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[Memos and Correspondence] 1/92 [3]

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American Medical Association

Physicians dedicated to the health of America

James S. Todd, MD
Executive Vice President

515 North State Street
Chicago, Illinois 60610

312 464-5000
312 464-4184 Fax

January 10, 1992

Samuel K. Skinner
Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Skinner:

Thank you for taking the time on Tuesday to meet with us. I enjoyed the opportunity to talk with you and I hope that this meeting will serve as the first step in the establishment of a candid and cooperative relationship.

We believe that the American Medical Association and the Administration have more positions in common than we have disagreements. We look forward to working with you as you address the challenging issue of health care reform.

Sincerely,

James S. Todd
James S. Todd, M.D.

JST/kw



file

To Bob
sent 1/13
1/11/92

**THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen**

DCF
1/10
Require
no
response

PRESIDENTIAL PERSONNEL
STATUS REPORT
January 13, 1992

DCF
1/11



Announcements expected today:

Nominations expected 1/13/92:

Members of the International Cultural and
Trade Center Commission:

None

KORTH, F.
SLOAT, J.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (16)

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. END	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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HUFF, James Administrator, Rural Electrification Admin.	11/20	11/21	1/7	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
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No. Confirmed/Retained: 14

Vacancies: 1 A/S (Science and Education)

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE (31)

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. END	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
FRANKLIN, Barbara Secretary	12/26	12/27	xxx	12/26	---	---	---	---	---	---
SHAW, John A/S (Export Enforcement)	3/5	3/6	xxx	4/29	5/7	6/3	8/22	9/12	9/12	---
HOLLOWAY, Dwight A/S (Policy)	11/7	11/7	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
JAMESON, James A/S (Trade Development) + Member of OPIC	11/15	11/15	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
McENTEE, Joan Under Secretary for Export Administration	11/19	11/19	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
VILLAMIL, Jose Chief Economist	12/5	12/5	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
KUBASIEWICZ, Edward Asst. Comm. for Patents	12/5	12/6	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

No. Confirmed/Retained: 24
Vacancies: 0

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE (23)

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. END	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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LEBEDEV, Gregori Inspector General	1/8	1/8	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
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LEWIS, I. Libby Dty. Under Sec. (Policy)	1/8	1/8	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
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Vacancies: 0

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE (7)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 6

Vacancies: 1 A/S (Res. & Development Acq.)

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY (8)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 8

Vacancies: 0

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY (7)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 7

Vacancies: 0

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION (18)

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
GRIFFITH, Lanny Asst. Sec. Intergovt. Affs.	9/16	9/16	xxx	10/23	9/18	9/18	11/19	9/20	11/20	---
MANNO, Brunno A/S Policy & Planning	10/4	10/8	xxx	11/26	12/2	12/6	---	---	---	---
HANSEN, William Chief Financial Officer	10/4	10/18	xxx	11/26	12/2	12/6	---	---	---	---

No. Confirmed/Retained: 15
Vacancies: 0

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY (18)

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
DEATCHON, B. Reid Director, Office of Alcohol Fuels	1/15	1/17	xxx	2/8	2/11	2/27	--- per Martha	HOLD	---	---

No. Confirmed/Retained: 15

Vacancies: 2 Under Secretary
Chief Financial Officer

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES (18/2)

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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MOLEY, Kevin Deputy Secretary	6/28	6/28	xxx	8/6	8/7	9/6	10/21	10/23	10/24	---
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TOMPKINS, Arnold A/S (Management & Budget) and Chief Financial Officer	9/3	9/12	xxx	10/21	10/24	10/30	11/8	11/13	11/13	---
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No. Confirmed/Retained: 16/2

Vacancies: 0

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT (13)

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND NOM	CONF
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No. Confirmed/Retained: 12

Vacancies: 1 General Counsel

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR (18)

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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No. Confirmed/Retained: 18

Vacancies: 0

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE (27/1)

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
BOWLAND, Debra Lee Director, Office for Victims of Crime	7/10	7/11	xxx	8/23 oral	8/23	9/18	11/12	11/14	11/15	---
TURNER, Maurice Director, Justice Assistance	3/25	4/5	xxx	5/14	5/15	5/20	7/31	8/2	8/2	---
HUDSON, Henry Director, US Marshalls Service	7/24	7/25	xxx	11/18	11/18	11/19	10/17	11/20	11/20	---
BUDD, Wayne Associate Attorney General	1/2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
TERWILLIGER III, James Deputy Attorney General	1/2	1/2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
O'MEARA, Vicki Assistant Attorney General (Land and Natural Resources)	1/2	1/6	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

No. Confirmed/Retained: 21/1
Vacancies: 0

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR (18)

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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DiPRETE, Edward Administrator, Wage & Hour Division	6/12	6/13	xxx	8/6	8/7	9/6	---	---	---	---
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No. Confirmed/Retained: 15

Vacancies: 2 Commissioner, Bureau of Labor Statistics
(available 6/91)
Chief Financial Officer

DEPARTMENT OF STATE (33/1)

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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No. Confirmed/Retained: 32/1
Vacancies: 1 A/S (South Asian Affairs)

SELIN, Ivan Alt. Rep.	N/A	7/5	xxx	---	9/10	9/11	9/9	9/12	9/12	---
WATKINS, James Rep.	N/A	7/5	xxx	---	9/10	9/11	9/9	9/12	9/12	---
KENNEDY, Richard Alt. Rep.	N/A	7/5	xxx	---	9/10	9/11	9/9	9/12	9/12	---
BECKER, Jane Deputy Rep.	N/A	---	xxx	---	9/10	9/11	9/9	9/12	9/12	---

* already announced

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION (17/1)

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
MOORE, Kate Administrator, NHTSA	11/13	11/14	xxx	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
CURRY, Jerry Administrator, FAA	10/16	10/23	xxx	11/22	11/20	11/21	11/22	11/22	11/22	---
TOOHEY, Michael A/S (Govt'al. Affs.)	11/13	11/13	1/7	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
BURNETT, Wallace A/S (Budget & Programs)	12/17	12/30	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

No. Confirmed/Retained: 12/1
Vacancies: 1 Secretary

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY (29)

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
GOLDBERG, Frederick A/S (Tax Policy)	12/18	1/2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
PETERSON, Shirley Commissioner, IRS	12/18	12/27	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
RYDER, David Dir., US Mint	4/30	4/30	xxx	6/3	6/4	7/24	7/23	7/25	7/25	---

No. Confirmed/Retained: 22

Vacancies: 4 - Assayer (San Francisco)
 Assayer (Denver)
 Engraver of the Mint (Philadelphia)
 Comptroller of the Currency

DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS (15)

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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No. Confirmed/Retained: 15

Vacancies: 0

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNLS END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS (3)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 3
Vacancies: 0

COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY (1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 1
Vacancies: 0

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET (5/4)

GRADY, Robert Deputy Director	9/30	9/30	xxx	11/18	11/15	11/18	11/18	11/20	11/20	---
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No. Confirmed/Retained: 3/4
Vacancies: 1 Administrator, Office of Info. & Regulatory Affairs

OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY (4)

WALTERS, John Deputy Director for Supply Reduction	11/4	11/1	xxx	11/21	11/21	11/25	1/2	---	1/3	---
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JAMES, Kay Associate Director	N/A	10/18	xxx	10/18	10/18	10/21	10/21	10/22	10/22	---
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HORN, Wade Deputy Director for Demand Reduction	1/8	2/6	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
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No. Confirmed/Retained: 1
Vacancies: 0

OFFICE OF THE NUCLEAR WASTE NEGOTIATOR (1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 1
Vacancies: 0

OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY (5)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 5
Vacancies: 0

OFFICE OF THE U.S TRADE REPRESENTATIVE (4)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 4
Vacancies: 0

INDEPENDENT COMMISSIONS & REGULATORY AGENCIES

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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ACTION (3)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 3
Vacancies: 0

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY (8)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 8
Vacancies: 0

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (12/1)

SPANGLER, Scott	8/9	8/13	xxx	10/25	10/28	11/5	11/19	11/22	11/22	---
Assoc. Admin. (Operations)										

BISSELL, Richard	8/9	8/13	xxx	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Dty. Admin. w/Rank of Dty. Secretary										

No. Confirmed/Retained: 8
Vacancies: 2 Deputy Administrator
Asst. Admin. for Africa

ALASKA LAND USE COUNCIL (1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 1
Vacancies: 0

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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ALASKA NATURAL GAS TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM (1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 1

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL COMMISSION (2)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 2

Vacancies: 0

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK (1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 1

Vacancies: 0

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (3)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 3

Vacancies: 0

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS (5 PAs)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 5

Vacancies: 0

COMMODITY FUTURES TRADING COMMISSION (5/1PA-Chmn)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 5

