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

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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Inter-Office Memorandums

FOLDER #18

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

September 9, 8:40 am

SEP 11 1997

Louis Nigro, DCM at the Vatican called and asked that I let you know the following.

Message passed to Archbishop Re, Deputy PM, this morning at 11:00 am, September 9.

Emphasized US/UN Agreement on President greeting the Pope in New York.

Archbishop Re expressed complete satisfaction with US plan for President greeting the Pope.

Immediate cable has been sent to you with fuller account of the meeting. Let him know if you need anything else.

MONDAY RNC BRIEFING

September 12, 1994

This week's briefing focuses on Hill.

FYI

November Outlook Gets Even Better

"Over the last couple of weeks, some signs have emerged indicating that the Senate picture for Democrats actually may be getting worse, and that the three- to six-seat Democratic loss anticipated by many analysts may be giving way to a five- to seven-seat loss. ... If, as some Democratic consultants suspect, Republican voters are galvanized and turn out to a greater extent than at any time in recent memory, and traditional Democratic voters become disillusioned, the Big Wave could come crashing in."

— Political analyst Charles Cook, *Fall Call*, 9/8/94

A Target-rich Environment

"At least 125 House seats are at play, about twice as many of them Democratic as Republican. Of the 49 House retirees, 30 are Democrats and 14 of them are in the southern or border states, the region where Clinton is weakest. One Democratic Party official said only a few of the 30 Democratic open seats can be considered safe. Of the 35 Senate seats being contested this fall, 22 are held by Democrats. Only half a dozen or so appear safe now, with nine or 10 riding as tossups. Of the 36 governorships at stake, 21 are controlled by Democrats and only a handful look safe. ... Finally look at geography. The Republicans are surging in the South, strong in the Rocky Mountains and poised to make major gains in such midwestern states as Ohio and Michigan. Democrats are hard-pressed to name a single state where their prospects look bright across the board."

— *Washington Post*, 9/8/94

Thanks, But No Thanks

"We weren't consulted on this. The White House didn't call at all until 20 minutes ago. They cooked it up on their own. Tom is scheduled to be elsewhere, and frankly, we prefer to campaign on our own, but I'm sure we can change things around if it's really necessary."

— Craig Brown, manager of Rep. Tom Andrews (D-Maine) senatorial campaign, commenting on a visit from Clinton, *New York Times*, 9/1/94

Clinton Administration Fights Term Limits

"The Clinton administration believes term limits for members of Congress are unconstitutional and wants to battle the Arkansas state government over that point in a case pending before the U.S. Supreme Court. At issue is an amendment to the Arkansas Constitution, approved in 1992 by 60 percent of the state's electorate, that prohibits candidates elected to three terms in the House and two terms in the Senate from being placed on the ballot for office."

— *Washington Times*, 9/2/94

A Crime Is a Crime Is a Crime (Ask the Surgeon General)

"I don't feel that was a crime."

— U.S. Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders, when asked whether her son, convicted of selling cocaine to an undercover officer, might commit other crimes while free on bail pending appeal, *Newsweek*, 9/12/94

To Alexis
FYI
Carm

9/1/94

CALENDAR

This Week

- Sept. 12 House and Senate are scheduled to reconvene.
 13-14 RNC Chairman Haley Barbour attends party-building activities in Arizona and Texas.
 13 Congressional primaries are held in Arizona, Connecticut, Maryland, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, Rhode Island, Vermont and Wisconsin.
 15 GOP-TV's "Rising Tide" focuses on education and foreign policy with guests Henry Kissinger and Lamar Alexander.
 CONTACT: Christine O'Donnell (202) 863-8769
 16 Chairman Barbour attends party-building activities in Alabama.
 17 Congressional primary is held in Hawaii.
 18-19 Independent Institute's "Health Choices For America" conference is held in D.C. Speakers include: Sen. Bob Dole and NHI President Jack Faria.
 CONTACT: Theresa Snyder (510) 632-1366

Upcoming Events

- Sept. 19 American Conservative Union holds a "National Health Care Lobby Day" in D.C.
 CONTACT: Cassa Kanner (703) 836-8602
 20 Congressional primaries are held in Massachusetts and Washington.
 21 Chairman Barbour attends party-building activities in Illinois.
 25 New Hampshire Republican state convention is held in Manchester.
 27 The "Republican Contrast with America" is held in D.C.
 CONTACT: Mike Deane (202) 479-7095
 Oct. 1 Congressional primary is held in Louisiana.
 4 GOP-TV's "Women Who Win" highlights the achievements of Republican women.
 CONTACT: Tony Cramer (202) 863-8545
 7 Target adjournment date for Congress.

Legislative Watch

Last Week on Capitol Hill:

- ✓ The House and Senate were in session.

This Week on Capitol Hill:

- ✓ The House and Senate are scheduled to reconvene on Sept. 12.
- ✓ The House schedule through adjournment in October includes implementing legislation for the Uruguay Round of GATT, campaign finance and lobby reform, Superfund reauthorization and the FY 95 appropriations bills.

FOCUS: The Haiti Predicament

"The president of the United States has not come forward and told the American people why it is in the vital interest of the United States to invade Haiti. This is a dereliction of duty. I hope the Congress holds him accountable. ... Foreign policy should not be decided on public opinion polls. Foreign policy should not be decided by responding to special interest groups in the Democratic Party. Foreign policy should be decided on what is in the best interests of the United States of America."

— Dan Quayle, NBC's "Today," 8/29/94

"We do democracy a disservice by using it as an excuse to further political rather than democratic goals. ... As with Bosnia, and Somalia, liberal Democrats now argue that U.S. credibility is on the line: We have no choice but to invade. But credibility lost by political bawling should not be redeemed with American blood. ... It's time we stopped using U.S. soldiers to serve national presidents, and that includes our own."

— Sen. Dan Coats (R-Ind.), Washington Times op-ed, 9/9/94

The Clinton administration appears predisposed to an invasion of Haiti to return exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power. But as *Newweek* (5/29/94) columnist Joe Klein notes, an invasion "would risk American lives to restore a democracy that never existed."

Clinton Prefers the United Nations Over the United States Congress

While Clinton has lobbied the United Nations for approval to invade Haiti he has yet to seek the approval of Congress.

- On July 31, 1994, the Clinton administration was granted approval by the U.N. Security Council to invade and occupy Haiti. The resolution was adopted by a 12-0.
- Three days later, on August 3, 1994, the Senate unanimously passed a resolution stating: "It is the sense of the Senate that [the United Nations resolution] does not constitute authorization for the deployment of U.S. armed forces in Haiti under the Constitution of the United States or pursuant to the War Powers Resolution."

