull out of his tailspin, or get into more trouble;
- "McCaughey, McCall and Green have time to make a name for themselves, and run the risk of getting into trouble since they all hold elective office;
- "Cuomo and Ferraro can write a book or two, make nice speeches and stay out of trouble, a nice spot to be in," Carroll added.

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's approval rating is 48 - 28 percent with 24 percent undecided, similar to his rating in the March 4 poll.

Twenty-nine percent of voters have a favorable opinion of Sen. D'Amato, compared to 47 percent unfavorable, 16 percent mixed and eight percent who say they have not heard enough to form an opinion. Among Democrats, ratings are:

	Favorable	Unfavorable	Mixed	No Opinion
Cuomo	42	37	16	4
Ferraro	28	21	19	31
Green	19	8	5	66
McCall	18	5	7	70
Moynihan	40	19	20	21
McCaughey	12	8	8	70

Quinnipiac College surveyed 715 New Yorkers who said they were registered voters. The poll was conducted April 18 - 23, and has a margin of error of +/- 3.6 percent.

The Quinnipiac College Poll, directed by Douglas Schwartz, conducts public opinion surveys in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut as a public service and for academic research.

Additional data attached:

7. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Daniel Patrick Moynihan is handling his job as United States Senator?

	Tot	Ups	NYC	Sub	Rep	Dem	Ind	Mar 4 1996
Approve	48%	47%	49%	48%	44%	56%	41%	48%
Disapprove	28	27	26	33	37	20	31	27
DK/NA	24	27	25	19	20	24	28	24

8. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Alfonse D'Amato is handling his job as United States Senator?

	Tot	Ups	NYC	Sub	Rep	Dem	Ind	Mar 4 1996
Approve	37%	34%	33%	47%	50%	26%	41%	34%
Disapprove	53	53	58	47	39	67	50	55
DK/NA	10	13	10	5	11	7	9	11

9. Is your opinion of Alfonse D'Amato favorable, unfavorable, mixed, or haven't you heard enough about him?

	Tot	Ups	NYC	Sub	Rep	Dem	Ind
Favorable	29%	26%	27%	37%	40%	20%	31%
Unfavorable	47	46	52	41	32	63	43
Mixed	16	16	14	20	20	13	16
Haven't heard enough	8	11	7	2	8	5	10
Refused	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

10. Is your opinion of Mario Cuomo favorable, unfavorable, mixed, or haven't you heard enough about him?

	Tot	Ups	NYC	Sub	Rep	Dem	Ind
Favorable	42%	31%	59%	40%	20%	62%	42%
Unfavorable	37	45	23	40	57	19	35
Mixed	16	16	14	18	17	16	17
Haven't heard enough	4	6	3	2	5	3	5
Refused	1	1	1	1	1	-	1

11. Is your opinion of Geraldine Ferraro favorable, unfavorable, mixed, or haven't you heard enough about her?

	Tot	Ups	NYC	Sub	Rep	Dem	Ind
Favorable	28%	26%	34%	24%	21%	38%	23%
Unfavorable	21	22	18	24	30	13	20
Mixed	19	16	20	24	19	20	19
Haven't heard enough	31	35	27	27	30	27	36
Refused	1	1	1	1	-	1	1

12. Is your opinion of Mark Green favorable, unfavorable, mixed, or haven't you heard enough about him?

	Tot	Ups	NYC	Sub	Rep	Dem	Ind
Favorable	19%	5%	38%	18%	8%	31%	17%
Unfavorable	8	4	13	9	11	6	10
Mixed	5	4	7	7	6	6	4
Haven't heard enough	66	87	40	65	75	57	69
Refused	1	-	2	2	-	1	1

13. Is your opinion of H. Carl McCall favorable, unfavorable, mixed, or haven't you heard enough about him?

	Tot	Ups	NYC	Sub	Rep	Dem	Ind
Favorable	18%	16%	27%	9%	12%	25%	14%
Unfavorable	5	7	3	5	8	4	4
Mixed	7	7	5	9	6	5	10
Haven't heard enough	70	70	64	77	73	66	72
Refused	1	1	-	1	1	1	-

14. Is your opinion of Betsy McCaughey Ross favorable, unfavorable, mixed, or haven't you heard enough about her?

	Tot	Ups	NYC	Sub	Rep	Dem	Ind
Favorable	12%	14%	9%	14%	16%	10%	11%
Unfavorable	8	6	10	10	6	12	7
Mixed	8	7	10	10	6	8	12
Haven't heard enough	70	73	70	66	72	69	70
Refused	1	1	-	1	1	1	-

15. Is your opinion of Daniel Patrick Moynihan favorable, unfavorable, mixed, or haven't you heard enough about him?

	Tot	Ups	NYC	Sub	Rep	Dem	Ind
Favorable	40%	39%	42%	37%	31%	52%	32%
Unfavorable	19	19	17	21	25	13	19
Mixed	20	20	14	25	22	16	23
Haven't heard enough	21	20	25	16	21	18	24
Refused	1	1	1	1	-	1	1

16. Is your opinion of George Pataki favorable, unfavorable, mixed, or haven't you heard enough about him?

	Tot	Ups	NYC	Sub	Rep	Dem	Ind
Favorable	43%	47%	29%	55%	63%	29%	39%
Unfavorable	30	25	47	17	11	45	28
Mixed	22	23	18	25	21	20	27
Haven't heard enough	4	5	5	3	4	4	5
Refused	1	-	1	-	-	1	1

17. If the 1998 election for United States Senator were being held today and the candidates were Alfonse D'Amato the Republican, and Mario Cuomo the Democrat, for whom would you vote?

	Tot	Ups	NYC	Sub	Rep	Dem	Ind
D'Amato/Republican	39%	43%	25%	49%	67%	18%	36%
Cuomo/Democrat	51	44	68	42	24	75	50
WOULDN'T VOTE(VOL)	6	8	4	4	6	4	7
DK/NA	5	5	4	5	3	3	7

18. If the 1998 election for United States Senator were being held today and the candidates were Alfonse D'Amato the Republican, and Geraldine Ferraro the Democrat, for whom would you vote?

	Tot	Ups	NYC	Sub	Rep	Dem	Ind
D'Amato/Republican	39%	36%	31%	53%	65%	19%	37%
Ferraro/Democrat	48	49	59	33	25	69	47
WOULDN'T VOTE(VOL)	5	5	4	7	4	6	5
DK/NA	8	10	6	7	6	5	11

19. If the 1998 election for United States Senator were being held today and the candidates were Alfonse D'Amato the Republican, and Mark Green the Democrat, for whom would you vote?

	Tot	Ups	NYC	Sub	Rep	Dem	Ind	Mar 4 1996
D'Amato/Republican	39%	38%	31%	48%	65%	17%	41%	33%
Green/Democrat	43	37	59	33	19	67	38	50
WOULDN'T VOTE(VOL)	4	5	3	3	3	4	4	6
DK/NA	15	20	7	16	13	13	17	12

20. If the 1998 election for United States Senator were being held today and the candidates were Alfonse D'Amato the Republican, and H. Carl McCall the Democrat, for whom would you vote?

	Tot	Ups	NYC	Sub	Rep	Dem	Ind
D'Amato/Republican	40%	38%	33%	52%	66%	19%	42%
McCall/Democrat	38	38	47	27	17	60	31
WOULDN'T VOTE(VOL)	6	6	8	3	4	7	7
DK/NA	16	18	12	18	13	14	21

44. If the 1998 Republican primary for United States Senator were being held today and the candidates were Alfonse D'amato and Betsy McCaughey Ross, for whom would you vote?

	Registered Republicans
D'Amato	59%
McCaughey	22
WOULDN'T VOTE(VOL)	7
DK/NA	11

APRIL 24, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: DOUG SOSNIK AND KAREN HANCOX

SUBJECT: DAILY REPORT

APR 24 1996

1996 PRESIDENTIAL
Poll
HARRIS POLL

This poll, conducted 4/19-4/22 among 1,005 Americans, found Clinton-Gore leading Dole by 20 percent.

HEAD-TO-HEADS

Clinton	57%	Clinton	51%
Dole	37	Dole	31
		Perot	12

CANDIDATES
Bob Dole

Speaking by phone yesterday to the PA GOP headquarters, an optimistic Dole said victory is possible despite a 17 percent gap in the state. "We're going to work hard and we think we're starting to close the gap in most of these states... Clinton's had pretty much of a free ride for the last several months and now we're sort of coming together. I think when a party starts coming together and everybody gets supporting the same candidate, it's going to make a big, big difference."

Dole issued a press release today which cited four former Attorney Generals saying Dole's charges against your judicial nominees are correct. Griffin Bell (Carter), Edwin Meese (Reagan), William Barr (Bush), and Dick Thornburgh (Bush) were all cited in the Dole release. A copy of the release is attached.

A testy Dole said yesterday that critics should "back off" unless they will "get in the arena." "It's too early... we've had a good year," he said.

STATE-BY-STATE / PRESIDENTIAL
Missouri

The announcement of your appointment of Alan Wheat to be deputy campaign manager has attracted significant media attention in Missouri. A clip is attached.

Miscellaneous

At a press conference to unveil his new book, Agenda for America, a Republican Direction for the Future, Haley Barbour said he understood Speaker Gingrich's frustration over the direction of the GOP, but disputed Gingrich's description that Republicans were "in a funk." Barbour admitted, however, that "we are in a trough." He called on Bill Bennett and Bill Kristol to be "part of the solution" and not just active critics. As you will recall, earlier this week Bennett described Dole as "incoherent and dispassionate."

Gingrich called today for a "new environmentalism" which focuses on less government intervention and more incentives to help the environment. "Most Americans see themselves one way or another as environmentalists," Gingrich said. He called for the federal government to continue to set broad standards but allow leeway for how businesses and individuals comply. Administrator Browner responded that her agency is moving in that direction, but the GOP Congress has tried to "dismantle 25 years of progress" on the environment.

In case you missed it, Norm Brownstein of the LA Times reported today that the GOP is beginning a two-prong strategy to alleviate angst over Dole's floundering campaign: the RNC will launch a major ad campaign in the next few weeks, and Dole's campaign will focus on major speeches to contrast the campaigns. A copy of the story is attached.

STATE-BY-STATE / NON-PRESIDENTIAL

Arizona

A legislative bill that would have imposed stricter punishments for crimes motivated by hatred for a victim's race, ethnicity or sexual orientation has been vetoed by Governor Fife Symington (R). Governor Symington responded yesterday that he questioned the bill's legality because it would create a new aggravating factor for imposition of the death penalty, while deleting two existing ones. The bill would have allowed judges to give longer sentences if it were proven the crime was committed because of the victim's race, religion, disability, gender, sexual orientation, or ancestry.

Arkansas

State Rep. Gerald Hendrix (D), elected to his first term in the AR House two years ago, was killed this morning when he was thrown from a horse. Hendrix, 63, represented District 18 and had filed for reelection without major opposition.

California

A petition campaign to place a measure limiting attorney contingency fees in liability lawsuits on the November ballot was halted yesterday by its chief sponsor. Tom Proulx, who was a coauthor of last month's Propositions 200, 201, and 202, said he decided to drop the voter petition effort after meetings with legislative leaders, Governor Pete Wilson (R) and some leading foes of the initiative. He concluded after those meetings that there was a sincere desire to work out the tort reform problems by all parties, including the Consumer Attorneys of California. Proposition 200 was a no-fault insurance proposal, Proposition 201 sought restraints to discourage shareholder lawsuits and Proposition 202 would have limited attorney contingency fees in personal injury cases settled before going to trial. All three were rejected by voters in the March 26 primary election.

A state Assembly bill that would require three-time convicted child molesters to be castrated before being released from prison was unanimously approved Tuesday by the Crime Committee. The bill would require a person convicted three times of child-related sex offenses to begin chemical castration one week before being released from prison and keep up the treatments. The person could opt for surgical castration instead. A 1972 state appeals court ruling said a punishment would be so judged if it is so disproportionate to the crime for which it is inflicted that it shocks the conscience and offends fundamental notions of human dignity.

Colorado

One month after the state Senate killed a bill that would have changed the state's minimum wage completely, the Senate Business Affairs and Labor Committee voted 5-4 to send the bill to a full Senate for debate. The bill would ban local governments from altering the minimum wage, clarifying that the authority rests with the ED of the state Department of Labor. Supporters of the bill feel by allowing local governments to set the lowest wages would result in the creation of "blighted islands" throughout the state and businesses would be forced from areas where the minimum wage was higher. Opponents of the legislation contend the minimum wage protects workers who are struggling to get by and adding increased wages would actually spur the economy by giving low-wage workers expandable income to inject into the economy. The Colorado AFL-CIO supports allowing local governments to address this issue.

Georgia

Yesterday the three-judge panel hearing the redistricting case struck down three Senate seats and 13 House seats. They sternly chided the Justice Department for prolonging the case with objections to only a handful of seats in the 1995 legislative map. They have asked all sides involved in the case to give them suggestions as to what the new districts should look like and have said they will undertake creating new districts. They hope to accomplish this in time for candidates to qualify by May 6 in order to have enough time before the July 9 primary.

When Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney (D) signed up to run for her newly created district, she played down the possibility of a divided party and said, "You're not going to hear anything bad from Cynthia McKinney today. The last thing we need to do in Georgia is to put another notch in Newt Gingrich's belt." She has two white Democratic challengers, state Senator Ron Slotin (D) and attorney Comer Yates (D) for the new 4th Congressional District. Congressman Sanford Bishop (D) will also have to run against a white Democrat, a former staffer of his and attorney, W.T. Gamble (D).

Former state Senator Johnny Isakson (R) is chiding his Republican primary rivals in the U.S. Senate race for not releasing their tax returns. Isakson, who is worth an estimated $3.4 million, has released 11 years of tax returns. His biggest GOP rival, Guy Millner, whose net worth is estimated at $100 million, has released summary sheets for the last 13 years showing how much he earned and how much he paid in taxes, but the documents did not reveal full details of his financial dealings. The only Democrat in the race so far, former Secretary of State Max Cleland (D), released tax returns dating from 1991. They show that he is not a wealthy man.

Illinois

Freshman Rep. Michael Patrick Flanagan (R) lists some heavy hitting officeholders among his contributors so far. Newt Gingrich and Dick Armey have contributed $5,000 each to him and Bob Dole has contributed $1,500. He has raised over $300,000 this year. The conventional wisdom on Flanagan, who represents Dan Rostenkowski's old seat, is that "if the Democrats can't beat him who can they beat?"

Iowa

More results from the Des Moines Register poll of 809 Iowans conducted March 30-April 3 are summarized below. We previously reported that the poll showed you leading Dole by a 53%-36% margin and enjoying a 61% approval/32% disapproval job performance ratio.

JOB APPROVAL

Governor Terry Branstad (R)	64% app/30% disapp
Senator Charles Grassley (R)	64% app/22% disapp
Senator Tom Harkin (D)	63% app/25% disapp
Speaker Newt Gingrich	32% app/55% disapp

RIGHT DIRECTION/WRONG TRACK

	IOWA		THE COUNTRY	
	Now	1993	Now	1993
Right Direction	66%	44%	39%	31%
Wrong Track	25%	39%	48%	60%

Louisiana

State Representative Chuck McMains (R) has joined the crowded race for the U.S. Senate. McMains is one of Governor Foster's legislative floor leaders. While he is joining an already crowded field, he said, "Our chances are pretty good. What the people are looking for is somebody who has not spent all his or her life in politics." The announced candidates are: Congressman Jimmy Hayes (R), state Representative Woody Jenkins (R), and Attorney General Richard Ieyoub (D). Former state Treasurer Mary Landrieu (D) has been fundraising for the position and is expected to formally announce soon. David Duke (R) has said he may enter the race.

New Hampshire

Joe Keefe announced in a morning press conference that he will run as a candidate in the 1st CD. Currently he has no primary opponent and there are five Republicans running in the primary. Declared Republicans include Ray Wiezcoricki, Mayor of Manchester; Tom Coluntouno, State Senator, Londonberry; George Lovejoy, State Senator, Rochester; Jack Heath, former news director, WMUR-TV; and John E. Sununu, son of former Chief of Staff John Sununu. The filing deadline for the September 9 primary is June 12.

North Carolina

An independent audit of Governor Jim Hunt's (D) Smart Start program said the early childhood program helps children, delivers "substantial good" and should be expanded statewide. This audit was a result of House Republicans insisting the audit take place. Vice President Gore recently attended an event in Raleigh with Governor Hunt promoting the Smart Start Program.

A group of UNC housekeepers and students, recently protesting at the Legislative Building, were described as "niggers and wormy kids," by Don Follmer, press spokesman for Republican House Speaker Harold Brubaker. Follmer confirmed he made the comment -- but said it was in the context of a private conversation and a joke in an office in the Legislative Building pressroom. Follmer is receiving harsh criticism around the state.

Ohio

Mrs. Gore will travel to Cincinnati tomorrow. While there, she will attend a DNC fundraiser, address the Jewish National Fund Flower Show luncheon and participate in a meet and greet with African American leaders.

The Ohio Secretary of State reports that 87,000 people used the voter registration forms that were included in this year's state income tax booklets. This is the first year such forms were included in the booklet.

Oregon

Senate candidate Gordon Smith (R) views on the minimum wage have shifted since he unsuccessfully ran for the Senate earlier this year. Smith, said in a December 20 interview with the Oregonian that he opposed raising the minimum wage from $4.25 to $5.25 per hour. However, Smith in an interview with KXL radio of Eugene, said he supports raising the minimum raise to $5.15 per hour. Smith is being challenged in the Senate primary by Oregon Citizens Alliance Chairman Lou Mabon. The primary will be held on May 21.

Vermont

As you know, Vermont and New Hampshire are the only two states where governors serve two-year terms. In Vermont, Common Cause, the League of Women Voters, Economic Progress Roundtable and the Vermont Chamber of Commerce have joined forces to urge the state House to pass a constitutional amendment proposal which would allow the voters of Vermont to decide whether or not the governor and other top elected officials should serve four year terms. The state Senate has already approved a constitutional amendment proposal that establishes four year terms.

Inside Politics -- April 24, 1996

The signing of the anti-terrorism bill at the White House today was used as an opportunity to analyze the relationship that is evolving between Bob Dole and the President. Dole was shown sitting behind the President at the signing, and there was some degree of surprise that Dole made an appearance. This development occurs following a statement from Dole that he would like to sit down with the President one-on-one to finish working out the seven year balanced budget deal. This is seen as a win/win situation for the President. If the deal is made, he will have removed a major source of ammunition from the Republicans as the election nears. If there is no balanced budget deal, he can say that he tried to make the plan happen, and the Republicans were unwilling to make a compromise. Inside Politics speculates that there is pressure on the President to complete a budget deal being exerted by the Ross Perot campaign. It is believed that Perot's anti-gridlock message could hurt the President more than Dole this year, and a budget plan would eliminate Perot's claim that nothing gets done in Washington. As follow up to the bill signing report, it was announced that the President met privately with Dole in the President's residence before the signing and had a serious, yet informal, discussion about the budget.

A poll released today shows the President with a twenty point lead over Dole in a two and three-way race. In the three-way contest, the President receives 51%, Dole 31%, and Perot 12%. The President's support is shown as being especially strong among voters age 25-29 and 65 and over.

The first of two brief news announcements said that Newt Gingrich has formed the House Select Sub-Committee to investigate the White House's involvement in Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia saying that the White House had "invited Iran into Europe," and he said that he expects the White House to cooperate fully with the investigation. The second story announced that Peter Knight has been named as the Clinton-Gore campaign manager and showed him touring re-elect headquarters.

Bill Bennett appeared in an interview with Bernard Shaw to discuss his view of the Dole campaign. He said he would like to "see more mercury and less molasses" in the campaign. In response to criticisms from Haley Barbour that his comments on Dole's campaign have been too negative and should have been made in private, Bennett said that he sees himself as a "loving critic" and only wants to help his friend win the election. Bennett suggested that Dole should not make deals with the President if he wants to be seen as a leader by the public, and he said that Dole should focus less on his role in the Senate and should not lead from Washington.

Bennett said that if Dole puts too much emphasis on his job as leader of the Senate, people will not be able to see him as the leader of the country, and he said that Dole should not be afraid to attack the public image of the President on key issues that could draw in voters. He said that he wants to see an energetic Bob Dole getting his message out to the people and that trailing by twenty points in the polls is acceptable considering that the campaign hasn't "really" started yet.

A report showed a possible liberal bias in the media. A new poll shows that 89% of media members voted for the President, and only 7% voted for Bush and 2% for Perot. This data fuels the fire conservatives have started in accusing the media of being too liberal and hurting their causes. Many editors respond that the ideals of good journalism reduce any reporter's ideological bias to an insignificant amount, and point out that much of the coverage of the President has been very negative as proof of their bias-free writing.

bc-campaign-dole - a1653
(ATTN: National editors) (Includes optional trims)
Frustrated Dole Campaign Plans New Maneuvers (Washn)
By Ronald Brownstein= (c) 1996, Los Angeles Times=

WASHINGTON Anxiety over Sen. Bob Dole's weak position in the polls is prompting his campaign and the Republican National Committee to accelerate their efforts to articulate the GOP case against President Clinton, party and campaign sources say.

Spurred by recent national surveys showing the president holding a double-digit advantage over the Senate majority leader, the RNC plans to target Clinton in a major nationwide advertising campaign set to start in the next few weeks, committee officials say.

Likewise, the Dole campaign frustrated over its inability to project a clear message from the Senate floor is looking for ways to reduce the candidate's involvement in the congressional day-to-day business. Instead, campaign officials are laying plans for Dole to give more speeches that attempt to widen an ideological divide with Clinton, such as the address the Kansas senator delivered last Friday attacking the president's judicial appointments as too liberal.

''We need to get our message out sooner rather than later,'' says Fred Steeper, a pollster advising the Dole campaign. ''And plans are under way to do that.''

For months, despite polls showing Clinton in the lead, many Republican strategists insisted the incumbent was a fatally wounded opponent who, in the end, was certain to succumb. But these new maneuvers reflect a growing restiveness in GOP circles about the party's prospects not only in the presidential campaign, but the fall's congressional elections.

Bill Kristol, the publisher of The Weekly Standard, a conservative magazine, gave public voice to these private grumblings when he dramatically wrote off Dole's chances in this week's issue. ''Bob Dole is likely to lose the presidential race to Bill Clinton,'' wrote Kristol. ''He may lose badly.''

Dole dismissed the remarks from Kristol, a former chief of staff for Vice President Dan Quayle. But, with national surveys showing Clinton leading Dole by as much as 18 percentage points, Kristol is hardly the only member of what the Dole campaign calls ''the sky is falling crowd.''

On Monday, in fact, former Education Secretary William J. Bennett, a conservative leader, publicly criticized Dole's campaign as ineffectual and fretted that the GOP may ''get walloped'' in the presidential election.

(Begin optional trim)

''The Republican establishment is very down,'' says one senior party strategist. ''The impact of (the) polls ... is starting to build. I predict we will be in a frothing panic by next week.''

GOP pollster Steeper says Clinton's relatively high disapproval ratings in the same polls showing him with big leads over Dole and the significant majority of voters who continue to say that they believe the country is on the wrong track show that the president remains ''vulnerable.''

But the Dole camp increasingly agrees with critics like Kristol on one point: the urgency of denting Clinton's lead. Contrary to the traditional analysis that says most Americans focus on presidential campaigns only in the fall, Dole strategists now share the conviction that they cannot afford to allow the president's generally positive assessments to harden into the summer. ''Elections are basically won or lost in this time frame,'' said one Dole adviser.

(End optional trim)

While few Republicans yet go as far as Kristol in writing off Dole, three distinct considerations are prompting substantial teeth-gnashing in GOP circles.

One is the polls themselves. Major media organizations have conducted 33 national surveys on the presidential race this year, and Clinton has led Dole in all of them, according to a compilation in the PoliticsUSA Internet site. Eighteen of the 23 surveys taken since mid-January have shown Clinton with at least a double-digit advantage over Dole; a national Los Angeles Times poll last week put Clinton ahead of Dole 55 percent to 37 percent.

Also, recent statewide polls in battlegrounds such as Ohio, Pennsylvania and New Jersey show Clinton holding large advantages over Dole. Nor is the picture any brighter in GOP strongholds; according to new polls in Arizona and Alabama, Dole is running no better than even with the president in both states.

Dole's strategy of using his Senate leadership role to lay the groundwork for overcoming Clinton has become the second principal source of anxiety. Bennett called on Dole to resign as majority leader, saying his Senate position was ''a trap.'' Even inside Dole's campaign office, concern is growing that his plan of conducting his campaign primarily from the Senate floor has proven
a ''morass'' entangling him in damaging battles over the minimum wage, health care and the assault weapons ban.

''The idea of trying to be president from the Senate floor reinforces all of Dole's deal-making imagery rather than laying out a clear case against Clinton,'' said the senior GOP strategist.

Indeed, some of Dole's key campaign aides increasingly question how Dole's daily jousts with Democrats in the Senate advance his overall cause. They invest much more priority in a series of speeches they now plan for Dole to deliver every two or three weeks through the summer.

As in last Friday's address on judicial appointments, the overriding goal in these coming speeches whose future topics will include the economy and welfare is to puncture Clinton's efforts to portray himself as a sensible centrist. ''We have got to push Clinton back in his liberal box,'' said one senior GOP operative.

Republicans plan to intensify that effort with a significant media campaign later this spring. The concern about the direction of the race has outweighed the arguments by some GOP strategists that the party should husband its resources until the fall. ''You are going to see us going up pretty good with advertising in the coming weeks,'' said one party official.

The RNC's decision to intensify its advertising effort reflects the third major source of anxiety in Republican circles: the fear that the current Democratic advantages will grow steadily more difficult to dislodge if the GOP cannot erode them soon.

(Optional add end)

Kevin Phillips, a political analyst and former GOP strategist, notes that recent presidents whose job approval ratings were above 50 percent and rising in the spring of their fourth years Eisenhower in 1956, Nixon in 1972, Reagan in 1984 all went on to handily win reelection. By contrast, Bush in 1992 and Carter in 1980 had both seen their approval ratings sink down to around 40 percent by this point in their presidency.

Since last fall, Clinton's approval rating has consistently topped 50 percent for the first time in his tenure; in the most recent Times poll, his rating stood at 55 percent approval, 40 percent disapproval almost exactly the same rating recorded at this point by Reagan, who won reelection in a landslide.

The Washington Times
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24, 1996

Dole lashes his critics, says agenda must wait

By Laurie Kellman
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole yesterday said it's too soon to present an election-year legislative agenda and told the Republican critics blaming him for the party's doldrums to back off unless they're ready to "get in the arena" with him.

"It's too early," Mr. Dole said in response to those who say he's failed to create a strategy uniting Republicans behind the themes his presidential campaign will emphasize. "We've had a good year."

Several Republican lawmakers and congressional aides interviewed yesterday did not second Mr. Dole's upbeat assessment. They said Republicans are in the

see DOLE, page A10

DOLE

From page A1

grip of an oppressive, prolonged funk.

"It's nasty out there," a House leadership aide said.

Most Republicans were reluctant to discuss their concerns publicly, but they said sagging morale has resulted from anxiety over the lack of a legislative agenda to counter harassment from unified Democrats.

"We are going through a Republican period of being in a funk," House Speaker Newt Gingrich said Monday to contributors to GOPAC, a political fund-raising organization he once led.

At the same event, former Education Secretary William Bennett said Mr. Dole should step down as majority leader and concentrate on his presidential campaign.

"There's very little enthusiasm about Bob Dole," said Mr. Bennett, who campaigned in primaries for former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander. "He's basically conservative . . . but not what you'd call a deep believer."

Then, without naming Mr. Dole, Mr. Bennett said party activists should resent setbacks dealt to the 1994 "Republican revolution" by a congressional leader "compromising too readily and too often."

"Go out and get in the arena, like Teddy Roosevelt said," Mr. Dole responded yesterday. "Go out there and make your case if you think you can do it better."

But even Mr. Dole's allies acknowledge he has failed to put forth an agenda for Congress — the arena he likes best and the one that costs his campaign the least money.

"We have got to do a better job of explaining that we are as concerned about the future of America, and it doesn't all have to do with money," Sen. John McCain, Arizona Republican and close adviser to Mr. Dole, told the Tucson Citizen on Monday.

The sour mood plaguing Republicans has resulted in part from Democratic successes in forcing Mr. Dole to pull important bills from the floor, including an immigration bill last week and term-limits legislation yesterday.

Twenty-two House Republicans last week broke ranks with Mr. Dole and endorsed a $1 increase in the minimum wage. Mr. Dole has not set a date for a vote on the measure. Other Republicans want the matter resolved quickly.

Many Republicans also expressed anxiety over the lack of legislative direction being provided by Mr. Dole, to whom Mr. Gingrich has surrendered authority for charting Congress' course.

The Washington Times yesterday reported that Mr. Gingrich holds weekly agenda-setting meetings with a handful of senators and representatives of Mr. Dole's Senate and campaign offices and the Republican National Committee.

"They're going to begin in an orderly way to put before the people, with clarity and repetition, the differences between Dole and Clinton," Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour said. He spoke yesterday at the Senate's weekly Republican luncheon.

"We are working on a real agenda," Senate Majority Whip Trent Lott of Mississippi said yesterday.

But that plan, sources told The Times, will not take shape until Memorial Day. That means Republicans will likely remain on the defensive while Democrats push their own agenda.

"Way before the convention I expect voters to have a clear understanding of the differences and the agenda," Mr. Barbour said. "That's far more important than how they feel at some date in April."

Mr. McCain said the Republican Party has failed to explain that its budget cuts have "fundamentally changed the framework of the debate" about the role of government and fulfilled promises to reduce waste. He said the party also has failed to convince voters that cuts have not hurt basic services.

bc-dole-AGs 04-24

Four Former Attorneys General Say Dole is Right on Liberal Clinton Judges

To: National Desk, Political Writer

Contact: Dole for President Campaign Press Office, 202-414-8050

WASHINGTON, April 24 /U.S. Newswire/ -- The following was released by the Dole for President campaign:

FOUR FORMER ATTORNEYS GENERAL SAY DOLE IS RIGHT
ON LIBERAL CLINTON JUDGES

Griffin Bell, attorney general -- President Jimmy Carter:

''Bob Dole hit the mark with his recent speech on the federal judiciary. The principles outlined in the speech are the principles that should guide any president in selecting the men and women who will sit on the federal bench. Bob Dole is also right to question the continuing involvement of the American Bar Association in the judicial selection process. Based on my experience over the years, the organized bar should be eliminated from the judicial selection process. If information from a non-constitutional group is needed, Bob Dole's idea of establishing a Judicial Integrity Panel to replace the ABA in the judicial selection process merits consideration. I have every confidence that, as president, Bob Dole will appoint judges who will rule fairly and will not have a preconceived agenda.'' (4/23/96)

Edwin Meese III, attorney general -- President Ronald Reagan:

''Every American should applaud Bob Dole's position on federal judges. He has made clear that he will provide real leadership for a better country by appointing judges who respect the Constitution and who understand the need to protect law-abiding citizens from crime. Having been the nation's chief law enforcement officer, I commend Bob Dole for his common sense measures to improve the federal judiciary and to make our society more safe.'' (4/24/96)

William P. Barr, attorney general -- President George Bush:

''Sen. Bob Dole is right on target in his critique of President Clinton's judicial appointments. President Clinton's appointments would undoubtedly get even worse if he were elected to a second term, since he would no longer face the disciplining threat of another election. The issue of judicial appointments ought to be a critical one in the upcoming presidential election. This country cannot afford any more judges who will handcuff the police in the war on crime, who will destroy the ability of communities to protect themselves from predators, and who will act as social engineers of a liberal policy agenda. As president, Bob Dole will appoint judges who will uphold the rule of law, not undermine it.'' (4/24/96)

Dick Thornburgh, attorney general -- President George Bush:

''I read with great interest your recent speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in which you address the problem of how judges should comport themselves to maintain our system of ordered liberty. I agree with many of the points in your analysis. I too have been disappointed by decisions in which some recently appointed judges appear to be willing to stretch a legal doctrine or fudge an evidentiary point to let particular defendants go free without serious thought as to the harmful effect their actions might have on society as a whole....I also commend you on your frank and accurate characterization of the American Bar Association as a liberal interest group. I have long supported the notion that the ABA should be made to choose between its advocacy of liberal causes on the one hand and its assumed role as an 'independent' reviewer of federal judicial candidates on the other.'' (4/23/96)

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$500 PER CHILD TAX CUT EXPECTED

GOP plotting strategy on the economy

'We're not winning the legislative fight over this,' a Dole official says of the battles over the minimum wage and balanced budget.