Vacancies: 0

CONSUMER PRODUCT SAFETY COMMISSION (3)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 3/1 (Chmn)

Vacancies: 0

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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COPYRIGHT ROYALTY TRIBUNAL (3)

DAMICH, Edward	10/30	10/31	xxx	12/5	12/6	1/7	---	HOLD per CH	---	---
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No. Confirmed/Retained: 1

Vacancies: 1 Member

D.C. NATIONAL GUARD (2 PAs)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 2 (PA)

Vacancies: 0

DEFENSE NUCLEAR FACILITIES BOARD (5)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 5

Vacancies: 0

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY (13)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 10

Vacancies: 3 General Counsel

Asst. Admin. (Policy)

Asst. Admin. (Admin. & Resource Mngmnt/CFO)

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION (6/1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 6/1

Vacancies: 0

EUROPEAN BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION & DEVELOPMENT (1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 1

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK (5)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 5

Vacancies: 0

FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION BOARD (3)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 3

Vacancies: 0

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION (5/1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 5/1(Chairman)
Vacancies: 0

FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORP. (3)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 3
Vacancies: 0

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION (6)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 6
Vacancies: 0

FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY (9)

No. Confirmed: 8
Vacancies: 1 - Associate Director

FEDERAL ENERGY REGULATORY COMMISSION (5/1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 5/1 (Chairman)
Vacancies: 0

FEDERAL HOUSING FINANCE BOARD (4)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 0
No. Recess appointed: 4
Vacancies: 0

FEDERAL LABOR RELATIONS AUTHORITY (4)

SWENDIMAN, Alan	8/16	8/21	xxx	10/23	10/24	11/7	11/13	11/14	11/15	---
General Counsel										

No. Confirmed/Retained: 3
Vacancies: 0

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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FEDERAL MARITIME COMMISSION (5/1PA-Chmn)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 5 (and 1PA)
Vacancies: 0

FEDERAL MEDIATION AND CONCILIATION SERVICE (1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 1
Vacancies: 0

FEDERAL MINE SAFETY & HEALTH RVW COMMISSION (5)

FORD, Ford	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	10/17	---
									Nomination to cover recess appointment.	

No. Confirmed/Retained: 4
Vacancies: 0

FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM (7)

GREENSPAN, Alan Chairman	----	---	xxx	8/22	---	---	---	---	7/19	---
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LINDSEY, Lawrence Member	12/27	1/4	xxx	1/10	1/10	2/21	2/21	1/14	2/27	---
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No. Confirmed/Retained: 5
Vacancies: 0

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION (5)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 5
Vacancies: 0

FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION (3)

VISSER, Robert	7/3	7/5	xxx	8/6	8/7	9/11	---	---	---	---
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GROSSMAN, James Chairman	7/30	7/30	xxx	10/1	10/2	10/11	11/12	11/14	11/15	---
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No. Confirmed/Retained: 1
Vacancies: 0

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE (1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 1
Vacancies: 0

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE (1)

No. Confirmed: 1
Vacancies: 0

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION (2)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 2
Vacancies: 0

INSTITUTE OF MUSEUM SERVICES (1)

No. Confirmed: 1
Vacancies: 0

INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK (2)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 2
Vacancies: 0

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION (5)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 5
Vacancies: 0

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (4)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 4 (2 are PAS/PTs)
Vacancies: 0

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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INTERNATIONAL TRADE COMMISSION (6)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 6
Vacancies: 0

LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION

DANA, Howard	1/2	11/28	12/14	1/13	1/17	1/22	7/19	1/22	2/7	---
KIRK, William	---	12/27	xxx	---	---	---	---	---	2/7	---
RATH, Thomas D.	6/27	7/2	xxx	8/2	8/2	8/2	8/1	8/3	2/7	---
HALL, J. Blakeley	12/13	11/28	12/14	11/29	11/29	11/29	11/30	11/30	2/7	---

(CNSL cleared for nom on 10/22)

LOVE, Jo Earline	1/19	1/23	yes	1/19	1/17	1/22	7/19	1/22	2/7	---
MOLINARI, Guy	12/13	11/28	12/14	1/13	1/17	1/22	7/11	1/22	2/7	---
PULLEN, Penny	1/5	1/9	yes	1/19	1/17	1/22	7/18	1/22	2/7	---
UDDO, Basile	---	12/10	xxx	---	---	---	2/7	---	2/7	---
WITTGRAF, George	1/4	1/5	1/16	1/22	1/17	1/22	7/5	1/22	2/7	---
WOLBECK, Jeanine	1/23	1/23	yes	1/22	1/23	1/22	8/3	1/22	2/7	---

(all above Members were recess-appointed 1-10-92)

SHUMWAY, Norman	---	8/22	xxx	9/5	9/5	9/5	9/5	9/5	---	---
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No. Confirmed/Retained: 0
Vacancies: 0

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS (1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 1
Vacancies: 0

MERIT SYSTEMS PROTECTION BOARD (3)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 3
Vacancies: 0

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMIN. (3)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 2
Vacancies: 1 Deputy Administrator

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMIN. (1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 1
Vacancies: 0

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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NATIONAL CREDIT UNION ADMINISTRATION, BD. OF DRS. (3)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 3
Vacancies: 0

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS (1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 1
Vacancies: 0

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES (1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 1
Vacancies: 0

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD (6)

No. Confirmed: 5
Vacancies: 1 Member

NATIONAL MEDIATION BOARD (3)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 3
Vacancies: 0

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION (2)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 2
Vacancies: 0

NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD (6/1PA-Vchmn)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 6/1
Vacancies: 0

NAVAJO & HOPI RELOCATION OFFICE (1)

KUNASEK, Carl	12/10	12/12	xxx	12/13	12/16	---	---	---	---	---
No. Confirmed: 0										
Vacancies: 0										

NUCLEAR REGULATORY COMMISSION (6)

ROGERS, Kenneth Commissioner	12/10	12/12	xxx	12/13	12/16	---	---	---	---	---
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No. Confirmed/Retained: 5
Vacancies: 0

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY & HEALTH RVW COMM (3)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 3
Vacancies: 0

OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT ETHICS (1)

No. Confirmed: 1
Vacancies: 0

OFFICE OF PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT (3)

No. Confirmed: 3
Vacancies: 0

OFFICE OF SPECIAL COUNSEL (1)

No. Confirmed: 1
Vacancies: 0

OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION (2)

No. Confirmed: 2
Vacancies: 0

PANAMA CANAL COMMISSION (1/2)

No. Appointed/Retained: 1/1
Vacancies: 1 - Chief Engineer (PA)

PEACE CORPS (2)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 2
Vacancies: 0

POSTAL RATE COMMISSION (4)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 4
Vacancies: 0

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD (4)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 4
Vacancies: 0

RESOLUTION TRUST CORP., OVERSIGHT BD.

CASEY, Albert	12/12	12/12	xxx	1/3	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/8	1/3	---
CEO	*recess appointed on 1-8-92								*	

Np. Confirmed/Retained: 0
Vacancies: 0

RESOLUTION TRUST CORPORATION (3)

No. Confirmed: 3
Vacancies: 0

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION (5)

BEESE, J. Carter	6/21	6/25	xxx	8/6	8/7	9/5	10/17	10/21	10/22	---
Commissioner										

No. Confirmed/Retained: 4
Vacancies: 0

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM (1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 1
Vacancies: 0

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION (4)

KERESTER, Thomas	12/17	12/19	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Chief Counsel for Advocacy										

No. Confirmed/Retained: 3
Vacancies: 0

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY (3)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 3
Vacancies: 0

TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (1)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 1
Vacancies: 0

NAME	FF SENT	N.C. BEGUN	N.C. CMPLT	PRES SIGN	OLA IN	OLA OUT	CNSL END	ANND	NOM	CONF
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US COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS (5)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 4
Vacancies: 1 Judge

US COURT OF VETERANS APPEALS (7)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 7
Vacancies: 0

US INFORMATION AGENCY (7)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 7
Vacancies: 0

US PAROLE COMMISSION (9)

REILLY, Edward Chairman	7/24	7/25	xxx	10/23	10/24	10/30	11/26	11/26	11/26	---
----------------------------	------	------	-----	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-----

SIMPSON, John Member	8/20	8/22	xxx	10/23	10/24	10/30	11/26	11/26	11/26	---
-------------------------	------	------	-----	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-----

Conf./Retained: 4
Vacancies: 3

US SENTENCING COMMISSION (7)

WOLLMAN, Roger Member	12/5	12/6	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
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No. Confirmed/Retained: 5
Vacancies: 1 Commissioner

US TAX COURT (19)