Public Opinion on Haiti

As public opinion surveys reveal, Clinton has not justified an invasion of Haiti with the American people either. A majority of people do not want the United States, by itself or in concert with other nations, to invade Haiti.

- A majority (57%) opposes sending troops to Haiti as part of a multi-national invasion, according to the latest *Newweek* poll (conducted 9/9/94). Only 34% percent favor sending U.S. troops along with troops from other countries.
- A CBS poll, conducted last month, showed stronger opposition to the United States acting unilaterally. By an almost two-to-one margin (61%-31%), Americans opposed sending U.S. troops to Haiti.

Election Politics

If the Senate has not authorized an invasion and if the American people do not support an invasion, why is Clinton preparing for one? Contrary to Clinton administration denials, U.S. officials have told U.N. officials there are political motivations for an invasion of Haiti. According to internal U.N. documents:

"The president of the United States' main advisers are of the opinion that not only does [the military] option constitute the lesser evil, but that [it] is politically desirable. ... The Americans see in this type of action a chance to show, after the strong media criticism of the administration, the president's decision making capability and the firmness of leadership in international political matters." (5/23/94 memorandum from U.N. Special Representative to Haiti Dante Caputo to U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali on a meeting attended by Caputo, Strobe Talbott and other State Department officials.)

Even Democrats openly acknowledge the huge potential for political gain. "The president is in a down cycle now. Maybe if he successfully invades Haiti he'll become more popular," said Florida Democrat Rep. Sam Gibbons. (*Washington Times*, 7/21/94)

The Cost of Intervention—more than \$1 billion

Sen. Bob Dole has declared that Haiti is "not worth the blood of a single American soldier." (*Los Angeles Times*, 8/1/94) In addition to potential personnel costs, the financial cost is astronomical.

- Over \$185 million has already been spent enforcing economic sanctions and rescuing Haitian refugees. (AP Wire, 9/3/94)
- The Pentagon estimates an invasion and seven-month occupation of Haiti would cost \$427 million. (AP Wire, 9/3/94)
- The Clinton administration expends \$1.8 million a month to Aristide in frozen Haitian assets for him to operate in exile and pay his lobbyists in Washington. (*Washington Times*, 11/30/93)
- High-ranking administration officials have said \$500 million in international aid has been pledged to Aristide. (*Roll Call*, 9/29/94)

Jean-Bertrand Aristide—not worth one American life

Claudio claims an invasion of Haiti is necessary to return Aristide to power. What kind of leader is Aristide?

- "He is a populist who used mob power to intimidate political critics. During his brief stay in office, he spoke glowingly of the 'neofascist' the burning tire ignited around the neck of victims of street execution." (Washington Post, 7/18/94)
- "Aristide on landscaping: 'It's beautiful, it's cute, it's pretty ... It has a good smell, wherever you go you want to inhale it.'" (American Conservative Union television ad, July 1994)

ELECTION WATCH

NEVADA PRIMARY RESULTS

Senate

REP

Pat Purman

54,199 (50%)

Charles Woods

27,873 (26%)

Purman faces Sen. Richard Bryan (D) in the general election.

Governor

REP

Jim Gibbons

54,201 (50%)

Geryll Lee

35,790 (33%)

DEM

Gov. Bob Miller

72,027 (62%)

Jan Jones

32,374 (28%)

FLORIDA PRIMARY RESULTS

Governor

REP

Bob Bush

408,317 (46%)

Jim Smith

165,007 (18%)

Tom Callaghan

116,549 (13%)

Anders Cronshaw

107,756 (12%)

Bush faces Gov. Chiles in the general election. Smith withdrew (9/12/94) from the run-off and endorsed Bush.

DEM

Gov. Lawton Chiles

599,633 (72%)

Jack Gargan

229,488 (28%)

Senate

DEM

Hugh Rodham

253,883 (34%)

Mike Wiley

184,484 (25%)

Mike Rubin

160,396 (21%)

Guaro Perez

150,365 (20%)

Winner of Oct. 4 run-off between Rodham and Wiley will face Sen. Connie Mack (R) in the general election.

FL-03

REP

Big Daddy Garcia

23,932 (58%)

Gary Graham

17,110 (42%)

Garcia will face freshman Rep. Karen Thurman (D) in the general election.

FL-13

REP

Donald Weldon

13,969 (24%)

Carole Jean Jordan

11,197 (19%)

Ed Stille

10,203 (17%)

Kevin McKeown

7,633 (13%)

Gary Smith

6,258 (11%)

Mike Shukdins

5,793 (10%)

Rep. Jim Sacchus (D) is retiring. Winner of Oct. 4 run-off between Weldon and Jordan faces Sue Munsie in the general election.

OHIO SENATE

Election Month (839 reg. voters surveyed 8/30/94 by the University of Akron for the Beacon Journal)

John DeWine (R)	44%
Paul Hynes (D)	33%
Undecided	19%

NEW YORK GOVERNOR

Election Month (807 reg. voters surveyed 9/7/94 by Political/Media Research for N.Y. Post/Buffalo News poll)

	9/24	9/24	<u>Gov./Uninv.</u>
George Pataki (R)	43%	22%	32%/16%
Gov. Mario Cuomo (D)	41%	47%	37%/42%
Undecided	16%	31%	

Election Month (805 reg. voters surveyed 8/22/94 by Quinnipiac College)

		<u>Cuomo Job Rating</u>
George Pataki (R)	45%	Approve 42%
Gov. Mario Cuomo (D)	45%	Disapprove 46%
Undecided	10%	

KANSAS GOVERNOR (300 reg. voters surveyed 8/31/94 by Central Research & Consulting for Topeka Capital Journal poll)

Election Month

Bill Graves (R)	47%
Rep. Jim Slattery (D)	34%
Undecided	19%

Gov. John F. Pendergast (D) is retiring.