By KENNETH PINS
OF THE REGISTER'S WASHINGTON BUREAU

Washington, D.C. — Republicans plan a legislative strategy this spring designed to draw distinctions on economic issues between likely Republican nominee Bob Dole and President Clinton, a Dole campaign official said Monday.

The effort also is aimed at taking some of the pressure off Dole created by the minimum-wage issue, said former Rep. Vin Weber, co-chairman of the Dole campaign.

Weber said details were still being worked out but will likely include a $500 per child tax cut aimed at the middle class. The strategy probably will avoid a flat tax or a capital gains tax cut, issues identified with high-income taxpayers, he added.

Resistance Diminishing

Weber discussed the unfinished proposal with reporters Monday as support for a Democrat-backed increase in the minimum wage grows and Republican resistance to the idea diminishes.

The Associated Press reported that Labor Secretary Robert Reich and Sen. Ted Kennedy, D-Mass., called on Dole, the Senate Republican leader, to allow a vote on the minimum wage without other measures attached to it.

CAMPAIGN '96
RACE FOR PRESIDENT

Polls show support for a minimum wage boost now tops 80 percent, and Dole said Sunday that he now believes an increase will be passed by Congress this year.

One plan calls for a 90-cent increase in the $4.25-an-hour minimum, while a proposal by moderate House Republicans would raise the wage to $5.25.

Populist economic ideas pushed by Republican Pat Buchanan helped reorient the debate about an economy that is fundamentally sound — based on unemployment and inflation measures — but that still fails to improve the lives of many at the low end of the income scale.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., takes a break in his Capitol Hill office on Monday in Washington, D.C.

"The Republicans made a mistake in not talking more about it the past year," said Weber, referring to the stagnant incomes of many Americans that Dole now describes as the "Clinton crunch."

Weber said congressional Republicans are working on a proposal to shift the emphasis from the minimum wage and the stalemated legislative battle over a balanced-budget plan. "We're not winning the legislative fight over this," he said.

Immediate Steps

The new legislative program will feature immediate steps to improve living standards, while long-range plans for welfare reform and a balanced budget are held out for discussion in the presidential campaign.

Weber said Dole's lagging standing in the polls in head-to-head comparisons with Clinton is tied directly to the failure of the balanced-budget proposal, and aides plan to use the legislative agenda and campaign speeches to change that.

"That's what our job is right now, to create another set of perceptions," he said.

Christina Martin, a spokeswoman for the Dole campaign, did not return a call Monday for comment on the legislative plan.

On another matter, Weber seemed to rule out the possibility that Colin Powell might change his mind about becoming Dole's running mate, although Weber said he would be the best possible candidate for the job.

Weber said everyone close to Powell "tells me the same thing: He won't do it under any circumstances."

ARE YOU ALARMED? | VINYL

Wo ·ied Do e Ca r ba'gn, GOP o Accelerate Attack on Clinton

LOS ANGELES TIMES Subject: CAMPAIGN 96 Date: 4/24/96 Page 1 of 2

Senate majority leader's low poll standing prompts move. Aides also seek reduced role in daily congressional business.

BY RONALD BROWNSTEIN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

WASHINGTON—Anxiety over Sen. Bob Dole's weak position in the polls is prompting his campaign and the Republican National Committee to accelerate their efforts to articulate the GOP case against President Clinton, party and campaign sources say.

Spurred by recent national surveys showing the president holding a double-digit advantage over the Senate majority leader, the RNC plans to target Clinton in a major nationwide advertising campaign set to start in the next few weeks, committee officials say.

Likewise, the Dole campaign—frustrated over its inability to project a clear message from the Senate floor—is looking for ways to reduce the candidate's involvement in the congressional day-to-day business. Instead, campaign officials are laying plans for Dole to give more speeches that attempt to widen an ideological divide with Clinton, such as the address the Kansas senator delivered last Friday attacking the president's judicial appointments as too liberal.

"We need to get our message out sooner rather than later," says Fred Steeper, a pollster advising the Dole campaign. "And plans are underway to do that."

For months, despite polls showing Clinton in the lead, many Republican strategists insisted the incumbent was a fatally wounded opponent who, in the end, was certain to succumb. But these new maneuvers reflect a growing realiveness in GOP circles about the party's prospects not only in the presidential campaign but the fall's congressional elections.

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Dole, the presumptive GOP presidential nominee, dismissed the remarks from Kristol, a former chief of staff for Vice President Dan Quayle. But, with national surveys showing Clinton leading Dole by as much as 18 percentage points, Kristol is hardly the only member of what the Dole campaign calls "the sky is falling crowd."

On Monday, in fact, former Education Secretary William J. Bennett, a conservative leader, publicly criticized Dole's campaign as ineffectual and fretted that the GOP may "get walloped" in the presidential election.

"The Republican establishment is very down," says one senior party strategist. "The impact of [the] polls . . . is starting to build. I predict we will be in a frothing panic by next week."

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While few Republicans yet go as far as Kristol in writing off Dole, three distinct considerations are prompting substantial teeth-gnashing in GOP circles.

One is the polls themselves. Major media organizations have conducted 33 national surveys on the presidential race this year, and Clinton has led Dole in all of them, according to a compilation in the PoliticsUSA Internet site. Eighteen of the 23 surveys taken since mid-January have shown Clinton with at least a double-digit advantage over Dole; a national Los Angeles Times poll last week put Clinton ahead of Dole 55% to 37%.

Also, recent statewide polls in such battlegrounds as Ohio, Pennsylvania and

Associated Press

Dole checks assembly line at Oregon laser printer manufacturer earlier this year.

LOS ANGELES TIMES Subject: CAMPAIGN '96 Date: 4/24/96 Page: 2 of 2

New Jersey show Clinton holding large advantages over Dole. Nor is the picture any brighter in GOP strongholds; according to new polls in Arizona and Alabama, Dole is running no better than even with the president in both states.

Dole's strategy of using his Senate leadership role to lay the groundwork for overcoming Clinton has become the second principal source of anxiety. Bennett called on Dole to resign as majority leader, saying his Senate position was "a trap." Even inside Dole's campaign office, concern is growing that his plan of conducting his campaign primarily from the Senate floor has proven a "morass"—entangling him in damaging battles over the minimum wage, health care and the assault weapons ban.

"The idea of trying to be president from the Senate floor reinforces all of Dole's deal-making imagery rather than laying out a clear case against Clinton," said the senior GOP strategist.

Indeed, some of Dole's key campaign aides increasingly question how Dole's daily jousts with Democrats in the Senate advance his overall cause. They invest much more priority in a series of speeches they now plan for Dole to deliver every two or three weeks through the summer.

As in last Friday's address on judicial appointments, the overriding goal in those coming speeches—whose future topics will include the economy and welfare—is to puncture Clinton's efforts to portray himself as a sensible centrist. "We have got to push Clinton back in his liberal box," said one senior GOP operative.

Republicans plan to intensify that effort with a significant media campaign later this spring. The concern about the direction of the race has outweighed the arguments by some GOP strategists that the party should husband its resources until the fall. "You are going to see us going up pretty good with advertising in the coming weeks," said one party official.

The RNC's decision to intensify its advertising effort reflects the third major source of anxiety in Republican circles: the fear that the current Democratic advantages will grow steadily more difficult to dislodge if the GOP cannot erode them soon.

Actually, on this question Republicans divide into diametrical camps. The optimists view the GOP's current difficulties as temporary and explained largely by a barrage of Democratic advertising in key states and the wounds left by the struggle for the party's presidential nomination. These analysts predict that the gap in both the presidential and congressional campaigns will inexorably close as the conservative base consolidates in the months ahead.

"Four years ago at this time, Clinton was an unknown and he went on to be elected president," argues Rep. Bill Paxon of New York, chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee. "The national polls and [congressional] numbers and the presidential race and all these other things will take care of itself."

But such assessments are dismissed as Panglossian by a second camp of Republicans, who reject the assumption that political gravity will inevitably bend the electorate to the right. "There is much too much Republican complacency," says Kristol. "The conventional wisdom among Republicans is that Dole may lose but the race will certainly tighten. But that may be wrong. The race may just settle in at a 10- or 12-point gap and just sit there."

Kevin Phillips, the iconoclastic political analyst and former GOP strategist, holds a similar view. Like other analysts, Phillips notes that recent presidents whose job approval ratings were above 50% and rising in the spring of their fourth years—Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1956, Richard Nixon in 1972, Ronald Reagan in 1984—all went on to handily win reelection. By contrast, George Bush in 1992 and Jimmy Carter in 1980 had both seen their approval ratings sink down to around 40% by this point in their presidency.

Since last fall, Clinton's approval rating has consistently topped 50% for the first time in his tenure; in the most recent Times poll, his rating stood at 55% approval, 40% disapproval—almost exactly the same rating recorded at this point by Reagan, who won reelection in a landslide.

"There is still time for something to happen to screw it up for Clinton," says Phillips. "But, on the other hand, as you start heading toward May you are at the point where if a president was going to flash weakness they were generally flashing it already."

KANSAS CITY STAR 4/24

Dole's fund-raising problems

This week's report that thousands of dollars in illegal contributions were funneled into Sen. Bob Dole's presidential campaign is alarming. The central questions now are where the ultimate responsibility for any improper behavior rests and whether there are similar problems elsewhere in the Dole operation.

Federal authorities should thoroughly investigate this matter as quickly as possible. The Dole campaign should cooperate fully with them.

The information in the original *Star* story by Joe Stephens pointed toward a pattern of money laundering, with some employees at a Massachusetts sporting goods company saying they were given cash and told to write checks to the Dole campaign.

This would be an intolerable interference with the political process through which the country selects its national leaders. Any persons who have been in a money-laundering scheme have disqualified themselves from consideration for positions of public trust. They may face serious legal difficulties as well.

The Kansas senator has called on federal officials to investigate the charges, which is certainly appropriate. But the Dole campaign itself should also take a close look at what happened here, determine as quickly as possible what went wrong, and correct the problems.

Dole has a responsibility to his party and to the country at large to ensure that his 1996 campaign plays by the rules. He can expect particularly close scrutiny in connection with fund-raising operations this year because of embarrassing fund-raising problems that surfaced in the 1980s. The Federal Election Commission fined Dole's 1988 presidential campaign committee $100,000 for several problems, including accepting illegal donations from corporations.

These previous problems, in fact, are part of the reason why the new allegations are so disappointing. One would have thought that Dole and his top officials already would have gone to great lengths to prevent illegal efforts on his behalf. Suspicious patterns in the flow of money into campaign coffers should have set off immediate alarm bells within the Dole organization.

The Star report indicates, at a minimum, that adequate safeguards were not in place. One cannot help wondering whether other significant problems have also gone undetected.

Simon Fireman, who runs the sporting goods company in question, reportedly aspires to an ambassadorship. He displayed his diplomatic talents when, contacted by *The Star*, he responded with curses and insults.

Fireman has been a national vice chairman of finance for the Dole campaign. Regardless of what happens in the election, we sincerely hope that this man is never asked to represent the country abroad. We have had enough embarrassments already over the years from boors whose only qualifications for ambassadorships were fat checkbooks and big egos.

Federal officials need to move quickly in investigating this matter. Voters need to have as much information as possible about what happened — and about who was ultimately responsible — *before* the fall election rather than *after* it.

KANSAS CITY STAR 4/24

Common Cause joins Dole's call for inquiry

Senator's campaign has requested the FEC check into donations.

By JOE STEPHENS
Staff Writer

The public advocacy group Common Cause on Tuesday joined Sen. Bob Dole in urging the Federal Election Commission to investigate allegations that his campaign last year received thousands of dollars in illegal contributions.

In addition, sources confirmed that FBI agents on Monday tried to question at least one contributor linked to Boston millionaire Simon Fireman.

Fireman is a national vice chairman of finance for Dole's campaign. He also is chairman of Aqua-Leisure Industries, a sporting goods company south of Boston.

The Kansas City Star reported this week that employees of the company were illegally reimbursed for giving to Dole's campaign, according to four persons who wrote checks to the campaign.

The contributors said Fireman's executive assistant handed some workers stacks of $100 bills last year and told them to return with checks made out to "Dole for President." They reported personally receiving $5,000.

Fireman and his assistant have denied any wrongdoing.

On Tuesday, Common Cause announced it was urging the Federal Election Commission to immediately start an investigation into the "serious allegations."

In a letter to the election commission, Common Cause President Ann McBride pointed out it is illegal to reimburse anyone for a contribution. And it is also illegal to use corporate funds for a contribution, or to give more than $1,000 per election to a candidate's campaign committee.

"These violations are potentially more serious," McBride wrote, "since the improper contributions may have been partially matched by federal funds under the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act."

The general counsel for Dole's campaign urged a similar investigation on Monday.

Campaign spokeswoman Christina Martin said that, in addition to the request for an official inquiry, campaign workers themselves are "reaching out for information related to the allegations." But she said since the allegations surfaced, campaign officials have had no direct contact with Fireman, who is on a business trip to Hong Kong.

Questioned Tuesday outside his office at the Capitol, Dole repeated that he knew nothing about the allegations.

"In this business you don't know who's giving you money," Dole said. "We turned it over to the FEC."

Some Democrats have urged Dole to seek an expedited investigation, and Dole said, "Fine with me. Why would I care?" But he added, "We just made a request that they investigate it like they investigate anything else."

Washington correspondent Jake Thompson contributed to this article.

San Jose Mercury News

Wilson budget comes up short by $1 billion

BY HALLYE JORDAN
Mercury News Sacramento Bureau

SACRAMENTO — Democratic lawmakers aren't surprised Gov. Pete Wilson is predicting a shortfall of at least $1 billion in his proposed state budget, saying it was based on sketchy circumstances from the start.

"I didn't know how much (the deficit would be), but I thought there was too much speculation and wishful thinking associated with some of the revenue sources," said Senate President Pro Tempore Bill Lockyer, D-Hayward.

Wilson says the gap in his proposed budget could grow to $3 billion if state lawmakers refuse to eliminate the renter's tax credit and automatic cost-of-living increases for welfare grants, and if the federal government refuses to reimburse states for the costs of treating and incarcerating illegal aliens.

Shortfall no surprise

Democratic lawmakers say they expected the budget to fall short because it was based on federal action that might not take place.

Administration sources say Wilson is raising the problem now in hopes of pinning the blame for the state's budget woes on President Bill Clinton. In addition, Wilson hopes to pressure Democrats who control the state Senate to enact his budget proposals, including a package of welfare bills that swept out of the Assembly Human Services Committee on Tuesday morning.

"He wants to put pressure on the Democrats, you bet," said one knowledgeable source.

But Assembly Democratic leader Richard Katz of Panorama City said Wilson may just now be realizing how optimistic his budget proposal was, and is trying to prepare lawmakers for the bad news in May when his proposal is revised.

"I think he is trying to put the brakes on stuff like his 15 percent tax cut bill," Katz said.

While Wilson may try to blame the federal government and Democrats in particular for unbalancing his budget, even his own staff admits it was based on some iffy circumstances to begin with.

"Quite frankly, when we did the budget on Jan. 10, we stated quite clearly that certain actions had to occur to make sure budget was in balance," said Sean Walsh, Wilson spokesman.

Relied on welfare cuts

Identified then were overhauling the federal welfare system to allow states to create their own programs and reduce welfare grants; receiving reimbursement from the federal government for the state's costs of providing medical treatment and incarcerating illegal immigrants; eliminating the renters' tax credit; and permanently eliminating the automatic cost-of-living adjustments made to welfare grants.

Department of Finance spokesman H.D. Palmer said Wilson's budget largely relied on the expectation that Clinton would sign a welfare bill that would, among other things, give states the authority to cut welfare grants.

Based on statements Clinton made endorsing the federal welfare bill and on action taken by both the Congress and U.S. Senate, Palmer said the Wilson administration "made the determination that the president indeed would follow through and sign the welfare reform bill in January." Instead, on Jan. 9, the day before Wilson unveiled his budget proposal, Clinton vetoed the welfare bill — and cost California about $1.6 billion, Palmer said.

4-29-96
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San Francisco Chronicle

Wilson Now Sees Budget Shortage

Reversal of earlier optimistic forecast

By Greg Lucas
Chronicle Sacramento Bureau

Sacramento

Governor Pete Wilson has told legislative leaders that the state faces at least a $3 billion budget shortfall — a sharp change from the GOP governor's rosy expectations in January, when he offered a $59.6 billion spending plan for the coming fiscal year.

Wilson's calculation of the budget problem is based on the federal government's failure to pass sweeping changes in welfare reform, the state Legislature's refusal to back Wilson's proposed cuts in welfare and aid to the elderly, blind and disabled, and the return of the renters tax credit.

Financial predictions could worsen depending on tax collections this month by the Franchise Tax Board. April is the biggest month for income tax collection, which accounts for 45 percent of the state's revenue.

"The governor's budget was premised on a bunch of action to take money away from the elderly and the poor. We haven't done that yet, and he is worried about that," said Assemblyman Phil Isenberg, D-Sacramento. "We're going to have the seventh unbalanced budget in a row."

Wilson's comments to legislative leaders, made in a closed-door meeting late last week, were an attempt to change the tone of early budget negotiations. In part because of his January budget, which had the state ending the 1996-97 fiscal year with a cash reserve, lawmakers have been busy since then finding ways to spend — not save — money.

His comments also serve as a preview of the so-called May Revision, in which the governor updates the figures used in his January budget to reflect fiscal reality.

Wilson's estimate of the cash shortage is probably high. Privately, several Democratic lawmakers scoffed at his numbers because his total assumes lawmakers will do nothing to help balance the budget.

One likely budget balancing move that Wilson will not like is the Democratic-dominated Senate's expected refusal to enact his 15 percent cut in personal, bank and corporation taxes. Killing the idea would save the state $540 million.

Wilson's Department of Finance also says that as of March 31, the state had $334 million more in its coffers than was predicted in January.

Offsetting that is a loss of $1.6

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BUDGET

From Page 1

billion over the remaining two months of this fiscal year. Wilson's budget counted on savings of $1.6 billion due to passage of federal legislation overhauling welfare.

That legislation would have allowed California to impose a variety of welfare changes Wilson sought, including cuts in grant levels.

The day before Wilson presented his budget, the bill was vetoed by President Clinton and the savings vanished.

Renters Credit Remains

Also included in Wilson's $3 billion budget shortfall is the Legislature's refusal to back his plan to eliminate the renters tax credit, which was temporarily ended to solve previous budget shortfalls but is slated to return July 1.

Wilson estimates that if the tax credit returns, it will cost the state $520 million he did not count on in his January budget.

Wilson's budget also assumes California will receive about $600 million in federal reimbursement for the cost of jailing and providing health care for illegal immigrants — $500 million for health care and $100 million for incarceration.

Welfare Increases

Lawmakers also have balked at permanently eliminating automatic cost of living increases in welfare and aid to the elderly, blind and disabled sought by Wilson.

The governor and lawmakers eliminated the cost-of-living increases for five years to close a 1991 budget shortfall. They are scheduled to return July 1, along with the renters tax credit.

The Legislature agreed to wait until Nov. 1 for the automatic increases to return. That, the Wilson administration says, will cost the state $510 million.

"We will continue to reflect in the May Revision that the Legislature needs to take action on both the renters tax credit and the programs scheduled to come back on the books in the coming fiscal year in order to make the budget work," said H.D. Palmer, a spokesman for Wilson's Department of Finance.

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MONDAY'S FORECAST

April 22, 1996: Mostly cloudy; northerly winds 15 to 25 mph. Sunrise: 6:24 a.m. Sunset 8:03 p.m. Details: 2M

HIGH [redacted] LOW 35°

AND IN THE MANE EVE

A pair of pole vaulters hope to be a hair above at the Drake Relays th

THE NEWSPAPER IOWA DEPENDS UPON

The Des Moines Regist

DES MOINES, IOWA ■ MONDAY, APRIL 22, 1996 ■ PRICE 35 CENTS

IOWA VIEWS

IOWA POLL

■ According to the Iowa Poll, Iowans have a more favorable view of conditions in their state than in the nation as a whole.

Looking at the state of Iowa overall, do you think things are generally going in the right direction, or have they gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

	1993	Now
Right track	44%	66%
Wrong track	39%	25%
Unsure	17%	9%

Looking at the country overall, do you think things are generally going in the right direction, or have they gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

	1993	Now
Right track	31%	39%
Wrong track	60%	48%
Unsure	9%	13%

Based on interviews with 809 Iowans.

THE REGISTER

Poll: Iowa on right track, U.S. isn't

By THOMAS A. FOGARTY
REGISTER STAFF WRITER

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As the 1996 election season begins, the Iowa Poll assesses the prevailing mood of Iowans this way: They're bullish on Iowa, but bearish on the nation as a whole.

According to the poll, which is a scientific reading of public opinion by The Des Moines Register, two-thirds of Iowa adults say they think that things in Iowa are generally moving in the right direction.

But when interviewers ask the same people about the nation as a whole, fewer than half say they think things in the United States are moving generally in the right direction.

Primaries Approaching

The new poll comes as Iowa Republicans and Democrats begin gearing up for primary elections on June 4. Winners of their party nominations will move on to the Nov. 5 general election, when Iowans will select a U.S. senator, five members of the U.S. House, 125 state legislators and hundreds of county officials.

Maybe it's the result of corn prices topping $4 a bushel. Or maybe it's just the arrival of spring weather at long last. Whatever the cause, the Iowa Poll offers ample evidence that Iowans are viewing conditions in their state in positive terms.

According to the poll, 66 percent of Iowans say they see things in Iowa generally going in the right direction. Just 25 percent say they think things are badly off on the wrong track.

That's a considerably brighter outlook than when the Iowa Poll last asked the question in November 1993. Then, just 44 percent of Iowans said things in the state were going in the right direction, and 39 percent said things were badly off track.

The general satisfaction with the state of state affairs translates into some good popularity ratings for Iowa's top politicians.

Gov. Terry Branstad, for example,

POLL *Please turn to Page 2A*

ISSUES

IOWA POLL

■ Jobs and wages top the list of issues that concern Iowans this election year, the Iowa Poll shows. In response to an open-ended question about the single most important issue facing Iowa, that was the topic most often mentioned. Here is the full list:

Jobs/wages	15%
Crime/drugs	11%
Education	10%
Agriculture	8%
Economy	6%
Taxes	5%
Health care	4%
Family issues	3%
Balanced federal budget	3%
Welfare reform	3%
Abortion	1%
Other issues	10%
Unsure	21%

Based on interviews with 809 Iowans.

THE REGISTER

nate and were dropped.

Much of the political attention this ll will center on the Senate, which e Democrats control with 27 of the seats.

Democrats spent much of their ne in 1995 and 1996 positioning emselves to fend off GOP attacks. at made it easier for conserva- es to win approval of property x cuts and tougher crime legisla- n.

If the GOP takes control of both ambers this fall, look for some ngtime conservative causes to get re attention.

Branstad, who has been governor ce 1983, has never had a Republi- n-controlled House and Senate ving with him. He is campaigning rd to help the GOP capture the ate this fall to push pet bills such those dealing with tax cuts and death penalty.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

lay. Chirac was in town to t on nuclear safety.

ep reforms

nefit or not, who knows?" Clinton d of the summit. "(In) most de- cracies all over the world, people preoccupied with problems at ne, somewhat skeptical about for- n policy."

"I think the summit has changed ssians' opinions of Yeltsin," histo- n Irina Popova, 37, said as she tched television news coverage of r leader hobnobbing with Clinton. lany Russians want to feel they a part of Europe, and Yeltsin re is a tool to achieve full member- p. It is not clear how things would under Zyuganov."

But political analyst Andrei Vasi- sky of the Panoram analytical iter said he doubts the summit ll have much effect on voters' ws of Yeltsin.

"To change his image, Yeltsin has do something on the home front, . In the foreign policy arena," Vas- sky said.

mance from 64 percent of Iowans, the poll says. Another 30 percent disapprove of Branstad's job performance, and the rest are unsure. Branstad's popularity rating is about the same as it was when the Iowa Poll last asked the question in January 1995.

Iowa's U.S. senators also rate highly for their job performance. Sen. Charles Grassley, a Republican, wins approval from 64 percent of Iowa adults, the poll says. Another 22 percent disapprove of Grassley's performance, and 14 percent are undecided, the poll says.

As reported last week, Sen. Tom Harkin, a Democrat who is up for re-election, wins approval from 63 percent of Iowa adults. Twenty-five percent disapprove of Harkin's job performance, and the rest are undecided.

When Iowans look at the nation as a whole, they offer a different assessment. Just 39 percent of Iowans view things in the United States as generally moving in the right direction. Forty-eight percent say things are badly off on the wrong track. As negative as that assessment is, it's not quite as bad as when the Iowa Poll asked the question in January 1993. Then, when Bill Clinton was taking over from George Bush as president, Iowans who viewed the direction of the country negatively outnumbered those who viewed it positively by about 2-to-1.

The negative view reflected in the new Iowa Poll also is evident in some of the popularity ratings given to national-level politicians.

U.S. House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., for example, wins approval from just 32 percent of Iowans for his job performance. A majority of Iowans — 55 percent — disapprove of the job Gingrich is doing as speaker. Gingrich's rate of disapproval is up 19 percentage points from the last time the Iowa Poll asked the question in January 1995.

As reported earlier in The Register, Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, the Kansas Republican who appears to have the 1996 GOP presidential nomination in the bag, has seen his popularity rating with Iowans sag. The new poll shows that Dole now wins approval from 49 percent of Iowans for the handling of his Senate leadership duties. That marks a 14 percentage-point drop from Dole's Iowa Poll approval rating in January 1995.

For the moment, Clinton seems to have escaped the wrath of Iowans displeased about the direction of the country. As reported earlier, the new Iowa Poll shows that 61 percent of Iowans approve of his handling of the presidency.

The Iowa Poll, conducted March 30 to April 3, asked the following:

I'm going to read you a list of elected officials. Please tell me if you approve or disapprove of the job that person is doing in office. Bob Dole as U.S. Senate majority leader. Tom Harkin as U.S. senator. Charles Grassley as U.S. senator. Newt Gingrich as speaker of the U.S. House. Terry Branstad as governor.

Looking at the country overall, do you think things are generally going in the right direction, or have they gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

And in Iowa? Looking at the state of Iowa overall, do you think things are generally going in the right direction, or have they gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

In your opinion, what is the single most important issue facing Iowa today?

The Iowa Poll, directed by Sharon Pitmer, is based on interviews with 809 Iowans age 18 or older. Interviewers contacted households with randomly selected telephone numbers. Percentages based on the full sample may have a maximum margin of error of plus or minus 3.4 percentage points. Republishing the copyrighted Iowa Poll without credit to The Des Moines Regis-

515244505I IA DEMOCRATIC PAGE 02

Democratic Party, blacks develop rift

■ The state's black officeholders have begun thinking the Democrats take them for granted.

By HOWARD TROXLER
Times Political Editor

The long marriage between the Democratic Party and its black constituents is showing a few signs of strain in Florida.

Nobody is talking about a mass defection. It is hardly likely that black voters, 10 percent of the state's electorate, are about to switch parties by the thousands and put on Bob Dole buttons.

NAACP leader Leon Russell says loyalty to the party should be respected.

But there is a rising resentment, especially among the state's record number of black officeholders, against a party they believe takes them for granted.

From the fight over the state's voting districts, to the way Democrats have managed issues in the Legislature, some black officeholders believe their interests are being shunted aside.

It is a sticky problem for the Democrats, concerning their most faithful constituency. Black Floridians register Democratic at a rate of 15-1. They give President Clinton an approval rating of 92 percent.

Perhaps even more relevant, in the crucial coming weeks in the state Legislature, they hold enough seats to swing key votes either way — and say their support should no longer be considered automatic.

"The issue," says state NAACP President Leon Russell, "is whether the most loyal part of the Democratic Party gets any respect or benefit for that loyalty."

This week, a federal court threw out Florida's map for congressional districts — a map that had been designed to elect the maximum number of black candidates. It is a sore spot among black officeholders that the Democratic Party wanted to spread out black voters.

The reason: Gathering black voters into just a few districts got more blacks elected to office, but it also left the neighboring districts more Republican.

The Democrats argued it was better to have black voters more spread out, where they could help elect more Democrats overall — even if they were white.

Some black officeholders saw it as a sellout. Their own hard-won political gains would be sacrificed. The same split occurred in an earlier fight over state Senate districts.

"This ruling is clearly the result of a determination that black Floridians are not entitled to be represented in policy-making bodies, except by white people," the state NAACP said in reaction to the court ruling.

The resentment is showing up in other issues. For example, some black legislators this year accuse Gov. Lawton Chiles' office of trying to punish them for breaking ranks with the Democrats in ways that white legislators are not punished for. Rep. Mandy Dawson-White, D-Fort Lauderdale, said someone from the governor's office threatened to veto her budget priorities after she voted against Chiles on a tobacco issue.

"Nobody has made a move against any of the Anglo members who voted against them," Dawson-White said. "They are moving against us. It's unfair. I refuse to be singled out just because they think I'm African-American and have no place else to go."

However, Sen. Daryl L. Jones, D-Miami, described the tensions between black legislators and Democratic leaders as a healthy disagreement that has resulted in higher mutual regard.

"I think there has been a healthy respect created on both sides," said Jones, who sees both perspectives — he is a black senator who is scheduled to become the leader of the Democratic Party in the Senate in November. "When this is all said and done, you will have a much better situation than we've had before."

A few far-thinking Republicans, meanwhile, envision a time when they can recruit black voters.

A study conducted last year by the Foundation for Florida's Future, the Coral Gables think tank headed by Jeb Bush, the 1994 Republican candidate for governor, found that many black voters hold profoundly conservative social beliefs on school prayer, welfare reform, school discipline, school vouchers, and tough punishment for criminals.

Do Republicans want blacks to join their party? "Absolutely," Bush said in an interview. "But it will take more than the friction (with Democrats) for it to happen. Conservatives and Republicans have to reach out a lot more than we have."

Mark Sharpe, a Republican who ran for Congress in Tampa in 1992 and 1994 and is running this year, campaigned heavily in black precincts last time, though with limited success. "They have a lot of misgivings," Sharpe admits of black voters, "but there is a tremendous willingness to listen. . . . They are not as monolithic as the Democrats would have you believe."

The NAACP's Russell said the study findings are hardly new. "I don't know why that surprises people," he said. "As a group, I think blacks generally are more conservative than whites." But most black voters see Republicans as too punitive, too intolerant, he said.

National politics are too polarized, but more and more black voters will take part in Republican politics on the local level, Russell predicted.

"There's a point at which you have to say, if you're black and you actually want to influence officeholders locally, that it may mean you vote Republican," he said.

— Information from staff writer Lucy Morgan was used in this report.

APR 20 1996

ST. PETE TIMES

St. Pete Times
April 20

Legis ators discuss new map privately

Rep. Corrine Brown's district must be redrawn, a federal panel ruled.

■ Nervous about the redrawing of one North Florida district and its ripple effect, lawmakers talk behind closed doors.

By CECI CONNOLLY
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — For more than a year, under the stewardship of Rep. C.W. Bill Young, the Florida congressional delegation has voluntarily abided by the state's open meeting laws.