No. Confirmed/Retained: 19
Vacancies: 0

<u>NAME</u>	<u>N.C.</u> <u>BEGUN</u>	<u>N.C.</u> <u>CMPLT</u>	<u>AGMT</u> <u>RQD/RVD</u>	<u>AMBASSADORS</u>			<u>CNSL</u> <u>END</u>	<u>ANND</u>	<u>NOM</u>	<u>CONF</u>
				<u>PRES</u> <u>SIGN</u>	<u>OLA</u> <u>IN</u>	<u>OLA</u> <u>OUT</u>				
ADAMS, JR., Alvin (Peru)	---	---	---	10/1	---	---	---	---	---	---
BAAS, Marc (Ethiopia)	---	---	---	10/1	---	---	---	---	---	---
BARRETT, Dennis (Madagascar)	---	---	---	10/4	---	---	---	---	---	---
BARRY, Robert (Yugoslavia)	10/28	---	---	10/1	---	---	---	---	---	---
BASORA, Adrian (Czechoslovakia)	---	---	---	10/1	---	---	---	---	---	---
BORG, Parker (Burma)	2/20	---	4-23/6-7	1/8	6/10	7/15	6/12	7/19	7/22	---
BROWN, Kenneth (Ghana)	---	---	---	10/4	---	---	---	---	---	---
BUSH, Fred Personal Rank of Amb. for US EXPO in Seville	---	---	---	10/29	---	---	---	---	---	---
CHESHES, Martin (Somalia)	1/8	---	9-17/*	4/5	---	---	9/9	---	---	---
	* Agreement unavailable due to Civil War in Somalia									
COVEY, James (Saudi-Arabia)	---	---	---	10/1	---	---	---	---	---	---
DAVIS, Ruth (Benin)	---	---	---	10/4	---	---	---	---	---	---
DE VOS, Peter (Tanzania)	---	---	---	10/4	---	---	---	---	---	---
DUNFORD, David (Oman)	---	---	---	10/1	---	---	---	---	---	---

<u>NAME</u>	<u>N.C. BEGUN</u>	<u>N.C. CMPLT</u>	<u>AGMT ROD/RVD</u>	<u>PRES SIGN</u>	<u>OLA IN</u>	<u>OLA OUT</u>	<u>CNSL END</u>	<u>ANND</u>	<u>NOM</u>	<u>CONF</u>
FRASURE, Robert (Estonia) (SecState to CH 9-23-91)	11/4	---	---	10/3	---	---	---	---	---	---
GRIBBIN, Robert (Central African Republic)	---	---	---	10/4	---	---	---	---	---	---
HABERMAN, Hermann US Rep. to Stats. Comm. of ECOSOC of UN	9/16	---	N/A	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
HORAN, Hume (Ivory Coast)	---	---	---	10/4	---	---	---	---	---	---
ISOM, Harriet (Cameroon)	---	---	---	10/4	---	---	---	---	---	---
JOHNSON, Darryl (Lithuania)	10/23	---	---	10/3	---	---	---	---	---	---
JOHNSON, Donald (Mongolia)	---	---	---	10/1	---	---	---	---	---	---
KEITH, Kenton (Qatar)	---	---	---	10/1	---	---	---	---	---	---
KOZAK, Michael (El Salvador)	6/20	---	1-30/2-5	12/14	7/1	7/9	9/30	10/3	10/3	---
LYMAN, Princeton (South Africa)	---	---	---	10/4	---	---	---	---	---	---
McAFEE, Marilyn (Guatemala)	---	---	---	10/1	---	---	---	---	---	---

<u>NAME</u>	<u>N.C.</u> <u>BEGUN</u>	<u>N.C.</u> <u>CMPLT</u>	<u>AGMT</u> <u>ROD/RVD</u>	<u>PRES</u> <u>SIGN</u>	<u>OLA</u> <u>IN</u>	<u>OLA</u> <u>OUT</u>	<u>CNSL</u> <u>END</u>	<u>ANND</u>	<u>NOM</u>	<u>CONF</u>
MCCAFFREY, S. US Rep on the Governing Body of the ILO w/ the rank of Ambassador (State to re-initiate clearance per Sharon Bisdee)	N/A	---	N/A	6/7	8/16	---	---	---	---	---
McGUIRE, Roger (Guinea-Bissau)	---	---	---	10/4	---	---	---	---	---	---
PETERS, Lauralee (Sierra Leone)	---	---	---	10/4	---	---	---	---	---	---
PETTERSON, Donald (Sudan)	---	---	---	10/4	---	---	---	---	---	---
PRYCE, William (Honduras)	---	---	---	10/1	---	---	---	---	---	---
RUGH, William (United Arab Emirates)	---	---	---	10/1	---	---	---	---	---	---
SCHAFFER, Teresita-- (Sri Lanka)	---	---	---	10/1	---	---	---	---	---	---
SEGARS, Joseph (Cape Verde)	---	---	---	10/4	---	---	---	---	---	---
SILINS, Ints (Latvia)	10/30	---	---	10/3	---	---	---	---	---	---
STEINER, S. Rank of Ambassador for Rep. to START Joint Compliance & Inspection Comm.	7/31	---	N/A	2/4	7/31	9/11	7/29	9/16	9/17	---
SWING, William (Nigeria)	---	---	---	10/4	---	---	---	---	---	---
SULLIVAN, Joseph (Nicaragua)	10/25	---	12-6/12/10	10/1	12/17	---	12/23	---	---	---

<u>NAME</u>	<u>N.C. BEGUN</u>	<u>N.C. CMPLT</u>	<u>AGMT RQD/RVD</u>	<u>PRES SIGN</u>	<u>OLA IN</u>	<u>OLA OUT</u>	<u>CNSL END</u>	<u>ANND</u>	<u>NOM</u>	<u>CONF</u>
TEELEY, Peter Rank of Ambassador during Tenure as U. S. Rep. to the UNICEF	10/25	---	N/A	6/3	---	---	---	---	---	---
TWADDELL, William (Liberia)	---	---	---	10/4	---	---	---	---	---	---
VAN ANDEL, Jay Pnsl. Rank of Amb. - Cmsr. General, US Pavilion at Intl. Expo in Genoa	---	---	---	10/29	---	---	---	---	---	---
WILSON, Joseph (Gabon)	---	---	---	10/4	---	---	---	---	---	---

file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 11/13/91

TO: Carmel Hanes

FROM: SAM SKINNER

Former Postmaster Gen.
Paul L. Carlin

Recom/ Alex Sipon

Recommo/ Criminals
in 1986.

ocf
1/15

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 14, 1992

File

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL K. SKINNER
Chief of Staff to the President

FROM: Rose Zamaria *RZ*
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Director of White House Operations

SUBJECT: Status of FY 1992 Travel Budget

Listed below are the ~~travel funds available for the President~~ and the Immediate Office of the President for the remainder of fiscal year 1992.

<u>Account</u>	<u>Annual Budget</u>	<u>Obligated to Date</u>	<u>Remaining Funds</u>
President	\$100,000.00	6,250.00	93,750.00
Immediate Office of the President	30,000.00	660.00	29,340.00

If you have any questions concerning this memorandum, please call extension 2500.

1/04/92

TRAVEL REPORT FOR: UNDISTRIBUTED EXPENDITURES - 200
AS OF DATE: DECEMBER 31, 1991

FOR MONTH: NOVEMBER 1991
FISCAL YEAR: 92

PAGE

1

LEGEND FOR TYPE: O = OFFICIAL; P = POLITICAL; S = STATE DEPARTMENT; N = NON-GOVERNMENT; R = OFFICIAL/POLITICAL
A = ADVANCE; H = HOTEL BILL; T = AIRLINE TICKETS; V = VOUCHER
* ASTERISK DESIGNATES CHANGE IN AMOUNT FROM PREVIOUS MONTH END REPORT

AUTH	NAME	DESTINATION	DATES	TYPE	PURPOSE	AMOUNT	CHANGE
51792	PRESNT	BLANKET TRAVEL	10/01/91-09/30/92	O	BLANKET TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION	6,250.00	
TRIP TOTAL						6,250.00	
MONTH TOTAL						6,250.00	
ORGANIZATION TOTAL						6,250.00	

1/04/92

TRAVEL REPORT FOR: IMMEDIATE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT - 205