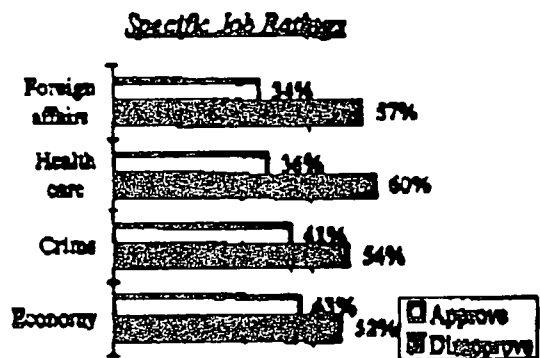
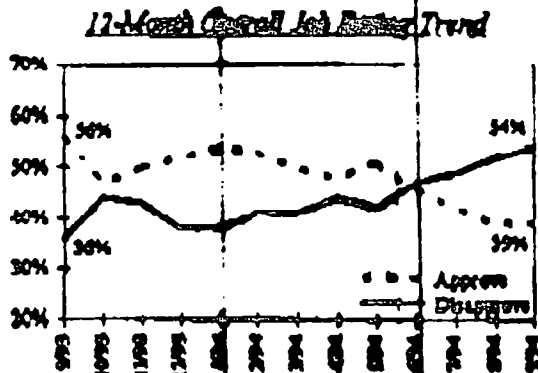
UT-02 (300 likely voters surveyed 9/7/94 by Public Opinion Strategies for the Waldheims campaign)

Election Month

		<u>Uninv.</u>	<u>Clinton Job Rating</u>
Rep. G. Ross Waldheim (R)	31%	23%	Approve 33%
Rep. Karen Stanger (D)	33%	40%	Disapprove 59%
Rep. Bill Cook (D)	25%	39%	
Undecided	11%		

SURVEY SUMMARY

CLINTON JOB RATINGS AND NATIONAL OUTLOOK



Generic Congressional Election

	8/92	8/94
Republican candidate	48%	43%
Democrat candidate	46%	55%

What about health care?

Pass minor reform, continue next year	43%
Leave system alone	27%
Pass a comprehensive bill	20%

(Gallup poll for CNN/USA Today conducted 8/7/94)

Who would do a better job dealing with crime?

	8/94	3/94
GOP	43%	34%
DEM	39%	42%

Who would do a better job dealing with health care?

	8/94	3/94
GOP	40%	34%
DEM	43%	50%

NATIONAL OUTLOOK

Generic Presidential Election

Republican candidate	34%
Democrat candidate	51%

Citizen's Handling of the Middle East Crisis

Approve	57%
Disapprove	37%

(Tarrance Group poll conducted 8/19/94)

Your Member of Congress

Deserves re-election	39%
Give new person a chance	41%

"The federal government will become too much of a burden on people's daily lives."

Concerned	78%
Not concerned	21%



PROJECT FOR THE REPUBLICAN FUTURE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
WILLIAM KRISTOL, Chairman
VIRGINIA GLOER
MICHAEL S. JOYCE
THOMAS L. RHODES

September 14, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO: REPUBLICAN LEADERS
FROM: WILLIAM KRISTOL
SUBJECT: Saving the President from His Own Haiti Crisis

"Clinton's Haiti Course Is Seen As Irreversible"

-- *The Washington Post*, headline, September 12, 1994

"We seem to be running out of other options."

-- Secretary of State Christopher on *Meet the Press*, September 11, 1994

No, we are *not* running out of other options' on Haiti, though we are surely running away from them. The government of the United States has probably never before in its history more completely telegraphed its intention to launch a military invasion. But despite administration pronouncements designed to create the public impression of a *fait accompli* -- and despite undeniably serious concern among foreign policy specialists that American credibility is now at stake -- there most definitely do remain "other options." The most obvious of them, and in our view still the wisest, is simple: don't invade Haiti.

An American invasion of Haiti would be foreign policy of the most reckless and foolish sort. We think the short- and long-term interests of the United States would be best served by calling that invasion off, as soon as possible. And we think Congressional Republicans and Democrats, together, should immediately assume their proper responsibility in such matters and do what they can to achieve that honorable result -- to prevent, in other words, an ill-advised commitment of American military force and diplomatic prestige overseas.

There is, of course, no domestic support to speak of for an American invasion of Haiti -- and the president has inexplicably failed to build such support. For months now, his administration has assiduously courted official opinion abroad. It has found time to go to the United Nations for a Security Council resolution on Haiti. It has dispatched Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott throughout this hemisphere seeking blessings for an invasion. The president and vice president have spent weekends working the phones to reach foreign leaders. Antigua, Belize, Trinidad and Tobago, St. Vincent -- all have been consulted on the impending Haitian invasion, and all apparently approve. But there has been no serious effort to conduct an open conversation about this military action with the American people or their elected representatives. And so, unsurprisingly, U.S. sup-

port for a Haiti invasion -- outside the precincts of the Congressional Black Caucus -- is virtually nonexistent. According to an ABC poll released this week, 73 percent of Americans would oppose an invasion, and only 28 percent say that vital U.S. interests are at stake.

Let's be clear: public opposition to U.S. military action should not be an absolute block on presidential authority over such matters. When grave national security interests are at stake, where the lives of U.S. citizens are threatened, or in some other circumstance requiring an "emergency" response, the president should be granted wide command latitude. But no such situation now exists on Haiti. And the president himself does not maintain otherwise. Instead, the only rationale being offered for this invasion is the circular argument that it has become inevitable.

We concur with the Republican leaders in Congress who are now demanding an immediate debate on whether this country should invade Haiti. And we believe, despite the late hour, that Republicans and Democrats in Congress should force President Clinton to seek authorization for his policy -- and if possible, deny him that authority. There may be serious constitutional grounds on which to base such a move by Congress, but we think they are, quite frankly, secondary. The important point is that Congress has a right and duty to prevent the president from taking actions that would be injurious to the interests of the United States. If Republicans and Democrats in Congress believe our current Haiti policy is ill-advised (and American citizens have a right to know *their* views, too), then Republicans and Democrats in Congress should take steps to block it.

Last week, *The New York Times* suggested that resistance to a Congressional debate on Haiti may be strongest among Democrats, few of whom "are interested in having to vote on what could prove to be a politically ticklish military action at election time." Maybe so. The president's incoherent and unpopular Haiti policy has no doubt made life difficult for Democrats. But the partisan consequences of an invasion are now irrelevant, and speculation about the president's political motivations in pursuing such an invasion are probably inappropriate. What matters is the effect an invasion would have on the future conduct of U.S. foreign policy. And what matters most is that the likely effect would be terribly pernicious.

A Haiti invasion would establish a Vietnam-like precedent for U.S. troops being forced into action as a consequence of aimless and incoherent policy drift. American force should be a product of careful deliberation and purposeful delineation of U.S. national interest. Our troops should not be used simply because the president believes he has boxed himself in through irresponsibly empty threats and posturing. And if Congress permits our troops to be so used, it will have abdicated its leadership role in American government. Congress has a responsibility to prevent the poorly-conceived, non-emergency use of American force abroad. Foolhardy American military adventures can only diminish public support for military action *per se*. And if Haiti goes awry, this administration (and perhaps the public, too) will be dangerously reluctant to intervene abroad or use swift force when it is genuinely needed.