On Tuesday, with the stakes no less than their own political careers, they broke the tradition and shut the doors.

The politicians were haggling over new congressional district boundaries.

Last week, a federal panel ruled that the North Florida district of Democratic Rep. Corrine Brown is racially gerrymandered and must be redrawn. The court, split 2-1, gave the state Legislature just one month to come up with a new map.

Brown, who is one of three blacks representing Florida in Congress, has vowed to fight all the way to the Supreme Court.

"African-Americans in the state of Florida for 129 years had no representation," she said. "I got to Congress because people died so I could be here."

She is not the only lawmaker wor-

Please see DISTRICTS 5B

ST. PETE TIMES

APR 24 1996

Districts from 1B

ried about the ruling. The slightest adjustment of Brown's Jacksonville district would ripple through the others. And that makes some incumbents nervous.

"There was a request by some members to close it," said Rep. E. Clay Shaw Jr., who is the new delegation chairman. "Anytime any members request a meeting be closed, I will close it."

Think of the state's congressional district map as a giant balloon. Squeeze one boundary line and another expands.

Stearns

Fowler

GOP Reps. Cliff Stearns of Ocala and Tillie Fowler of Jacksonville appear most likely to be affected by any changes in Brown's district. In particular, more African-Americans could be shifted into their overwhelmingly white districts. Traditionally, incumbents dread new boundary lines because it means they must spend time and money winning over new constituents.

Karen Chandler, spokeswoman for state Senate President Jim Scott, would say only that the proposed map Scott is circulating has the blessing of a majority of the congressional members.

Shaw, a Fort Lauderdale Republican, announced after the meeting the delegation will send a letter urging state legislators to draw the new map "as expeditiously as stated" and with a "minimal amount of disruption to the current congressional districts."

Redistricting may be the one subject in modern politics that transcends partisanship, forcing alliances along geographic lines rather than party.

"It is a very sensitive issue," said Rep. John Mica, a Winter Park Republican who attended the private meeting. "We want to comply with everyone's wishes."

"I liked the idea it was closed," said Rep. Bill McCollum, R-Longwood. "This is a political matter; it's very sensitive. You get a franker discussion."

Most of the members said it wasn't their idea to hold a closed meeting, but none walked out in protest.

"I don't know why it's being closed," said Bradenton Republican Dan Miller as he smiled and entered the room.

"I would open it if I was in charge," said Democratic Rep. Peter Deutsch of Lauderhill, who said he asked to open the meeting but was refused.

"I'm outraged," joked a smiling Sanibel Rep. Porter Goss, a member of the House Ethics Committee.

Young, the Indian Rocks Beach Republican who led the delegation last year, said he could not attend because of a scheduling conflict. But he expressed surprise the meeting was private. "Redistricting is a totally open subject," he said.

Neither of Florida's senators attended the meeting.

After the private session, Shaw invited reporters to listen in on a discussion involving disaster insurance and a debate over when and where the delegation should meet in the future.

Rep. Alcee Hastings, D-Miramar, suggested monthly meetings. Brown suggested Wednesdays. Some liked early morning; others preferred evenings. McCollum proposed lunch.

"It helps to have refreshments," Rep. Pete Peterson said.

Rep. Mark Foley, R-West Palm Beach, said meeting regularly might improve the delegation's clout on Capitol Hill. "I hate to just meet on a panic-button issue when something affects us."

— Staff writer Lucy Morgan contributed to this report.

St. Petersburg Times - April 24

Kansas City Star 4/24

Election '96

kansascity.com

■ For updated news of politics and the campaign trail, visit Campaign '96 on *The Star's* Web site at http://www.kansascity.com.

Clinton team expected to tap Wheat for post

Democratic officials say former U.S. representative from Jackson County will be named for senior campaign role.

By DAVID GOLDSTEIN
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Alan Wheat, who represented Kansas City and Jackson County on Capitol Hill for 10 years, appears poised to be named to a senior position in the Clinton-Gore re-election campaign.

The White House is expected to make that announcement today, according to several Democratic officials familiar with the decision.

Wheat said on Tuesday night that he could not comment on his plans.

Wheat recently became a lobbyist for SmithKline Beecham Corp., a pharmaceutical firm. In his new political role, he will be one of three deputy campaign managers in charge of organizing grassroots political efforts.

In the daily campaign operations, Wheat will be in charge of political outreach with all the groups that comprise the traditional Democratic constituency.

Wheat

The White House also is expected to name Peter Knight, a former adviser to Vice President Al Gore, as the overall campaign manager. Knight was Gore's administrative assistant in the Senate and was manager of his short-lived 1988 presidential campaign.

The Clinton-Gore campaign had no comment about the impending announcements.

Until now, the president's re-election campaign has been a relatively quiet affair. Clinton has not formally announced his candidacy for re-election.

One campaign official was only half-joking recently when he said that the president may wait until he gives his acceptance speech at the Democratic convention in August.

With no bruising primary battle to wage, Clinton has chosen a low-key strategy. He has used his presidency to paint the broader themes that will color and shade his campaign message.

Missouri's position as one of several key battleground states probably played some role in the decision to bring Wheat into the campaign. But several Democrats praised Wheat's political acumen as valuable in any case.

"I think he does a great job," said Joyce Aboussie, political director for House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt of St. Louis. "He has got a tremendous amount of energy, and he interfaces with everybody very well."

Wheat was elected to Missouri's 5th Congressional District in 1982. He had a liberal voting record in Congress, where he went about his work without much fanfare.

He focused on local needs, such as securing money for the Blue River and Brush Creek flood control projects. But he also cast his net wider, to issues such as regulating firms that transport toxic PCBs and keeping economic sanctions against South Africa.

Coincidentally, Wheat's wife, Yolanda Townsend Wheat, was the beneficiary of a recent White House appointment. She was named to the National Credit Union Administration board.

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N&O

F-24-96

B ı ɔaker spokes a ı admits using racial slur

Press secretary says conversation was private

BY JOSEPH NEFF
STAFF WRITER

The spokesman for House Speaker Harold Brubaker, having observed a protest of University of North Carolina housekeepers and students at the General Assembly earlier this month, called the group "niggers and wormy kids."

Don Follmer, press secretary to Brubaker, on Tuesday acknowledged making the remarks April 10 to an Associated Press reporter in an office of the legislative press room. Follmer said he was making a private joke.

"I used that word in a private conversation in a private office," Follmer said. "It was entirely in jest, and it has nothing to do with my official job."

Brubaker, interviewed separately, said he knew nothing about the remarks, saying they were made in a private conversation.

"My staff is colorblind," Brubaker said. "They'd better all be colorblind."

When asked if he ever heard Follmer using racist language, Brubaker replied, "Never."

Follmer, who has been employed by other state agencies in the past, has worked under contract for Brubaker since the Asheboro Republican was elected speaker in 1995. Follmer is paid about $54,000 a year.

The remark was made about a protest by UNC housekeepers, many of whom are black, and UNC students. The group opposes a proposal to privatize university services such as housekeeping and ground maintenance. They say the privatization plan, if implemented, would cut salaries and benefits for some of the lowest-paid state employees.

Don Follmer says the racist remark was 'entirely in jest.'

More than 100 protesters rallied April 10 outside the Legislative Building. About 20 of them entered the building, chanting and visiting the offices of Brubaker and Senate

SEE FOLLMER, PAGE 10A

FOLLMER

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1A

President Pro Tem Marc Basnight.

Follmer was in the press office of Dennis Patterson, capital reporter with The Associated Press. Patterson's office is off the main press room, where most reporters have desks.

Patterson asked what the noise was about. Follmer responded with his comments about the housekeepers and students.

Adam Hochberg, a reporter with National Public Radio, was sitting in the press room and heard Follmer's remarks. Hochberg asked Follmer whether he actually was calling the protesters by those names. Follmer acknowledged it.

The News & Observer received a complaint about the comments. When called Tuesday, Hochberg confirmed the account.

Follmer said that he and Patterson sometimes engage in "anti-politically correct" banter in private.

"We are both against this political correctness," Follmer said. "Dennis and I trade offensive comments all the time."

Follmer said he has a long record of fairness and tolerance. As a reporter for The High Point Enterprise, he said he aggressively covered the civil rights movement and the Ku Klux Klan.

"I was once on the hit list of the KKK, and I carried a pistol for three years, on the advice of the FBI," Follmer said. "I am not a racist, and have never even been accused of being a racist."

Patterson declined to discuss the remarks, saying they were part of a private conversation in his office. But Patterson did confirm that he shared Follmer's dislike of things deemed "politically correct."

"It's common for me to hear those kinds of remarks, but I don't make them myself," Patterson said.

Larry Farrar, a UNC housekeeper who participated in the protest, said the remarks revealed a lot about Follmer.

"If he's saying something like that, that's a reflection of his ignorance," Farrar said. "That's all a remark like that shows — ignorance."

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Environmental aspects of farm law win praise

Dole, Glickman point to bipartisan success in crafting important conservation provisio

Two Kansans tell ag journalists that the act contains solid soil- and water-protection measures.

DMR

By GEORGE ANTHAN 4-22-96
THE REGISTER'S WASHINGTON BUREAU CHIEF

Washington, D.C. — Sen. Bob Dole and Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman hailed the 1996 Farm Act on Monday as perhaps the most important piece of environmental legislation in several years. They said its impact on soil and water resources may perhaps become its most significant legacy.

Speaking on Earth Day, Dole, R-Kan., the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, and Glickman, a former Kansas congressman, said the bill's conservation provisions were a result of bipartisan efforts in the best tradition of farm legislation.

Glickman said the farm bill actually may be "the most significant environmental legislation of the Clinton administration."

And Dole said most people, including many legislators and environmental activists, "have underestimated the importance of it,"

Dan Glickman
"No Dust Bowl," he vows

focusing instead on the measure's more heavily publicized subsidy payments to farmers.

"But there are a lot of good conservation provisions in the farm bill," said Dole. "It takes a common-sense approach, with $4 billion" to finance a variety of programs, including soil conservation and water resource and farmland protection.

The bill, popularly called called the Freedom To Farm Act, renews the 36 million-acre Conservation Reserve Program, which pays farmers to turn highly erodible acres to conserving uses. And it shifts some of the emphasis to more fragile lands in the East and Northeast.

Also, the bill allows farmers to convert row crop acres easily damaged by erosion to pasture, and could lead to cuts in pesticide and fertilizer use. It provides federal support for state and local efforts to protect farmland from development, and it helps livestock producers put programs in place to prevent pollution of water supplies.

Dole and Glickman spoke separately at a meeting of the National Association of Agricultural Journalists.

Both dealt with emerging signs of a major shortage of wheat and corn as world demand for the grains rises and as weather problems raise questions about 1996 crops, especially of winter wheat.

Glickman repeated that he sees "no reason to panic" but said the administration is "watching the situation carefully."

The secretary said he will allow land that can be safely cropped to be removed early from the conservation reserve so it can be planted to grains but emphasized that erodible land won't be allowed out. "There will be no Dust Bowl on my watch," he said. "Land that can safely come out of the reserve will be allowed out. Land that can't, won't."

Glickman repeated the administration's often-stated denial that President Clinton will order a grain export embargo as a way of moderating domestic food price increases.

Dole said he continues to hear reports that such an embargo is being discussed and said, "I hope it doesn't happen. We must maintain our reputation as a reliable supplier."

He said, though, that "there's no doubt there's all kinds of pressure" on the administration to impose such an export cutoff.

Dole said the Freedom To Farm Act's guaranteed payments to farmers at a time of high prices will result in "some horror stories about big, big crops and prices and big payments."

But he said that although he was initially concerned over this impact of the act, "I don't know how else to make it work."

Although the measure is designed to substitute guaranteed payments over seven years for all other farm subsidies, Dole said that if severe drought continues in parts o Oklahoma and Kansas, C probably would respond wi cial disaster aid program for there.

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Des Moines Register
(IA)
4/23

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4-23-96

A GANNETT NEWSPAPER

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Des Moines Register (IA)

THE REGISTER'S EDITORIALS

Too good to be true

Medical Savings Accounts leave the sick to insure each other.

At first glance, Medical Savings Accounts sound great. They reward those with healthy lifestyles, those who do not to run to the doctor with every heartburn, headache and hangnail, and they make consumers more fully aware of the cost of health care.

In the process they could wreck the whole idea of health insurance and leave the country more billions in debt.

The way medical insurance works for most: An employer buys coverage, and employees are stuck with only small co-payments, meaning they may pay a fraction of the cost when they must see a doctor or go to a hospital. Medical Savings Accounts, with variations depending on the plans, work this way: The employer buys a cheap health-insurance plan and puts the difference in cost — say, $3,000 yearly — into a Medical Savings Account in the employee's name. The cheap plan doesn't pay anything until after the employee has paid the first $3,000 of health costs in a year.

If the employee spends less than $3,000 for medical bills, the difference stays in his or her Medical Savings Account, tax-free and drawing interest. Sounds great.

For the young and healthy, it is. In fact, 70 percent of Americans spend no more than $1,000 yearly on health care. They could opt for an MSA plan, spend $1,000 on annual health care, keep $2,000 drawing interest in their tax-free MSA, and in time create a tidy nest egg. Health insurers would cherry-pick from this healthy group and make a mint.

The less-healthy 30 percent, representing the sick and the aged, whom no insurer wants to mess with, would wind up insuring each other — the poor paying for the poor. They lose the coverage once provided by health-care premiums paid by all, and the government loses the revenue from the billions shielded from taxes in the MSAs.

For the young and healthy, it's great. They could opt for an MSA plan and in time create a tidy nest egg. Health insurers would make a mint.

John Burry Jr., chairman and CEO of Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Ohio, notes that for the healthy majority, "an annual $3,000 MSA paid by their employer would amount to a yearly $2,000 tax-free bonus. For the rest, MSAs would turn the cost of health care and insurance into a living nightmare."

A national health-care policy should reward healthy lifestyles without subverting the intent of spreading the costs. MSAs aren't the answer.

The camera is watching

Video evidence lets people

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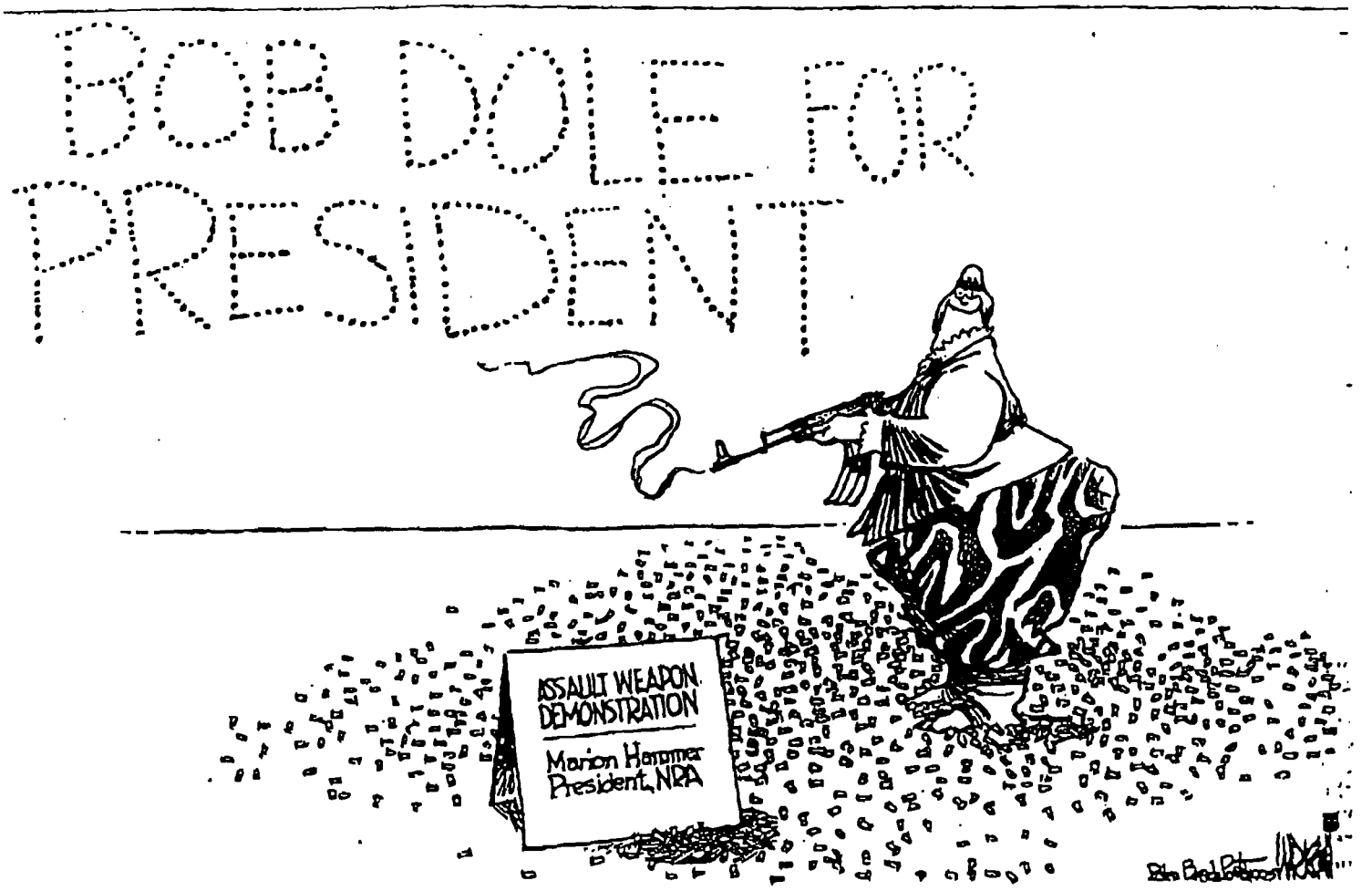


NRA's assault on grief

Last Friday, many Americans took a moment to remember victims of the Oklahoma City bombing. But one group gathered on the anniversary of the blast and, at least symbolically, fired assault weapons into the air.

The National Rifle Association went ahead with its annual conclave in Dallas. President Marion Hammer said that if the NRA had rescheduled in observance of the blast, people would say, "Uh-huh, they changed the date, so they must feel some way responsible."

Or people might say the NRA is starting to develop a conscience.

That seems unlikely. In Dallas, the NRA crowed about its political power and vowed to defeat President Clinton. Meanwhile, leaders tried to explain away the loss of nearly 500,000 members. It was caused by a $10 increase in annual dues, they said.

People who supposedly will die for the sake of the Second Amendment won't spend a little more for NRA membership? No, the NRA has gone for the fringe and lost the middle. Friday offered the latest evidence. While the NRA celebrated extremism, America mourned its consequences.

APR 2 3 1995
PALM BEACH POST

Palm Beach Post April 23

LOS ANGELES TIMES Subject: LAUSD Date: 4/23/96 Page: B1 of

Pressure Grows to Name Latino as L.A. Schools Chief

By AMY PYLE
TIMES EDUCATION WRITER

Latino activists increased pressure Monday for the immediate appointment of Deputy Supt. Ruben Zacarias to head the Los Angeles Unified School District, threatening to stage a recall campaign against one of the school board's newest members if the district's highest-ranking Latino is not promoted.

The top job, which opened a week ago when Supt. Sid Thompson announced he would resign in June 1997, was discussed for the first time Monday at a closed-door Board of Education meeting. No decisions were reached.

So far, only two board members have said they would vote right away to put Zacarias into the job and a coalition of Latino organizations noted that board member David Tokofsky was not one of them.

John Fernandez, director of the district's Mexican American Education Commission, characterized the talk of recalling Tokofsky as "very serious."

"We know that David won by very few votes, people remember that," Fernandez said. "I think that the community is looking

Please see LATINOS, B8

Continued from B1

to see where David really stands, if he's really true to the community or true to UTLA [the teachers' union]."

Tokofsky, a high school teacher endorsed by United Teachers-Los Angeles, was elected by a margin of just 76 votes in a June runoff against a Latina parent supported by most of the city's Latino politicians.

His 5th District seat was redrawn in 1992 to increase Latino representation on the school board. It stretches from the northeast San Fernando Valley to the Eastside, an area with a Latino population of more than 70%.

Responding to criticism that he is ignoring the wishes of those constituents, Tokofsky said he would not rule out eventually supporting Zacarias, but wants first to conduct a broader search.

"I think I've been very supportive of Ruben," he said. "But what I'm saying is that the board needs to set its qualifications and go through some kind of process."

Concerns have been raised about whether Zacarias' age—he is 66—and his three-decade tenure with the district would leave him poorly prepared for the next phase of school reform, in which power is to be transferred from district headquarters to schools.

Tokofsky has called for considering superintendent candidates from outside the district and perhaps outside education circles altogether—from private enterprise, for instance, or the military.

On Monday he clarified that position, saying that even if Zacarias were to take the top post, he would like to see outside replacements interviewed for the numerous department heads that form the district's senior staff.

More than 75 parents and community advocates showed up before the closed-door session Monday. After reciting the pledge of allegiance with the board, they shouted their support for Zacarias in Spanish, borrowing a phrase from the late farm worker organizer Cesar Chavez, *Si se puede*—Yes, we can.

Alan Clayton, an officer with the Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Assn., said he joined the protesters because he was tired of waiting patiently for a Latino to head a school system in which 67% of the students are Latino.

Similar groups pushed for Zacarias in 1992, when Thompson was appointed interim superintendent, but backed away from their threats to hold children out of school if their candidate did not gain the job.

Thompson was the top deputy superintendent then, Clayton pointed out, the same position Zacarias now holds.

"The concern now is that here's exactly the same situation, we have the No. 2 person, just like when Sid was No. 2, yet we're not seeing the same kind of get-behind-No. 2 support," he said. Thompson was 61 when he became superintendent.

Clayton, one of two architects of the redistricting plan that created the seat Tokofsky holds, said it was promature to talk about recalling the new board member.

"But I'm very upset with him," he added. "Here's his big chance, he should be cheerleading for Ruben, and he's been silent."

During the closed-door meeting after the protest, described variously as "collegial" and "heated," board members decided to discuss the superintendent's job again Wednesday. They also signaled their intent to honor Thompson's contract through June 1997, rather than buying him out early, and expressed concern about moving quickly to name a replacement and avert a drawn-out political battle.

The board's only Latina—Victoria Castro—expressed optimism that a majority of her colleagues would join her and support Zacarias, perhaps as early as Wednesday.

"I think that there are still three solid votes for my perspective and two more are possible," said Castro, who voted for Thompson three years ago.

LOS ANGELES TIMES Subject: FOREIGN AFFAIRS Date: 4/23/96 Page: B3 . 1 of 1

Seoul Opens Office in L.A. to Promote Trade

■ Pacific Rim: Mayor of South Korean capital says new center will help smaller businesses market products in the United States.

By K. CONNIE KANG
TIMES STAFF WRITER

In a historic step to strengthen economic and cultural ties between Los Angeles and Seoul, the mayor of the South Korean capital is opening an outreach office in Los Angeles today, the first such facility outside Asia.

"The two cities have much in common and a tremendous potential to work together for mutual benefit," said Seoul Mayor Cho Soon, who will inaugurate the Seoul Information Center, at 4801 Wilshire Blvd., this afternoon, with Mayor Richard Riordan and scores of local and state officials on hand.

"In an age of globalization, relationships between cities become more important than ever because the role of central governments decreases," Cho said. "What happens in Seoul and other parts of northeast Asia affects Los Angeles and California."

California is South Korea's fourth-largest trading partner, after Japan, Canada and Mexico.

Tonight, to celebrate the center's opening, Cho and his wife will host a reception with Korean entertainment at the Omni Hotel downtown. More than 1,100 people from the worlds of politics, business and academia have been invited.

The relationship between Los Angeles and Seoul goes back nearly a century, when Korean pioneers first settled here.

Today, Los Angeles has more Koreans than anywhere outside Asia. A majority of the more than 400,000 Koreans in Southern California hail from Seoul, a city of 11 million.

Cho, an economist with a doctorate from UC Berkeley, expressed the hope that the Seoul City Hall annex in Los Angeles will serve as an important two-way forum to exchange information on a number of subjects.

"We have much to learn from each other," he said.

The outreach office here will offer a variety of materials covering an array of subjects in print, video and through a computerized retrieval system, which will be backed up by resources in South Korea, officials said.

Cho said his office would like to assist small- and medium-size enterprises in Seoul with marketing products in the United States because they are handicapped by a lack of information. By the same token, he hopes his center will be useful to American businesses that are looking to establish business connections in Seoul.

"Most people outside Korea only know about the big companies such as Hyundai, Samsung or Daewoo," he said, "but the backbone of the South Korean economy consists of small- and medium-size businesses."

On Monday, Cho was the host at a meeting of Korean businessmen and their Los Angeles counterparts. He also visited subway construction sites. Traffic jams are a major problem in Seoul, which has 2 million cars.

The mayor also said he is studying federal and state clean air and other environmental laws to use them as models for Seoul, where smog is worse than in Los Angeles.

Cho, recently named South Korea's most popular politician in a public opinion survey, is an unusual public figure there.

Equally fond of Confucian classics and thoughtful man who believes that people of ability and social conscience should take part in public service.

At the age of 60, after two decades of teaching economics at the prestigious Seoul National University, Cho accepted in 1988 a simultaneous appointment as deputy prime minister and minister of the Economic Planning Board, which sets South Korea's economic policies.

"I went into government for one reason—for public service," he said.

He was later tapped to run the Bank of Korea, perhaps the most influential financial position in the country.

Last year, when he was drafted by a major opposition party to run for mayor of Seoul, he could not turn it down, Cho said.

"I had to practice what I preached," he said.

He won handily, becoming the first popularly elected mayor of Seoul in 35 years.

Cho said he shares with many Koreans at home and abroad the embarrassment of seeing two former presidents—Chun Doo-Hwan and Roh Tae-Woo—in jail for receiving bribes and abusing power.

But he expressed the hope that as democracy takes root in South Korea, after three decades of military rule, the importance of integrity in public and private lives will take hold.

What happened to the two corrupt leaders may not change the course of the South Korean body politic right away, he said, but there is a lesson to be learned from their fall.

That lesson is to make democracy work, he said. Toward that end, South Koreans individually as well as collectively need to think about what democracy really means and practice it.

Americans have a stake in what happens in Seoul and the rest of Asia, too, he said.

Cho leaves Wednesday afternoon for the Bay Area to deliver a speech at UC

IRIS SCHNEIDER / Los Angeles Times

Seoul Mayor Cho Soon looks over pamphlets at Seoul Information Center.

Great Falls TRIBUNE
Wednesday, April 24, 1996

8A

■ Guest column

Our minimum wage must come up

By MAX BAUCUS

The debate over the minimum wage is very simple. If you raise the minimum wage, you provide more than 52,000 working Montanans a higher salary and a better standard of living. We ought to do it, and we ought to do it now.

Here's an example. A few weeks ago, I was in the Safeway in Butte, and I met a young woman named Rhonda. She was in her early 20s, and like most people that age, she was anxious to build a better future for herself. But she told me, "Max, I am having a hard time making ends meet on minimum wage. I work hard, but it's just not enough."

Thousands of Montanans feel just the same. Their wages are rising too slowly to keep up with the cost of living. They find it harder and harder to save money to buy a house or send the kids to college.

The experts confirm this. A recent Paine-Webber analysis shows that real wages in America have declined from $7.55 per hour in 1990 to $7.40 in 1995. And Montana's getting the worst of it, trailing virtually every other state in the nation in wage growth.

- The purchasing power of the average Montana family has fallen by $700 over the last 10 years.
- In 1980, Montana's average personal income ranked 23rd in the nation. Now we're 41st.
- And the cost of living continues to climb — particularly when it comes to housing costs. Just five years ago the average price of a Montana home was about $48,000. Today it's $68,500.

The people who suffer most from wage stagnation are our Montana middle class. People who work hard. Pay taxes. Volunteer in their communities. That is unfair, and it's past time for Congress to do something about it.

It's fair to say that at the beginning of 1995, a lot of Montanans felt this Congress might help. There was a lot of new blood and some new ideas, and people had some high hopes.

Baucus

But those hopes have vanished in the mess of bumbling revolutionary experiments and government shutdowns that the leadership in the House has created. Rather than make people a little more prosperous and secure, the Congress seems to have deliberately done just the opposite.

When Speaker Gingrich, for example, was angry about his seating assignment on Air Force One a few months back, he shut down Yellowstone and Glacier National parks, along with most of the rest of the government, to take revenge. That drove small businesses in the gateway communities to the edge of bankruptcy, and put hard-working people on the edge of welfare.

All too often, from the government shutdowns to the assault on Medicare and education assistance, the new Congress has let our state down pretty badly. Rather than do something good and positive for the people, it does something irrational and destructive.

But we can change that if we can get Congress to raise the minimum wage.

That would mean a raise for hard-working people. Plain and simple. For a young woman working 40 hours a week at the minimum wage, a $.90 increase in the minimum wage means almost $2,000 more in the pocket every year. And it means a bump along the wage scale that will give some help to folks with a bit more seniority — the men and women struggling to provide for their families on $6 or $7 an hour.

I know some don't like the idea. But if they step back and look again, they'll find the opposition to a minimum wage increase boils down to one idea: higher wages are bad for America.

I simply can't accept that. America cannot prosper by keeping a lid on the prosperity of most of our families.

The minimum wage increase is a chance for Congress to show some common sense. Some independence from elitist supply-side ideologues. The courage to do what we all know is right.

By putting party ideology aside, the new Congress can rebuild some of the credit it has squandered in the past year and a half. It can do some good for honest, deserving working people like Rhonda. And it should do so right away.

Max Baucus is Montana's senior U.S. senator. Write him at Room 706, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510.

APRIL 25, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: DOUG SOSNIK and KAREN HANCOX

SUBJECT: DAILY REPORT

APR 25

1995 PRESIDENTIAL
Poll
WSFA-TV (Alabama)

This Mason-Dixon poll, conducted 4/18-4/20 among 834 registered voters, found Dole leading by nine percent. WSFA measured your job approval at 37% excellent/good, 63% fair/poor. A Birmingham (AL) News poll conducted the previous week found the race tied at 48 percent.

HEAD-TO-HEADS

Dole	49%	Dole	45%
Clinton	40	Clinton	37
		Perot	8

CANDIDATES
Pat Buchanan

A federal judge ruled that Texas's "sore loser" law applied to Presidential candidates, thereby preventing Buchanan from appearing on the US Taxpayers Party ballot. Taxpayers Party attorneys plan to appeal the decision. In any event, Buchanan has not stated he wants to appear on the Taxpayers ballot.

Ross Perot

An update: As of April 12, Perot's Reform Party has qualified for the ballot in eight states: California, Maine, Minnesota, Montana, North Dakota, Ohio, South Carolina, Utah and Virginia. They expect ballot approval soon in New Mexico and Tennessee and are pressing a ballot fight in Arkansas. The Party has petition drives underway in 19 other states. Perot hopes to have a party convention over the Labor Day weekend, but this is currently up in the air due to some state's requirement that the names of the nominee be submitted for the ballot before Labor Day.

Colin Powell

Colin Powell addressed a crowd of 5,000 at the University of Missouri-Rolla yesterday. There, he reiterated that he would not be a candidate this year "at any level" and said he could not think of anything that would change his mind. He also said he would play no role in the GOP presidential campaign, saying: "I am a private citizen, and will be practicing my politics in private." Powell also expressed confidence in Dole's presidential bid, saying "it is a little bit early to suggest he is in great trouble. His campaign is really just now beginning."

Dan Quayle, in Washington yesterday to promote his new book, said he believes Colin Powell could be talked into being Dole's running mate. Quayle said "assuming that [Powell] wants a future in politics, you cannot say no to your presidential nominee." Quayle stressed that he was not necessarily urging Dole to offer the spot to Powell, saying "there are arguments why [Dole] shouldn't put him on the ticket." He said that Powell's support of abortion rights is "not a fatal flaw" but that Dole still "may decide for various reasons that Colin Powell is not the right person." He said that if Dole wanted Powell on the ticket, he, former Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and former President Bush would try to talk him into it, if Dole desired.