FOR MONTH: OCTOBER 1991

PAGE

2

AS OF DATE: DECEMBER 31, 1991

FISCAL YEAR: 92

LEGEND FOR TYPE: O = OFFICIAL; P = POLITICAL; S = STATE DEPARTMENT; N = NON-GOVERNMENT; R = OFFICIAL/POLITICAL

A = ADVANCE; H = HOTEL BILL; T = AIRLINE TICKETS; V = VOUCHER

* ASTERISK DESIGNATES CHANGE IN AMOUNT FROM PREVIOUS MONTH END REPORT

AUTH	NAME	DESTINATION	DATES	TYPE	PURPOSE	AMOUNT	CHANGE
20837	FARISH	PA/KY/TN	10/02/91-10/02/91	O	ACCOMPANY THE PRESIDENT	30.00	
60537	CASEY	PA/TN/KY	10/02/91-10/03/91	O	ACCOMPANY THE PRESIDENT	30.00	
TRIP TOTAL						60.00	
16075	MONTAGNE	MADRID, SPAIN	10/29/91-10/30/91	O	ACCOMPANY THE PRESIDENT	.00	
60543	PRESOCK,P	MADRID, SPAIN	10/28/91-10/30/91	O	ACCOMPANY THE PRESIDENT	.00	
60567	FARISH	MADRID, SPAIN	10/28/91-10/30/91	S	ACCOMPANY THE PRESIDENT	.00	
TRIP TOTAL						.00	
MONTH TOTAL						60.00	

1/04/92

TRAVEL REPORT FOR: IMMEDIATE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT - 205

FOR MONTH: NOVEMBER 1991

PAGE

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AS OF DATE: DECEMBER 31, 1991

FISCAL YEAR: 92

LEGEND FOR TYPE: O = OFFICIAL; P = POLITICAL; S = STATE DEPARTMENT; N = NON-GOVERNMENT; R = OFFICIAL/POLITICAL

A = ADVANCE; H = HOTEL BILL; T = AIRLINE TICKETS; V = VOUCHER

* ASTERISK DESIGNATES CHANGE IN AMOUNT FROM PREVIOUS MONTH END REPORT

AUTH	NAME	DESTINATION	DATES	TYPE	PURPOSE	AMOUNT	CHANGE
60541	CASEY	HOUSTON, TX	10/31/91-11/01/91	O	ACCOMPANY THE PRESIDENT	200.00	
60565	FARISH	HOUSTON, TX	10/31/91-10/01/91	O	ACCOMPANY THE PRESIDENT	300.00	
TRIP TOTAL						500.00	
60566	FARISH	KENNEBUNKPORT, ME	11/02/91-11/02/91	O	ACCOMPANY THE PRESIDENT	25.00	
TRIP TOTAL						25.00	
16085	PRESOCK,P	SIMI VALLEY, CA	11/04/91-11/04/91	O	ACCOMPANY THE PRESIDENT	25.00	
TRIP TOTAL						25.00	
60568	FARISH	NEW YORK, NY	11/12/91-11/12/91	O	ACCOMPANY THE PRESIDENT	25.00	
TRIP TOTAL						25.00	
20835	FARISH	ST LOUIS, MO	11/13/91-11/13/91	O	ACCOMPANY THE PRESIDENT	25.00	
TRIP TOTAL						25.00	
MONTH TOTAL						600.00	

1/04/92

TRAVEL REPORT FOR: IMMEDIATE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT - 205
AS OF DATE: DECEMBER 31, 1991

FOR MONTH: DECEMBER 1991

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4

FISCAL YEAR: 92

LEGEND FOR TYPE: O = OFFICIAL; P = POLITICAL; S = STATE DEPARTMENT; N = NON-GOVERNMENT; R = OFFICIAL/POLITICAL

A = ADVANCE; H = HOTEL BILL; T = AIRLINE TICKETS; V = VOUCHER

* ASTERISK DESIGNATES CHANGE IN AMOUNT FROM PREVIOUS MONTH END REPORT

AUTH	NAME	DESTINATION	DATES	TYPE	PURPOSE	AMOUNT	CHANGE
20838	FARISH	ROME, ITALY	11/06/91-11/09/91	S	ACCOMPANY THE PRESIDENT	.00	
60542	CASEY	ROME, ITALY	11/06/91-11/09/91	S	ACCOMPANY THE PRESIDENT	.00	
	TRIP TOTAL					.00	
	MONTH TOTAL					.00	
	ORGANIZATION TOTAL					660.00	

SHOW
POTVS

From the Desk of
CLAYTON YEUTTER
Chairman
Republican National Committee

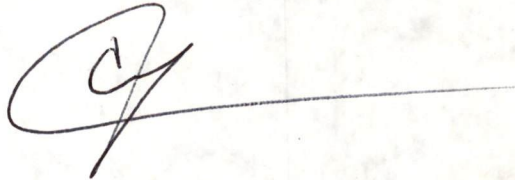
OCF
1/17

Jan. 16, 1992

To Sam Skinner

Sam, some good redistricting news out of Texas that you might want to share with the President.

You might also want to tell him about the Ill. decision on state legislative redistricting, which really turned out well.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'CY', followed by a long horizontal line extending to the right.

The United States Supreme Court Thursday refused to invalidate a three-judge panel's plan for the Texas Legislature, despite the objections of Texas Democrats.

The ruling leaves in place for the 1992 elections a plan that Texas observers say gives Republicans a chance to win the Texas Senate. A Texas House plan imposed by the court will have less partisan impact. The decision does not effect the Texas congressional map that was passed by the Legislature last summer.

The ruling also means the state's primary will be on Super Tuesday.

The decision apparently marks the end of a convoluted legal struggle. Texas Democrat Gov. Ann Richards and Attorney General Richard Morales Monday asked the high court to block the three judge panel plans, and instead order implementation of plans drafted by the Texas Legislature in special session earlier this month. Democrats called the special session in an attempt to block the panel's plans, which were released in late December after the court found the Legislature's initial plans did not comply with the law.

The plans are considered interim plans, meaning that they may be redrawn for the 1994 elections. The three judge court also said it would hear partisan gerrymandering charges against the congressional map after the 1992 elections.

SHOW POTUS

January 16, 1992

SKS:

Delilah Flaum called to give you some feedback on the Kansas City trip. The farmers were very pleased, especially on the trade issues. The Senior Federal Executives from Kansas City were especially pleased that they could see the President; this was great because they still remembered some bad blood from Sununu's last trip.

MEM

DCF
1/22

CC: (in & out)
Sec Skinner ✓
Rose Zamaria

The Honorable William T. Coleman, Jr.
O'Melveny & Myers
555 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004-1109

(Personal)

file



CAMP DAVID

Jan 18, 1992

Dear Bill,

I will not comment on
the many cogent points made
in your Jan 2nd memo to
Sam Skinner

Though the State of the
Union will not be preceded
by a Defense (Nat'l security)
speech, I will be
making such a speech later

I think you will see
that several of your ideas
are in the State of the Union
message.

I can't tell you how much
I appreciate your memo. Sincerely,
George Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CD

92 JAN 13 11:02

DATE: 1/10/92

TO: President Bush

FROM: SAM SKINNER

one of the most thoughtful
letters I have received.

Sam

yes it is thoughtful

O'MELVENY & MYERS

400 SOUTH HOPE STREET
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90071-2899
TELEPHONE (213) 669-6000
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1999 AVENUE OF THE STARS
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610 NEWPORT CENTER DRIVE
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January
2nd
1 9 9 2

EMBARCADERO CENTER WEST
275 BATTERY STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94111-3305
TELEPHONE (415) 984-8700
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AKASAKA TWIN TOWER, EAST 18TH FLOOR
2-17-22 AKASAKA, MINATO-KU
TOKYO 107
TELEPHONE (03) 3587-2800
FACSIMILE (03) 3587-9738

AVENUE LOUISE 106
1050 BRUSSELS
TELEPHONE (02) 647-06-50
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OUR FILE NUMBER

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L.C.
6 Copies

Honorable Samuel K. Skinner
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Sam:

I am enclosing herewith a Memorandum recommending the topics and themes of two speeches that I believe the President should give before the end of January. I hope you will turn it over to one of your bright special assistants, have him or her read it and see if there is anything in either speech which may be of help.

Happy New Year!

Sincerely,

Bill
William T. Coleman, Jr.

Enclosure

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

DATE: January 2, 1992

TO: Honorable Samuel K. Skinner
Chief of Staff

FROM: William T. Coleman, Jr. ^{By}

SUBJECT: Two Proposed Speeches the President Should Give Within
Two Days of Each Other: One on Foreign Policy, the
Other on an Economic Plan for Recovery

✓ It is important to the country, the Republican Party
and things about which you and I have a special and common
interest that President Bush be re-elected and by a substantial
margin. "Every President in trouble -- the only kind we [ever
✓ had] was surrounded by battalions of inside advisors, but like a
man facing a serious operation, he usually felt the need for a
second opinion." Reston, Deadline p. 162 (1991) Please accept
✓ those herein as a second opinion from the disinterested mind of
an "outsider."

The President, on Tuesday, January 28th, as he has
already promised, has to devote a large segment of his State of
the Union address to the economic situation and what programs he
will recommend to Congress and the American people to get us out
of the current recession. This will and should take up the
majority of the speech.