Congressman Les Hamilton, an opponent of the invasion, has raised the most troubling question facing the Congress: "Suppose you have a resolution and it's defeated in either house. That just sends a terrible signal to the world about the conduct of American foreign policy." He's right, and this argument should not be brushed aside too quickly. The president's personal prestige -- and the seriousness of U.S. intentions -- may well be

temporarily diminished if a Haiti invasion is derailed by Congress. But respect for the conduct of American foreign policy is more gravely threatened by an irresponsible use of force in Haiti than by its avoidance. Faced with this unattractive choice, we believe that prudence demands we not send our military into a foreign engagement simply because our civilian officials -- and our president -- have put us rhetorically out on a limb. The world is not counting on us to force a showdown with General Cedras, and our reputation abroad will certainly survive a decision not to send in the Marines. In fact, if that decision is followed by the development of a more coherent and substantial foreign and defense policy, our reputation will be positively improved.

Our goal in the coming days and weeks, then, should *not* be to embarrass or wound the president. If our analysis is correct, he will be wounded least by the abandonment of an invasion policy -- which is also the most desirable result for the nation. Nor should our goal simply be to "go on the record" in opposition so that we might later boast of having been "right." Our goal instead should be to prevent the president and the nation from blundering into disaster. Conducting a full debate in Congress -- a move supported by both Senator Dole and Senator Mitchell -- is essential. But if Congress is to help shape our foreign policy, rather than merely acquiesce in it, our representatives must rebut the official line that an invasion is "inevitable."

The notion that we have crossed the point of no return is a convenient newspaper metaphor. But it is not true. Our ships and men can still be ordered home. A Haiti invasion can -- and should -- be avoided.

PROJECT FOR THE REPUBLICAN FUTURE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
WILLIAM KRISTOL, CHAIRMAN
VIRGINIA GILDER
MICHAEL S. JOYCE
THOMAS L. RICHARDS

September 13, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO: REPUBLICAN LEADERS
FROM: WILLIAM KRISTOL
SUBJECT: The Crime Bill: A Republican Victory

Today, in a ceremony made possible by the foolish defection of a few "moderate" Republicans, President Clinton will sign the crime bill into law. We will undoubtedly be treated to a new round of rhetoric about how, as the president put it when the legislation first passed, "this crime bill is going to make every neighborhood in America safer." With all else crumbling around them, the White House and Congressional Democrats will seize ever more desperately on the crime bill as their main "achievement" before the November elections. But this effort shouldn't work (and won't) if Republicans build on the extraordinary success of our fight against the crime bill. We think Republicans should aggressively reiterate our case against it and commit ourselves to rewrite it next year.

President Clinton hoped the crime bill would prove him a "New Democrat" and boost his popularity; George Mitchell hoped it would make Democrats seem "the party that's tougher on crime." Neither hope has been realized. The president's own poll numbers have continued to decline. A Harris poll from two weeks ago found that a clear majority of Americans agreed that "the crime bill contains too much unnecessary spending on social programs and crime will not be reduced." And last week's CNN/Gallup survey shows Republicans moving back ahead of Democrats as the party that would do better on crime (by 43 to 39 percent, a reversal from 34-42 six months ago).

In other words, Republicans lost the vote but won the national debate on the "crime bill," despite the strangeness of that label. And we did more. By exposing much of the social spending as "pork" that has little to do with reducing crime, we laid the groundwork for a more sweeping assault on such programs. By demonstrating the bankruptcy and irrelevance of Democratic "anti-crime" initiatives, Republicans won a clear field for the advancement of genuine anti-crime efforts focused on prosecution and incarceration. And by focusing attention on the log-rolling, debate-limiting character of "omnibus" Congressional legislation, Republicans succeeded in reminding the American public why they dislike Congressional business as usual.

Republicans should stay on the offensive in all of these areas. And where the now-enacted crime bill is concerned specifically, Republicans should welcome -- not shrink from -- fall election campaign discussion about it. These are the salient points to make:

The crime bill won't reduce crime. Even *The Washington Post* agrees on this point: "What the president calls the toughest, smartest crime bill in federal history is unlikely to have a traceable effect on the national crime rate, and some of the toughest-sounding pro-

visions could ~~perverse~~ end up weakening rather than strengthening the ability of local and state officials to fight crime." Republicans should make this point as forcefully as possible now; we will be well-positioned to say "I told you so" later.

The crime bill won't "put 100,000 police on the streets." At most the bill promises funding that would support approximately 20,000 police positions, the equivalent of roughly one new round-the-clock beat officer in every police department in the nation. And the bill does not require that all this police funding be used to hire police.

The crime bill won't build prisons as advertised. The bill's "prison construction" funding is likewise not required to be used for construction of prisons, though there is overwhelming evidence that a substantial portion of violent crime is caused by a relatively small group of repeat violent offenders. These offenders, on average, serve much less than half their sentences -- and then only if they are sent to prison in the first place. And 30 percent of all violent crime today is committed by those on pretrial release, bail, or parole. The crime bill's "prison funding," on the insistence of Democrats, is actually designed in large part to encourage "alternatives to incarceration" -- which too many violent criminals already enjoy.

The crime bill still allows billions for pet "member items" and social-welfare programs. True, some of the wasteful pork-barrel spending contained in the crime bill conference report was cut. But plenty remains, as every detailed newspaper and think-tank analysis makes clear.

The crime bill's promise of billions in federal funding is false. The bill does not appropriate a single federal dollar; rather, it "authorizes" federal spending in the future, *if the money is available*. That money is to come from a "trust fund" built on theoretical savings from removing 250,000 workers from federal personnel rolls -- primarily through early retirement and attrition. Past experience is clear: such "cuts" and "savings" rarely take effect -- and neither do the programs they are designed to pay for.

The crime bill allows big-city mayors and police chiefs to shift their responsibility for reducing crime to the federal government. That's the most important reason why so many of them were so eager to support the bill. Democrats promised that the bill's funding would only be "seed" money for police, prisons, and prevention measures. When promised federal crime money doesn't materialize at all, the mayors can blame their crime problems on the federal government. And any future effort to stop the flow of what "seed money" *does* materialize will be denounced.

The Democratic crime bill contains a little of almost everything Americans hate most about Washington today. It is a long string of false promises that insult the intelligence of the electorate. It is a waste of tax money. And most of all, it will make a problem that Americans are properly concerned about worse, not better.

Republicans should be sure the American people remember the crime bill this fall -- and remember, in particular, that it was Democrats who manufactured it. We should also commit ourselves to *fixing* the bill. Two proposals in the forthcoming (September 27) House Republican "Contract with America" deserve special attention in this respect: a law enforcement block grant initiative designed to permit allocation of police and prevention resources by local officials, and truth-in-sentencing and prison funding reforms that would ensure the incarceration and incapacitation of violent offenders.