When asked about the suggestion that his wife, Alma, is a big factor in Powell's decision, Quayle said: "Colin has hinted to me that too." Quayle went on to say that Powell "has said in various ways to me that he's not sure he's interested. And I can understand. You don't run for vice president." Quayle also said Dole should not pick his running mate until the week before the convention in San Diego. He rejected Bill Kristol's contention that a Dole loss in November was likely as "farfetched" and suggested that Kristol was trying to drum up publicity for his new magazine, the Weekly Standard.

Miscellaneous

Haley Barbour issued a release today declaring victory on the balanced budget and assailing your record on government spending and taxes. A copy of the release is attached.

STATE-BY-STATE REPORT / PRESIDENTIAL

New Jersey

Attached is a New Jersey Star Ledger article which discusses the differences in Dole and his current campaign team from his campaign teams of the past. The article talks about how Dole is more apt in 1996 than he was in 1988 to listen to his staff's advice and not as eager to micro-manage. The campaign staff itself is different than 1988 in that it is a younger breed -- at the hub is 35 year old Scott Reed who is credited with helping strategize the Republican take over of the House and Senate in 1994. At the time he was Executive Director of the RNC.

STATE-BY-STATE REPORT / NON-PRESIDENTIAL

Arizona

Governor Fife Symington (R) vetoed a $200 million property tax cut yesterday, delighting Democrats and disappointing Republicans. Governor Symington also announced he would call a special session of the legislature before June 15 to pass another tax cut, although legislative leaders say this bill was as good as any tax cut Symington is likely to get. The bill vetoed by Symington would eliminate the state's property tax and the education tax levied by counties, but would raise the minimum local school tax, which in turn would raise taxes in at least 19 school districts statewide. This prompted the Governor's veto.

Arkansas

A physical altercation erupted Tuesday night at a political forum between Kirby Smith (D) and Marion Berry (D), candidates in the Democratic primary for the 1st CD. Smith said the incident was initiated by Berry after Smith questioned Berry about his persistence in declining to participate in a three-way debate proposed by Smith and Tom Donaldson (D). Donaldson participated in Tuesday's forum, but was not present during the altercation. Smith said Berry shouted a vulgarity directed at him and then grabbed him by the shirt. Smith said "my natural reaction was to push back and he fell into some tables. It looked a lot worse than it really was." Berry's spokesman said Smith initiated the physical contact, by pushing Berry after Smith had expressed displeasure with a comment by a Berry campaign worker. Smith later said, "Mr. Berry's childish action after last night's forum let me know he is truly an elitist and when challenged, he resorts to verbal abuse and physical attacks."

Connecticut

The Connecticut State House voted to increase the state's minimum wage to $5.15 per hour. The increase would occur in two phases with the final increase effective in October 1997. The measure passed along party lines in the Democratic controlled House, 86-61, but is likely to fail in the Republican-controlled Senate. Governor John Rowland (R) has vowed to veto the bill if it reaches his desk. The minimum wage in Connecticut, which is currently $4.27, is lower than eight states, including Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Jersey. Roughly 45,000 people in the state receive the minimum wage in Connecticut.

Florida

A racially divided House voted 100-8 yesterday to pass its version of welfare reform, despite warnings from black lawmakers that the plan is mean-spirited, unduly harsh on children and may force some people into a life of crime. A tougher version of welfare reform passed the Senate last month. Now the two chambers will try to reach a compromise -- one likely to further dismay those unhappy with the House version. Both plans end welfare as an entitlement, requiring able-bodied poor adults to work for food stamps and cash assistance to children. Child care, job training and job placement would be available. Both plans call for reform to be enacted only if Congress passes federal reforms and gives money to the states in block grants.

Georgia

Per your inquiry: The three-judge panel hearing the redistricting case in Georgia vowed yesterday to keep the July 9 primary on schedule for the 1996 election. This will include all those running for the state House and Senate seats. It is still unclear what the 16 unconstitutional districts will look like. The judges said that independent candidates who have already begun collecting signatures to be placed on the ballot may still use those signatures even if they were collected in districts where the boundaries might change.

Mayor Bill Campbell (D) attended a rally yesterday at the state Capitol addressing recent affirmative action issues by Attorney General Mike Bowers (R). Campbell said a "sickness" is behind the effort to dismantle affirmative action programs in the state. "The sickness is blindness. A blindness not of the eye but of the soul and spirit." Campbell urged listeners to use the November election to "send a powerful message that anybody who wants our support must support us. It's non-negotiable." Campbell is hosting the National Conference of Black Mayors in Atlanta this week.

Hawaii

The state chapter of the Green Party has collected more than enough signatures to ensure it is on the 1996 general election ballot in Hawaii. The party has submitted more than 8,000 signatures to state election officials. The signature campaign was needed after Green Party candidates failed to collect 10% of the vote in the 1994 gubernatorial elections.

Idaho

GOP Senator Larry Craig and Rep. Helen Chenoweth have announced their opposition to raising the minimum wage. Both GOP members have agreed to leave the door open to backing a broader package of measures to improve economic conditions for workers.

Illinois

Rep. Dick Durbin's (D) campaign is attacking his Senate rival, millionaire trial attorney Al Salvi (R) for failing to fully disclose his finances. Salvi only released partial income tax statements and failed to disclose $400,000 in loans he made to his campaign in his initial FEC report for the first reporting period. (Salvi later amended his FEC report.) Unlike most cases where millionaire candidates are reluctant to release their finances, stories about Salvi's fortune first began to surface because it became clear he does not have the kind of personal wealth many originally thought. There is concern in GOP circles that Salvi does not have the resources or the willingness to substantially self-finance his fall campaign as he did his primary bid.

Nevada

Governor Bob Miller (D) underwent arthroscopic surgery to repair injuries to his right knee this morning in Las Vegas. Governor Miller is reportedly in good condition after his surgery, and will conduct official duties while in the hospital.

New Mexico

Absentee voting for the June 4th presidential primary officially began today. More than 700 candidates are running for various offices this year ranging from President to county commissioner. On May 15, for the first time in New Mexico's history, a 20-day early voting window begins where registered voters can go to their county clerk's office or a designated satellite polling place and immediately cast an early ballot.

Senator Jeff Bingaman (D) wants to require colleges and universities that receive federal money to give their students a chance to register to vote when they register for classes. Bingaman announced his Student Voter Registration Act as an effort to improve voter turnout among the nation's youngest voters. Bingaman also noted that higher voter registration among college students wouldn't benefit one major political party over the other. He noted in the 1994 mid-term elections, 49% of the voters aged 18-29 said they voted Republican and 48% said they voted Democratic.

North Carolina

A story by Al Hunt, in the Wall Street Journal, talks about how the Senate race in North Carolina hinges too much on race. The article is attached.

House Speaker Harold Brubaker (R) responded to the news that his spokesman used a racial slur to describe a group of protesting UNC housekeepers and students saying, "FIDO. That means forget it and drive on." House Majority Leader Leo Daughtry (R) has not decided how to respond to Brubaker's brushing over the incident.

Rhode Island

The Providence Journal-Bulletin reports that Representative Jack Reed's opponent in the U.S. Senate race, Republican State Treasurer Nancy Mayer, has not had a visible campaign presence in the state. Governor Lincoln Almond (R) and the Rhode Island Republican Chair recently met with Mayer to express their concerns and urge her to fundraise, brush up on national issues and be more visible.

South Carolina

Democrat Elliott Close officially announced his campaign against Strom Thurmond yesterday. Talking about Thurmond's age, Close said, "age should not be a question in any race, that's for the voters of South Carolina to make that decision." State GOP Chairman Henry McMaster said Close's campaign was "being directed from the West Wing of the White House," and that Close was "Bill and Hillary Clinton's hand-picked candidate." In his announcement, Close said, "the President has not gotten credit for some of the things he has done, such as lowering the deficit." If elected, Close said he would serve only two six-year terms and refuse any congressional pension or taxpayer-paid health care, vote for a balanced budget constitutional amendment, vote for an increase in the minimum wage, and vote to ban political action committee donations. He also supports term limits. Close is refusing direct PAC contributions.

Virginia

Former President George Bush told a crowd of 3,100 at Virginia Military Institute last night, "I stand before you a very happy man, I'm out of politics now and I don't miss it one damn bit." Bush had nothing bad to say about the President. His harshest criticism was aimed at Pat Buchanan. Bush said the only politics he cares about anymore are those with his two sons, Governor George Bush Jr, (R) and Jeb Bush. He also said that the Clinton Administration deserves great credit for brokering the Bosnian peace accord made in Dayton, Ohio.

West Virginia

Gubernatorial candidate Joe Manchin (D) wants a one-on-one debate with his Democratic opponent Charlotte Pritt (D), but Pritt and others say it would be unfair to the nine other candidates in the May 14 primary. Pritt and Manchin are leading in the polls and are considered the clear front runners. Manchin's campaign said Pritt is trying to duck a discussion of her legislative voting record and that she is out of step with West Virginians which is why she doesn't want to debate. Pritt's campaign responded that she has appeared in numerous candidate forums and said it would be unfair to exclude the other candidates.

MISC. - Product Liability

Attached is a script of the pro-product liability spot and a list of the markets where it is running.

Inside Politics - Thursday, April 25, 1996

This segment of Inside Politics was pre-empted with the President's announcement of balancing the budget in seven years.

Wolf Blitzer lead into the segment of the President offering a seven year Balanced Budget Amendment. Blitzer noted that the White House has anticipated that GOP Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole and House Speaker Newt Gingrich will not accept the President's latest plan and then again noted that bi-partisan negotiations will begin between Conservative Democrats and Moderate Republicans with Senator John Breaux (D-LA) leading the discussion.

An April CNN poll shows where most American have decided which issues deserved the most attention:

Balanced Budget	31%
Health Insurance	27%
Welfare	22%
Minimum Wage	8%
Immigration	7%

The next segment of Inside Politics lead with GOP Presidential candidate Bob Dole's strategy of moving from the right to the middle of the political spectrum. A political map showed that in the 23 GOP base states, Dole was ahead of the President in 11 of the states by 2 points in the latest polls and the President was ahead in five of the GOP base states. The remaining 7 states did not have recent polling data. The next version of the political map showed the battleground states. In the 14 battleground states, the President was ahead in 12 of the states by an average of 14 points, and the remaining two states did not have recent polling data. Recent polls among Independent and Moderate voters show that the President is increasing his lead over Dole.

A CNN poll taken among Independent voters shows:

Clinton	58%
Dole	24%

A CNN poll taken among Moderate voters shows:

Clinton	64%
Dole	33%

Again, this segment was short due to the President's Balanced Budget Amendment.

RNC's Barbour: Skirmish By Skirmish, Clinton Losing War Against Balanced Budget To: National Desk, Political Writer Contact: Mary Mead Crawford of the Republican National Committee,<

202-863-8550<

WASHINGTON, April 25/U.S. Newswire/ -- Following is a statement by Republican National Committe Chairman Haley Barbour:<

Despite Bill Clinton's best efforts at sabotage, Republicans are winning the people's battle to balance the budget.<

The government gets $43 billion less of the hard-earned dollars of America's working families to spend for one simple reason: the Republican Congress refused to let Bill Clinton have it. That amounts to $688 in savings for a family of four. The biggest government spending cut since the end of World War II has been achieved for one simple reason: Republicans reversed Clinton's big-government spending spree. Taxpayers are funding 200 fewer government programs this year for one simple reason: Republicans overruled Clinton's protection of the status quo.<

Bill Clinton has made it clear there will be no balanced budget as long as he's in the White House, but the Republican majorities in Congress have put the country on a path to a balanced budget in spite of Clinton. Since they took office in January 1995, Republicans have stopped Clinton from spending $43 billion more of the taxpayers' money, making a downpayment on the balanced budget they will fully achieve only when Clinton is out of the way and Bob Dole is president.<

The smaller government and lower deficit achieved by the Republican Congress this year are key ingredients in our economic growth agenda that will allow working Americans to earn more, and to keep more of what they earn, so they can do more with their families, their churches and their communities.<

Had Clinton not vetoed the $500 per-child tax credit and tax cuts for economic growth passed by Congress, and the first balanced budget in 26 years, America's working families would already be experiencing, first-hand, the benefits of the Republican agenda: 29 million families would be paying $500 per-child less in taxes: they would be paying less on their home mortgages, car notes and student loans because of the lower interest rates that would accompany balancing the budget; they would have more and better-paying jobs available to them because businesses would have more money to expand and grow.<

Bill Clinton is the only thing standing between America's working families earning more and keeping more of what they earn, so they can do more with their families, churches and communities. In November, working families will have the opportunity to remove that obstacle. -0-/U.S. Newswire 202-347-2770/<

GOP winner on Social Security

BY CAROLYN SKORNECK
The Associated Press

CE 4/25/96

WASHINGTON — The Democrats pressured the Senate into a vote Wednesday on protecting Social Security trust funds from being used to balance the budget. But in the end, the Republicans got what they wanted — no resolution at all.

The nonbinding sense of the Senate resolution sought by Democrats concerned the balanced budget amendment to the Constitution, which Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole has said he would bring up for a vote this year.

That constitutional amendment fell one vote short of the two-thirds majority needed in the Senate last year.

The Senate on Wednesday fir voted 92-6 to amend the Dem cratic resolution so it would urg that Social Security benefits not b cut nor taxes raised to balance th budget. Then the Senate vote 57-42 to table the whole thing.

"If it goes into the Social Secu rity trust fund, and then is used a other revenue to balance the feder al budget, then it is not going to b there when the baby boomers re tire," contended Sen. Byron Dor gan, D-N.D., who wrote the resolu tion. It came up for a vote as a amendment to the immigration bill

The amendment to Dorgan's resolution came from Republican Sens. Alan Simpson of Wyoming the immigration bill's chief author, and Dirk Kempthorne of Idaho.

Sen. Pete Domenici, R-N.M., noted that all the balanced budget proposals offered in the past year, including Democratic proposals, counted the Social Security trust funds when claiming to reach a balance.

"Seniors should know that if you can get a unified balanced budget by the year 2002 — which helps the American economy grow and prosper, brings interest rates down — it's the best thing you can do for the Social Security trust fund," he said.

To become part of the Constitution, an amendment requires a two-thirds vote of both the House and the Senate, followed by ratification by three-quarters of the states. The House passed the balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution last year.

Dorgan's insistence on a vote on his resolution and a push by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., for a vote on increasing the minimum wage, prompted Mr. Dole to pull the immigration bill off the Senate floor last week.

On Wednesday, without notice, Mr. Dorgan petitioned for a vote to cut off debate on the immigration bill to vote on his resolution.

Cincinnati Enquirer 4/25 (OH)

Clinton strategists not lying in wait any longer

BY RON FOURNIER
The Associated Press

CE 4/25/96

☆☆☆ Campaign'96

WASHINGTON — President Clinton can hardly pretend to ignore it any longer: He's a candidate, a full-blown, second-term wanna-be with a campaign manager, $20 million in the bank and a blueprint for re-election.

Eager to remain above the fray, unsullied by the gritty work of politics, the president and his staff have labored to maintain a low political profile.

ANALYSIS

Mr. Clinton has even refused to officially announce his intention to run.

But by naming Peter Knight his campaign manager Wednesday, the president jolted the subterranean campaign into action. He's out in the open. He's off.

And running.

"Guess we can't hide it anymore," one senior adviser said, laughing.

Doug Sosnik, political director at the White House, said Mr. Knight's appointment "ratchets up a bit" the campaign atmosphere — if only because the media will now pay more attention.

Peter Knight

The move gives the campaign another public face. It emboldens Vice President Al Gore. And it paves the way for dozens of nuts and bolts decisions that will lead to 50 state campaign organizations by late August.

"It means the circle of decision-makers has expanded by one," said campaign spokeswoman Ann Lewis.

But many of the tough early decisions have already been made: Much of the president's strategy, scheduling and staffing have been plotted through July. The closely guarded blueprint budgets money for political ads, presidential travel and the cost of running state organizations.

On another front, the White House is struggling for a response to GOP rival Bob Dole's drumbeat of criticism leveled at Clinton judicial appointments. After Mr. Dole accused the president of naming "an all-star team of liberal leniency," Mr. Clinton argued that more than 90 percent of his nominees sailed through without Mr. Dole's opposition.

The president promised to say more after returning from his Moscow trip, which ended Sunday. So far, he has been mum.

"We're just doing our little campaign here," Ms. Lewis said, only partly facetiously. "One foot in front of the other, in our quiet inconspicuous way. Don't spend a lot of money. Don't put out a lot of press releases."

And, for heavens sake, "Don't forget to be presidential."

Cincinnati Enquirer (OH)

Cleveland

High-powered lobbyist chosen as Clinton campaign chief

By RICHARD POWELLSON
SCRIPPS HOWARD

WASHINGTON — President Clinton's new campaign manager, Peter Knight, is a registered lobbyist for 14 special interests, ranging from trash king Browning Ferris Industries to entertainment giant Walt Disney Co.

Knight, 45, spent most of his career in Washington, D.C., working for Vice President Gore when Gore was a House member and senator.

He was national finance director of Gore's 1988 presidential bid and headed Gore's vice-presidential campaign in 1992.

Clinton said in a statement that Knight "brings managerial and strategic skills, and a personal commitment to making a difference. I have confidence in his integrity and leadership."

As a lawyer-lobbyist and partner at the Washington firm of Wunder, Diefenderfer, Cannon & Thelen, Knight is registered with the Secretary of the Senate to lobby for two regional Bell systems, Bell Atlantic and Pacific Telesis, operator of Pacific Bell and Nevada Bell.

> Clinton said in a statement that Knight "brings managerial and strategic skills, and a personal commitment to making a difference. I have confidence in his integrity and leadership."

Gore was very active recently in pushing Congress to adopt telecommunications reform, which was signed into law Feb. 8.

The law allows regional Bell systems to move into other businesses, such as carrying television programming and, under certain conditions, to offer long-distance service.

Knight's campaign work is to begin May 15. He will take a leave of absence from his firm during the campaign.

Senate records show Knight also registered to lobby for the Tennessee Valley Authority, a federal corporation that provides power, flood control and economic development programs for seven Southeastern states.

TVA, barred by federal law from lobbying federal entities, has not asked Knight to lobby anyone, TVA Chairman Craven Crowell said recently.

Crowell said Knight probably registered as a lobbyist for TVA out of caution in trying to comply with the new, broad lobbyist disclosure law.

Other Knight lobbying clients are: defense/energy contractor Lockheed Martin; the U.S. Olympic Committee; West Publishing, the country's prime publisher of legal reference materials; Siemens Transportation System; Molten Metal Technology; M4 Environmental Management; the International Olympic Committee; Berger & Montague; and Fluor Corp., an engineering, heavy construction, and coal and lead mining firm.

Alan Wheat Named Clinton Campaign Aide

By Bill Lambrecht
Post-Dispatch Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton's low-key re-election drive took new shape Wednesday with the selection of two top campaign aides, including former U.S. Rep. Alan Wheat, D-Mo.

Clinton appointed Peter S. Knight, a close ally of Vice President Al Gore, as campaign manager. Wheat was appointed a deputy campaign manager, with the task of building coalitions with voter groups around the country.

"If you live in the United States, I will be working with you to get your vote," Wheat said, describing the breadth of his duties.

Clinton's re-election campaign has never been in doubt. But the president has proceeded in a low-profile fashion in a calculated effort to portray himself as above the political fray. So far, Clinton has dispensed with the ritual of declaring his re-election bid, a formality for sitting presidents hoping to keep their jobs.

Joe Lockhart, spokesman for the Clinton-Gore '96 campaign, said Clinton might never announce that he was seeking the presidency again.

"By all standards, he's a candidate," Lockhart said. "We may formally announce that fact at some time, or we may not. The main focus of what's going on is that the president is the president."

While keeping quiet about politics, Clinton and his advisers have set in motion a strategy evident in where the president travels and where the Democratic National Committee runs television ads. The Midwest will play prominently in the campaign, presidential advisers have said.

Clinton also has been active on the fund-raising front. His campaign long ago reached the legal limit and has more than $20 million to spend through August, when federal matching money is dispersed.

The addition of Knight and Wheat probably rounds out the essential cast of Clinton-Gore campaign aides for the immediate future, Lockhart said. Much of the president's re-election strategy is set by Harold Ickes, the White House political adviser. Clinton also takes political advice from Dick Morris, a former Republican consultant and a longtime friend of the president.

The selection of Knight as campaign chairman probably means more say-so from Gore, who has been building the foundation for his own presidential campaign in the year 2000. Knight was Gore's chief of staff for 12 years when Gore was a U.S. representative and senator from Tennessee.

In appointing his new advisers, Clinton said that Wheat "builds coalitions wherever he goes." Wheat, 44, was a Democratic congressman from 1983 until he ran unsuccessfully in 1994 for the U.S. Senate. Wheat, an African-American, was known for his successful appeal to a broad range of voters in his Kansas City-area district.

After losing decisively in 1994 to Sen. John Ashcroft, R-Mo., Wheat suggested that he might abandon electoral politics. He became vice president for CARE, the relief organization, and just took a job in Washington at SmithKline Beecham.

"That was a very difficult year for me," Wheat said, referring to his losing senate campaign. "At the time, I could not have predicted that I would find myself with the opportunity to help re-elect a president who has demonstrated an ability to lead the nation during an extremely complicated time in our history."

PM-VA--Bush-VMI, Bjt,580
Bush No Longer Passionate About National Politics
AP Photo XLEX101, XLEX102, XLEX103
By DAVID REED= Associated Press Writer=

LEXINGTON, Va. (AP) Republicans hoping to see former president George Bush come out swinging for Bob Dole in the presidential campaign can forget it. He doesn't have the heart for it.

``I stand before you a very happy man,'' Bush told a crowd of 3,100 at Virginia Military Institute on Wednesday night. ``I'm out of politics now and I don't miss it one damn bit.''

Bush had nothing bad to say about President Clinton, the Democrat who knocked him out of office. His harshest criticism was aimed at Pat Buchanan, still an official candidate for the GOP's presidential nomination.

Bush said the only politics he cares deeply about anymore are those involving his sons: George Bush Jr., the governor of Texas, and Jeb Bush, who lost to Lawton Chiles in the race to become Florida's governor in 1994.

``Those are the only politics I viscerally care about,'' Bush said of his sons. ``That's where my political interests lie.''

The former president talked mostly about foreign relations. He said the United States should maintain its peacemaking role and continue promoting political reforms in Eastern Europe.

He accused Buchanan of advocating ``blatant, selfish protectionism'' and preying on people's economic insecurities during the presidential campaign.

``As the sole remaining superpower, we have a disproportionate responsibility to lead,'' he said. ``We cannot turn our back on the rest of the world.''

Bush said the Clinton administration handled the recent tensions between China and Taiwan reasonably well.

``I'm not sure we had to move the second carrier force there. But we must involve them in a strategic dialogue without heavy-handed intervention,'' Bush said.

When asked by a cadet after his speech about his opinion of the U.S. military presence in Bosnia, Bush said, ``I can't be particularly critical of the president.'' But then he added, ``For me, the Bosnia mission was never clear.''

Bush said when he was president, the missions were clear when he sent troops to Kuwait and Somalia.

Bush said he called military advisers Dick Cheney and Colin Powell into his office in 1992 to discuss whether to intervene in the war in Bosnia.

``They asked, `What is the mission?' I said, `Ending the brutality in the camps and keeping supply lines open.' They said there was no end to that mission, no guarantee of when the troops would come home.

``The jury is still out as to the military mission in Bosnia,'' Bush said. ``I just hope and pray our troops will come home as scheduled. I'm not sure of that at all.''

However, Bush said that the Clinton administration deserves great credit for brokering the Bosnian peace accord made in Dayton, Ohio.

Wednesday afternoon, Bush reviewed a cadet parade at VMI.

Bush, who was president when the Justice Department challenged VMI's male-only admissions policy, also greeted uniformed female cadets enrolled in the state's alternative program for women the Virginia Women's Institute for Leadership at nearby Mary Baldwin College.

Bush took no questions from the media, and VMI Superintendent Josiah Bunting said Bush kept his opinion of the sex-discrimination lawsuit to himself.

The U.S. Supreme Court is expected to issue an opinion at the end of June whether the public school's 157-year-old male-only tradition is constitutional.

A private endowment paid Bush's speaking fee, and VMI declined to divulge the amount.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH 4-25

EDITORIALS

Mr. Dole's Phony Issue

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole has reached into thin air to come up with the first of the major issues on which he will conduct his presidential campaign. In a speech last week, Mr. Dole charged that federal judges appointed by President Bill Clinton were responsible for crime.

Curiously, his accusation comes not only at a time the crime rate is decreasing and people are being packed off to prison in record numbers but when anger over soft-on-crime federal judges is close to nonexistent among Americans who have been asked by pollsters to discuss their concerns. Economic security, schools and core values, not federal judges, are what people are worrying about.

Americans cannot help but wonder about Mr. Dole's judgment when he resorts to Chicken Little tactics, telling the nation there is a terrible problem though no one can see any evidence of it. Moreover, they may conclude that he is an irresponsible mud-slinger when he charges, as he did last week in addressing the American Society of Newspaper Editors, that judges appointed by Mr. Clinton are one of the "root causes of the crime explosion."

Just what is Mr. Dole's evidence that "a startling number of Mr. Clinton's lower-court judges have demonstrated an outright hostility toward law enforcement"? In his speech he cited rulings by exactly two federal trial judges that were egregiously bad. That is a startling number? No doubt Republican operatives will find other rulings by Clinton appointees that will serve their purpose, but if one were to comb through the rulings of all the Reagan and Bush appointees, the chances are very good that similar examples could be found.

As one would expect, Mr. Dole asserted that Mr. Clinton's selections for the federal bench were liberals. But he is almost as wrong on that as he is on the claim that Clinton appointees are sympathetic to criminals. In the judgment of disinterested analysts, Mr. Clinton's judicial appointments, for the most part, have been non-ideological and even conservative. Liberal Democrats have complained that the president has ignored their kind.

To hear Mr. Dole tell it, one might conclude that the federal bench is crowded with Clinton appointees. However, he had to acknowledge that most federal judges were appointed by two Republican presidents, Ronald Reagan and George Bush. Mr. Clinton has appointed about 25 percent of the total. But, Mr. Dole warned, if Mr. Clinton is re-elected, he could end up with about half the appointments, including at least one more Supreme Court justice. By electing Mr. Dole, of course, the nation avoids this terrible fate.

If all of this were not enough to expose Mr. Dole's charge for the meritless nonsense that it is, then consider that the overwhelming majority of criminal cases are handled in state courts, not federal courts. There are fewer than 1,000 federal judges, though far more will be needed in the years ahead because Congress has made every infraction but littering a federal offense. If criminals are getting a break from judges in alarming numbers, they are getting those breaks in state courts. But there is no evidence of that, either. The reverse is true: defendants' rights are being narrowed these days by court decisions and congressional actions.

For about 30 years now, Republicans have been accusing the Democrats of being soft on crime, but in recent years the GOP has sold out to the gun lobby. As a result, the GOP leadership opposes the ban on 19 categories of assault-style rifles, opposes putting tracing materials in explosives, opposes banning bullets that pierce protective jackets worn by police and opposes a waiting period for the purchase of a handgun. In addition, the Republicans fought Mr. Clinton's plan to help local communities hire additional patrol officers. All of this has forced the presumptive Republican presidential candidate to look to Mr. Clinton's judicial appointments to find a way to continue flogging the Democratic candidate on crime.

The soft-on-crime claim is a complete phony. If Mr. Dole's opening salvo is any indication of what lies ahead in the presidential campaign, the nation is in for a nasty time of it.

LOS ANGELES TIMES Subject: Bob Dole Date: 4/25/96 Page: B9, 1 of 1

Dole's Battleground May Be His Undoing

■ Campaign '96: Challenging Clinton from the Senate invites the Democrats' sabotage.

By ROSS K. BAKER

If Bob Dole were not universally regarded as a legislative genius and parliamentary magician, we might better understand how easily he got ensnared in a trap that could have been detected by an astute 20-year-old political science major. Dole's decision to fight for the presidency from the office of Senate majority leader may well prove to be the biggest tactical mistake of his political career, for now he is compelled to do battle on terrain in which the ground rules work against him.

To comprehend the enormity of Dole's error, it is first necessary to understand what Congress does best and what it does least well. The framers of the Constitution feared, above all else, a runaway legislature that would pass oppressive laws, so they divided legislative power between two chambers and made the enactments of Congress subject to a presidential veto. What they fashioned was an institution designed to make things not happen. Efficiency and the leadership's ability to deliver legislation on demand was the farthest thing from their minds.

So when Dole vows to get a vote on some bill or even bring it up for debate, it is more a hope than a promise. His ability to deliver is contingent not only on the cooperation of his own party in both the House and the Senate but also, in large measure, on the acquiescence of Democrats in his own chamber who possess some potent tools to gut Dole's promises. When the president threatens a veto, however, he has the power to make good on it. He need consult no one; he need build no majorities.

Even if GOP control over both houses were materially stronger and party discipline tighter than it is now, Dole would still be at a serious disadvantage. Republicans have proved themselves less cohesive as the 104th Congress has progressed, and the differences between House and Senate Republicans have never been more pronounced.

Senate Republicans do not feel morally obliged to follow the game plan of House Speaker Newt Gingrich and his "contract with America." Institutional conceit runs strong in the Senate, and not even the most sympathetic Senate conservative wants his chamber to bob along like a cockboat behind Gingrich's man o' war. This split has bedeviled the GOP from the very first days of this Congress.

GOP senators up for election this year are not very comfortable being associated in the public's mind with Gingrich, whose unpopularity has plumbed new depths. And even though the speaker has graciously deferred to the senator, and, indeed, has been uncharacteristically restrained in recent weeks, he is a man always poised on the brink of blurting out something that astonishes. Although Dole may try to avoid the fallout from Gingrich's pronouncements, as party standard-bearer, he becomes answerable for Gingrich's shockers.

But even if Gingrich manages to hide his light under a bushel for the next six months and give Dole no grief, there is another potential ambush ahead on the road from the Hill to the White House. The Senate Democrats, although reduced in numbers since 1994, are still able to parry almost any Dole initiative with the upper chamber's most feared weapon: the filibuster.

The Senate minority can deploy the filibuster to do the president's dirty work. It had been part of Dole's tactical plan to present Clinton with bills that are popular with the general public but contain provisions opposed by important Democratic constituencies or disliked by the president himself. Clinton would then be presented with a succession of no-win situations in which he must accede to flawed legislation or veto bills that are favored by a majority of voters. But a bill successfully filibustered in the Senate will not reach the president's desk unless an almost unattainable majority of 60 senators votes to close off debate.

Dole's decision to remain in the majority leader's post while he campaigns for the presidency is usually defended on the ground that he alone could engineer the legislative reversals that would show up Bill Clinton as ineffectual, but it is Bob Dole whose deficiencies have been revealed. Last week, Dole was unable even to prevail upon his usually deferential junior colleague from Kansas, Nancy L. Kassebaum, to accept his medical savings account amendment on the health insurance bill she coauthored with Ted Kennedy.

A candidate for the presidency needs to be seen as someone who is master in his own house. Not only has Dole been unable to demonstrate this mastery, but he increasingly appears to be at the mercy of the household's most junior members while Clinton sits at the head of the table and leads the family in prayer.

Ross K. Baker is a professor of political science at Rutgers University.

DAILY NEWS o ` _OS ANGE _ES Subject: Media Date: 4/25/96 Page: 1 of 1

Liberal press and objectivity collide in '96

By Ben Wattenberg

AS if Bob Dole and the Republicans didn't have enough problems, comes now a startling poll about political journalism.

A good headline for the survey might be "Much Lefter Than Thou." It shows that Washington reporters are far more liberal and Democratic than the American electorate.