However, I think it is essential that two days before
the State of the Union address the President gives a speech
directed mainly to foreign policy. At the end he would say
explicitly that 48 hours hence he will devote the major part of
his State of the Union to the economic situation.

My reasons for the recommendation that he first give a
speech directed to foreign policy issues include:

1. What has happened in Europe and the Soviet Union
in the last twelve months represents a major U.S. victory.

2. Too often Americans, led by the press, say: "Don't talk about what you did for me yesterday, but what are you going to do tomorrow?"

✓ 3. The Administration should not be misled by the press and Democratic leadership to direct the present debate away from one of the President's strengths and an area in which his success has been phenomenal. In modern history there has been no other political leader who has had such widespread contacts with other world leaders or has formed such successful coalitions.

4. One of the reasons for our economic problems today is that American political leadership from President Truman on felt that the United States must invest substantial financial assets in building a strong defense and providing aid throughout the world in order eventually to cause the Soviets and Chinese to back down.

5. We have had a degree of success more than anyone imagined and yet our success is being treated as if it were ending an epoch with a whimper and not a big bang.

I will try to outline an approach for such a foreign policy speech but first, I suggest that its setting is of some importance. It should be held under joint sponsorship by the AEI, The Heritage Foundation, Brookings and those universities which have major foreign policy centers. The reason is that one theme of the speech should be that scholars and foreign policy experts have to think anew to develop U.S. policies for the "new world order."

The points that the President may wish to make and the themes of such a foreign policy speech could be as follows:

1. Soon after Potsdam and the surrender of Japan, it became clear that the Soviets would not be content to withdraw their troops to their original boundaries. In fact, just before the Japanese surrendered, the Soviets, contrary to President Truman's desires, invaded Manchuria. It was also clear that Western Europe had been devastated and in the absence of quick economic revival and activities that would promote democracy there was the threat that all of Europe would fall under yet another totalitarian regime or regimes that would have extreme socialism or Communism as their theoretical economic base.

2. The first major threat to the newly established world peace after the surrender of Japan was the Soviet's threatened invasion of Greece and Turkey. President Truman announced the Truman Doctrine drawing a line. If the Soviets moved beyond that line, they could expect U.S. counteraction. President Truman, General Marshall, and Dean Acheson along with Senator Vandenberg, a Republican Senator from Michigan, and other Republicans and leading Democrats in the

Senate correctly took the position that politics ended at the U.S. borders and we should have a bipartisan foreign policy.

3. Those of us over 45 remember some of the exciting world events of this post-World War II era, including:

- a. The Airlift to break the Berlin Blockade;
- b. The Marshall Plan;
- c. Eisenhower's recall from the Presidency at Columbia University to make a survey of Europe and his wonderful speech which inducing the Congress to authorize the placement of six divisions in Europe;
- d. Kennedy's sending U.S. troops to run the Communist blockade into Berlin and his "I am a Berliner" speech at the Berlin wall;
- e. The Cuban Missile Crisis;
- f. Reagan's renewal of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe; and
- g. Ford's recapture of the Maraquez (obviously, your people can think of better instances).

4. The U.S. also -- admittedly educated by that farsighted Frenchman, Jean Monnet -- thought that Europe ought to think in terms of economic union which led to the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community and thereafter creating the European Free Trade Association, the joint fruits of which today are the European Common Market, hopefully effective by the end of this year (1992).

The above part of the speech should recall some of the great issues and events from 1947 to 1990 in Europe, dramatically as Edward R. Murrow would do. Names of those who played key roles should be used since even though institutions are more important than human beings, outstanding human beings nevertheless have the power to transform and enrich what institutions pass on to succeeding generations. And we need leaders today who are other than basketball stars and singers. Finally, it is important to recall that those who render public service are often exciting and important figures.

5. Every American President from Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter and Reagan and

the overwhelming majority of Members of Congress thought that in addition to solving our problems at home it was essential we remain strong in Europe and throughout the world to offset the challenges by the Soviets.

6. It is interesting to look at the federal budgets for each of the years since 1947 and see that _____% of our Gross National Product was devoted to defense and thus _____% of each year's budget was devoted to defense: These are the figures (produce two charts). The similarities are striking.

✓ 7. At the same time it was important to help Japan (which also had been devastated by the war) to regain its economic vitality and also to hold down the threats of intrusion into neighbors' territory in that part of the world. China under the Communists became a more potent threat and at times purported to be on cooperative terms with the Soviets. The U.S. devoted lives and fortune to preserving South Korea and preventing the Communists from trying to take over Japan; as well as fighting a war in Vietnam.

8. The U.S. sought no territory or domination. Our objective was only that other nations live within their borders and that governments hopefully adopt some form of democracy and economic system based upon private ownership. We constantly devoted time and negotiations to those objectives. Some of our successes:

- a. Various arms control agreements;
- b. Various agreements to cease fighting in many areas of the world;
- c. Israel-Egyptian accord; and attempts to cause Israel and its Arab neighbors to settle their differences peacefully;
- d. Trying to eliminate apartheid in South Africa; and
- e. The Belgian Congo.

9. There were other threats to civility and peace occurring in the world, most notably Iran and Iraq and South Africa, where we pushed hard to bring about peaceful and desirable change.

10. Finally, when Saddam Hussein madly threatened its neighbor, Kuwait, we organized a world-wide effort to stop that and forced Hussein to retreat to his borders.

11. Anyone who surveys this 44 year history will recognize:

2

- a. That the forces of liberty, democracy and private capitalism, or at least economic systems similar to the United States, have prevailed in the main struggles.
- b. Of course, we made mistakes along the way and in certain instances spent more than we should.
- c. The efforts and philosophy outlined above were a common theme of each President from Truman on.

12. It was a very costly effort which is one of the principal reasons that our public federal debt which was _____ in 1947 is now _____.

13. But we and the Western world have prevailed and I will not waste your time describing the cost to us and the world if we had failed. No American ever measures liberty in terms of dollars. But even more important, no American has had to face the problem of how to revive the United States after a devastating atomic attack, nor have we ever been occupied for years by a foreign power.

14. In the course of our world involvement and leadership, economic factors began to play a much greater role. Perhaps we did not fully recognize this force after 1947 as soon as we should have. For people everywhere began to realize that a healthy diet, a good education, housing, and other desirable standards of living depend upon the ability of a nation to be productive and provide meaningful employment for all its people.

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(There are, of course, others which should also be listed.)

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Sam, you now see why I recommend the audience I do for such a speech. The President would urge scholars to spend the next 60 days thinking through these issues, helping the State Department "Keep the world safe for democracy," and reviving the U.S. foreign economic position. The President could say that Jim Baker and Larry Eagleburger have already directed the State Department to become active in this process, and Brent Scowcroft has been working night and day.

(I would have the President continue)

I don't think I have to justify to an American audience which has gained so much from our American University system that even American Presidents need the advice of scholars before directing the country to new approaches in foreign policy. If there is any doubt, there's a wonderful story that James Reston tells in his memoir, DEADLINE:

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As Truman with the help of Marshall and Acheson thought through the Marshall Plan and as George Kennan and others thought through containment and as _____ and _____ thought how you go about controlling nuclear weapons, I now urge scholars and State Department experts to think through new issues. Concurrently we are now increasing our attention to the economic situation some of which has been caused by our nation's extreme commitment to foreign policy issues since President Roosevelt recognized that we could not stay out of World War II. We hope those who we helped (especially Germany and Japan) will recognize the tremendous contribution we have made to their economic revitalization.

We also hope along with Congress that the Nation will work towards bettering our schools and create more job opportunities and develop plans which will cause our growth rate to move at least to 5 percent a year. Those issues I will talk about in detail two days from now, but I thought it important for the American people to realize that by risking our lives and fortunes over the past forty-four years we have accomplished for the first time in our modern history a world that is no longer threatened by the forces of Communism, or Nazism, or Franco Fascism or Tojo militarism.

II

The Economic Part of the State of the Union Address

Our Founding Fathers created a nation based upon the assumption that private free enterprise and the capitalistic system was the best guarantee for a free and open society. Free people, if permitted to be productive and not unduly restrained by government, offered, they believed, the best hope (1) of creating the wealth of a nation and (2) a political system in which democracy and a free open society would develop. A rereading of the history surrounding the adoption of the First Ten Amendments to the Constitution, which I did in preparation for my remarks at Madison's House at Montpelier, Virginia the other day, makes that crystal clear.

Certainly, events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe over the past five years reaffirm the validity of what our forefathers believed in which is what just about every political leader who ever has risen to prominence in the United States believes in as well.

Nonetheless, from the beginning national leaders urged the Congress often to take steps which would promote the economy. I urge you to re-read The State of Manufacturing In The United States In 1789 by Alexander Hamilton in which he talks about the government help in building roads, canals and turnpikes in order to make the private economic system more viable.