In sum, Republicans should use the ground we gained in the crime bill fight to broadly discredit the governing ideology of the current Democratic Congress -- and lay out a sharp alternative for a future Republican Congress.

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P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

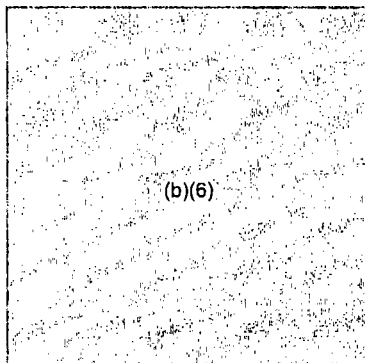
Aug 3
1130

Jack Curran

Robert Connerton

Dave Mallino

Don Elisburg





LABORERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION of NORTH AMERICA

905 16th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006
Phone: (202) 737-8320 FAX: (202) 737-2754

ARTHUR A. COIA
General President

JAMES J. NORWOOD
General Secretary-Treasurer

ROBERT J. CONNERTON
General Counsel

Fax Transmittal Form

EX

Date: August 2, 1994
FAX No: 202-456-2983
No. of Pages: 2 (Includes Transmittal Form)
To: Ruby Moy
Organization: The White House
From: Jack Curran
Subject: _____

- ☒ For Your Information
☐ For Your Attention
☐ For Your Report
☐ For Your Comments
☐ For Your Recommendation
☒ As You Requested

Attached you will find information needed for White House Meeting.

The original of this FAXed document will be sent by:

☐ Ordinary Mail ☐ Overnight Mail

☐ This FAX will be the ONLY form of delivery.

If you do not receive all pages, please contact the FAX operator at (202) 737-8320.

Operator: TOM BROWN

Time Sent: _____

DORIS

ASAP
Time Sensitive

From Ruby

1 1/2 pages

445
Ep

8/23/94

Suggested people for the Vice-President's meeting

*Talked to
Beth Viola 66533*

Women:

- Karen Rindge, Pres.
Planned Parenthood*
- Doris Matsui*
 - Joan Dunlop - President, International Women's Health Coalition*
 - Adrienne Germain - Vice President, International Women's Health Coalition (member of delegation)*
 - Robin Duke - Chairman of the Board, Population Action International*
 - Frances Kissling - President, Catholics for a Free Choice*
 - Marcia Greenberger - National Women's Law Center*
 - Judith Lichtman - Women's Legal Defense Fund- 9862536/ 686-9448*
 - Lynn Cutler*
 - Harriet Woods - National Women's Political Committee 8981100/3148434055*
 - Kate Michelman - President, National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League 828 9300*
 - Pamela Maraldo - President, Planned Parenthood Federation of America (member of the delegation)*
 - Jane Fonda*
 - Nikki Heidepriem, Foreman and Heidepriem*
 - Dorothy Height - President, National Council of Negro Women (member of the delegation)*
 - Eleanor Hinton Hoytt - National Programs, National Council of Negro Women (member of the PrepcomIII delegation)*
 - Jackie DeFazio - President, American Association of University Women*
 - Judith Bruce - Population Council (recently briefed the Vice President)*

*Ann Bryant
Spec Dir*

Rep. Pat Schroeder
Rep. Nita Lowey
Rep. Nancy Pelosi
Rep. Cynthia McKinney

July 22, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR FLO MC AFEE

FROM: Ruby G. Moy

RE: Alexis Herman's Speaking Engagements

For the Month of July:

July 24, 1994

National Urban League/Indianapolis

July 28, 1994

Department of Energy's Diversity Conference
Washington, D.C.

cc: Steve Hilton
Ben Johnson
Dan Wexler

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

08-Aug-1994 08:57am

TO: (See Below)
FROM: Carola McGiffert
Office of Political Affairs
SUBJECT: meeting

There WILL be a meeting today (Monday.)

Distribution:

TO: Bruce N. Reed
TO: Jose Cerda, III
TO: Karen L. Hancox
TO: Elizabeth A. Bernstein
TO: Lisa Mortman
TO: Jonathan M. Prince
TO: Jennifer M. O'Connor
TO: Christiana Lin
TO: Cathy R. Mays
TO: Jessamyn Sarmiento
TO: Dawn M. Friedkin
TO: Kenneth L. Schwartz
TO: Tracey E. Thornton
TO: Steven M. Hilton
TO: Lorraine C. Miller
TO: Patrick J. Griffin
TO: Erin A. O'Connor
TO: Ruby G. Moy
TO: Vaughn L. Vance

AMH

741

- Notification
Went out this am.

- Steve was not
paged over
weekend.

R

July 14, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO ROBIN DICKEY

FROM: Flo McAfee

RE: Additional Invitees to Moon Landing Anniversary

The following are names of two Hispanic and five African American astronauts that our office would like considered for the Moon Landing Anniversary event. Thanks.

Ellen Ochoa
(713) 244-8809

Michael Chang Diaz
(713) 244-8923

Charles F. Bolden, Jr.
Deputy Commandant
Midshipmen
United States Naval Academy
101 Buchanan Road
Annapolis, MD 21402-5100
(410) 293-2893

Fred Gregory
(202) 358-2406

Dr. Guion (Guy) Bluford
(216) 977-1000

Dr. Mae Jamison
The Jamison Group
P.O. Box 591455
Houston, TX 77259
(713) 486-7918

Dr. Bernard Harris
Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center
CB/Astronaut Office
Houston, TX 77058
(713) 244-8906

cc: Alexis Herman
Steve Hilton

sent 7/26/94
These people
need to be
sent to
Charles Dancer
for Technical
Service
Board
comm

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

06-May-1994 06:33pm

TO: Jeffrey L. Eller
TO: Ruby G. Moy

FROM: Keith O. Boykin
Office of Communications

SUBJECT: A. Herman release to Alabama black press (take tw

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of Media Affairs

May 6, 1994

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Contact: (202) 456-7150

ALABAMA WHITE HOUSE AID TO JOIN U.S. DELEGATION TO
SOUTH AFRICAN INAUGURATION

Washington -- President Clinton has announced that Alexis Herman, Assistant to the President and Director of Public Liaison in the White House, will join the Administration's official delegation to the South African elections.

Alexis Herman will join Vice President Gore and Mrs. Gore, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and others on the delegation to South Africa. The delegation will depart from the United States May 8 to observe the inauguration of South African President-elect Nelson Mandela on May 10.