Thus, 50 percent of the reporters say they are Democrats. Only 4 percent say they are Republicans. Moreover, 61 percent of the reporters put themselves on the liberal side of the political divide. Only 9 percent say they are on the conservative side.

This is astonishing data. In the real world of voters, Democrats do not outnumber Republicans by 12 to one. The split between Republicans and Democrats is about even. Nor, in the real world, do liberals outnumber conservatives by seven to one. Conservatives outnumber liberals by about two to one.

Now, there have been other surveys of the political and ideological beliefs of journalists. All have shown a liberal imbalance. But none has shown magnitudes of this sort.

Moreover, this is no quick-and-dirty poll. The data comes from an extensive survey taken by the distinguished Roper Center. It was commissioned as part of a yearlong study about the Congress and the media by the Freedom Forum, a journalistic foundation of liberal-to-moderate mien, which is backed by stock of the Gannett Company, publishers of the moderate-to-liberal USA Today. No way that the data is the fruit of right-wing press-bashers.

But does partisan and ideological identification by reporters tend to color their reporting? Is there a liberal bias?

Heavens, no, says journalist Elaine Povich, who authored "Partners and Adversaries: the Contentious Connection Between Congress and the Media," the serious and interesting Freedom Forum study that included the poll.

"One of the things about being a professional is that you attempt to leave your personal feelings aside as you do your work," Povich told The Washington Times. "More people who are of a liberal persuasion go into reporting because they believe in the ethics and the ideals. . . . a lot of conservatives go into the private sector, go into Wall Street, go into banking. You find people who are idealistic tending toward the reporting end."

Right. These ethical, idealistic journalists left their personal feelings aside to this extent: When queried whether the 1994 Contract With America was an "election year campaign ploy" rather than "a serious reform proposal," 59 percent said "ploy" and only 3 percent said "serious."

(The Contract proposed welfare and crime reform, tax and regulatory change, term limits, a balanced-budget amendment and a line-item veto, all of which have subsequently passed at least one house of Congress, most of which have been foiled by Senate Democrats or President Clinton.)

The survey also shows that 89 percent of the Washington journalists voted for Bill Clinton in 1992. How many voted for George Bush? Just 7 percent.

So Dole and the Republicans have a problem. Recent polls show Dole trailing Clinton by about 15 to 20 percentage points, and voters giving about a 7 percentage-point advantage to Democrats in a "generic" election for the House of Representatives.

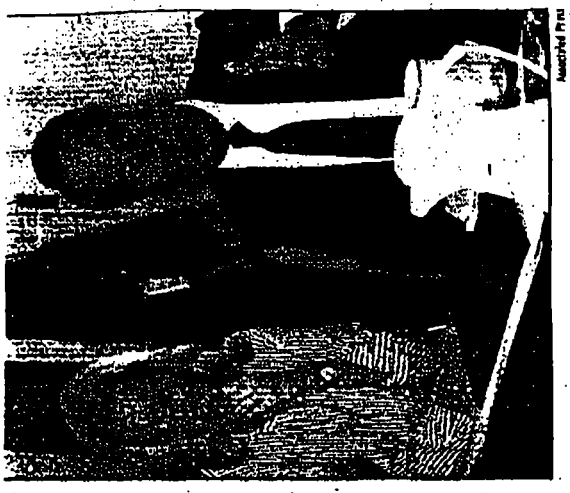
Of course, the election is more than six months away. Polls at this time are often near-meaningless. Some of the Clinton-Democratic lead stems from as-yet-unanswered Democratic television advertising. Still, it's better to be ahead than behind.

The only way Republicans can win the election is by making the case that Clinton and the Democrats (no matter what they say now) have demonstrated that they are too liberal and that a Dole-Republican government would only be moderate-conservative. It's the content, stupid.

Yet that L-word message to the voters must be carried in part by Washington journalists, while Dole shows his wares as Senate majority leader. The reporters who cover him in that role believe that they are professionals who leave their personal feelings aside (as Povich says), but that is not easy if they also believe that liberals are typically idealistic and ethical, while conservatives are typically Wall Street bankers (as Povich also indicates).

There are ways Republicans can get around this journalistic situation: talk radio, paid advertising, direct mail, phone banks and a direct challenge to the press. Most important, they need a disciplined, nondemagogic L-word policy offensive that is hard to misinterpret, even by the seven out of eight journalists who self-identify as Ls.

Ben Wattenberg, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, is the author of a new book, "Values Matter Most."



Former Democrat Sheila Burke works with Bob Dole as his Senate chief of staff, juggling Capitol Hill duties and campaign activities.

Dole's '96 braintrust is a younger breed

Star-Ledger 4/25/96 p. 1

By J. SCOTT ORR
Star-Ledger Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — In 1988, Bob Dole's campaign for the GOP presidential nomination was a disorganized, fractious affair, headed by an old-school Republican workhorse whose campaign career stretched back to the Nixon years.

The power struggles and infighting were legendary during those spring primaries eight years ago — like the celebrated episode in which two top aides were booted from Dole's plane halfway through a Florida campaign swing, likely hangs dumped unceremoniously on the tarmac.

The end came painfully in March, when a bitterly disappointed Dole told a Capitol Hill news conference he had had enough, that he was conceding to the eventual Republican nominee, George Bush.

"I have been beaten before," Dole said, "but I have never been defeated and never will be."

The 1996 version of Team Dole is nothing like the 1988 model. It is made up of proven winners, many 30 years the candidate's junior, who cut their political chops with successes in 90s campaigns. And Dole — a man with a long history of micromanagement and know-it-all self-reliance — is delegating power to his team leaders and graciously

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(1)

Dole assembles top-notch team to avoid errors of last campaign

New Jersey Star-Ledger 4/25

Continued from Page One

accepting the counsel of his advisers.

"Obviously, from the start it was going to be completely different," said Tom Korologos, a longtime Dole friend and adviser.

"He's a little more relaxed this time around, and he's not as interested in being his own scheduler, campaign manager and everything else. He's been around the loop, and he's learned from it," Korologos said.

"Bob recognized some of the mistakes that have been made in the past, and he just has kept his sense of humor and not been as mean or snappish. He's like all good politicians in that he learns lessons from his mistakes," said Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.).

The Dole campaign has been chugging along with apparent efficiency, winning 25 straight primaries and clinching the nomination. Still, multimillionaire publisher Steve Forbes and conservative commentator Pat Buchanan were hardly the kind of competition Dole faced in Bush during the 1988 race.

"Sure, they've won some primaries, but they beat a Martian and a nut," said Paul Begala, one of the strategists who engineered President Clinton's victory in 1992.

"I think they'll get better, but if you look at the Dole campaign's performance to date, you'd wear out a thesaurus looking for synonyms for pathetic. They have some talent over there, but they won't face a real test until they go up against Clinton," Begala added.

Dole is finding that out. In recent weeks, he has had difficulty in defining himself as a leader and outlining an agenda he can carry into the campaign and claim as his own. Yesterday, House Republican leaders virtually ruled out a vote on increasing the minimum wage. But that came just three days after Dole, who has opposed any increase, was asked if there would be one. He responded: "I assume there will. The House has already indicated they're going to pass the minimum wage."

Such problems have contributed to Dole's woes, with recent national polls giving Clinton an18-point lead. Closing that gap will fall to Dole's team.

At the hub of the Dole machine is 35-year-old Scott Reed, the super-organized whiz kid whose can-do style as executive director of the Republican National Committee helped engineer the GOP's congressional victory in 1994.

"Dole certainly has given Scott Reed, if not carte blanche, then certainly very wide latitude. This campaign is dramatically different than in 1988, when Dole appeared to be directing the pilot in midair," said Larry Sabato, a professor of political science at the University of Virginia.

Photo by Mark Abraham

Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) is an adviser to the Dole campaign.

> *'Look at who Dole has surrounded himself with. It's a new, younger generation of political leadership, not the old-timers who have failed him in the past.'*
>
> — **Roger Stone,** GOP consultant

"Look at who Dole has surrounded himself with," added Roger Stone, a GOP political consultant. "It's a new, younger generation of political leadership, not the old-timers who have failed him in the past."

"Under Reed, there are no factions, there's none of the bickering or backstabbing. They have command focus," added Stone, who was Reed's superior as Eastern regional director of Ronald Reagan's 1984 campaign.

Besides working for Reagan in 1984, Reed ran Jack Kemp's unsuccessful 1988 White House bid and was Kemp's chief of staff at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. But his political star soared in 1994 when, as RNC executive director, he captured a healthy share of the credit for orchestrating the Republican recapture of the House and Senate.

In 1988, Dole turned to a contemporary to run his campaign: Bill Brock, then 58 and a former Tennessee House member and senator and chairman of the Republican National Committee who worked on Nixon' campaign in 1972.

It was Brock who fired two of Dole's top staffers, David Keene and Don Devine, during a Florida campaign swing after Bush crushed Dole by nearly 10 points in the 1988 New Hampshire primary.

After a closer but equally disappointing loss to Buchanan in New Hampshire this February, it was time for the 1996 campaign to have its own shakeup. But this time there would be no bags tossed from the campaign plane.

Bill Lacy, deputy campaign chairman, chief strategist and a veteran of the 1988 Dole campaign, was offered a demotion and resigned, and pollster Bill McInturff of Public Opinion Strategies was quietly replaced. That done, the Dole ship sailed on with Reed alone at the helm.

"Reed is an incredibly efficient operator. He knows how to make decisions and to solve one problem after another," said Jeffrey Bell, a longtime GOP operative and 1978 New Jersey Senate candidate who knows Reed from the Kemp campaign.

"He had a tough situation after Iowa and New Hampshire, and it was clear some changes were needed. A campaign can be judged on how it reacts to adversity, and the Dole campaign was able to absorb those bumps and move forward," Bell added.

Mary Cannon, another former Kemp aide and longtime friend of Reed, described him as "carefully organized," a compulsive doer who always has a list and always completes everything on it.

"He is easygoing, but he doesn't like to waste time and he takes his responsibilities very seriously. He wants to see things get done. He doesn't like to leave loose ends," Cannon said.

Reed and the other top staffers declined to be interviewed for this article.

In many ways, Reed's style has

Please turn to next page

1 of 2

Dole campaign organization noted for youthfulness, competence and savvy

From preceding page

been adopted by the campaign itself.

"This campaign is incredibly focused and organized," said Dean Armandroff, former executive director of the New Jersey GOP and Dole's political director for the mid-Atlantic states.

"We have extremely capable leaders who manage the staff in a hands-on, very strong manner. There's a high level of accountability. It's a very detail-oriented mission," Armandroff said.

While Dole has delegated campaign power to Reed and his team, he also is listening more closely to his advisers and actually acceding to their advice at times.

"He doesn't just make snap decisions. His decisions are made internally; they percolate for a while before they come out," Korologos said.

First on his list of advisers and confidants is his wife Elizabeth Hanford Dole, whose resume includes her current position as president of the American Red Cross and former posts as transportation secretary, labor secretary and head of the Federal Trade Commission.

The second orbit includes colleagues and advisers from the world of politics like McCain, Sen. Pete Domenici (R-N.M.), New Hampshire Gov. Steve Merrill, former South Carolina Gov. Carroll Campbell and former United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick.

"There are a large number of people that he has built relationships with over the years that he goes to on various issues," said McCain. "I don't see an extremely small cadre of people who advise him on all issues."

"Bob Dole has taken an entirely different approach to this campaign. ... He has seen too many campaigns degenerate at the first sign of failure. This campaign has the talent to see that that is not allowed to happen," McCain added.

The Dole campaign has hit a few bumps, however. One came earlier this month when Mary Matalin, political director of Bush's failed 1992 race, signed up as an unpaid consultant. Numerous GOP leaders objected, citing her marriage to Clinton strategist James Carville. Within three days, she resigned.

The Team Dole starting line-up includes:

■ Sheila Burke, 45, though not a campaign staffer, is Dole's Senate chief of staff, charged with juggling his campaign and Senate duties. Since Dole locked up the nomination, she has played a bigger role as the lines between campaigning and legislating have blurred. A registered nurse and former Democrat, she was attacked by conservatives last year as being too liberal and steering Dole away from conservative positions. Burke has worked for Dole for 17 years and could land a key position in a Dole White House.

■ Robert Lighthizer, 49, campaign treasurer and key policy adviser, particularly on economic matters, was staff director and chief counsel to the Senate Finance Committee, which Dole chaired in the early 1980s. Now a partner in Washington law firm, Lighthizer is considered a leading candidate to be Dole's White House chief of staff.

■ Don Sipple, 45, chief strategist, replaced Lacy after the post-New Hampshire shakeup. Sipple, a media consultant who worked on California Gov. Pete Wilson's aborted presidential race, was credited with orchestrating 1994 gubernatorial wins for Wilson in California and George W. Bush in Texas.

■ Jill Hanson, 43, political director, oversees a vast web of regional and state operatives and is credited with arranging endorsement from 25 of the 31 Republican governors. She is a former RNC regional political director.

■ Jo Anne Coe, 62, finance director, has been raising money for Dole and his political action committee, Campaign America, for nearly 30 years. She raised $30 million for Dole last year.

■ Tony Fabrizio, 34, lead pollster, also was promoted after the February campaign shakeup. He played a key role George Allen's come-from-behind victory in the 1993 Virginia gubernatorial race.

2 of 2

Church affirms gay stance

United Methodists mix measure on issue

By Virginia Culver 4-25-96
Denver Post Religion Editor 10.23

United Methodists yesterday stuck to their 24-year-old stand that homosexuality is "incompatible with Christian teaching" — rejecting a measure that said the church can't agree on the controversial issue.

Sixty percent of the delegates voted to keep the traditional stance.

However, speakers on both sides of the issue said the church "is like an ethical and spiritual Continental Divide" on the topic.

The action yesterday, on the eighth day of the 10-day General Conference, is separate from the question of whether those who live homosexual lifestyles can be ordained. Present church law prohibits that, but it will once again come before the 1,000 delegates at this quadrennial conference.

The reform branch of Judaism and two churches, the United Church of Christ and the Unitarian-Universalist Association, ordain those living homosexual lifestyles.

During the two-hour debate, delegate Jeanne Barnett of Folsom, Calif., said she is a lesbian but the realization that she's gay "didn't cancel my baptism."

She pleaded for passage of the statement that the church is divided.

Delegate David Wilson of Hot Springs, Ark., said he didn't want to go home from this General Conference and tell people "we have no position" on the subject. "We have to speak with authority on moral issues."

But the Rev. Philip Wogaman of Washington said, "We must be careful not to condemn and stigmatize people when there is no clear answer to the reasons for homosexuality.

"Many gays lead exemplary lives," said Wogaman, pastor of Foundry United Methodist Church, which Bill and Hillary Clinton attend.

Delegate Jared Newman of Colorado Springs said present church language clearly condemns gays.

And, the Rev. David Seamands of Wilmore, Ky., said if the church accepts homosexual practice, it opens the door to intergenerational sex, "which means adults with children 9, 10 and 11."

Supporters of gay rights clearly were disappointed, but the Rev. Merlin Ackerson of Mason City, Iowa, said the vote was closer than in several past General Conferences.

The "incompatibility" phrase, as Methodists have come to call it, also includes the admonition that homosexuals as well as heterosexuals are worthy of God's love.

Denver Post

April 25, 1996

First lady visits Denver

Clinton urges funding of child-abuse prevention, talks with mothers during stopover at Kempe Center

By Katie Kerwin 5A 4/25/96
Rocky Mountain News Political Writer

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton visited a Denver child abuse prevention center Wednesday and urged continued funding for such programs.

"We have to persuade people that this is a good investment. You've got a lot of pressures running the opposite way," Clinton said during a visit to the C. Henry Kempe National Center for the Prevention and Treatment of Child Abuse and Neglect.

During this campaign year, the first lady has focused on the health and economic stability of women and children in speeches at home and abroad.

Her visit marked the second trip to Colorado this year. The state, which voted for President Clinton in 1992, will be crucial to the president's re-election bid.

INSIDE
■ Clinton addresses Methodists/26A

The first lady did not make any formal campaign stops but attended a dinner at the home of longtime friends Jim and Marcia Lyons.

She left Colorado Wednesday night and planned to visit children's programs today in Illinois.

In Denver, Clinton pressed for more programs that link experienced mothers with new moms from the day they give birth. Such pairings can defuse the problems that lead to abuse, she said.

Clinton criticized hospitals for releasing new mothers so quickly that volunteers can't track them down. She said it's inappropriate to boot women after 24 hours for normal deliveries and 72 hours for caesarean sections. "Having had a caesarean, it took me 72 hours to figure out I was still alive," she said.

The first lady spent a little over an hour at the east Denver center. She said she learned about the late Henry Kempe in the early '70s and had a "battered copy of *The Battered Child*," one of Kempe's books.

Clinton met with mentors and mothers in the Community Caring Program, which aims to improve parenting skills.

Yvette Williams told Clinton how much she struggled when she delivered twins as a single mother two and a half years ago. A Kempe Center volunteer called when the twins were a couple of months old and asked if she could use a visit.

Williams recalled thinking, "Yes. Please hold one right now. They're both crying."

The two have been getting together about once a week ever since.

"She's been a godsend," Williams said. "She would listen to me complain and cry and mope."

Clinton said that in the long run, child abuse prevention is key.

"It's so much cheaper to invest in a home visitor . . . than to pay the consequences," she said. "If people truly are worried about the costs to society . . . then these are the kinds of programs that should be supported. We know they work."

Rocky Mountain News April 25, 1996

Black ministers welcome at event despite criticism

22A 4/25/96

By Robert Jackson
Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer

Denver's black ministers are welcome to attend Million Man March activities despite the harsh criticism leveled at them by Nation of Islam minister Jamal Muhammad.

"We will solicit the help of some black pastors who have some backbone in this town and who will be willing to stand with us," Alvertis Simmons, executive director of the Local Organizing Committee of the Million Man March, said.

"We are not a separatist group, and are not hatemongers or racists. We are a group about uplifting our people. And if they are about uplifting our people, then they will come out and support us."

Four days of activities leading to Monday's rally will kick off today with opening ceremonies from 5:30 to 7 p.m. in front of the Martin Luther King Jr. statue in Denver City Park.

Jamal Muhammad said opening day will celebrate a community coming together.

Thursday will feature speeches and music, said Simmons, who invited gang members to Friday's Youth Rally at the pavilion in City Park.

"I will ask all our youth to be peaceful that day and have discipline because the whole nation will be looking at Denver," Simmons said.

First lady Praises Methodist Church during Denver visit

Mrs. Clinton also hails Kempe volunteers

By Virginia Culver
and Jeffrey A. Roberts
Denver Post Staff Writers

P-B 4-25-96

Hillary Rodham Clinton has given many a speech, but her Denver audience yesterday — including about 150 Methodist bishops — made her a bit jumpy.

"I haven't been so nervous since I gave my confirmation speech on what Jesus means to me," the first lady, a former Sunday school teacher, told nearly 4,000 fellow United Methodists at their international conference here. "I got through that all right," she added.

Clinton was warmly welcomed by the crowd at the General Conference of the United Methodist Church, which began April 16 and ends tomorrow.

She later traveled to east Denver for a visit to the Kempe National Center for the Prevention and Treatment of Child Abuse and Neglect, where she recognized volunteers in a program to help new parents.

In a 30-minute speech to the Methodists that was often interrupted by applause, the first lady recited her life-long background in the church and reiterated her concern for the

Please see HILLARY on 3B

Denver Post
April 25, 1996

First lady praises church on visit

HILLARY from Page 1B

world's children.

She praised the Methodist Church for instilling in her social concerns, such as caring for children and adults in poverty, people of color and others are who are "marginalized."

Quoting Jesus, she said, "Whoever welcomes a child welcomes me and the one who sent me."

"People of good will must take their blessings into a complex, maybe hostile world" to help the "unfed, unloved and unschooled," she said.

She praised the Methodist bishops for making children a priority of the church's work.

She said some of the most important lessons in her life have come from Sunday school and songs she learned there, such as "Jesus loves the little children. . . . Red, brown, yellow, black and white, all are precious in his sight."

"How can you be prejudiced when you hear that song?" she asked.

After a standing ovation, bishops and other Methodist leaders on the huge dais hugged the first lady, who fought back tears.

Among the church leaders present was her minister, the Rev. Philip Wogaman, pastor of Foundry United Methodist Church in Washington, which the Clintons regularly attend. President Clinton is a Southern Baptist; their daughter, Chelsea, is a United Methodist.

Mrs. Clinton made an oblique reference to the dispute at the conference over the ordination of gays.

Disagreements, she said, "are part of life, part of how we grow up together. We are called to work in diversity with patience."

Later, at the Kempe Center, she presented certificates of recognition to six female volunteers with the center's Community Caring Program to help new parents.

For the next 45 minutes, Mrs. Clinton participated in a roundtable discussion with Kempe Center staff members, center volunteers and people who have benefited from the Community Caring Program.

Started in 1985, the program sends experienced mothers into the homes of parents who are looking for guidance after the birth of their first child.

Yvette Williams, a single mother who is Miss Black Colorado, told Clinton how home-visitor Nancy McKeever helped her cope with having twin babies, one of whom was hooked up to an oxygen tank.

"She would listen to the complaining and crying and moping," Williams said. "She's been a godsend."

Clinton said the program is a working example of the community model she advocates in her book, "It Takes a Village."

"We have to persuade people that this is a good investment, and we've got a lot of pressure running the opposite way," she said. "It is so much cheaper to invest in a home visitor . . . than to pay for the consequences."

Mrs. Clinton sermonizes for kids

By DARRELL HOLLAND
PLAIN DEALER REPORTER

DENVER — Sounding more like a preacher than a politicized first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton urged United Methodists here yesterday to put their faith to work on behalf of the world's children.

Clinton reminded the some 5,000 people attending, including nearly 1,000 delegates to the church's General Conference, that she had learned the significance of caring for children in her lifelong connection with Methodism.

As a child attending her family's church in Park Ridge, Ill., near Chicago, she recalled singing the old children's hymn: "Jesus loves the little children of the world, red and yellow, black and white, they are precious in his sight. . . ."

She said she did not know to this day how anyone who sang that song in Sunday school or church "could grow up to be prejudiced."

Interrupted often by applause from the audience during her 45-minute speech, Clinton also recalled that the mandate to serve the needs of children and to attempt to strengthen families is rooted in the Gospel of Christ and the example and teaching of John Wesley, the 18th-century English clergyman who was the spiritual founder of Methodism.

Clinton, who now attends Foundry United Methodist Church in Washington, D.C., said faith should be expressed in service to the world, especially to families and children.

"I learned in the church," she said, "the connection of my pe sonal faith and my obligation as Christian to other individuals an to society.

"We all have an obligation t reach out and to support eac other and to work for solutions t problems . . . to roll up ou sleeves and to work together," she said.

Clinton praised the call by th church's bishops, as expressed i the episcopal address given Apr 16 on the opening day of the 10 day conference by Bishop Judit Craig of Columbus, for the churc to work to alleviate poverty strengthen families and protec children.

The welfare of children, sh said, should not be compromise by political or ideological de bates.

Schools should be strengthene so that all children have a chanc for a decent education, Clinto said, and each child should hav decent health care and a stabl family in which to be reared.

Citing the United Methodis Book of Discipline, the church' official teaching, Clinton said, "I calls us to reach out to those wh have been left out" and "to wra each child with love and disci pline."

Following Clinton's departure the delegates, after nearly a two hour debate, defeated a motion t remove from the denomination official teaching language tha says the practice of "homosexuality is incompatible with Christia teaching." The vote was 378 fo and 577 against removing the language. The issue had divided the delegates since 15 of the church's 120 bishops issued a statement a week ago calling for its removal and for a more open policy toward gays.

In defeating the proposal yesterday, the delegates also voted down language that would have been added to the official teaching that said the church would continue to struggle with its position on homosexuality, while affirming that God's grace is bestowed on all.

Two members of the 22-person delegation from the East Ohio United Methodist Conference — the Rev. Sally Dyck, pastor of Redeemer United Methodist Church in Cleveland Heights, and the Rev. Gregory Palmer, pastor of Berea United Methodist Church in Berea — said they were displeased that the church had not removed from its teaching ambiguities about whether gays are welcome in United Methodist churches.

Cleveland Plain-Dealer (OH)

Gingrich cleanses conservation image

• Unpopular policies trashed. New GOP plan looks like Clinton's

BY HEATHER DEWAR
Knight-Ridder Newspapers

WASHINGTON: Acknowledging that congressional Republicans' attempts to change environmental laws have been deeply unpopular and politically damaging, House Speaker Newt Gingrich yesterday embraced "the values and goals" of the environmental movement.

In a speech apparently aimed at softening his party's anti-environmental image, Gingrich staked out middle-of-the-road environmental positions.

Gingrich sketched Republicans' environmental history back to 1912, and outlined an agenda for the rest of the 104th Congress that mirrors Clinton administration proposals to make environmental rules more flexible and give more regulatory power to the states.

Republican leaders believe "the environmental movement in its values was basically right and in goals was exactly right," Gingrich said. Republicans differ with environmentalists only over tactics, he told members of the National Environmental Policy Institute, a nonpartisan industry-funded group.

His words contrasted sharply with a speech to the same group 14 months ago, when Gingrich, then newly installed as House speaker, said environmental regulations had produced few benefits and gravely harmed the nation's economy, and he pledged to "rethink, not repair" conservation laws.

In the freewheeling February 1995 talk, the Georgia Republican outlined more than a dozen proposals for changing the law. Among them was a bid to eliminate key provisions of the Endangered Species Act and turn some wildlife protection over to zoos, aquariums and other private groups. It makes little sense to spend public money on wildlife protection, Gingrich said last year, because extinction is a natural process. "That's the way life is."

But yesterday, Gingrich said, "Frankly, every species we lose is a level of knowledge that is irreplaceable," and pledged to support Endangered Species Act revisions that protect as many kinds of plants and animals as possible.

What caused the change? Efforts by Congress' most conservative members to sharply revise environmental laws have proven unpopular with voters and have divided the Republican Party.

Within the last year, more than a dozen polls, including one by the Republican National Committee, have shown a majority of Americans identify themselves as environmentalists and think the federal government should do more to protect the environment.

The Clinton re-election campaign is capitalizing on the issue. The president has added the environment to the list of core programs he intends to protect against budget cuts. He has already vetoed one 1996 budget bill that would weaken some environmental laws; about a dozen of those measures remain in Congress' latest budget bill, which he has again pledged to veto.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich answers questions after telling the National Press Club about his new environmental policies that offer greater protection for endangered species.

Knight-Ridder/Tribune

Akron Beacon Journal (OH)

KANSAS CITY STAR 4/25

Agriculture survey draws fire from GOP

By JAMES KUHNHENN
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON — The Agriculture Department last year used tax money to survey Kansas and Indiana voters on their political views, then produced an initial report that read much like a Democratic Party strategy paper.

The $33,000 project prompted a congressional investigation into whether the surveys were designed to target key Republicans: Sen. Bob Dole and Rep. Pat Roberts of Kansas and Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana. Roberts and Lugar head the agriculture committees of each house.

The first draft of the survey results contained descriptions of Republicans as "the opposition," referred to Clinton administration views as "our side" and repeatedly presented the opinions of respondents as those of "voters."

In at least one instance, the struggle over food stamp policy between the Clinton administration and congressional Republicans, was described as a "tough fight."

Agriculture Department officials say the four focus-group sessions — two in Topeka and two in Indianapolis — were nonpolitical and were designed to

See AGRICULTURE, A-14, Col. 1

Agriculture Department study comes under Republican fire

Continued from A-1

help shape reforms in food stamp policy. In fact, the final report did not contain most of the politically tinged language.

But congressional sources familiar with the questions posed at the sessions said they were not limited to food stamps and dealt with issues such as Republican welfare proposals and other aspects of the Republican "Contract with America."

Roberts, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, is expected today to announce a May 8 hearing by his committee on whether the focus groups constituted use of tax money for political purposes. Among the persons he plans to call to testify are Agriculture Undersecretary Ellen Haas, who requested the data, and pollster Celinda Lake, who obtained it.

Focus groups are marketing devices used to assess public opinion by compiling the views of a small group of carefully selected respondents. The Midwest is popular among market researchers, but Kansas and Indiana have the added attraction of being home to Dole, Roberts and Lugar, the chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee.

The Topeka focus groups met March 29, 1995. The Indianapolis sessions were conducted the next day.

Three of the focus groups were limited to white registered voters who were neither staunchly Democratic nor staunchly Republican — a segment of the electorate commonly known as swing voters.

Alicia Bambara, a spokeswoman for Haas, said Wednesday that the department hired Lake to identify public opinion on food stamp policies. She said Lake specifically focused on middle-of-the-road respondents because the Agriculture Department had not heard their views during forums and hearings throughout the country.

"We wanted this faction that was an influential voice on the Hill," Bambara said. "The media was talking about frustrated swing voters — white voters. We wanted to hear what they had to say."

Bambara said Haas and department officials are uncertain about who selected Topeka and Indianapolis as focus group sites, but she said Lake has a specific methodology for choosing survey locales. She said that after the General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, began inquiring about the focus groups, department officials were ethically prohibited from discussing the case with Lake and have been unable to refresh their memories.

Lake did not return several telephone calls Wednesday.

Bambara and congressional sources said that at least one department official raised concerns that the screening questions for the focus group participants were too political. Later, after the first draft of the report was read, those questions came up again, Bambara said.

"It seemed too controversial, too partisan," she said. "We raised a red flag."

The idea for the survey grew out of a Feb. 16, 1995, dinner meeting between Haas and Lake, congressional sources said. That was a time when Roberts was in the midst of hearings on the food stamp program. At the time, conservative Republicans were demanding that the food stamp program end and that nutrition money be sent directly to the states for distribution.

Roberts objected, however, and he ultimately prevailed, keeping the program in federal hands but proposing broad reforms to reduce fraud.

Haas has had several run-ins with congressional Republicans. She received criticism in 1995 for a $400,000 campaign to use Disney characters to encourage children to eat healthier food.

She also has been under fire for wanting to replace traditional school lunch fare with more diversified foods.

In contrast, the Agriculture Department head, former Democratic Rep. Dan Glickman of Kansas, enjoys a good relationship with congressional Republicans.

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House passes welfare overhaul

■ Some House members "don't have a clue what it's like to be poor," said one lawmaker.

By KIT TROYER
Times Staff Writer

TALLAHASSEE — The House approved a sweeping plan to overhaul welfare Wednesday despite furious protests from black lawmakers who complained it was too harsh.

They predicted thousands of children would go hungry and that crime would rise statewide as families were pushed off the welfare rolls.

"You want to punish the parent? Punish the parent," said Rep. Josephus Eggelletion Jr., D-Lauderdale Lakes.

"Children didn't ask to come here in this world. We ought not to be mean-spirited."

The plan was approved 100-18 after more than three hours of debate, with some members quoting from the Bible and others trading angry accusations over how children would be

BED TAX FOR BUCS?: Now the plan is to increase the hotel tax, but that proposal faces opposition, too. 3B

Please see **WELFARE** 7B

Welfare from 1B

affected by welfare reform.

Fourteen of the 18 no votes were cast by black lawmakers.

"There's a difference between welfare reform and punishing kids," said Rep. Al Lawson, D-Tallahassee, who is black.

But the House plan's critics likely will have even stronger objections to the Senate bill approved last month. That plan puts stricter limits on how long poor people could receive government checks, and would make it tougher for some disabled residents to stay on welfare.

The House and Senate next will seek a compromise package to send to Gov. Lawton Chiles.

The changes would affect the more than 200,000 Floridians who receive Aid to Families With Dependent Children.

The U.S. Congress is considering legislation that would give states broad control over how welfare money is spent. So the Florida Legislature is wrestling with how to exercise that control.

Among the proposals: limiting people to two years of monthly AFDC checks, and requiring welfare recipients to work 40 hours a week — even at "make-work" assignments such as cleaning parks.

Lawson kicked off Wednesday's debate by saying the plan would be a disaster.