Today, because of the Second World War and its 44 year aftermath which I outlined in a foreign policy speech two days ago, the U.S. has what is for all of us an undesirable public debt. In addition, we have a political understanding which is just about universal that increasing taxes will be counterproductive. We also know that there are many unmet needs. I have tried to devise a program which would not increase the public debt, not call for increased taxes and which will help us

to repair more quickly our infrastructure and will also help us to develop more quickly our most valuable resource, the minds and educational and technological ability of our young. At the same time, I have determined to avoid the present popular thought in Congress that all of our problems can be avoided by drastically cutting the Defense Budget. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Secretary of Defense are examining every way possible to reduce the Defense Budget. This Nation, however, has on at least three occasions in my memory risked disaster because it reduced its defenses too low, too fast. In World War I we were saved because France and Great Britain held the line until we were armed. In World War II Great Britain alone held the line until we were re-armed. In Korea only the brilliant military maneuvers of General MacArthur and the courage of the Marines, Air Force, Army and Navy were able to hold the line until the foolish cuts at the end of the Second World War could be reversed.

I have, as a young fighter pilot and later, as CIA Director and Ambassador to the United Nations and to China, and now as President of the United States, seen the advantage of having adequate military forces as a way of demonstrating to the enemy that the American people intend to remain free. Our Nation also has a duty of a productive return to civilian life to those who volunteered when the security threat was greater. I hope the Congress, and the American People agree that we have seen too vividly the effect of awesome military power to avoid war so we should not ignore recommendations of our Defense leaders, in which I include the Chairman and the Committees in the Congress which deal with such issues, and instead cut foolishly our Defense Budget.

These are the steps I intend to recommend to Congress:

✓ 1. In the last session of Congress we passed a Highway Bill, **The Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991**, which provides for the expenditure of \$153 billion over the next five years. I will not increase that amount, but will try to get the money spent more quickly without increasing the annual appropriations. The plan I suggest is as follows:

✓ Congress has set forth the amount authorized in each of the next five years. Without stepping up the level of disbursements in any year, Congress can give assurance that such authorizations will be honored. States and cities can therefore pledge this commitment against bonds issued by them and underwritten by private concerns. Thus, for example, if a state could build a highway or a bridge in two years but under present law the appropriations cover five years, nevertheless the money will be there to be spent in the two years.

If done properly and without undue Congressional restraints, this program should create employment for _____ persons per year; _____% of which will be new jobs. Such programs

should be developed in such a way as not only to get the trained blue collar and skilled tradesmen back to work but also create new first time job experience for the poor. Such programs, moreover, will create additional activity in financial institutions, giving them opportunities to make loans to help rebuild the nation's infrastructure. Additional financial actions will also be created by the proposals I made in point 3, as they will cause the private sector to invest more heavily in productive capital facilities.

✓ 2. I will direct the appropriate people in my Administration to see that government, federal, state and local governments will increase the expenditures for education by ten percent in order to accelerate our improvements in the Kindergarten through 12th year school system. In this process, I urge officials to take a look at all persons who will be released from the Armed Services to see whether or not their talent can be used effectively and productively in the educational system.

✓ 3. I believe that most thinking Americans will agree that when the private sector thinks that new investment and new research are worthwhile, new facilities are built and increased employment thereby results. Thus, every schoolboy knows that a special rate for capital gains, a provision that allows accelerated depreciation on certain types of investment and deductions of the cost for major research efforts are incentives to economic growth. I will propose all three of these and work with my economic advisors so that these incentives will produce a net increase in revenue rather than decrease.

✓ These first three recommendations, if enacted into law, will improve the education of our children and cause the modernization of our manufacturing and transportation facilities.

2 A special concern to me is created by news reports that some college graduates are finding it hard to get their first post-college job. I realize that industry to become more efficient and more productive has to restructure which sometimes results in job layoff. But I think it is short-sighted not to bring the new high school and college graduate into the work force. I have directed my Secretaries of Labor and of Commerce to study this issue in detail and report to me in sixty days with recommendations of how to solve or reduce the problem and I will then develop programs to accomplish the correct result.

✓ 4. I have also directed my Trade Representative and the Secretary of Commerce to tell me what steps have to be taken so that our trade deficit in each of the next three years will be reduced by one-third. I will take the steps to see such reductions are accomplished.

5. Next, the Congress and the Administration spent over a year trying to come up with a banking bill, at the end of which time we took care of only the shortfall in the FDIC

too much stuff on this

insurance and the S&L provisions and made some changes which increased regulation of our banks. But, in the main, the Congress rejected the Administration Proposals which would have strengthened our banks, permitted them to grow and compete with the foreign banks and would have made our banks more profitable. The banking industry has a lot to do with creating the wealth of our nation and making us competitive abroad. I've urged my Secretary of the Treasury to develop a bill that will do what we set out to do and I will then engage in meetings with the key congressional committees relative to the passage of this bill and if I cannot persuade them of the merits of this bill, I will take my case to the American public.

6. We also recognize there has been a fall-off in the real estate market -- I will urge the adoption of fiscal policies for the real estate industry -- to encourage them to take risks again. (Describe how this is to be done)

7. We have the most efficient agricultural system in the world but still certain nations do not have enough to feed themselves. Other nations have foolish protectionist policies that do not permit our agricultural goods and commodities to come into their market. I will never become "protectionist" but do not believe American agricultural interests should become "patsies" in the world markets. I will use all of my powers to open these international markets to American farmers.

8. Finally, one cannot be attuned to the American Industrial System without realizing that women and minorities still do not get their fair share of opportunities as easily as others do. As I have demonstrated, I will resist quotas even though some of my advisors tell me it will be politically costly for me. On the other hand, I urge all of our officials and those in the private sector as well -- to make employment decisions that include the poor and the disadvantaged -- assure women and minorities that they will get their fair share of employment.

I have set goals. I would like to see the growth rate increase to 3 1/2 percent to 4 percent per year and unemployment come down each month. I will watch closely. If they don't, I will be back to talk with you ninety days from now. As we crank up this tremendous productive machine I hope that Congress does not become counterproductive by enacting foolish regulatory laws or imposing more unreasonable costs on small business. I hope also that all employees, public and private, increase their productivity even more and realize the quality of what they turn out often makes up the difference between a U.S. sale or a foreign sale.

Employers, banks and the investment bankers should direct their efforts towards creating new industries, new technologies, not the buyout craze that marked the Eighties.^{1*}

¹ I assume the speech will have a section on medical care, but I am even more unqualified to correlate that part than those I have attempted to draft here.

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Honorable Samuel K. Skinner
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Sam:

I am enclosing herewith a Memorandum recommending the topics and themes of two speeches that I believe the President should give before the end of January. I hope you will turn it over to one of your bright special assistants, have him or her read it and see if there is anything in either speech which may be of help.

Happy New Year!

Sincerely,

Bill
William T. Coleman, Jr.

Enclosure

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: January 2, 1992

TO: Honorable Samuel K. Skinner
Chief of Staff

FROM: ^{Bill} William T. Coleman, Jr.

SUBJECT: Two Proposed Speeches the President Should Give Within
Two Days of Each Other: One on Foreign Policy, the
Other on an Economic Plan for Recovery

It is important to the country, the Republican Party and things about which you and I have a special and common interest that President Bush be re-elected and by a substantial margin. "Every President in trouble -- the only kind we [ever had] was surrounded by battalions of inside advisors, but like a man facing a serious operation, he usually felt the need for a second opinion." Reston, Deadline p. 162 (1991) Please accept those herein as a second opinion from the disinterested mind of an "outsider."

The President, on Tuesday, January 28th, as he has already promised, has to devote a large segment of his State of the Union address to the economic situation and what programs he will recommend to Congress and the American people to get us out of the current recession. This will and should take up the majority of the speech.

However, I think it is essential that two days before the State of the Union address the President gives a speech directed mainly to foreign policy. At the end he would say explicitly that 48 hours hence he will devote the major part of his State of the Union to the economic situation.

My reasons for the recommendation that he first give a speech directed to foreign policy issues include:

1. What has happened in Europe and the Soviet Union in the last twelve months represents a major U.S. victory.

2. Too often Americans, led by the press, say: "Don't talk about what you did for me yesterday, but what are you going to do tomorrow?"

3. The Administration should not be misled by the press and Democratic leadership to direct the present debate away from one of the President's strengths and an area in which his success has been phenomenal. In modern history there has been no other political leader who has had such widespread contacts with other world leaders or has formed such successful coalitions.

4. One of the reasons for our economic problems today is that American political leadership from President Truman on felt that the United States must invest substantial financial assets in building a strong defense and providing aid throughout the world in order eventually to cause the Soviets and Chinese to back down.

5. We have had a degree of success more than anyone imagined and yet our success is being treated as if it were ending an epoch with a whimper and not a big bang.