"This is a time of great hope and promise," Ms. Herman said. "The American people share the enthusiasm of the South African people about the change that has taken place there, but we are mindful of the hard work that still needs to be done," she said.

To promote South Africa's development, President Clinton announced that his Administration will double assistance to that country's new government, providing \$600 million in trade, investment, and aid over three years. The high-level delegation that the President has dispatched indicates the depth and strength of his commitment to a peaceful transition to democracy in South Africa.

"Last week's miracle came to pass in part because of America's help," the President said, "And now we must not turn our backs."



FAX COVER SHEET

FROM THE OFFICE OF
BOB HEALY

601 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20004
Tel: 879-9253
Fax: 879-9286/87

DATE: 8-4-94

TO: Patricia Herman

COMPANY: White House

No. of pages with cover: 2

Memorandum
To: Alexis Herman
Fr: Bob Healy
Re: MFN Calls

August 4, 1994

Here is list of members along with suggested Administration officials to contact them:
If you want an explanation of why the suggested official to call, I will give it to you.

Waxman	Brown/Christopher
Roybal-Allard	Brown
Skaggs	Kanter
Brown (Fla)	Brown, Kanter, Herman
Thurman	"
Minetta	Gore
Becerra	Lader
Reynolds	Brown, Kanter, Herman
Rush	Brown, Kanter, Herman
Sangmister	Epsy
Long	Epsy/Brown
Neal (Mass)	Christopher
Dingell	McLarty
Ford	McLarty
Oberstar	Panetta
Sabo	Panetta
Richardson	Panetta
Price	Lader
Neal	Lader
Valentine	Epsy
Watt	Epsy
Clayton	Epsy
Reed	Perry
Mollohan	O'Leary
Wise	O'Leary



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

05-May-1994 01:27pm

TO: Ruby G. Moy

FROM: Paula M. Sherry
 Office of Administration, IRMD

SUBJECT: PAGER/ALLIN1 Request

FYI:

I resent the fax to Dave Lake regarding adding names to the ALLIN1 PAGER system. Unless he gave you a call directly explaining any problems or whatever..... I'll assume that it is still outstanding.

Thanks!

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

29-Aug-1994 03:47pm

TO: Floydetta McAfee
FROM: DONALD K. DUNN
Office of Cabinet Affairs
SUBJECT: Religious Breakfast

— Sent to Flo's assistant
to put on Religious
Breakfast list.

Flo-

This name is the person Alexis wanted added on to the religious breakfast:

Bishop L.E. Willis
5110 Nichal Court
Norfolk, VA 23501
wk-804-399-4895
hm- 804-627-5252

Thanks for your help!

August 25, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR NANCY HERNREICH

FROM: Ruby G. Moy
RE: Larry Singletary

During AIDS Week, the President visited Georgetown Hospital on December 2, 1993. One of the patients he visited, and apparently had a picture taken, was Larry Singletary.

One of his sisters, Marjorie Parker, called to say he passed away on Tuesday, August 23, 1994. She wanted the President to know.

Family survivors are:

Mrs. Annie Berry (Grandmother)
1875 Ingleside Terrace, NW.
Washington, D.C. 20010

Sisters:

Marjorie Parker
930 M Street, NW./#401
Washington, D.C. 20001
202/789 1957

Shirlene Pearson
405 N Street, NW./#104
Washington, D.C. 20001

Brother:

Alvin Singletary
930 M Street, NW./#401
Washington, D.C. 20001
202/789 1957

September 30, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO KIM TOWNSEND

FROM: Flo McAfee

RE: White House Guest List

Alexis Herman---456-6455
Marcia Hale----456-7060
Joan Baggett---456-1125
Pat Griffith---456-2230
Maggie Williams--456-6266
Donald Steinberg--395-3391
Col. Mac DuShazer---395-3391
Steve Hilton---456-2930
Reta Lewis---456-6257
Ben Johnson--456-2930
Loretta Avent---456-7060
Dana Shelley---456-5196

I understand the following have been invited:

Tony Lake
Sandy Berger
Wil Itoh
Nancy Soderburg
Don Steinberg
Calvin Mitchell

- 1 - Paul Neuman
- 2 - Sam Watson
- 3 - John Puckel
- 4 - Robert Redford
- 5 - Samuel Walpole
- 6 - Piper
- 7 - Ray Wilder
- 8 - Marge Freeman
- 9 - Kevin Kline
- 10 - Ann Lee
- 11 - Evan Rydstrom
- 12

Thurs

4

4

3 days

3

3

3

10

67134

Redford

7

July 22, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO ALEXIS HERMAN

FROM: DONALD DUNN

SUBJECT: BANKING COMMITTEES

The following are on the Senate Banking Committee:

Riegle of Michigan	Sarbanes of Maryland
Dodd of Connecticut	Sasser of Tennessee
Shelby of Alabama	Kerry of Massachusetts
Bryan of Nevada	Boxer of California
Campbell of Colorado	Mosley-Braun of Illinois
Murray of Washington	

<i>D'Amato of New York</i>	<i>Gramm of Texas</i>
<i>Bond of Missouri</i>	<i>Mack of Florida</i>
<i>Faircloth of North Carolina</i>	<i>Bennett of Utah</i>
<i>Roth of Delaware</i>	<i>Domenici of New Mexico</i>

The following are on the House Banking Committee:

Gonzalez (TX)	Neal (NC)	LaFalce (NY)
Vento (MN)	Schumer (NY)	Frank (MA)
Kanjorski (PA)	Kennedy (MA)	Flake (NY)
Mfume (MD)	Waters (CA)	LaRocco (ID)
Orton (UT)	Bacchus (FL)	Klein (NJ)
Maloney (NY)	Deutsch (FL)	Gutierrez (IL)
Rush (IL)	Roybal-Allard (CA)	Barrett (WI)
Furse (OR)	Velazquez (NY)	Wynn (MD)
Fields (LA)	Watt (NC)	Hinchey (NY)
Dooley (CA)	Klink (PA)	Fingerhut (OH)

<i>Leach (IA)</i>	<i>McCollum (FL)</i>	<i>Roukema (NJ)</i>
<i>Bereuter (NE)</i>	<i>Ridge (PA)</i>	<i>Roth (WI)</i>
<i>McCandless (CA)</i>	<i>Baker (LA)</i>	<i>Nussle (IA)</i>
<i>Thomas (WY)</i>	<i>Johnson (TX)</i>	<i>Pryce (OH)</i>
<i>Linder (GA)</i>	<i>Knollenberg (MI)</i>	<i>Lazio (NY)</i>
<i>Grams (MN)</i>	<i>Bacchus (AL)</i>	<i>Huffington (CA)</i>
<i>Castle (DE)</i>	<i>King (NY)</i>	

Italics denotes Republicans

The White Water Hearings are going to be full committee in both the Senate and House.