He said kids whose parents were forced off welfare should still be able to receive assistance through other adults approved by the state, possibly relatives. His proposal failed, 81-31. But it set off an argument over how kids would fare under the House plan.

"I can't believe you clearly understand what you're doing," said Rep. Mandy Dawson-White, D-Fort Lauderdale.

"The parent is non-compliant. The children are just there. They didn't have the opportunity to choose their parents," she said.

She made a proposal that she said would soften the bill's impact, but it too failed, 81-25.

Afterward, she complained, "Many of the people who have worked on this issue, don't have a clue what it's like to be poor."

Other House members, caught off guard by the strength of opposition among black legislators, answered that the public's demand for a slimmed-down welfare apparatus has reached a crescendo.

"We're facing a tide coming at us," said Rep. Mary Brennan, D-Pinellas Park.

"I can't emphasize enough," she said, "the resources for these programs are finite."

Several differences still need to be worked out between the House and Senate plans, including how to deal with disabled people whose benefits could be reduced under the pending legislation in Congress.

The House plan would keep benefits at the same level. Senate leaders say that would cost $45-million or more, money the state can't spare.

Otherwise, though, Sen. Toni Jennings, R-Orlando, chairwoman of the Senate Select Committee on Social Services Reform, said the House and Senate packages appear "amazingly similar."

ST. PETE TIMES
APR 25 1996

North Carolina Contest Hinges Too Much on Race

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—Harvey Gantt is telling it like it is to the predominantly black audience at the Galilee Missionary Baptist Church: "A generation ago a lot of us changed the face of the South forever," he says to a chorus of amens. "We can do that again."

Mr. Gantt is running for the Democratic nomination in the May 7 primary to challenge Sen. Jesse Helms. On paper, the Gantt candidacy should command widespread enthusiasm. In his first statewide effort six years ago he gave Sen. Helms a real scare; a switch of

Politics & People

By Albert R. Hunt

54,000 votes (out of more than two million cast) would have given him the election.

He has impressive credentials. A 53-year-old former two-term mayor of Charlotte, he played an important role in developing that city into the newest success story of the South. He has lived the Horatio Alger story that the Jesse Helmses of the world only talk about. He spent the first five years of his life in the public housing projects of Charleston, S.C., and rose to become one of this state's most successful architects, earning more than $570,000 a year. Three decades ago he was one of those courageous young students who broke down barriers—like Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes at Georgia and James Meredith at Mississippi—when he became the first black to attend Clemson University.

A moderate by national Democratic standards, Mr. Gantt should be a solid favorite to get a second crack against the four-term, right-wing Republican senator. Instead he's in a razor-tight contest with Charles Sanders, the former chairman of Glaxo and a resident of North Carolina for only seven years. The case for Mr. Sanders has little to do with philosophy or ideas; it is that, unlike Mr. Gantt, he can beat Jesse Helms.

Few put it so impolitely, but what the white establishment, as well as some African-Americans, in North Carolina are saying is that in 1996 a qualified black can't compete against a politician notorious for using hateful tactics.

Mr. Sanders isn't trying to play a race card. By all accounts he's a decent, good citizen. But the unspoken rationale of his candidacy is that it's critical to beat Jesse Helms and only a white man can do that.

Certainly for all the strides that African-Americans have made since Mr. Gantt was integrating Clemson in 1963 the record of whites voting for blacks isn't very encouraging. There have been only two African-Americans in the U.S. Senate in this century, and of the 39 African-Americans currently in Congress, only a half-dozen—including the two Republicans—represent districts that are not mostly black. The only black ever elected governor was Virginia's Doug Wilder. Today in all 50 states there are only 18 black elected officials statewide and more than half of those are judges. (Two are in North Carolina, including the state auditor.)

There are more blacks in Congress largely due to racial-oriented redistricting, which has boomeranged on liberals; this process has actually benefited twice as many conservative Republicans as blacks. And some African-American lawmakers, like Georgia's Cynthia McKinney, have come to think of a majority black district as an entitlement.

As wrong as that is, it becomes more understandable if attractive blacks don't have a shot at putting together biracial winning coalitions. Last time Mr. Gantt got about one-third of the white vote against Sen. Helms, but today the word is he can't win.

Mr. Gantt has caused some of his current problems himself. He did a poor job of thanking supporters after the 1990 contest and since then hasn't worked the state as well as he should have.

But both candidates, while straining to create a winning edge, basically concede there are few major differences between them. Both rail against Republican efforts to cut Medicare spending and environmental protection; both favor the Kennedy-Kassebaum health care reform and an increase in the minimum wage; and both basically are pro-choice on abortion. They differ on the death penalty; Mr. Gantt opposes it. They also disagree on a tax cut; Mr. Sanders opposes it now and Mr. Gantt advocates a tax deduction for educational expenses.

Doug Heyl, the Sanders campaign manager, bristles at suggestions this primary revolves around race. "It is Harvey Gantt that is trying to inject race into this," he insists. "That's one of the most absurd charges that I've ever seen."

Harvey Gantt

What is the issue then? "Four times political insiders have run against Jesse Helms, and he has picked them apart," insists Mr. Heyl. "Charlie Sanders is not the old kind of Democrat who wants to fix everything by government." But Mr. Heyl makes that charge only minutes after insisting there isn't much substantive difference between the two. The insider or new-vs.-old Democrat business is a camouflage.

There are questions about Mr. Sanders's candidacy also. He comes from a longtime Democratic family in Texas but contributed money to his friend George Bush in early 1992. There's reason to wonder whether the 64-year-old former head of a drug company can appeal to the blue-collar Democrats that Jesse Helms has captured in the past.

There is little doubt that Sen. Helms will run a vicious campaign no matter his opponent; he recently fired his media consultant after he'd run a series of ads attacking the Democrats for supporting racial quotas in hiring (they don't) and trying to link them to homosexuals. But fear not, Republicans say, Jesse hasn't changed; he simply thought these attacks were premature.

It's outrageous that conservatives who claim they're not bigots countenance, even support, the fear-mongering intolerance that is a Helms trademark. In the closing days of the 1990 election the Helms campaign ran a vitriolic commercial depicting a black man taking a white man's job, but no prominent Republican has ever condemned that. Yet when a black politician, whether it's Jesse Jackson or Gus Savage, slanders a white group, conservatives immediately demand, with justification, this be denounced by other Democrats.

But it's dicey to try to calibrate who'll run a better race against this politically formidable demagogue. It would be shameful if North Carolina Democrats sacrifice their principles for uncertain expediency.

Mr. Gantt, who has sent four children to college—currently one is at Harvard medical school and another at North Carolina medical school—explained to his church audience here the other night that his confidence and faith in America were derived from his parents going all the way back to those days in the public housing project: "Even when we were with my mother and had to sit in the back of the bus and drink from the colored fountain and climb three sets of stairs to the crow's nest of the movie theater we were optimistic." That deeply ingrained optimism faces a major test on May 7.

NORTH CAROLINA

Brubaker's spokesman says he's still on the job after racial slur

3A

By Joseph Neff
and Lauren Chalmers Marion
Staff Writers

House Speaker Harold Brubaker had a simple response to the news that his spokesman used a racial slur to describe a group of protesting University of North Carolina housekeepers and students: FIDO.

"That means forget it and drive on," spokesman Don Follmer said Wednesday.

"He knows I'm not a bigot," Follmer said. "I gave him every opportunity to take me out and shoot me and he said that he knew that that wasn't the way I conducted my personal life or my public life."

Brubaker was traveling Wednesday and could not be reached.

Follmer called the protesters "niggers and wormy kids," but said the remarks were made in jest and in a private conversation April 10, but they've stirred up a good deal of public controversy in government and on campus.

House Majority Leader Leo Daughtry said he hasn't decided how to respond.

"He shouldn't say that, even in private conversation," said Daughtry, a Smithfield Republican. "There is just nothing to be gained in using that language."

In Chapel Hill, words like "inappropriate" and "mean" were heard on the UNC campus.

"This is a painful thing to hear," said Barbara DeLon, director of housekeeping at UNC. "It is inappropriate, offensive and mean for someone in any position to make a racial slur. And for someone in Follmer's position to say something like that, it is unacceptable."

On Wednesday, the UNC Housekeepers Association sent Brubaker, an Asheboro Republican, a letter acknowledging that racism still exists but reprimanding a government body for perpetuating it.

"It is really surprising that someone in a power position would say something like that," said Barbara Prear, a housekeeper at UNC-CH and chairwoman of the Housekeepers Association.

Students were equally shocked by Follmer's comments. "I think he should be fired," said Christie Canty, a sophomore. "There is a time and a place for things that are called 'private.' He really should not have said something like that anywhere, especially not inside the General Assembly."

Sen. Henry McKoy of Raleigh, one of three black Republicans in the General Assembly, feared that Follmer's remarks would taint the speaker and the Republican Party.

"I try to sell the Republican position as more sensitive to minorities and their concerns," McKoy said. "These kinds of comments set those efforts back and goes against my efforts to build bridges with minorities."

Follmer made the comments in a conversation with Dennis Patterson, the capital correspondent for The Associated Press, in Patterson's office. Follmer was overheard by a reporter sitting in the press room.

Like many Democrats, former Speaker Dan Blue said the comments suggest the speaker's office tolerates bigotry. Blue said he doesn't think Follmer is a victim of "political correctness," as Follmer has claimed.

"This has nothing to do with political correctness," Blue said. "It has everything to do with civility."

While Follmer's job appears secure, the incident might cause trouble for Patterson, a respected veteran of the capital press corps who has covered state government for over 10 years. Patterson is considered one of the most influential reporters in Raleigh — his stories are carried by 55 papers and over 140 broadcasters statewide.

He said he sometimes engaged in "politically incorrect" banter with Follmer, but that he would never use racial slurs. In a story distributed by The AP, Patterson said he had told Follmer to "be careful" with his remarks, but didn't consider writing about the remarks.

"It was a casual conversation, not an interview, and I was working on something else," Patterson said.

Patterson wasn't at the legislature Wednesday. Ambrose Dudley, the AP bureau chief in Raleigh, declined to answer questions.

4-25-96

News & Observer

4-25-96

04/25/1996 10:38

Chiquita ties cited as reason to fire Starr

The Associated Press CE 4/25/96

WASHINGTON — Citing alleged conflicts of interest — one involving Cincinnati's Chiquita Brands International — two Democratic senators called for the removal of Kenneth Starr, the Republican heading the Whitewater investigation of President and Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Wednesday, Sens. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana and Harry Reid of Nevada contended Mr. Starr's representation of companies whose interests run counter to the Clinton administration means he cannot conduct a completely impartial investigation.

In a letter to the three-judge appeals court panel that appointed Mr. Starr, the senators said, "Mr. Starr has demonstrated partisanship, partiality and prejudice against the president of the United States and this administration to such an extent as to compromise his ability to perform the duties of the independent counsel."

Among examples, the senators cited Mr. Starr's representation of Chiquita.

Company Chairman Carl H. Linder, they said, is a longtime supporter of Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, Mr. Clinton's expected election rival in November.

Gephardt Criticized On Campaign Finance

He's At 'Heart Of The Problem,' Group Says

By Tim Poor
Post-Dispatch Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The public interest group Common Cause is renewing its battle with House Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt, D-Mo., alleging that he has done little to accomplish campaign-finance change.

The criticism of Gephardt on Wednesday coincided with the group's compilation of 10 years of campaign contributions to members of Congress from business political action committees that are pressuring Congress to oppose a bill that would limit PAC contributions.

Gephardt's campaigns got $791,081 from the business PACs from 1985 to last year, the most of any current House member, Common Cause said.

Ann McBride, president of the group, said Gephardt "is not part of the solution but instead is at the very heart of the problem."

She was especially critical of Gephardt's refusal to sign a petition to force a vote on the revision bill.

"He has raked in record amounts of special-interest money from influence peddlers, and he has not lifted a finger to try to reform the current, corrupt system," she said. "He has exercised no leadership whatsoever."

Dan Sallick, a spokesman for Gephardt, said Republicans were to blame for killing campaign-finance revision in the last Congress and in this one.

"He worked as hard as anybody in the last session of Congress to get meaningful campaign reform done, and the Republicans stopped it," Sallick said.

Sallick said Gephardt would support an alternative proposal that Democrats would offer "in the next six weeks." He said Gephardt did not support the current, bipartisan effort because the House minority leader believes it was "a little extreme."

The current bill is being sponsored by Reps. Linda Smith, R-Wash.; Marty Meehan, D-Mass.; and Christopher Shays, R-Conn. It would either ban PACs or limit their contributions to $1,000 a candidate. Forty-five House members have signed a petition to force a vote, far short of the 218 needed.

Those who signed include Reps. Richard J. Durbin, and Glenn Poshard, both Democrats from Illinois. Sens. Carol Moseley-Braun and Paul Simon, both Democrats, support a Senate version.

The National Association of Business Political Action Committees has targeted supporters of the legislation in ads that urged the defeat of the bill. The group includes some of the biggest business PACs, such as the National Association of Realtors, the American Medical Association and the American Bankers Association. Members gave more than $100 million to congressional campaigns in the last 10 years, Common Cause said.

"Product Liability Reform Spot"

Congress has passed product liability reform legislation so our courts will not be burdened with frivolous suits.

People who injure themselves while abusing drugs or alcohol can't make others pay for their mistakes.

But companies will always be held accountable for their product safety.

Trial lawyers are the biggest opponents of and huge contributors to the President's campaign

So even though the president says he puts pepole first he plans to veto the product libiltiy bill

Who's first now Mr. President?

1

CITIZENS FOR A SOUND ECONOMY

Citizens for a Sound Economy
US Chamber of Commerce
National Wholesale Distributors

Flight Dates: 4/24-4/29

Kentucky
Michigan
and all markets that surround these states

KENTUCKY

Cincinnati

WLWT-TV	$44,410	
WXIX-TV	$42,825	
WCPO-TV	$55,600	
WKRC-TV	$0	
WSTR-TV	$1,500	
TOTAL:	$144,335	*1000 pts*

Evansville

WEHT-TV	$2,200	
WFIE-TV	$2,000	
WEVV-TV	$6,545	
WTVW-TV	$1,800	
TOTAL:	$12,545	*300 pts*

Lexington

WLEX-TV	$5,580	
WKYT-TV	$24,180	
WTVQ-TV	$15,000	
WDKY-TV	$3,750	
TOTAL:	$48,510	*1000 pts*

CITIZENS FOR A SOUND ECONOMY

Louisville

WAVE-TV	$18,500	
WLKY-TV	$17,450	
WDRB-TV	$7,300	
WHAS-TV	$24,700	
TOTAL:	$67,950	*1000 pts*

Paducah

WPSD-TV	$14,000	
KFVS-TV	$12,090	
WSIL-TV	$800	
KBSI-TV	$140	
TOTAL:	$27,030	*1000 pts*

Charleston

WSAZ-TV	$2,475	
WCHS-TV	$7,300	
WVAH-TV	$6,100	
WOWK-TV	$9,475	
TOTAL:	$25,350	*1000 pts*

Bowling Green

WBKO-TV	$15,705	*750 pts*

KY TOTAL: $341,425

CITIZENS FOR A SOUND ECONOMY

MICHIGAN

Flint

WJRT-TV	$0	
WEYI-TV	$16,015	
WSMH-TV	$4,900	
WNEM-TV	$22,900	
TOTAL:	$43,815	*1000 pts*

Grand Rapids

WZZM-TV	$16,300	
WOOD-TV	$30,000	
WOTV-TV	$2,000	
WXMI-TV	$20,000	
WWMT-TV	$28,950	
TOTAL:	$97,250	*1000 pts*

Lansing

WILX-TV	$0	
WLAJ-TV	$6,000	
WSYM-TV	$6,725	
WLNS-TV	$21,000	
TOTAL:	$33,725	*750 pts*

Detroit

WDIV-TV	$140,000	
WXYZ-TV	$87,550	
WWJ-TV	$7,500	
WJBK-TV	$0	
WKBD-TV	$26,000	
TOTAL:	$261,050	*1000 pts*

CITIZENS FOR A SOUND ECONOMY

Traverse City		
WWTV-TV	$12,000	
WGTU-TV	$4,900	
WPBN-TV	$6,715	
TOTAL:	$23,615	*1000 pts*
Marquette		
WLUC-TV	$14,420	*750 pts*
Alpena		
WBKB-TV	$7,500	*500 pts*
MI TOTAL:	$481,375	

APRIL 9, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: DOUG SOSNIK AND KAREN HANCOX

SUBJECT: DAILY REPORT

1996 PRESIDENTIAL
Polls
BOSTON HERALD

Their poll, conducted 4/3-4/4 among 401 MA voters, found you leading Dole by more than 2-1.

HEAD-TO-HEAD

Clinton	60%
Dole	27

HOUSTON CHRONICLE

This Mason Dixon poll (4/1-4/3 among 806 likely voters) found Dole leading by 9 percent. In a three-way race, Dole's lead narrows to 7 percent. Dole's favorability is 41% (favorable)/32% (unfavorable); in contrast, your favorability is 37%/42%.

HEAD-TO-HEADS

Dole	49%	Dole	46%
Clinton	40	Clinton	39
		Perot	7

In the poll, Harris County, a heavy Republican area, is uncertain about which party's candidate they will support for president. In February of 1988 and 1992, at least half of the residents said they would vote for the Republican Party's candidate, but this year only 38 percent of Houston residents said they would vote Republican. About the same number, 37 percent, said they would vote Democrat; a quarter of the voters are not sure. This weak showing, in such a Republican area, shows how vulnerable Dole might be.

CANDIDATES
Bob Dole

Ending his Florida vacation this morning, Dole visited his mother-in-law and attended a rally in Charlotte, NC before returning to Washington. Dole is expected to campaign in Hershey, Pennsylvania April 10. He is also planning to do a fly-around tour of the state April 15 with Senator Specter (R) and Governor Ridge (R).

Miscellaneous

The RNC is expected to launch a $1 million, 20-state ad campaign tomorrow. The ads will boost the standings of 30 vulnerable GOP House members and are expected to focus on the GOP family tax cut and your veto of the same. The media buy will last through April 15.

STATE-BY-STATE REPORT / PRESIDENTIAL

Virginia

It appears unlikely that Lyndon LaRouche, a Virginia resident, will receive the 15% threshold he needs to receive any delegates at this Saturday's Virginia Democratic Caucuses. LaRouche did not file enough delegates to get the 15%, however, if enough people show up on Saturday, it is possible for him to reach 15%. LaRouche is not expected to get more than 2.9% of the delegates state wide, not including Northern Virginia.

STATE-BY-STATE REPORT / NON-PRESIDENTIAL

Alabama

Three candidates running for public office have switched from the Republican to the Democratic Party. One school board member in Jefferson County, and two sitting District Judges have said they are unhappy with the Republican Party. These switches reverse a dry spell for the Democratic Party after the 1994 general election culminating with 10 Jefferson County judges switching to the GOP in January.

California

Rep. Howard Berman (D-26th) is considering a bid for the Los Angeles Mayor's office against incumbent Mayor Richard Riordan. Berman, who could seek re-election to Congress in 1996 and retain his congressional post should Riordan prevail in the 1997 mayoral race, is widely considered to be Riordan's strongest challenger, should he decide to run. State Senator Tom Hayden and Councilman Mark Ridley-Thomas are also said to be considering challenging Riordan. Berman, who announced last month that he was mulling a Riordan challenge, says he would probably stay put in Washington if he believed that the Democrats would regain majority status in the House this November. Berman said he will make a final decision later this month.

Georgia

Attorney General Michael Bowers, in wake of the recent federal court rulings on affirmative action, has directed the university system of Georgia to abandon any admission policies that give preference to minority applicants. In a letter to the University System Chancellor, Bowers said, "If you use race to determine who is admitted to Georgia institutes of higher learning, you need to revise them."

Hawaii

Former Honolulu Mayor Frank Fasi (D) took to TV yesterday in an effort to convince state lawmakers to hold a referendum on same-sex marriages. Fasi opposes pending legislation that would legalize same sex marriages. The ad is being paid for by the Frank F. Fasi Charitable Foundation.

In other political news from Hawaii, the Executive Director of the Hawaii Campaign Spending Commission has declared incumbent Honolulu Mayor Jeremy Harris (D) and former Mayor Frank Fasi (D) as official candidates in this year's mayoral race.

Under changes in campaign spending laws that went into effect last year, a person automatically becomes a candidate if he or she receives contributions or makes expenditures of at least $100 toward an election. Fasi gave up the mayor's office in 1994 for an unsuccessful bid for governor, while Harris won the mayor's office by winning a special election in 1994 to replace Fasi.

Illinois

Former Rep. Dan Rostenkowski pled guilty to two federal corruption charges at a hearing this afternoon. Prosecutors recommended a 17 month prison sentence and a $100,000 fine as the punishment.

Indiana

Several governors appeared at a fundraising reception last night thrown by the Republican Governors' Association to raise money for the winner of the May 7th Indiana gubernatorial primary. Among those in attendance were Governors John Engler (R-MI), Tommy Thompson (R-WI), Jim Edgar (R-IL), Arne Carlson (R-MN), Tom Ridge (R-PA) and Jim Geringer (R-WY). The $1,000-per-person event raised $125,000.

Iowa

Rep. Jim Lightfoot (R), one of the three challengers to Senator Harkin (D) this year, is catching flak for trying to pretend he has no primary opposition. Most recently, he agreed to three debates before the June 4 primary but says he will not show up for the other four that have been scheduled, citing his congressional duties. His primary opponents, state Senator Maggie Tinsman (R) and state Rep. Steve Grubbs (R), said they would show up and debate an empty chair, if necessary. Lightfoot is favored to win the GOP primary but this is only one of several signs of life the GOP race has shown in recent weeks.

Massachusetts

Senator Kerry (D) and Governor Weld (R) met last night for the first of seven televised debates. Kerry was more composed than Weld, but neither emerged as a clear winner. In an attempt to hit Kerry over his opposition to the death penalty, Weld pointed to a mother of a slain police officer who was seated in the audience and asked Kerry how he could explain to that mother how a murderer's life is worth more than her son's. Kerry did not skip a beat in firing back, "It's not worth more...it's not worth anything. It's scum that ought to be thrown into jail for the rest of its life, and it ought to learn day after day the pain and hell of living with a loss of freedom and with crime committed. But the fact is, governor, that yes, I'm opposed to the death penalty. I know something about killing, I don't like killing. I don't think that a state honors life by turning around and sanctioning killing. And that's just a personal belief I have." Kerry's retort drew the loudest and longest applause of the night.

Kerry assailed Weld for what he called "Draconian" welfare policies such as proposing sanctions on welfare mothers unable to name the fathers of their children. Kerry said that Weld has made a career out of "picking on people on welfare." Kerry and Weld also took jabs at each other on issues including the minimum wage and the tax code.

Kerry pledged to fight to preserve Medicare and tax fairness. When Kerry attempted to tie Weld with Newt Gingrich, Weld said, "...there are only two podiums in here...you're not running against Newtie here."

House Speaker Charles Flaherty (D), who recently pled guilty to a tax felony, resigned under pressure April 8 even though he had said he would stay in power through June 30. He resigned immediately prior to a vote to oust him from the post. The Massachusetts House was scheduled for a noon caucus today to determine who will succeed Flaherty. Ways and Means Chairman Finneran (D) and Majority Leader Voke (D) have been jockeying for the position, and Finneran, who has the support of 34 House Republicans, will likely be named the new speaker.

Nebraska

A Gallup poll of 610 adults conducted March 29-April 1 reports that Governor Ben Nelson (D) continues to hold very strong leads over his Senate race opponents, businessman Chuck Hagel (D) and Attorney General Don Stenberg (D). The results are summarized below.

GENERAL ELECTION MATCH-UPS

Nelson	59%	Nelson	64%
Hagel	35%	Stenberg	27%

	FAV/UNFAV	NAME ID
Nelson	72%/17%	97%
Stenberg	34%/23%	78%
Hagel	30%/ 6%	64%

Nelson was rated favorably across all groups, including the 71% who identified themselves as Republicans. A majority of Republicans said they backed Nelson in a race against Stenberg while more Republicans backed Hagel than Nelson.

New Jersey

The race between U.S. Representatives Bob Torricelli and Dick Zimmer is drawing national attention as illustrated by the attached New York Times article. The article reports that Torricelli has moved ahead of Zimmer in fundraising and estimates that a mid-April FEC report will show Torricelli's campaign filing $3.7 million to Zimmer's $2.2 - $ 2.5 million. The article also says that both candidates are more moderate than each would have voters believe and they will portray each other as extremists throughout the campaign.

New Mexico

State GOP Chairman John Dendahl, breaking with party tradition of state chairs remaining neutral in primary election contests, has endorsed Rep. Joe Skeen (R) for a ninth term. Skeen is being challenged in the June 4 GOP primary by political newcomer Greg Sowards (R), a Las Cruces business owner.

Pennsylvania

An op-ed in the Philadelphia Daily News agues that Democrats have been losing elections because they are alienating Roman Catholic voters. The article is attached.

Rhode Island

Representative Bill Zeliff (R-01) officially announced today that he will run for Governor this year. Zeliff, who is pro-choice, may face a primary challenge from New Hampshire Board of Education Chair Ovide Lamontagne (R), who is staunchly opposed to abortion rights. A perennial Republican, gun activist Al Rubega is also likely to run in the primary. State Senator Jeanne Shaheen is the Democrat most likely to run for governor.

Virginia

In the heated Democratic Senate race, Mark Warner is significantly leading former Congresswoman Leslie Byrne. Byrne filed half of her delegates as "uncommitted" and the other half for Clinton-Gore for this Saturday's caucuses, while Warner filed all of his delegates as Clinton-Gore delegates. Byrne's move, however, will not affect your campaign.

West Virginia

The Reform Party today kicked off a petition drive to place its gubernatorial nominee on the November general election ballot. The party must obtain the signatures of at least 6,576 registered voters, equal to 1 percent of the ballots cast in the last gubernatorial race, by May 13. The deadline for Perot to be on the November ballot in West Virginia is August 1.

Miscellaneous

Tobacco

West Virginia, Mississippi and Louisiana have received $200,000 checks from the Liggett Group as part of the first installment of the recent tobacco settlement. These states are among five that will share a minimum of $10 million to be doled out annually over the next nine years. Mississippi's Attorney General Michael Moore has said, "every penny of this $200,000 will go to the taxpayers of Mississippi. Not one penny will go to attorneys."

INSIDE POLITICS / March 9, 1996

The tough re-election bid of Senator John Kerry was the subject of the opening segment, showing scenes of raucous debate between **Kerry and Weld.** Kerry is portraying Weld as an clone of Newt who has mad a name for himself making fun of welfare recipients, while Weld calls Kerry a beltway insider who doesn't see the need for rules in society. Even though Democrats outnumber Republicans three to one, this will be a tough race for Kerry.

Bernard Shaw interviewed **Ralph Nader** in the second segment, calling him the "wild card" in the presidential race. Nader says he is joing the race because he wants to "bring back and expand democracy" and help build a progressive political agenda for the future, that would last "well past November." Nader said he would like to get the "75 rogues" out of Congress (the freshman Republicans) and that they were elected because the Democratic party "had no issues" in '94, "had lost it's identity" and "handed" the election to the Republicans. When asked what issues the two parties are ignoring, Nader listed: the dramatic increase in corporate power, the corruption of money in politics, the lack of access to justice for many Americans, the lack of adequate health insurance and various energy issues. When asked how much he is worth, Nader said he would not give up a critical right of privacy and disclose his tax returns, but that he is "not worth much." He claims he will not raise or accept money so he is not required to disclose anyway.

Referring to your ceremony for the line-item veto and other recent events (school uniforms, C-17 purchases, "one strike and you're out," etc), Wolf Blitzer analyzed your **"non-campaign campaign,"** calling it a modified version of Reagan's Rose Garden strategy. Mike Deaver said you are trying to get into the minds of the voters that you <u>are</u> the President and you <u>are</u> the national leader. The only thing he thinks you should do differently is to talk more about your accomplishments.

Senator and Mrs. Dole ended their twelve day Florida vacation with a stop in Mrs. Dole's hometown, Salisbury. Dole is realizing that he needs to "use what works," so he is giving his wife a more prominent role in campaign events, scheduling "love fests" such as these.

RNC NEWS RELEASE

Haley Barbour
Chairman

Evelyn W. McPhail
Co-Chairman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
April 9, 1996

CONTACT: Mary Crawford
(202) 863-8550

STATEMENT BY RNC CHAIRMAN HALEY BARBOUR
RNC HEADQUARTERS, APRIL 9, 1996

Tomorrow the Republican National Committee and state Republican parties will begin a television ad campaign focused on taxes.

By Monday, April 15, tens of millions of American families will have paid the federal government their 1996 share of $245 billion in extra taxes caused by Bill Clinton's veto of the middle-class tax cut Republicans promised, then passed; and that Bill Clinton promised, but then vetoed.

This is the party's first ad since our nominee was decided two weeks ago, and it is appropriately about tax cuts for working families and economic growth. There is no more fundamental difference between Bob Dole and Bill Clinton, between Republicans and Democrats than this:

> Republicans passed this $245 billion tax cut because we believe the people who work and earn the money should earn more and keep more of what they earn, so they can do more for themselves and do more with their children, their churches and their communities. On the other hand, Bill Clinton vetoed these tax cuts for working families and economic growth, so the federal government gets more money and families get less money. He apparently thinks government can do more for those millions of children with that $500 per child than their parents can do for them. We disagree.

I urge the 29 million American families who lost the $500 per-child tax credit to Bill Clinton's veto to ask themselves these questions on April 15: Is our family better off or worse off without the $500 per-child tax cut the Republican Congress passed but Bill Clinton vetoed? Should our family or the federal government spend that $500 per-child to the best benefit of our children?

And more broadly, I urge all Americans to ask these questions: Are we getting our money's worth for our tax dollars now? With family incomes falling and the highest taxes in the peace-time history of the United States, is there any better, faster way for the government to allow working families to have higher after-tax income than by cutting

their taxes? Is there any better way to spur economic growth and job creation than to cut taxes on money invested in economic growth and job creation? In fact, our tax cut was projected to create 6.1 million new jobs.

This first ad focuses on the $500 per-child tax credit. It will be run in a number of congressional districts where incumbent Republican Members of Congress kept his or her promise and voted for the $245 billion tax cut for working families and economic growth, including the $500 per-child tax credit, which was part of the Contract With America. Additionally, a different version will be run in districts where Democrat Congressmen voted against the tax cut. Both versions remind people that the only reason families are not getting that $500 per-child tax credit is President Clinton's veto.

Pause and show ad.

Before I take any questions, I would like to compare the ad we will begin running tomorrow with the ads the Democratic National Committee has currently on the air.

The Clinton Democrats' way of dealing with the very real differences between us and them on this and other issues is summed up by the two DNC ads: Hide the truth.

These two ads are so blatantly untrue, CNN stated they are not only misleading, but labeled one as flat-out "false advertising." And CNN is right.

After Bill Clinton vetoed the first balanced budget passed by Congress in 26 years, vetoed tax cuts for working families and for economic growth, and vetoed genuine welfare reform, the Democrats are running ads that are based on P.T. Barnum's view of the country: A sucker is born every minute. The Democrats underestimate the American people, who are a whole lot smarter than these DNC ads give them credit for.

I've handed out sheets of specifics, cataloging the distortions and inaccuracies in the DNC ads. In a nutshell, despite the Clinton smokescreen, the facts are clear.

Candidate Clinton in 1992 said he'd have a plan to balance the budget in five years, would "end welfare as we know it", and that a middle-class tax cut would be the centerpiece of his economic plan. He broke every one of those promises.

When the Democrats controlled the federal government lock, stock and barrel – the White House and both Houses of Congress by larger majorities than we enjoy today -- instead of a middle-class tax cut, Clinton jammed through the largest tax increase in American history, which hit every citizens and was especially hard on family and small businesses. Instead of a plan to balance the budget in five years, Clinton never offered any balanced budget at all. Instead of "ending welfare as we know it", he didn't even try to pass a welfare reform bill; didn't even offer a plan until so late in 1994 there was not time to hold hearings, much less have a vote.