I will try to outline an approach for such a foreign policy speech but first, I suggest that its setting is of some importance. It should be held under joint sponsorship by the AEI, The Heritage Foundation, Brookings and those universities which have major foreign policy centers. The reason is that one theme of the speech should be that scholars and foreign policy experts have to think anew to develop U.S. policies for the "new world order."

The points that the President may wish to make and the themes of such a foreign policy speech could be as follows:

1. Soon after Potsdam and the surrender of Japan, it became clear that the Soviets would not be content to withdraw their troops to their original boundaries. In fact, just before the Japanese surrendered, the Soviets, contrary to President Truman's desires, invaded Manchuria. It was also clear that Western Europe had been devastated and in the absence of quick economic revival and activities that would promote democracy there was the threat that all of Europe would fall under yet another totalitarian regime or regimes that would have extreme socialism or Communism as their theoretical economic base.

2. The first major threat to the newly established world peace after the surrender of Japan was the Soviet's threatened invasion of Greece and Turkey. President Truman announced the Truman Doctrine drawing a line. If the Soviets moved beyond that line, they could expect U.S. counteraction. President Truman, General Marshall, and Dean Acheson along with Senator Vandenberg, a Republican Senator from Michigan, and other Republicans and leading Democrats in the

Senate correctly took the position that politics ended at the U.S. borders and we should have a bipartisan foreign policy.

3. Those of us over 45 remember some of the exciting world events of this post-World War II era, including:

- a. The Airlift to break the Berlin Blockade;
- b. The Marshall Plan;
- c. Eisenhower's recall from the Presidency at Columbia University to make a survey of Europe and his wonderful speech which inducing the Congress to authorize the placement of six divisions in Europe;
- d. Kennedy's sending U.S. troops to run the Communist blockade into Berlin and his "I am a Berliner" speech at the Berlin wall;
- e. The Cuban Missile Crisis;
- f. Reagan's renewal of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe; and
- g. Ford's recapture of the Maraquez (obviously, your people can think of better instances).

4. The U.S. also -- admittedly educated by that farsighted Frenchman, Jean Monnet -- thought that Europe ought to think in terms of economic union which led to the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community and thereafter creating the European Free Trade Association, the joint fruits of which today are the European Common Market, hopefully effective by the end of this year (1992).

The above part of the speech should recall some of the great issues and events from 1947 to 1990 in Europe, dramatically as Edward R. Murrow would do. Names of those who played key roles should be used since even though institutions are more important than human beings, outstanding human beings nevertheless have the power to transform and enrich what institutions pass on to succeeding generations. And we need leaders today who are other than basketball stars and singers. Finally, it is important to recall that those who render public service are often exciting and important figures.

5. Every American President from Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter and Reagan and

the overwhelming majority of Members of Congress thought that in addition to solving our problems at home it was essential we remain strong in Europe and throughout the world to offset the challenges by the Soviets.

6. It is interesting to look at the federal budgets for each of the years since 1947 and see that _____% of our Gross National Product was devoted to defense and thus _____% of each year's budget was devoted to defense: These are the figures (produce two charts). The similarities are striking.

7. At the same time it was important to help Japan (which also had been devastated by the war) to regain its economic vitality and also to hold down the threats of intrusion into neighbors' territory in that part of the world. China under the Communists became a more potent threat and at times purported to be on cooperative terms with the Soviets. The U.S. devoted lives and fortune to preserving South Korea and preventing the Communists from trying to take over Japan; as well as fighting a war in Vietnam.

8. The U.S. sought no territory or domination. Our objective was only that other nations live within their borders and that governments hopefully adopt some form of democracy and economic system based upon private ownership. We constantly devoted time and negotiations to those objectives. Some of our successes:

- a. Various arms control agreements;
- b. Various agreements to cease fighting in many areas of the world;
- c. Israel-Egyptian accord; and attempts to cause Israel and its Arab neighbors to settle their differences peacefully;
- d. Trying to eliminate apartheid in South Africa; and
- e. The Belgian Congo.

9. There were other threats to civility and peace occurring in the world, most notably Iran and Iraq and South Africa, where we pushed hard to bring about peaceful and desirable change.

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Congress has set forth the amount authorized in each of the next five years. Without stepping up the level of disbursements in any year, Congress can give assurance that such authorizations will be honored. States and cities can therefore pledge this commitment against bonds issued by them and underwritten by private concerns. Thus, for example, if a state could build a highway or a bridge in two years but under present law the appropriations cover five years, nevertheless the money will be there to be spent in the two years.

If done properly and without undue Congressional restraints, this program should create employment for _____ persons per year; _____% of which will be new jobs. Such programs

should be developed in such a way as not only to get the trained blue collar and skilled tradesmen back to work but also create new first time job experience for the poor. Such programs, moreover, will create additional activity in financial institutions, giving them opportunities to make loans to help rebuild the nation's infrastructure. Additional financial actions will also be created by the proposals I made in point 3, as they will cause the private sector to invest more heavily in productive capital facilities.

2. I will direct the appropriate people in my Administration to see that government, federal, state and local governments will increase the expenditures for education by ten percent in order to accelerate our improvements in the Kindergarten through 12th year school system. In this process, I urge officials to take a look at all persons who will be released from the Armed Services to see whether or not their talent can be used effectively and productively in the educational system.

3. I believe that most thinking Americans will agree that when the private sector thinks that new investment and new research are worthwhile, new facilities are built and increased employment thereby results. Thus, every schoolboy knows that a special rate for capital gains, a provision that allows accelerated depreciation on certain types of investment and deductions of the cost for major research efforts are incentives to economic growth. I will propose all three of these and work with my economic advisors so that these incentives will produce a net increase in revenue rather than decrease.

These first three recommendations, if enacted into law, will improve the education of our children and cause the modernization of our manufacturing and transportation facilities.

A special concern to me is created by news reports that some college graduates are finding it hard to get their first post-college job. I realize that industry to become more efficient and more productive has to restructure which sometimes results in job layoff. But I think it is short-sighted not to bring the new high school and college graduate into the work force. I have directed my Secretaries of Labor and of Commerce to study this issue in detail and report to me in sixty days with recommendations of how to solve or reduce the problem and I will then develop programs to accomplish the correct result.

4. I have also directed my Trade Representative and the Secretary of Commerce to tell me what steps have to be taken so that our trade deficit in each of the next three years will be reduced by one-third. I will take the steps to see such reductions are accomplished.

5. Next, the Congress and the Administration spent over a year trying to come up with a banking bill, at the end of which time we took care of only the shortfall in the FDIC

insurance and the S&L provisions and made some changes which increased regulation of our banks. But, in the main, the Congress rejected the Administration Proposals which would have strengthened our banks, permitted them to grow and compete with the foreign banks and would have made our banks more profitable. The banking industry has a lot to do with creating the wealth of our nation and making us competitive abroad. I've urged my Secretary of the Treasury to develop a bill that will do what we set out to do and I will then engage in meetings with the key congressional committees relative to the passage of this bill and if I cannot persuade them of the merits of this bill, I will take my case to the American public.

6. We also recognize there has been a fall-off in the real estate market -- I will urge the adoption of fiscal policies for the real estate industry -- to encourage them to take risks again. (Describe how this is to be done)

7. We have the most efficient agricultural system in the world but still certain nations do not have enough to feed themselves. Other nations have foolish protectionist policies that do not permit our agricultural goods and commodities to come into their market. I will never become "protectionist" but do not believe American agricultural interests should become "patsies" in the world markets. I will use all of my powers to open these international markets to American farmers.

8. Finally, one cannot be attuned to the American Industrial System without realizing that women and minorities still do not get their fair share of opportunities as easily as others do. As I have demonstrated, I will resist quotas even though some of my advisors tell me it will be politically costly for me. On the other hand, I urge all of our officials and those in the private sector as well -- to make employment decisions that include the poor and the disadvantaged -- assure women and minorities that they will get their fair share of employment.

I have set goals. I would like to see the growth rate increase to 3 1/2 percent to 4 percent per year and unemployment come down each month. I will watch closely. If they don't, I will be back to talk with you ninety days from now. As we crank up this tremendous productive machine I hope that Congress does not become counterproductive by enacting foolish regulatory laws or imposing more unreasonable costs on small business. I hope also that all employees, public and private, increase their productivity even more and realize the quality of what they turn out often makes up the difference between a U.S. sale or a foreign sale.

Employers, banks and the investment bankers should direct their efforts towards creating new industries, new technologies, not the buyout craze that marked the Eighties.^{1*}

¹ I assume the speech will have a section on medical care, but I am even more unqualified to correlate that part than those I have attempted to draft here.



THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

January 18, 1992

To: Kathy Super cc Sam, Ron K.

Kathy:

I remain convinced that being identified with the Bass fishing crowd is good-very good. It gets all across party lines.