Hold

Free

July 1, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO STAFF

FROM: Flo McAfee

RE: KENNEDY CENTER TICKETS

OPL has tickets for the following Kennedy Center performances during the months of July and August.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Performance</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u># Tickets</u>
July 6	Miss Saigon	8:00 pm	4
July 13	Miss Saigon	8:00 pm	2
July 20	Miss Saigon	8:00 pm	2
			4 (Bob Jones)
July 27	Miss Saigon	8:00 pm	4
August 3	Miss Saigon	8:00 pm	4 (Marsha ? Scott)
August 10	Miss Saigon	8:00 pm	2
August 17	NO TICKETS AVAILABLE		
August 24	Miss Saigon	8:00 pm	4
August 31	Miss Saigon	8:00 pm	2

Please give me your requests by July 10. With your request, please include names and organizations. Remember that a staff person must accompany any guests.

R's cc

August 25, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN WEXLER

FROM: Ruby G. Moy

RE: Schedule for Alexis Herman

Please remove the National Urban League you have listed for AMH for Sept. 16. She already did this on June 16.

As of now, I have the following for AMH:

Sept. 16 100 Black Men Award/JWMarriott
AMH will be an honoree/Dinner

Sept. 21 Independent Sector
Washington Vista Hotel
Lunch Speaker

cc: Steve Hilton
Flo McAfee (for remarks for 9/16 and 21)
Ben Johnson
Suzanna Valdez

(Handwritten circled '2')
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FAX FROM THE OFFICE OF
THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS

TO:

Alexis Herman

FAX:

6-2983

FR:

Rahm Emanuel

Carola McGiffert

PH:

202-456-2531

FAX:

202-456-6423

of pages to follow:

MESSAGE:

TALKING POINTS FOR CBC CALLS

- The Crime Bill emerging from Conference is going to be a good, balanced bill. The provisions for 100,000 cops, for almost \$9 billion in crime prevention, and for a ban on assault weapons all make this a bill you should support.
- We want your support for this bill coming out of Conference -- and if you can't do that, we need your help on the Rule.

Racial Justice

- As best we can tell the votes are not there in the Senate to pass any crime bill that includes any version of racial justice. If so, it cannot be added to the bill.
- If racial justice can't be added to the bill, the administration will do something on this issue, probably in the form of guidelines on the federal death penalty.
- We should not let the many good things in the bill go down in flames over this single issue. Last November, after the Senate passed its crime bill, the idea that we would be looking at a Crime Bill with no new mandatory minimums, no federalization of crimes, \$9 billion for prevention, a broad mandatory minimum safety valve -- and more -- would have been a dream. But here we are. Let's not blow it.

If the Rule Goes Down

- If the liberals join with conservative Democrats (who want less prevention money, and more prisons) and Republicans to bring the Rule down, what will happen?
- The bill won't move further to the left, but rather, inevitably -- as we get closer to an election -- further to the right. In a second conference, prevention money will get cut to fund prisons; more penalties will be put in to satisfy the right; and who knows what else will get added.

What We Need

- We'd like your support for the bill. But if you can't do that, we need your support for the Rule -- even if the bill does not include a legislative racial justice provision.
- [If supportive:] Call John Conyers and tell him where you stand. Let's get this moving along quickly, because further delay does not help any of us.

**United States Department of State****Office of the Under Secretary
for Management****White House Liaison**

September 30, 1994

MEMORANDUM

To: Veronica Biggins, Director
Office of White House Personnel

From: Ertharin Cousin, White House Liaison
State Department

Subject: Preliminary Suggestions for delegation for ECE
Regional Preparatory meeting in Venice Oct. 17-21

*They are
meeting in
15 mins
Veronica
Melanne
& Ertharin
Do you have
any comments?*

Theresa Loar, State Department Women's Secretariat Director, provided a memo to you dated September 6, 1994 suggesting names for the public members of the Vienna delegation. In addition to the three public members already named, Arvonne thought that we might want to consider having about five additional public members as well some private sector advisers. That memo suggests several good representatives but we might want to expand our outreach. The second important consideration that must be taken into account is the issue of grassroots community representation.

I met with representatives of the National Congress of Neighborhood Women and they agreed to support one woman as their representative for the delegation. The woman they are supporting Marie Cirillo is from Clairfield Tennessee. She is a friend of the Vice President. I recommend that we include her in the delegation.

I suggest that we invite Jewel Jackson McCabe President of 100 Black Women. This would provide African American community representation from a nontraditional organization.

Arvonne suggests that we include Linda Griego. Ms. Griego is now the CEO of Rebuild LA. She is a leader in the Mexican American community in Los Angeles. I understand from White House Personnel that she is priority placement for the administration.

I suggest that we also consider including Francis Kisling President of Catholics for Choice. It is good for the administration to have women from the Catholic community involved in these issues.

Finally I think that we should include an Asian business woman Sue Gin is on the White House priority list. She would bring strong economic credentials to the meeting.

If you and the other principals approve this list I will notify Arvonne and Theresa Loar.

**THE WHITE HOUSE
OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL PERSONNEL**

Old Executive Office Building, Room 153

Washington, D.C. 20500

Tel: 202-456-6676

Fax: 202-456-2259

FAX COVER SHEET

DATE:

9/30

PLEASE DELIVER TO:

RUBY

OFFICE:

ALEXIS HERMAN

FAX NUMBER:

6-2983

SENDER:

BINA KAPLAN

TELEPHONE NUMBER:

202-456-6502

NUMBER OF PAGES:

3

(Including cover sheet)

COMMENTS:

If you have any problems with the fax transmission, please contact the sender at the above number. Thank you.

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2/3 Pl

Message Memorandum
September 29, 1994

We came to Washington just 20 months ago determined to move our country forward, address America's problems, and get things done for ordinary people. It hasn't been easy. There were some tough fights. But we have made a real start -- putting our economic house in order, making a real attack on street crime, and making college loans available and affordable to the middle class. It's not enough. But I will keep on fighting so that Washington lives up to the promise that we can make America work for ordinary people again.

By contrast, the Republicans aim to frustrate change and keep us from moving forward. They have committed themselves to a program of cutting Medicare, cutting taxes for the rich, raising defense spending, and exploding the deficit, just like they did in the 1980s. In the name of partisanship, they tried to stop our crime bill, stop a real reform of college loans to help the middle class, and stood against health care reform. The Republican leaders in Congress have forgotten that the government in Washington is supposed to represent all the people and solve our country's problems.