On the other hand, the first Republican Congress in 40 years, led by Bob Dole, kept its promises. It passed the first balanced budget in 26 years, passed a $245 billion tax cut for families and for economic growth, and passed genuine welfare reform. All were part of the Contract With America, and all were passed and put on the President's desk. They're not the law today for one reason: Bill Clinton vetoed them all. In effect, he vetoed his promises.

One last point before I take your questions. We are determined to make the 1996 campaign about issues. We're also determined for the voters to get the facts, the truth about those issues.

You don't have to take my word for it; these DNC ads are outright false. The RNC is going to run hard-hitting ads that clearly show the differences between Clinton and Dole, between Republicans and Democrats. We'll also show people the differences between what Bill Clinton says and what he actually does. In doing so, we'll put the facts in front of the people. We won't try to deceive them.

We Republicans believe an informed public is our greatest ally. The Democrats believe a deceived public is their best hope.

###

4/8/96
RNC TV AD
:30 "KEEP MORE"

VIDEO	AUDIO
GRAPHIC: TAX TIME	**WOMAN:** You mean we owe them money!
	MAN: Yeah, it's worse than I thought.
	WOMAN: Anything we didn't deduct?
GRAPHIC: The Republican Congress Passed a middle-class tax cut.	**MAN:** What about the thousand dollar tax credit for the two kids?
	WOMAN: Clinton vetoed that. Between the two of us, what I make goes just to support the Government.
GRAPHIC: Congressman Chrysler wants you to keep more of what you earn.	
	WOMAN: You know, if we could just keep more, we could do more with our kids, our church, our community.
GRAPHIC: Dick Chrysler - voted to CUT your taxes.	**ANNOUNCER:** Congressman Dick Chrysler kept his promise and voted for the middle-class tax cut.
GRAPHIC: Clinton vetoed family tax cuts.	**ANNOUNCER:** Clinton vetoed it.

SAMPLE SCRIPT
4/8/96
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE TV AD
:30 "KEEP MORE"

VIDEO	AUDIO
GRAPHIC: TAX TIME	**WOMAN:** You mean we owe them money!
	MAN: Yeah, it's worse than I thought.
	WOMAN: Anything we didn't deduct?
GRAPHIC: The Republican Congress Passed a middle-class tax cut.	**MAN:** What about the thousand dollar tax credit for the two kids?
	WOMAN: Clinton vetoed that. Between the two of us, what I make goes just to support the Government.
GRAPHIC: Congressman David Bonior wants to take more of what you earn.	
	WOMAN: You know, if we could just keep more, we could do more with our kids, our church, our community.
GRAPHIC: David Bonior - voted to raise your taxes.	**ANNOUNCER:** Congressman David Bonior voted for the largest tax increase in American history...
GRAPHIC: David Bonior voted against middle class tax cuts.	**ANNOUNCER:** ... and against Republican efforts to roll it back.

FROM "THE CASE AGAINST BILL CLINTON"

A PUBLICATION OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

COUNT THREE:

Vetoing His Own Promise: A Middle-Class Tax Cut

After trading his promise of a middle-class tax cut for the largest tax increase in history, Clinton never brought up the middle-class tax cut again—until Republicans won control of Congress in November of 1994. Republicans had promised a tax cut as part of their *Contract With America*, and unlike Clinton, they planned to keep their promise. Just one month before Republicans took control of Congress, Clinton quickly announced his long-awaited tax cut for the middle-class. The problem is, he never seriously pursued it after that, proving that he had proposed it more for political purposes than out of a serious commitment to tax relief.

Witness No. 1:

"Discussion of a middle-class tax cut makes it clear that the pollsters have regained their control over the president."

—former Democratic Senator Paul Tsongas
(Associated Press, 12/16/94)

Witness No. 2:

"As a presidential candidate, Clinton promised that famous middle-class tax cut, a pledge later abandoned immediately after he was elected. Can't afford it now, Clinton said, maybe later. Later didn't come until Republicans seized the Congress."

—Columnist Robert J. Caldwell
(*The San Diego Union-Tribune*, 1/28/96)

Instead of pushing to get his tax cut through Congress, Bill Clinton and the Democrats in Congress pulled out all the stops to defeat the Republican tax cut. They labeled it a "tax cut for the rich." But as the evidence shows, the tax cut that Republicans proposed—and Bill Clinton eventually vetoed—was a tax cut for the middle-class.

EXHIBIT A: The Republican tax cut proposal—a tax cut for the middle class.

- **A full 80 percent of the tax cuts in the Republican plan went to people making less than $100,000 and 61 percent of the tax cuts went to people making between $30,000 and $75,000** (House Ways and Means Committee, 11/16/95).

EXHIBIT B: A list of the tax cuts you never received, thanks to Bill Clinton's veto.

A $500-per-child tax credit

- The $500-per-child tax credit comprised 60.2 percent of the $245 billion in tax cuts proposed in the Republican balanced budget.
- The credit would have applied to each child under the age of 18 in single-parent families with an adjusted gross income of less than $75,000 a year and families of married couples earning less than $110,000 a year.
- Twenty-nine million American families with 50 million dependents would have benefited from the tax credit (House Ways and Means Committee), and 3.5 million lower-income families nationwide would have had their entire income tax liability eliminated (Heritage Foundation). This is a "tax cut for the rich?"
- The tax credit would have been retroactive to October 1, 1995, and taxpayers could have claimed one-quarter of the full credit for 1995.

Capital gains tax rate cut

- The capital gains tax rate cut would have allowed individuals to exclude 50 percent of their capital gain from taxation on assets held at least one year. The maximum rate for individuals would have been 19.8 percent.
- Individual gains were indexed for inflation to prevent taxes on imaginary gains.
- The corporate rate was set at 28 percent with no indexing.
- A 50 percent exclusion was allowed for qualified small business stock owned for at least five years.
- While Democrats repeatedly have characterized a capital gains tax cut as a tax cut for the rich, according to the IRS, 73 percent of people who earn capital gains have adjusted gross incomes of $75,000 or less. Of the more than 10 million tax returns that showed capital gains in 1993, more than 7.4 million came from families making less than $75,000 a year.

Marriage penalty relief

- A marriage penalty exists when a married couple that files jointly pays more in taxes than they would if they were unmarried and filed separately. The Clinton tax increases made the marriage penalty worse, particularly for lower-income couples. Under the Republican plan, married couples who claim the standard deduction (mostly those with incomes of under $50,000) would have received $8 billion in tax relief. It would have reduced the marriage penalty for 23 million taxpayers (House Ways and Means Committee).

Adoption credit

- The Republican plan would have provided a $5,000 tax credit to relieve the expenses of adopting a child. Parents could claim this credit for up to five years.
- The adoption credit would have benefited at least 100,000 families (House Ways and Means Committee) and provided an incentive for more families to adopt.

Elderly-care deduction

- Under the elderly-care deduction, taxpayers would have been able to claim a $1,000 deduction for the custodial care of a parent or grandparent who is incapable of caring for themselves and who lives with the taxpayer.
- This deduction would have been available to approximately one million families.

Tax deductible IRAs expanded

- Non-working spouses would have been allowed to contribute up to $2,000 a year to their IRAs.
- Current law IRAs would have been made available to single filers with incomes less than $85,000 and couples with incomes less than $100,000.
- New "American Dream" IRAs would have been created in which income would have been tax-free if held in the IRA for at least 5 years and withdrawn for specific purposes such as first-time home purchases, medical expenses, higher education expenses or retirement income.

Provisions for small businesses and self-employed

- The Republican plan would have provided a simple 401(k) for small businesses with fewer than 100 employees. Employees could have contributed up to $6,000 of their wages. The employer must have matched employee contributions up to three percent of the employee's pay.
- It lowered estate taxes on family-owned businesses and farms by exempting from estate tax the first $1 million of a family-owned business or farm and reducing the estate tax by 50 percent on the next $1.5 million of a family-owned business or farm.

- It also would have reformed the Alternative Minimum Tax (AMT) to simplify its complexity by conforming the method of depreciation to the regular tax method.
- To help small businesses grow and be able to hire more workers, the Republican plan would have allowed a phase-up of the expensing limit from the current rate of $17,500 to $25,000 in 2002.
- More than three million self-employed taxpayers would have received a phased-in deduction of 50 percent of their health insurance costs.

Student Loan interest deduction

- The Republican plan would have provided a deduction of up to $2,500 of the annual interest payments made on student loans for the first five years of loan repayments.

Clinton and the Democrats have called the Republican tax cut "too big" and demanded it be scaled back as the price of a balanced budget deal. Yet the $245 billion in tax cuts that Republicans proposed for families and for economic growth is only *2 percent* of all the money the federal government will spend over the next seven years. Clinton and the liberal Democratic leadership in Congress won't even allow a 2 percent drop in federal spending in order to give you a tax cut. Instead of 98 percent—they want 100 percent of your money to spend.

In addition to vetoing the Republican proposal to provide the first tax relief for American families since Ronald Reagan was president, Clinton proposed a new budget for FY 97 that contained $60 billion in tax increases and a tiny net tax cut of only $39 billion, according to the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). His Medicare proposals would require another $60 billion in tax increases, and his veto of Medicaid reform will force states to increase their taxes by $150-$200 billion nationwide.

Moreover, Clinton has left the door open to future tax increases. When asked last year if he would sign a no-new-taxes pledge, Clinton responded:

"As a matter of principle, I think it's wrong for a president to do that. ...I think a president runs the risk of breeding cynicism to sign that kind of pledge when you have no idea what will come forward."

—Bill Clinton on his refusal to sign a no-new-taxes pledge
(*CNN News*, 4/13/95)

Summation:

In 1992, Clinton campaigned on the promise of a middle-class tax cut. In 1994, Republicans did, too. In 1996, it's clear Republicans meant it and Clinton didn't. In fact, when Republicans sent a middle-class tax cut to Clinton's desk, he vetoed his own promise.

The Sacramento Bee

Beatings not seen as pivotal

Unlikely to sway immigration debate

By Ken Chavez
Bee Capitol Bureau

Usually stylish when appearing in public, Dianne Feinstein wore sweats and no makeup when she emerged from her home in an exclusive enclave of San Francisco to answer a "wakeup call" by immigration advocates.

It was 6 a.m. Thursday – four days after the televised beating of two undocumented immigrants by Riverside County sheriff's deputies – when about 70 demonstrators gathered at the California senator's front lawn to protest her support for cutbacks in services to immigrants, both legal and illegal.

Feinstein spoke to the protesters for more than an hour, but they came away with only a token concession from the Democratic lawmaker, who confirmed her opposition to a House-approved bill that would allow states to bar children from attending public schools if they are in the country illegally.

ANALYSIS

"That is really the only little scrap she's conceded around undocumented immigrants," said Anita Wadhwani of the Northern California Coalition for Immigrant Rights, who attended the protest.

The incident underscores the view of some political scholars who say it is not likely that the videotaped beatings – while causing outrage among civil-rights advocates, California's Latino populace and Mexican officials – will be a turning point in the national debate over illegal immigration.

"We're at a situation where most people say, it (the beatings) is really too bad, it shouldn't happen, but neither should the illegals," said political scientist Barbara Sinclair of the University of California, Riverside. "I just don't see how it will be used as a hook very effectively for advocates of less stringent legislation."

Larry Berman, a political scientist at UC Davis, agreed. "For those who oppose illegal immigration, this case or incident just brings to the forefront the problems of border control," he said.

In contrast, some highly publicized events in the past have spurred politicians into adopting certain policy measures. For instance, a gunman's mass murder of children at Stockton's Cleveland Elementary School in 1989 was a catalyst for California's subsequent ban on assault weapons.

In the wake of last week's beatings – in which the officers clubbed the unresisting immigrants after an 80-mile freeway

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Beatings:

Continued from page A3

chase – organizations such as Wadhwani's blamed the "anti-immigrant rhetoric" of politicians like Gov. Pete Wilson and House Speaker Newt Gingrich for fostering a climate of hate.

"Politicians in (Washington) D.C. and Sacramento are sending a message that undocumented immigrants – or anyone who looks like one – are less than human," said Emily Goldfarb, the Coalition for Immigrant Rights' executive director. "It is obvious from Monday's beating that the Riverside

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The Sacramento Bee

Sheriff's Department has the message that discrimination and violence are OK."

She called for increased scrutiny of human rights abuses at the border, a halt to the border's "militarization," and a rejection of proposals to draw local law enforcement agencies into greater cooperation with the U.S. Border Patrol.

But the beatings were not enough to alter the thinking of policy-makers such as Wilson, who championed Proposition 187, the successful 1994 ballot measure that sought to deny state government services to undocumented immigrants and is now facing a constitutional challenge in federal court. While condemning the actions of the deputies as an apparent use of excessive force, Wilson sought last week to separate the incident from the debate on illegal immigration.

"It is *not* immigrant bashing to insist upon fair treatment from the federal government. That's what Proposition 187 was all about," the Republican governor said. "To try to make this (the beatings) some sort of excuse for illegal immigration really makes no sense."

Rep. Elton Gallegly, R-Simi Valley, who authored the federal legislation to bar undocumented children from public schools, wrote in one opinion piece that "Congress is on the brink of enacting the toughest anti-illegal immigration legislation in years."

"Those seeking to preserve the ability of immigrants to come here illegally – though few are willing to publicly embrace that agenda anymore – must see this incident as an opportunity to make one last stand for the status quo."

Sinclair said the quick condemnation of the deputies' action – even by the upper hierarchy of their own department – has helped to defuse the argument that the beatings were a result of an anti-immigrant climate in California.

Noting that footage of the incident is being televised worldwide, Berman said, "The issue is not immigration – it's brutality. The international community is only seeing the pictures, and we don't come off very well."

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LOS ANGELES TIMES Subject: IMMIGRATION Date: 4/7/96 Page: B7, 1 of 1

COLUMN LEFT/
ROBERT SCHEER

Target Jobs to Stop Illegal Immigration

Identity cards could be checked against a national registry of legal residents.

Two weeks ago in the dark of morning, he walked across the Rio Grande near Brownsville, Texas, with several dozen other illegal immigrants from Central America. Their passage went undetected by Border Patrol agents who presumably had been outwitted by the "coyote" smuggling this 13-year-old on a furtive journey through Mexico and across the border. Jesus paid the man $2,900. The price and risk have gone up since politicians demanded a crackdown at the border.

Last week in Los Angeles, Jesus stared intently at Spanish-language news broadcasts. It could have been he who was clubbed or killed falling off a speeding truck. Why did he come here? The others were all adults looking for work to feed relatives back in their village where there was no work. Jesus came to see his mother.

It had been seven years since he had last hugged her, on the day she began a two-month trek to the promised land. For seven years, Maria had washed floors, diapered babies, hauled trash, anything to send money home to keep Jesus and the rest of her relatives alive. But never enough to bring Jesus here.

Finally, last year, she landed a "great" job. It paid $300 a week, much more than she had ever made before. The catch was that she could never leave the woman with severe Alzheimer's disease who was in her constant care seven days and nights a week. The people who hired her to take care of their mother, who no longer recognized them, came by only occasionally with groceries. But the good news is that Maria was able to save the $2,900 to send for her son.

Jesus and Maria are the people that callers on talk radio call "scum." More reasonable voices concede their humanity but say they should have stayed home. They claim that there are legal workers willing to take Maria's job. Maybe so. But labor laws would have required three to replace Maria because of the long hours.

"And that's one of the really good jobs," says Jose Millan, assistant labor commissioner of California. "Try finding legal workers for the grape harvest in the Central Valley. Whole families live in cardboard shantytowns on the banks of the grapes in the hot sun; it's dirty, dusty and backbreaking work. All of that for the minimum wage."

The only reason they are assured of the minimum wage is that Millan and his teams of inspectors have been out there enforcing the labor laws. He's been at it for 10 years and estimates that 90% of agricultural, day labor and garment workers in California are here illegally. Millan puts the figure for restaurants at 80% and for domestic workers at 70%.

After a decade of bringing the law to the fields and factories, Millan knows that the real battle is not at the border. "They can put cops shoulder to shoulder and they'll come in by boat or plane or some other way as long as you have an economic system that needs migrant workers to do jobs that Americans no longer want to do—so we should stop kidding ourselves."

For the past three years, Millan, 41, a lawyer who grew up in East L.A., has run California's pioneering interagency program that, in cooperation with the federal Labor Department, aggressively enforces labor, safety and health laws in the garment industry and agriculture. I have gone on a dozen raids with him and cannot understand why his program is not the national model for dealing with illegal immigration. The president should hire Millan and announce a major nationwide "war on labor exploitation," with the states, to enforce minimum wage, overtime pay, health codes, workers' comp and other laws designed to protect workers. Once we upgrade those jobs, we will learn if legal workers want them. If they don't, then we should either raise the minimum wage to a living wage or grant more green cards in acknowledgment that this country lives off exploitable immigrant workers.

The ugly truth is that big growers and many business lobbyists want the illegal workers here because they are easy to exploit. Otherwise, Congress by now would have passed a law authorizing a tamper-proof identity card that all job applicants would be required to show. Employers would have to run that card through a national registry or face criminal penalties.

To be fair and effective, the law should apply to all workers, in restaurants, the fields or politicians' homes. But business and agricultural lobbyists go ballistic every time the idea is brought up. So instead, we escalate those dangerous games at the border, including car chases that threaten the lives of citizens. How many more immigrants need to be beaten or killed before we come to our senses?

Robert Scheer is a Times contributing editor. His e-mail address is <RScheer@aol.com>.

DA .Y NEWS of .OS ANGE .ES Subject: IMMIGRATION Date: 4-9-96 Page: 1 of 1

Trafficking in misery

Saturday's tragedy shows why crackdown on alien smuggling is justified.

AMERICANS saw two disturbing images of illegal immigration during the past week.

One was the now-infamous videotaped clubbing of two illegal immigrants in South El Monte by two Riverside County sheriff's deputies after a high-speed, 80-mile chase. The deputies were pursuing a pickup truck, believed being driven by an alien smuggler, or coyote, carrying 19 people.

The second occurred early Saturday when another pickup truck crowded with illegal immigrants crashed near Temecula while being followed — but not being pursued at high speed — by Border Patrol agents. Seven occupants of the truck were killed and 18 others were injured. Once again, a coyote was believed at the wheel.

Meanwhile, immigrant-rights protesters were out in force Saturday. "For (the fatal crash) to have come in the aftermath of the clubbing of the two Mexican immigrants, it's really outrageous and a scandal," said Juan Jose Gutierrez, executive director of the One-Stop Immigration Center, during a rally attended by an estimated 6,000 persons in Los Angeles.

Outrage certainly is justified. But let's direct more of it at the conduct that claimed seven lives.

The deputies involved in the clubbing, even if they are found guilty, certainly weren't responsible for what happened Saturday on a rural road frequently used by smugglers bypassing a border checkpoint on Interstate 15.

Blame that tragedy on a trafficker in human misery, a coyote. U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno wasn't exaggerating when she compared alien smugglers to slave traders.

These smugglers, capitalizing on the hopes of poverty-stricken Mexicans (and others) for a better life, are notorious for their mistreatment of aliens.

The smugglers routinely risk the lives of their customers by packing them into trucks, and taking tricky back roads, to evade the Border Patrol. Coyotes on at least one occasion tried to hide illegal immigrants in portable toilets.

(The pickup truck that crashed Saturday caught the attention of Border Patrol agents because it had Hawaii license plates. They determined that the truck was stolen after running a computer check on the plates, a Border Patrol spokesman said.)

Federal authorities have been cracking down on coyotes. Seventy-four were convicted in San Diego in 1995, and the U.S. Attorney's Office there hopes to secure about 400 convictions this year.

This long-overdue level of law enforcement certainly is justified due to the risk of smuggling to human life — and the strain illegal immigration is putting on this state's social fabric.

Immigrant-rights activists are entitled to denounce abuses of authority. But they won't have much credibility among most Californians unless they denounce with at least equal fervor the cynical trafficking in human flesh by coyotes.

LOS ANGELES TIMES Subject: HOWARD BERMAN Date: 1/8/96 Page: 1 of 2
LOS ANGELES

Berman Weighs Mayoral Race Against Riordan

■ Politics: Congressman considers variety of reasons. But he says he needs to find the motivation to give up Washington spotlight for what is expected to be a difficult challenge.

By MARC LACEY
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Foreign ambassadors stop by his office to talk international affairs. C-SPAN cameras catch him maneuvering legislation through Congress. The White House invited him to a fancy state dinner with the president of France.

After nearly a decade and a half in the House of Representatives, Rep. Howard L. Berman (D-Panorama City) has built a reputation as a skilled legislative tactician with a firm grasp of a variety of issues and contacts on both sides of the aisle.

So why is he considering running for mayor of Los Angeles?

The reasons are myriad, from diminished political clout to an intense lobbying campaign by his wife. But before Berman decides to launch a challenge to Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan, he must look inside himself to find the motivation.

"In the end, if you strip it all away, I have to decide whether in my gut it is something I want to do," he said.

Berman, who announced last month that he was mulling a Riordan challenge, says he would probably stay put in Washington if he believed that the Democrats would regain majority status in the House this November. When the Republicans took over the House and Senate in 1994, they

Please see BERMAN, B3

Continued from B1

shunted Democrats to the margins of the legislative process, sending the job satisfaction level of Democrats plummeting. Numerous lawmakers have decided to retire.

Berman has made the best of the change, scoring scattered legislative victories. But he is still forced to spend most of his time playing defense, trying to tone down GOP initiatives instead of advancing his own.

Then there is Berman's cross-country trek from home to office.

Unlike other veteran lawmakers who keep their primary residences near the Capitol, Berman lives in his congressional district. Every Thursday night or Friday morning, he catches a plane home to Valley Village, a community that abuts North Hollywood, only to return to his Capitol Hill apartment in time for business Tuesday morning.

Occupying the mayor's office would cut a few thousand miles off his commute and please his wife, Janis, who is tired of the arrangement and eager to see her husband occupying the mayor's third-floor office suite in City Hall.

Janis Berman served briefly as Riordan's director of governmental relations near the start of the mayor's term. But she was fired

The congressman, however, insists that his relationship with Riordan is cordial and that his candidacy, should it materialize, would not be based on any grudge.

"I think we have an amiable relationship," he said. "This isn't about how we get along, it's about where L.A. should be going and whether I have a different idea or not that I want to pursue."

If he runs, he could keep his name on the November 1996 congressional ballot and return to his current post if Riordan prevailed.

Even if he decides it is the right career move in 1997, he must determine whether it's possible in purely political terms. Although state Sen. Tom Hayden (D-Santa Monica) and Councilman Mark Ridley-Thomas are both considering mayoral bids of their own, it is Berman who political analysts say would be the strongest Riordan adversary.

The Riordan camp, however, is confident that it can defeat any challengers.

"Dick Riordan will be reelected," said William Wardlaw, a top Riordan advisor. "I can't think of anyone who will beat Dick Riordan. He has done a very good job. He is very popular. He will outspend any competitor by at least 2 to 1."

Those pushing Berman to run, including Ridley-Thomas and other council members, paint this scenario: African American leaders, many of them critical of Riordan's performance in the black community, would help deliver the about 16% black vote to Berman, who has strong ties to a variety of black elected officials. Berman could tap his strengths among Jewish voters, those in the San Fernando Valley, union members and others who helped elect Riordan in 1993.

"The conventional wisdom is that Riordan has a lot of money and can't be beat," said political consultant Joe Scott. "But this is still an overwhelmingly Democratic city, and Riordan's support is soft."

Not all of those contacting Berman are so enthusiastic. A Berman candidacy would tear at many of the congressman's longtime allies who are active in the Riordan administration. Some of them tell Berman to wait four years until 2001, when term limits would force Riordan out and the job would be up for grabs.

That's not lost on Berman's mind. Neither is the fact that Riordan's war chest is awash in cash and that, with the Riordan campaign seeking to bring political consultant Don Sipple aboard, the mayor would probably come out

LOS ANGELES TIMES Subject: HOWARD BERMAN Date: 4/8/96 Page: 2 of 2
LOS ANGELES

Sipple, now working for the presidential campaign of Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole (R-Kan.), is the strategist who produced the television advertisements for Gov. Pete Wilson showing immigrants illegally crossing the border. "They keep coming," the announcer said, capitalizing on an issue that sent Wilson soaring over former state Treasurer Kathleen Brown.

With Berman as the target, the Riordan camp could poke the longtime congressman for his 67 overdrafts in the House bank, for tax increases he has supported over the years, for helping to formulate the amnesty law in 1986 that gave legal status to millions of undocumented immigrants.

Although Berman may be a mover in the House, how many people in San Pedro or South-Central or West Hills know his legislative record?

The Riordan camp has conducted internal polling that it says suggests that Berman would have little chance of ousting the mayor. The majority of voters have not heard of Berman before, according to the Riordan campaign poll.

Berman acknowledged that a member of Congress is often little known back home.

"I think most people in Los Angeles don't know the name Howard Berman," he said. "Part of it is a consequence of the media. The fact is, a member of a big-city delegation in Congress gets very little publicity good or bad."

He is, however, known in Washington.

Just last month, Berman showed his persuasive powers and ability to work with members of the opposition party in killing two provisions in the House immigration bill. He led the effort to keep legal immigration at its current levels and to defeat a proposed guest worker program that would have allowed growers to bring as many as 250,000 foreign workers into the country to pick crops.

Berman has long had a knack for connecting far-flung issues with his hometown. And if he can work with both Rep. Henry J. Hyde (R-Ill.) and Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Los Angeles) in the House, his backers ask, why couldn't he connect with both Hal Bernson and Rita Walters on the council?

Berman is the ranking Democrat on the subcommittee dealing with Asia and the Pacific and has used the new position to make contacts with immigrant communities in Los Angeles.

Berman has used his seat on the Judiciary Committee, meanwhile, to help city police departments use drug forfeiture money to pay for the salaries of narcotics officers. Just like Riordan, Berman has pushed for more police officers by championing the Clinton administration's COPS program.

It is police staffing that would probably become a battleground in a Riordan-Berman contest.

Riordan had pledged to boost the Los Angeles Police Department by 3,000 officers or forgo a second term. He has not come close, and Berman advisors are already relishing a television commercial asking: "Where are the cops?"

With much to mull over, Berman realizes that valuable seconds are ticking away.

The primary election is a year away—a long time unless one dwells on the amount of money that he would have to raise and the organization that he would have to build to unseat a multimillionaire with ties to many of the same people Berman would depend on.

The House is in recess through April 16, and Berman says he'll spend the bulk of that time mulling his political future.

Instead, he will do the same thing he does many times a year before voting on a difficult piece of legislation—he'll weigh the pros and cons.

And then, probably by month's end, he'll cast an "aye" or a "nay."

The Boston Globe

TUESDAY, APRIL 9, 1996

GLOBE STAFF PHOTOS / TOM HERDE

Sen. John F. Kerry (in foreground) and Gov. William F. Weld make their points at Faneuil Hall last night during their first senatorial debate.

Kerry and Weld strike sparks

In a lively first debate, candidates pound at each other's records, stress differences

By Michael Grunwald
GLOBE STAFF

In a spirited debate that at times bogged down in details, Sen. John F. Kerry and Gov. William F. Weld last night assailed each other on a host of hot-button issues, from the minimum wage to the tax code to the death penalty.

The two Senate candidates poured months of campaign research into an hour, peppering each other with facts and figures, exchanging stern accusations and vehement denials.

And it quickly became apparent that their disagreements were too large for the structured question-and-answer format of the debate's first half. The evening quickly devolved into freewheeling argument, with the candidates interrupting each other and haggling with the moderator, Harvard Law School professor Charles R. Nesson, for extra time.

But by the end of the debate, the first of seven scheduled, Weld and Kerry had made the points they hope to reinforce over the next seven months. Kerry pledged to preserve Medicare and tax fairness, while linking Weld to the Gingrich revolution. Weld touted his support for welfare reform and tax cuts, while describing Kerry as a liberal creature of Washington.

And there were moments of real drama at Faneuil Hall, particularly an emotional exchange about the death penalty.

DEBATE, Page 12

COMMENTARY | *Page 15*

"In the first of seven debates with Gov. Weld, Sen. Kerry promised to give the politics of meanness the run of its Republican life."

Eileen McNamara

"Imagine I'm John Kerry this morning: 'Another six debates talking about taxes and crime, and I'm John Kerry, private citizen.'"

Jeff Jacoby

■ Government's role: Divergent visions collide. Analysis, Page 12. Other stories, Pages 12-13.

4/9/96
Boston Globe

Kerry, Weld strike sparks in exchange

■ DEBATE
Continued from Page 1

Weld, a staunch supporter of capital punishment, raised the issue by pointing out Anne Schivina, the mother of a Springfield police officer killed in the line of duty.

"Tell her why the life of the man who murdered her son is worth more than the life of a police officer," Weld said.

Kerry paused, then responded quietly.

"It's not worth more," said the senator, who was decorated for heroism in Vietnam. "It's not worth anything. It's scum that ought to be thrown in jail for the rest of its life.

"But the fact is, yes, I've been opposed to the death penalty. I know something about killing. I don't like killing. I don't think a state honors life by turning around and sanctioning killing."

Most of the televised debate – which was sponsored by The Boston Globe, The Boston Herald, WBZ-TV, WCVB-TV, WHDH-TV and New England Cable News – was less dramatic, though the intensity of the candidates rarely flagged. Much of the hour was spent squabbling over arcane charges and countercharges that were impossible to document last night.

For instance, Weld accused Kerry of voting to raise taxes on senior citizens who make $32,000 a year; Kerry denied it. Kerry said Weld supported cuts that would deny wheelchairs to disabled children; Weld denied it. There were similar quarrels over the Big Dig, Medicare, mandatory minimum sentences and the governor's vacation schedule.

Weld sought to steer the debate toward crime, welfare and taxes, the central issues of his campaign. But Kerry managed to focus on health care, education and the minimum wage – issues he believes will attract swing voters nervous about deep cuts by a Republican Congress.

The first ideological battle erupted over welfare, with Kerry firing the first shot. The senator cited a recent court order that prevented Weld from sanctioning welfare mothers unable to name the fathers of their children. Kerry called the policy "Draconian," and said the governor had "made a political career out of picking on people on welfare."

Weld responded that his administration is trying to break down the culture of welfare dependence by discouraging illegitimacy and promoting responsible behavior.

"If we're not going to have rules, we're never going to influence behavior," Weld said.

Kerry said the governor's bill has gone too far. "I'm for rules," he said. "I'm not for a guillotine."

The candidates both said they support gay rights but not the legalization of gay marriages. They also agreed that the Wampanoag tribe should be allowed to build a casino in New Bedford. They concurred that state legislators deserved the pay raise they voted themselves in December 1994. And the potentially explosive issue of Vietnam briefly surfaced but then disappeared, with Weld simply congratulating Kerry for his military service.

The candidates also agreed that many Massachusetts residents are unfamiliar with each other with more bruises than real wounds. The rhetorical jousting was relentless, at times ferocious, but neither yielded an inch of ideological turf.

The debate was packed with substance and specifics. Each combatant crammed a campaign's worth of issues into a single hour. For the average viewer, or the typical voter, many of the details will take time to digest. But the depth of detail, much of which will be checked by campaign and media truth squads in the coming days, should provide plenty of grist for the six remaining scheduled debates.

Despite some topics being glossed over – education, the environment, defense spending and foreign policy among them – the debate lived up to its advance billing. Those who thought this race could be a referendum on the national agenda may well get their wish.

Weld tossed aside his usually jovial, relaxed demeanor for the night and was often the aggressor, his voice booming into Faneuil Hall. The effect was even more intense on television. But Kerry, too, made slashing points at many turns.

Each candidate also succeeded where political debaters often fail, in making the essential case for his candidacy.