This election offers a fundamental choice: Do we fail our country's promise and return to the policies of the past, or do we keep moving the country forward to make America work for ordinary people again? I say we have made a real start and a real difference, we're going to keep fighting for change, and we are never going back. *so found and us*

255 million

on going future fight

Cont

- Trillion dollars of promises

- Medicare & Expansion of defense

upward, equal,

Reform

Wms

1 Economy

2. Crime

3 Apparently stolen loans

Message Memorandum
September 29, 1994

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- Middle East
- Ireland
- Russian / ^{Russ} not have ^{minimal} ~~at war~~ ^{parties}
- Opening up new markets

A. D. K. , Joe , and the small

mini market would have
the day to day people for the
operation of the bank but it

the ONE

Joe C. also would have
the responsibility for the overall
day to day management
the Bank with activities
& would act as counsel
✓ fourth before the A. D. K.
D. K. C.

Pete Stone

739 - 2442

Natl Journal

Tom Dushow

703 - 838 - 1804

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

03-Oct-1994 02:08pm

TO: Ruby G. Moy

FROM: David Dreyer
 Office of Communications

SUBJECT: Dear Alexis and Ruby:

It would be a big deal if we could arrange for a brief period of time with Nelson Mandela and black radio out of the White House. Can anything be done?

D2

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

09-Sep-1994 11:00am

TO: HERMAN_A
FROM: Anthony T. Wilson

SUBJECT: Religious leaders and VP

Message Creation Date was at 9-SEP-1994 11:00:00

I was wrong when I told you the VP met with religious leaders before his trip to Cairo. He wanted to but we were unable to arrange the meeting. Therefore; there is no list for me to give you. Sorry it took so long for me to get back with you. Thanks

ATW

A large, handwritten checkmark is drawn in the lower right quadrant of the page.

Date: 09/15/94 Time: 16:33

To - Alexio Herman
FYI

California Grocery Chains Propose Merger

By Dawn Yoshitake, The Orange County Register, Calif.
Knight-Ridder/Tribune Business News

Sep. 15--Size, efficiency and competition. Those factors are at the heart of Wednesday's proposed merger of La Habra-based Food 4 Less Supermarkets Inc. and Ralphs Grocery Co. of Compton,

a deal that if completed would create the largest supermarket company in Southern California.

"We were concerned about being able to compete in the future against all of these lower-cost stores that are opening in the marketplace like the Super Kmart, Wal-Mart, Smart and Final stores and the warehouse stores," said Bryon Allumbaugh, Ralphs chairman and chief executive. "We needed a way to lower the cost of doing business."

Under terms of the deal, Century City-based Yucaipa Cos., the majority owner of Food 4 Less, will acquire Ralphs for \$1.5 billion, which includes the assumption of \$1 billion in debt. The companies hope to complete the deal, which requires state and federal regulatory approval, in November.

Yucaipa will be the controlling shareholder of the merged company, and Apollo Advisors L.P., headed by former Drexel Burnham Lambert executive Leon Black, will be a large minority shareholder in the new company, which will keep the Ralphs name. Bankers Trust of New York will finance an undisclosed portion of the deal.

Ronald Burkle, the managing partner of Yucaipa and chairman of Food 4 Less, would become chairman of the new company. George Golleher, president of Food 4 Less, would become vice chairman. Allumbaugh and Ralphs President Al Marasca would retain their positions.

While executives lauded the deal as good for both companies, industry experts wondered how two markedly different companies will get along.

"This is a very unusual combination. I don't think there is much synergy," said Chris De Young, an analyst with Lehman Bros. "Ralphs is well managed and a single format, where Food 4 Less is multiformats. They don't have the same management focus."

"There will be some challenges for them," agreed Jeff Holbrook, assistant portfolio manager at Franklin Resources, which owns \$21 million worth of Ralphs' junk bonds. "Ralphs especially emphasizes fresh produce and meat, so they follow a higher-price strategy because of their perishables. They've brought prices down over the last year, but there is still some differences in merchandising philosophies with Food 4 Less."

One thing Ralphs and Food 4 Less have in common is debt. Both companies are highly leveraged and will continue to be in debt if the deal is completed. Together, the two grocers' debt totals nearly \$2 billion.

That should not stop remodeling or expansion plans because both companies maintain a good cash flow - Ralphs more so than Food 4 Less - but it may reduce their ability to make all the changes they would like, Holbrook said.

The melding of Ralphs and Food 4 Less would create a chain with 430 stores - 367 of them in Southern California - and sales topping \$5.3 billion. The deal will affect hundreds of thousands of consumers, tens of thousands of employees and the region's \$18 billion-plus grocery industry.

Shoppers can expect to see red Ralphs' signs replacing those of nearly 200 Alpha Beta, Boys and Viva stores beginning in January, a process that will continue for at least a year. And up to 30 Ralphs stores will be converted to Food 4 Less warehouses beginning in March, an undertaking that will cost up to \$30 million.

Industry analysts note that Lucky and Vons, which would become the No. 2 and No. 3 grocery companies, respectively, may escalate their current price war while Ralphs and Food 4 Less focus on blending their operations.

"We will look at (lowering prices) like we constantly do to remain competitive," said Judy Decker, a Lucky's spokeswoman.

Ralphs and Food 4 Less officials contend they will be price competitive. "What the additional services provide is additional sales," Marasca said. "This enables us to become more efficient and offer lower prices."

The merger still needs the blessing of the Federal Trade Commission and state Attorney General Dan Lungren.

"The companies only have 20 to 25 stores that compete with each other," said Golleher, the Food 4 Less president. "So when we lay the whole strategy out there's not a lot of stores that compete."

Food 4 Less initiated preliminary talks with the Attorney General's office six months ago and anticipates a response in the next two weeks. The FTC decision could take up to three months.

Getting approval from the state Attorney General is only a fraction of the work that lays ahead. The companies have to merge their workforces, operations and corporate philosophies.

Ralphs employees who are transferred to a Food 4 Less warehouse - or who remain at a Ralphs that's converted to a warehouse - can expect up to 20 percent cuts in pay and benefits and possible loss in seniority. That's because Ralphs does not operate a warehouse format and the United Food and Commercial Workers Union would need to negotiate a new contract.

Food 4 Less employees who work in the Alpha Beta, Boys and Viva chains under their current contract already face similar cuts and a loss of seniority when transferred to a warehouse.

Ric Icaza, president of Local 770 of the UFCW, said efforts will be made keep Ralphs' employees' seniority intact. END!C\$4?OC-GROCERY-MERGER

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