Kerry's focus was on portraying himself as a key part of the Democratic bulwark against a radical Republican agenda in Washington that Weld generally endorses and which Kerry said threatens Massachusetts health care and research industries with ruinous budget cuts. For Weld, it was painting Kerry as a tax-and-spend liberal who is soft on crime and welfare.

Weld was often effective in unleashing barrages of charges against Kerry, sometimes blending several issues. At least twice, Kerry shook his head and called Weld "dead wrong" or accused him of twisting isolated votes.

Kerry took dead aim at two of Weld's proudest claims – that he has cut taxes 11 times and has overhauled welfare. Kerry accused him of taking credit for others' proposals; he said most of Weld's tax cuts helped corporations or wealthy individuals but provided peanuts for workers. And he criticized Weld for "picking on people on welfare."

Weld scored by attacking Kerry's record on taxes, and said Kerry had even proposed boosting the gasoline tax 50 cents a gallon. And Kerry's votes against a balanced-budget amendment prevented a cut in mortgage interest rates, Weld said.

One dramatic moment came in an exchange on the death penalty.

Weld lagged Kerry for refusing to back the death penalty, even for convicted cop killers. Kerry didn't flinch, calling Weld's politicization of the death penalty issue "kind of shameless."

"I know something about killing," said Kerry, who was decorated for heroism in the Vietnam War. "I don't like killing . . . The state should not sanction killing."

To their credit, the candidates rarely dealt in bumper-sticker sloganeering. This was often a duel over nuance.

One hard sell for Weld may be the Republicans' proposed $270-billion reduction in the growth rate of Medicare. Kerry and Democrats generally call it a cut because Medicare funding won't keep up with the growing demand and cost of health care. When he had to explain votes cited by Weld, Kerry was on the defensive last night.

Kerry was on the defensive last night when he had to explain votes cited by Weld. Federal lawmaking is not a tidy exercise; one vote may involve a jumble of issues. Kerry, for example, voted for welfare reform then against it after GOP amendments. Weld, of course, cited only the vote against.

Ultimately, the race may hinge on whether voters are moved by the candidates' basic appeals. For Weld, it was, "I want to finish the job we have well under way here." In Massachusetts, for Kerry, it is what he calls "the fight against the downsizing of the American Dream" by Republicans.

THE SCHEDULE

6 more candidate faceoffs slated

Last night's debate was the first of seven televised encounters that Sen. John F. Kerry and Gov. William F. Weld have agreed to participate in. The debates are sponsored by the Boston Globe, Boston Herald and four television stations: WBZ-TV (Ch. 4), WCVB-TV (Ch. 5), WHDH-TV (Ch. 7) and New England Cable News.

The next three debates will be held in June and July. The final three will begin after Labor Day when the campaign is in its final months. One of the fall debates will be held in the western part of the state.

Dates and times, and details on the format of the remaining debates, will be announced.

into one of the most striking exchanges of the evening.

Kerry claimed credit for getting more police on the street, funding programs for at-risk youths, rewriting export licensing laws, cracking down on international money-laundering, reforming flood insurance and several other initiatives.

"These are not things that make the front page," Kerry said. "But they are the work of being a United States senator, and I'm proud of them."

Weld offered a very different list of Kerry votes: for a gas tax hike, against the death penalty for cop-killers, against welfare reform, against mandatory sentences for drug dealers, against the balanced budget amendment, against random drug testing for airline pilots.

"I find this beyond reason," Weld said. "I hope everybody will study Sen. Kerry's record."

But again, discussion of broad philosophical differences deteriorated into a flurry of accusations and denials. Kerry cited four separate votes he cast in favor of mandatory minimum sentences. Weld then quoted from Senate minutes, saying Kerry once described people who sell drugs to their friends as "barely culpable." Kerry asked whether film director Oliver Stone – known for his free hand with history – had done Weld's research. Meanwhile, Nesson struggled to keep order.

Still, the candidates were able to mark their territory, especially in the portion of the debate when they were allowed to ask each other questions.

For instance, Kerry asked Weld why he opposes raising the minimum wage even though it has reached a 40-year low in dollars adjusted for inflation. Weld responded that raising it would cost jobs and touted the 215,000 jobs

Debate 1: Two visions have at it, furiously

The Kerry-Weld debates

News analysis

By Brian C. Mooney
GLOBE STAFF

Last night's furious opening debate between Sen. John F. Kerry and Gov. William F. Weld was a head-on collision between two dramatically divergent visions of the role of government.

"The election is seven months – and six more debates – away, but it is already apparent that Massachusetts voters will have a clear-cut choice in November about the kind of senator they want in Washington:

A senator like Kerry, who says he will defend government's role in protecting the needy from Republican budget cutters.

Or a senator like Weld, who says he will bring to Washington his zeal for tax cuts and tough crime and welfare policies.

Like runs butting furiously for an hour, Weld, the Republican challenger, and Kerry, the two-term Democratic incumbent, left

Phil. D. News 4/5/96

Democrats have been losing Roman Catholic voters

by **Monsignor S.J. Adamo**

The Democratic Party is hurtling toward disaster, and not even the divisive politics of the pompous Ross Perot will save it. The reason is this party of FDR and JFK has alienated a group of its most ardent supporters: Roman Catholics.

Catholics have been a strong element of the Democrats since the days of Roosevelt because he embraced the ideals of social justice so dear to the Catholic mind since Pius XI, and later John XXIII, proposed them as basic building blocks of the good life. If you ignored, or worse, scorned social justice, you weren't of the mainstream of Catholic thinking.

For more than 70 years, to be a true Catholic meant you embraced social justice: a living wage, decent homes and education for a flourishing society, concern and care for the poor and the handicapped, quality education for the young and those things that make modern living blessed. That was what made Father Coughlin's talks so appealing in the '30s. It was all embraced by the teaching that you are your brother's keeper! Unfortunately, he ended up in the wasteland of anti-Semitism, and yet Jews, whose traditions are steeped in a love of social justice, were among his most ardent admirers.

Since the glorious days of FDR and Harry Truman the Democratic party has declined in quality: it has become the party of weirdos and those whose lifestyles will undermine society if they become the norm. The new standard bearer is Bill Clinton, a classic opportunist and utterly amoral modern — the source of his ambivalence.

And that is why more and more Catholics are leaving the Democratic party and joining the Republicans, apart from those who are hoodwinked by Ross Perot, the greatest con artist since P.T. Barnum and his circus with the bearded lady.

Perhaps a third party could attract disillusioned Catholics. Its prime concern would have to be social justice and the care of those who cannot care for themselves.

But that is not likely to happen: The Democrats are stuck with Bill Clinton and his ragtag followers. After the next election, perhaps the Democrats can regain former glory and return to the ideals of Roosevelt and Truman. Unfortunately, Clinton is alien to that tradition. He lacks utterly their core values. The only core value he embraces is to win at any price.

Where will the Catholic citizen go if he leaves the Democratic Party? Buchanan has some appeal as an alternative, but he is too bombastic. And since the Coughlin debacle, Catholics are leery of loud orators. They prefer someone with the style of the late Fulton Sheen. And an orator of that caliber is given only once to a generation.

Look for the Catholic vote to be fragmented. Republicans will win a goodly number of them. That is something no one could have foreseen a mere 25 years ago ■

Monsignor S.J. Adamo's column appears on these pages the first and third Thursday of each month.

KANSAS CITY STAR 4/9

Reform Party backers are confident about ballot drives

From Staff and Wire Reports

JEFFERSON CITY — Getting Ross Perot's Reform Party on the November ballots in Kansas and Missouri will be no problem, organizers say.

Members of the United We Stand America in Kansas are working to collect more than the 16,417 signatures needed to get ballot position for Ross Perot's new Reform Party. Those names will have to be submitted by June 1 — or within 180 days of the date of the first signature collected.

"I don't see this as a problem," said Ida True Terry of Overland Park, who said the group was aiming to be done by May 1. Around 55,000 signatures were gathered in 1992 to put Perot on the ballot.

Whether Perot's name will be on the ballot has not been settled. The party must nominate its candidates by June 10, but the Texas billionaire has indicated he won't declare whether he will run again until around Labor Day. No decision has been made about whose name will hold the top spot for the Kansas party, although Perot has allowed his name to be used as a stand-in in other states.

In Missouri the Reform Party backers have until Aug. 5 to submit 10,000 valid signatures to the secretary of state's office.

"Ten thousand is a piece of cake, frankly," said Sandy McClure of Springfield, state coordinator of the party.

Four years ago Ross Perot backers collected 134,000 signatures in just 45 days to qualify when 25,000 were required.

McClure said Monday that the Reform Party backers had hoped to start gathering names before April 15 to tap into voter anger over taxes.

Even though the signature-gathering will begin a little later, she said, "people will still be angry enough afterward."

Perot got about 22 percent of the presidential vote in Missouri and 27 percent in Kansas in 1992.

4/9/96

The Detroit News
THE FINAL WORD

GOP: Adrift on Taxes

The Republican Party is having trouble getting its act together on a number of issues, but it seems particularly adrift on taxes. Publisher Steve Forbes' primary loss has placed the idea of the flat tax on the back burner. And Sen. Bob Dole seems uninterested in placing income tax cuts on the congressional front-burner.

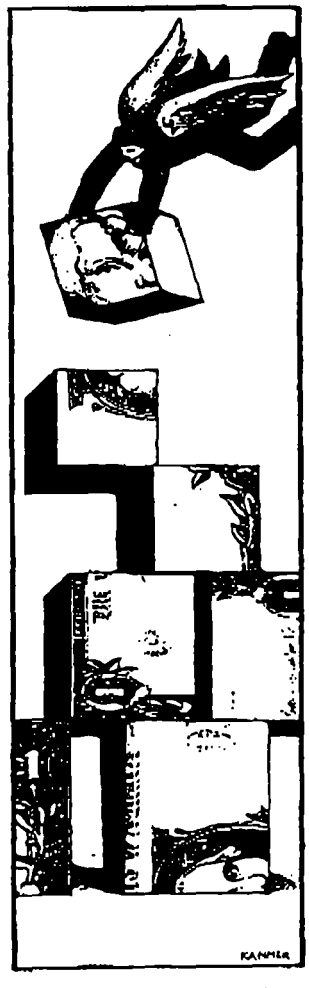
These developments have led others to try to fill the vacuum. One idea making a bit of a comeback lately has been the national sales tax. Michigan's U.S. Rep. Dick Chrysler, the Brighton Republican who is facing a potentially tough re-election challenge this fall, has joined Rep. Dan Schaefer, R-Colo., and Rep. Billy Tauzin, R-La., in calling for a 15 percent sales tax on goods and services in place of income taxes.

In principle, there is much to recommend such a change. The current tax system grows ever more complex and burdensome. A sales tax, by contrast, could be collected at the point of sale, relieving most taxpayers of huge amounts of paperwork and accounting fees. The states, most of whom already have a sales tax in place, would collect the sales tax for a federal fee.

The sales tax also would be applied to imports of finished goods, but not to American exports. Enthusiasts say this provision would help eliminate America's long-running trade deficit, which they view as bad for economic health.

Most important, proponents argue, the sales tax would favor savings over consumption, thus rewarding thrift and investment. The current income-based system punishes savings by taxing dividends and capital gains at least twice — at the corporate level and then at the individual level. Less investment means lower productivity and thus lower wages.

Nevertheless we remain skeptical. New taxes usually wind up being added to the current tax load, rather than replacing it. And we question whether a national sales tax would collect as much money as proponents claim. The Chrysler-Schaefer-Tauzin bill would allow a rebate for the poor, but otherwise would tax all goods and services.



L.A. Times Syndicate

In most states, however, food and medicine are exempted to some degree. At the national level, a total exemption for these goods would take $1.2 trillion in sales off the tax rolls, meaning a higher rate would have to be levied on everything else to produce the same amount of revenue.

Sales taxes also are notoriously easy to evade. Even the civic-minded would be tempted to pay the gardener, the painter or the auto repairman in unrecorded cash. Or people would find ways to buy merchandise direct from non-taxed wholesalers rather than their local retailer.

That's one reason most European nations have shifted from straight sales taxes to a "value-added" tax system, in which production is taxed at each successive level. Yet, as critics have noted, a VAT still requires a massive enforcement bureaucracy. And the indirect nature of the VAT makes it almost impossible for the voter to figure out the true level of taxation, supposedly one of the chief virtues of a retail sales tax.

The sales tax boomlet is motivated mainly by taxpayer anger at the Internal Revenue Service. We make no brief for the IRS, much less the current tax code, which is far too burdensome. The best part of the Chrysler proposal is its effort to scrap the IRS altogether and to require a two-thirds majority of Congress for any future increase in a sales tax. But simplifying the current system may still prove more practical. Before proceeding, a careful look needs to be given to such a far-reaching idea as the national sales tax.

Akron Beacon Journal

Stokes changed city, lives

Carl Chancellor

• Many pay respects to ex-mayor who provided them a chance

4/19/96

The number and variety of people present in the ornate and gilded confines of Cleveland's Music Hall for the funeral services of this man, the great-grandson of a slave, bore clear evidence to how he forever changed the story of the city and of this nation.

There were federal judges, congressional representatives, police and fire officials, business and civic leaders, people of color and women — all people who might not be in the positions of power and authority that they now hold if there had never been a Carl Burton Stokes.

In his 68 years on this earth, Stokes, the first African-American elected mayor of a major U.S. city and, at the time of his death, ambassador to the Republic of the Seychelles, had made a difference.

Speaker after speaker came to the podium to remember a man who was a dreamer, a man who refused to accept the status quo, a man who was limitless in his vision.

"He constantly reached for the impossible dream," said the Rev. Otis Moss, who gave the Benedic-

See CARL, Page A4

CARL

• Cleveland turns out to honor man who cared

Continued from Page A1

tion. Moss noted that because Stokes had dared to reach, "he wrote new chapters in the history of this city and this nation."

Donna Shalala, secretary of U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, said that Stokes "challenged conventional thinking."

Up until Stokes' election in 1967 as mayor of Cleveland, conventional thinking was that it was ridiculous for a black person, or anyone in the minority, to aspire to high elective office.

"He was able to take the politics of protest (1960s civil rights movement) and turn it into the possibility of progress," said the Rev. Joan Brown Campbell, general secretary of the National Council of Churches.

Judge Nathaniel Jones, U.S. Court of Appeals for the 6th Circuit, said Stokes' election in 1967, and again in 1969, gave him the sense of "somebody-ness."

"That feeling spread across the country when he was elected. He proved that change is possible. He showed (during his administration) that the tools of democracy, if skillfully used, can make a difference," Jones continued.

He stressed the importance of following Stokes' example to fulfill the promise of this country.

A letter from Gov. George Voinovich, read to the mourners, noted that Stokes would be "frustrated by the slow progress." In terms of diversity and giving all of its citizens a meaningful stake in the bounty of the country, Voinovich bemoaned the fact that we have "reached a plateau."

Throughout this celebration, Stokes was remembered as energetic, vibrant and charismatic.

"He had a big ego. But you need a big ego if you are going to be a leader . . . He had a Rolls Royce ego and a mind to match," preached the Rev. Jesse Jackson, a close friend of Stokes.

"Oppressed people must have ego and a real strength of character if they are to overcome the odds and defy the cultural norms . . . He was a trailblazer," said Jackson, adding that 30 years ago Stokes planted the seeds of change deep, which has today resulted in the bearing of much fruit.

Stokes wrote a new American story, one where the protagonist goes from poverty to power, said his brother, U.S. Rep. Louis Stokes.

"We grew up poor and black in Cleveland," said the congressman as he read from his brother's autobiography, *Promises of Power*. "My mother, Louis and I lived on the first floor of a rickety old two-family house . . . We covered the rat holes with tops of tin cans . . . The three of us shared one bed."

The congressman recalled that he, his brother and mother lived in the most extreme poverty until 1938, when they moved into the nation's first public housing project.

"The day we moved was pure wonder. A sink with hot and cold running water, a place where you could wash clothes, an actual refrigerator . . . My mother for the first time had a room and a bed of her own," Louis Stokes said. Because of that life-changing experience, Louis Stokes said, his brother made it his life's mission to use the power of elected office to better the lives of all citizens, particularly those most in need.

"He knew government could change our lives that it could also change the lives of others."

Thank you for the changes, Carl Burton Stokes.

Carl Chancellor can be reached at 330-996-3725.

LEW STAMP/Beacon Journal

Political pioneer is saluted

• Work of man who beat odds is unfinished, say mourners at Cleveland ceremony

Akron Beacon-Journal

BY ARNIE ROSENBERG
Beacon Journal staff writer

ABJ 4/9/96

CLEVELAND: Carl B. Stokes broke down barriers and overcame obstacles, but his work is left undone, speakers said yesterday at the funeral of the former Cleveland mayor.

Judge Nathaniel Jones of the Sixth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals, for one, said Stokes' philosophy needs to be applied to present-day problems.

Apprehension about Carl Stokes changed to admiration. Regina Brett, Page C3.

"As long as we have a community that has not yet come to grips with the education of its children, the lessons of Carl Stokes still need to be learned," Jones told about 2,500 mourners in Cleveland's Music Hall.

"As long as we are still building prisons, those lessons still need to be learned," he said.

"And as long as this community continues to delude itself that it is color blind, there will be a need for men and women — black and white — to forge coalitions like Carl did and give hope.

"Hope," Jones said, "is possi-

See STOKES, Page A4

LEW STAMP/Beacon Journal

Above, U.S. Rep. Louis Stokes (left) hugs his nephew, Cordell Stokes, a son of the late Carl Stokes. At left, mourners carrying flags watch the funeral procession yesterday at the entrance to Cleveland's Lake View Cemetery.

STOKES

• Ex-mayor saw how government could help

Continued from Page A1

ble."

Stokes, 68, who died of cancer of the esophagus Wednesday at the Cleveland Clinic, was remembered during nearly three hours of tributes in words and music yesterday as the trailblazing first black mayor of a major American city in 1967.

He was also recognized for his work as a state representative, Cleveland municipal judge, TV news anchor in New York City and U.S. ambassador to the Seychelles, an appointment he took in 1994.

From across the political and social spectrum, Stokes' former associates came to pay their respects. The Rev. Jesse Jackson delivered the eulogy; also present were judges, current and former members of Congress, and Donna Shalala, secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

In addition, former Cleveland mayors Ralph J. Perk and Dennis Kucinich were present, along with former Gov. Richard Celeste. Gov. George V. Voinovich was on his way to India for a trade mission. Both Voinovich and President Clinton sent letters to Stokes' family.

Jackson called Stokes "a dream maker and odds beater."

"No other man had to march so far. He started so low to get so high," said Jackson. "He broke all those urban can't-do labels.

"When he was elected mayor of Cleveland, he became an instant national political hero," Jackson said. "He was a breakthrough beyond being an entertainer or a ball player. We already had Luke Easter, Joe Louis, (Count) Basie and (Duke) Ellington. But he became an emancipation."

Jackson spoke fondly of Stokes' "genius," and how he taught the value of "dreaming beyond our circumstances."

"He never surrendered, he fought the good fight," said Jackson. "He turned bitter into better, like Jesus turned water into wine."

Cleveland Mayor Michael R. White, like Jones, acknowledged there is more work to be done.

"There are more children to be saved, more neighborhoods to keep, and more struggles to wage in the name of what's right," White said.

"Carl Stokes was a warrior," White said, nodding emphatically toward the flag-draped casket in front of him. "This warrior has fallen, but he fought the dragon of his time against overwhelming odds of racial discrimination and social injustice."

Yet it was Stokes' brother — Rep. Louis Stokes, D-11 — who offered a look at Carl Stokes that few of the other speakers could have provided.

The family's move to the Outhwaite Homes public housing complex on Cleveland's East Side and the improvement in their quality of life, Louis Stokes said, made a lasting impression.

"In the same way government changed our lives, he wanted government to help change other people's lives," Louis Stokes said. "He really believed he could use his intellect and talent to change people's lives."

Louis Stokes also related a conversation he had with his brother in his hospital room shortly before he died last week:

"He said, 'I've done everything I've wanted to do, everything I could do. I've had the opportunity to serve this country as an ambassador because I was given the opportunity to prove I could do that at a high professional level.'"

Louis Stokes added, "He wrote a different kind of American story, the 'poor black boy story.' He didn't rise from rags to riches. He went from poverty to power."

Carl Stokes was buried yesterday afternoon in Lake View Cemetery.

E X E C U T I V E O F F I C E O F T H E P R E S I D E N T

04-Apr-1996 04:49pm

TO: Multiple recipients of list DLCMAIL

FROM: DLCMail

SUBJECT: Where We've Been, Where We're Going

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DLCMail
****
An E-Mail Service of the Democratic Leadership Council

"The Inside View", Spring 1996
by DLC President Al From

In presidential election years, I often think about the early years of the DLC. When we began, back in 1985, our goal was twofold: one, to make the Democratic Party competitive in national politics again; and two, to rekindle a progressive movement that would reshape American politics for the 21st century.

With the election of Bill Clinton, and the growing acceptance of many New Democrat ideas, we've made solid progress toward meeting our first goal.

The DLC-PPI challenge to party orthodoxy on welfare reform broke the Republicans' long-standing monopoly on this issue. President Clinton's campaign talk about reciprocal responsibility and his pledge to "end welfare as we know it" was critical to his election.

DLC-PPI proposals on welfare reform and teen pregnancy prevention were included in the Senate-passed welfare reform bill last year and are driving the debate on both issues in state legislatures across the country. The "work first" concept is now on the agenda in at least 10 states.

DLC-PPI crime proposals have made it safe for Democrats to talk about crime. Community policing -- a key part of the New Democrat agenda -- is enjoying widespread popularity in high-profile places like New York City, Boston, Atlanta and San Diego.

National service, a signature DLC-PPI idea, involves more than 20,000 volunteers, in every state, working through the Americorps program. PPI's proposal to end costly, anti-competitive tax and spending subsidies -- "Cut and Invest" -- is key to the debate over balancing the budget, and is increasingly an option as other alternatives to reduce spending are ruled out.

DLC-PPI's continuing advocacy of the Earned Income Tax Credit has helped raise millions of low-income families out of poverty. Our proposal to use vouchers to shift control of employment and training resources from bureaucrats to workers -- the heart of our "GI Bill for American workers" -- is now part of the Clinton Administration's program for enhancing worker

security.

"Reinventing government," a central piece of the New Democrat mandate for change, is creating billions of dollars in savings and is slated to reduce t size of the federal workforce by 272,000 over five years.

Finally, thanks in part to DLC-PPI's advocacy, charter schools are thriving in 20 states, bringing a fresh perspective to a dead-end debate over more dollars versus school vouchers.

These achievements are substantial, and we're proud of them.

But, we still haven't rekindled the flame of progressive politics in our country.

And the need is, if anything, greater than it was a decade ago.

As the industrial age gives way to an information era, our political and governing institutions are out of step with the forces transforming our society and economy. President Clinton said as much in his State of the Union speech, when he declared that "the era of big government is over." But what comes next? While new thinkers on both sides of the political aisle have come up with some promising approaches, neither party can answer that question right now. As a result, politics is increasingly disconnected from the realities of everyday life for most Americans.

That's why America urgently needs a new framework for our politics -- a progressive philosophy for governance in the information age that transcends what President Clinton has called the braindead politics of both parties, that reshapes our public institutions for a new economy and a new century -- and that, in so doing, makes the political debate meaningful to ordinary citizens again.

Designing that new philosophy is critical to achieving the DLC-PPI's second, and overarching, mission -- and we intend to devote our energies to doing that this year.

To connect with Americans looking for a new way, the new political framework must be grounded in the values that most Americans share: opportunity, responsibility and self-reliant communities.

To carry us into the next century, its goals must reflect where we need to go, not where we've been: toward equal opportunity, not equal outcomes; empowering institutions, not caretakers; mutual responsibility, not entitlement; government that enables, not enslaves.

And to succeed, it will need your help.

In a sense, New Democrats have been laying the groundwork for this governing philosophy all along. Our efforts take on new urgency now, as the old order crumbles around us. Finding something to take its place has become an imperative -- one that will focus everything we do from here on out.

Together, we will need to develop a national network that includes, first, scholars and practitioners who can flesh out the new philosophy with innovative ideas; second, public officials and community leaders who can promote the ideas, turn them into action, and become the voice for this new politics; and third, financial supporters committed to our new philosophy and willing to fund a paradigm-breaking approach to politics. We need a

flagship journal of this new progressive movement, one that is connected to our network of scholars and practitioners. Our goal is to have all of that in place by year's end.

Every four years, it seems, we are reminded how very much the country needs a new kind of politics. In my travels around the country, I can't tell you how many people are eager to be involved. Our challenge, together, is to galvanize them -- to take advantage of an opportunity that may not come again in our lifetime.

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Comments/questions? E-mail to dlcmail@list.dlcppi.org
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New Jersey's Senate Race Attracts the Nation's Eyes

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By BRETT PULLEY

TRENTON, April 5 — To reach voters in New Jersey, Richard A. Zimmer, who has already made his pitch in Texas, Florida and New York, will spend the next months seeking support in Illinois, Arizona, Minnesota and California.

Mr. Zimmer, a 51-year-old Representative from Flemington, is running for an open Senate seat in a state served by two of the most expensive advertising markets in the country, and, following a well-trod path, he is looking for money wherever he can find it.

Although he is not as well known in his own state as the Democratic candidate, Representative Robert G. Torricelli of Englewood, Mr. Zimmer knows that political contributors nationwide are interested, for two reasons. First, this race for the seat being given up by Bill Bradley, along with 12 other open races, will play an important role in determining the makeup of the Senate. Second, voters here, among the first to revolt against high taxes and big government, offer a testing ground for national political messages.

A lawmaker who promoted fiscal restraint in nine years in Trenton and six in Washington, Mr. Zimmer wants the race to be a test of voters' willingness to approve Government spending.

"This kind of match is a matchup that will be seen as a referendum on government," Mr. Zimmer said after a campaign

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event this week, "and it will get national attention as a result."

A third-term member of the House, Mr. Zimmer has two primary challengers, State Senator Richard J. LaRossa and Richard A. DuHaime, a Passaic County freeholder. He has the endorsements of many New Jersey Republican leaders, including Gov. Christine Todd Whitman, and a big fund-raising advantage. Mr. LaRossa has tried to make an issue of Zimmer's out-of-state trips, saying, "We do not need another U.S. Senator jet-setting around the country raising money for campaign advertisements."

Mr. Torricelli, 44, who began the race with $1 million in his campaign treasury, has had an easier time than Mr. Zimmer raising money in and out of state. During the last three months, he has taken in more than $100,000 from contributors in Florida and $100,000 from labor organizations in Washington.

With seven months to go before Election Day, both national parties have already committed $750,000 each, the full amount allowed under Federal election laws, to their nominees in the fall. The Democratic National Committee has cited New Jersey as one of five states in which it will mount major get-out-the-vote drives.

"This is a top race and will receive top attention across the board," said Gordon Hensley, spokesman for the National Republican Senatorial Committee. Beyond direct financing, both parties are expected to contribute millions for such generic campaign efforts as telephone canvassing. Since New Jersey is also a swing state in the Presidential election, there will be numerous visits from President Clinton the Republican nominee, expected to be Senator Bob Dole.

By November, each of the two Senate candidates expects to have raised $6 million to $8 million, to pay for what is typically one of the more expensive races in the country, in a populous though small state. Broadcast advertising is their largest expense, because the candidates must buy time on stations in New York and Philadelphia to reach New Jersey voters. There are no major network affiliates in New Jersey.

Mr. Torricelli has moved ahead of Mr. Zimmer in raising money, according to estimates based on their Federal Election Commission filings, which will not be publicly released until mid-April. Lawrence Weitzner, Mr. Zimmer's manager, said the Zimmer campaign would report $2.2 million to $2.5 million in cash, with a small percentage from out of state. David Plouffe, campaign manager for Mr. Torricelli, said he would report $3.7 million in cash, with about 25 percent from outside the state.

The state's trend-setting position has magnified its national attention, several political analysts said. For example, the anti-tax Republican revolution that swept the country in 1994 first swept New Jersey in 1991, when control of the State Legislature switched from the Democratics to the Republicans. "New Jersey is the place that sort of seems like the harbinger of things to come," said Ross K. Baker, a political science professor at Rutgers University.

The retirement of Senator Bill Bradley created a vacuum that drew in Mr. Zimmer and Mr. Torricelli, two strong candidates who reflect the national agendas of their respective parties in a state with the landscape, population and issues that make it a virtual microcosm of America.

Economically, few states better symbolize the nation's confusion than does New Jersey: a Republican Governor, Mrs. Whitman, has remained widely popular in large part because she delivered on her promise of huge income tax cuts over the past two years, while large employers like AT&T have laid off workers by the thousands.

To win over the state's traditionally nonideological moderate voters, both Mr. Torricelli and Mr. Zimmer

Candidates go wherever the money is, vying for office in a small, expensive state.

are trying to paint each other as an extremist. But Mr. Torricelli's liberal-to-moderate record in Congress differs from the tax-and-spend liberal that Mr. Zimmer has described, while Mr. Zimmer's conservative-to-moderate record suggests that he is not a Newt Gingrich clone, as Mr. Torricelli has said.

Both are experienced campaigners, although Mr. Torricelli seems to relish the spotlight more. He has gained widespread attention for accusing the Central Intelligence Agency of sponsoring violence in Guatemala and for his courtship of Bianca Jagger, the former wife of Mick Jagger.

Mr. Zimmer, on the other hand, seems stiff and uncomfortable in public. Even Mr. Weitzner, who is managing Mr. Zimmer's campaign, conceded that Mr. Torricelli has more of a national profile. "He's more flamboyant," Mr. Weitzner said.

"He's a family man," Mr. Weitzner said of Mr. Zimmer. "He's got two kids. I think that's the profile that more voters are looking for."

Mr. Zimmer has begun criticizing Mr. Torricelli for absences during votes in Congress and for a recent reprimand that Mr. Torricelli received from the House Ethics Committee for preparing one press release, amounting to $2.83 of fax machine time, in his Congressional office for political purposes. "This will be about character," Mr. Weitzner said. "Mr. Clean against Mr. Mean."

The difference between the two candidates was underscored vividly in events each held this week.

Thirty minutes after his news conference in Newark was scheduled to begin on Wednesday, Mr. Torricelli finally arrived, his car backing rapidly up a one-way street before screeching to a halt.

Because of high winds that morning, Mr. Torricelli's announcement that he would receive the endorsement of a fellow Democrat, Senator Frank R. Lautenberg, had been moved at the last minute from the steps of the Federal courthouse to a nearby indoor location. An aide to Mr. Torricelli explained that the Congressman refuses to wear mousse, so 'the wind would have made his hair look a mess in front of the television cameras."

Mr. Torricelli was loquacious, wading through a small crowd of uniformed police officers who attended to show their support for his gun control initiatives. Arriving at the microphone, Mr. Torricelli joked about his small size, comparing himself with the retiring Senator. "Thank you for combing Essex and Union County to find the only officers short enough to make me look more like Bill Bradley," he said.

Two days later, Mr. Zimmer held a press conference to announce that he was receiving the endorsement of former Gov. Thomas H. Kean. Mr. Zimmer chose the steps of the Somerset County Administration Building in Somerville, a quaint central New Jersey town.

Mr. Zimmer arrived early, and although he looked as if he would rather have been at a desk balancing a budget, he mingled with the few supporters and reporters who showed up. His straightforward announcement lasted five minutes.

For now, many voters seem unaware of the early campaigning and nationwide canvassing for money. A Quinnipiac College poll released in the first week of April of 908 registered voters in New Jersey found 38 percent still undecided.

But some voters, like Charles Jones 3d, are already watching closely. Mr. Jones, a resident of Somerville since 1958, is just the kind of voter who could make the difference in November. Although he is a registered Democrat and the vice president of the local building and trade workers union, Mr. Jones attended Mr. Zimmer's event outside the county administration building. "Sometimes I vote Republican," he said. "It all depends on the candidate and the issues."