Let's think of something:

- a return to Ray Scott event?
- attend a Bassmasters weigh off.
- invite Roland Martin and Orlando Wilson to fish the Potomac with me some weekend day this spring.

Johnny Morris and Scott will have good ideas on this. There is no downside to the BASS fishing crowd-none.

ag To David D ✓ sent 1/21
for review
after Sec
S

FROM THE PRESIDENT

1/20/92

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Brest S

Please
Make sure that

Mike Deland is on

worky group for

Conference (UN 1992
UNCED) in Rio.

Thanks
for

National Health Insurance:

Would an Income Tax Credit Solve the Problem?

by Sol M. Linowitz • of the New York Bar (Rochester)

■ The controversy over the President's proposal to set up a compulsory national health insurance program financed by a federal pay-roll tax has been raging for many months. Proponents cite statistics to show that the nation's existing medical facilities are inadequate, while opponents counter that "socialized medicine" will so dilute the high standards of American medical care that it will become totally ineffective. Mr. Linowitz proposes a middle ground: He agrees that there are not enough medical facilities in the country, but he also doubts whether compulsory health insurance is feasible. He proposes use of a federal income tax credit for premiums paid for private medical insurance to solve the problem.

■ For many months the American people have been subjected to a high-powered hullabaloo about national health insurance. Drums have been beaten with equal ferocity by proponents and opponents of the Administration's compulsory health insurance program. One group has vied with the other in broad characterizations, claims, charges, counter-charges, high pressure campaigns and publicity build-ups. The medical profession, caught in the midst of the fray, has traded punches with the best of them. The average citizen, trying to understand what all the shouting is about, finds himself confused and concerned—and with good reason. For the state of our national health and the availability of hospital and medical care are among the gravest social problems with which we are today confronted.

Consider a few of the statistics. Our mortality rates look good on paper, yet over 100,000 babies die in the United States each year during their first twelve months of life. Our

doctors are the best trained in the world, but there is only one for every 1700 people in some rural states. American medicine has made tremendous strides in maternity and prenatal care—yet only half of the mothers in the South have a physician's care at childbirth.

Illness is by all odds still our Public Enemy Number One. During any twenty-four hour period, over seven million Americans will be incapacitated by sickness. Measured in terms of our industrial production, more than one and one-half billion man-days are lost each year because of ill health. In terms of money, the total cost to our economy of sickness and disability exceeds twenty-five billion dollars annually.¹

Nation Needs 40,000 More Doctors for Adequate Medical Care

We have about 190,000 practicing doctors in the country today—roughly one physician for every seven hundred people. This compares favorably with the ratio in most other

countries. England has, under its compulsory health system, an average of one doctor for every 870 prospective patients; Australia, one for every 1,100; Ireland, one for every 1,500. Yet if our goal is an adequate supply of physicians throughout the United States, we fall considerably short in numbers and appropriate distribution. The Federal Security Agency estimates, without substantial contradiction, that we must have about 40,000 more doctors and at least 20,000 more dentists. Similarly, the supply of nurses is in need of considerable augmentation. In 1946 the National Nursing Council estimated that there was then a shortage of 41,000 trained nurses.² As to hospitals, the Federal Hospital Construction Acts have helped considerably in spurring added building. The fact is, however, that there are less than 7,000 hospitals in the country, with a total bed capacity of about one and one-half million—far short of the minimum standard requirements for the nation.

These are the grim indisputable facts which can be neither ignored nor glossed over. They are facts with which the greatest democracy on earth must deal in the interest of the general welfare of the nation. In submitting his National Health

1. *America's Health. A Report to the Nation, National Health Assembly (1949).*

2. *Report of Committee on Statistical Research, National Nursing Council (August 1, 1946).*

Program to Congress, President Truman said: "Good health is the foundation of a nation's strength. It is also the foundation upon which a better standard of living can be built for individuals. To see that our people actually enjoy the good health that medical science knows how to provide is one of the great challenges to our democracy."

In the face of this challenge, all factions—regardless of their attitude toward the compulsory insurance program—are agreed on certain fundamentals:

First, we must have more hospitals built and more doctors, dentists and nurses trained if we are to meet the country's health problem effectively.

Second, public funds—federal, state or local—must be made available to provide medical care or insurance for those unable to pay the cost.

Third, prepaid medical and hospital insurance should be made effective on a nation-wide basis to protect as many as possible against the cost of ill health.

Objections Are to Proposed Method of Achieving Nation-Wide Insurance

The hue and cry which has arisen in connection with the Administration's National Health Program is directed almost wholly against the method proposed to achieve the third objective, nation-wide health insurance. The Administration's plan would impose on both employer and employee a compulsory payroll tax of one and one-half per cent of the worker's earnings up to \$4800 per year. The self-employed would pay 3 per cent. On its face, the bill purports to offer fairly comprehensive medical and hospital insurance to the 85 per cent of the population it is designed to cover.

How is the plan supposed to work? John Dykes is married, has two children, and earns \$4,000 per year. Under the compulsory program, Dykes pays a payroll tax of \$60 per year to insure himself and his family. His employer also pays \$60. Dykes gets a card which ostensibly entitles him to virtually unlimited medical care and fairly complete hospital service. Theoretically, Dyke's family

doctor will be free to join the program or not, as he sees fit. If he joins he will treat Dykes and be paid, at his election, on the basis of (1) per capita charge (a fixed allowance per patient), (2) a fee-for-service (established pursuant to an approved schedule), or (3) an agreed salary.

The spokesmen for the Administration's plan contend that this type of compulsory program is the only feasible answer to the health care problem. Voluntary insurance programs have, they maintain, failed to do the job and give little promise of doing so in the future; only three and one-half million Americans today have fairly comprehensive medical and hospital insurance. In answer to the frequently hurled charge of "socialized medicine", they assert that the program will in no way shackle the practitioner, will permit him freely to choose whether or not he wants to participate in the plan, and will leave unchanged the confidential doctor-patient relationship.

The opponents regard the compulsory program quite differently. To them it represents a costly and dangerous experiment which would detrimentally affect the standards of medical care. In view of the shortage of doctors, dentists, nurses and hospitals, they say that the quality of medical service throughout the nation will necessarily deteriorate if one hundred twenty-five million people are suddenly offered broad health care. The Administration's plan, according to them, promises what it can never deliver. Moreover, the establishment of a federal agency to supervise and administer the program as required under the bill will inevitably embroil doctors and hospitals in red tape, bureaucratic controls and governmental interference with the relationship between patient and physician. Should the plan go into effect, they say, doctors will have no choice: they will have to join if they want to survive. Finally, they contend that since sixty million Americans are today enrolled of their own free will in some form of health insurance, there is every

reason to believe that the country's needs can be met effectively on a voluntary basis without resorting to the drastic compulsory method proposed by the Administration.

With the lines thus fairly sharply drawn on this issue, John Dykes finds himself caught in the middle. On the one hand, he is offered the opportunity of getting rather complete medical and hospital insurance at low cost. On the other, he is warned that he is incurring a grave risk which may endanger the health of himself and his family. Understandably enough, Dykes asks: "Where do I go from here?"

Where *does* he go? Must he choose at his peril between two such diametrically opposed positions? Or is there an alternative which will afford him necessary health care at the same low cost yet on a completely voluntary basis?

Credit Against Income Tax May Be Solution

Suppose the Government were to provide that each person who insures himself and his family against the cost of hospital and medical care in an approved commercial or non-commercial program would be entitled to a special tax credit or allowance for a designated part of the cost of such insurance. Blue Cross, Blue Shield and other existing groups would undertake to make such insurance available throughout the country. In addition, each community or group would be free to institute programs best designed to meet its own requirements. In some areas, the state itself might seek to offer such insurance to its citizens. As an illustration, John Dykes earning \$4000 annually should be able to get a satisfactory type of health insurance policy for himself and his family at a cost of about \$125 per year. At the present time Dykes pays a federal income tax of \$213. If he should obtain such health insurance, however, he will be permitted to deduct \$75 from the tax he would otherwise have to pay. In short, the Government would absorb \$75 of the cost of such insurance and Dykes would pay \$50.

Would not such a proposal substantially meet the objections voiced against the compulsory program, yet lead to broad voluntary health insurance coverage? The advantages of such an approach are fairly obvious:

1. It would avoid the necessity for the involved and costly governmental regulatory system which is an essential part of the compulsory plan.

2. It would rely for the most part on existing insurance groups established to handle just such a program.

3. It would permit voluntary arrangements to be made by each community or group in such manner as will best meet its particular needs.

4. It would avoid any interference with or encroachment upon the existing pattern of doctor-patient relationship.

5. It would spur the growth and development of present voluntary health insurance programs throughout the country.

6. It would *induce* rather than *compel* national health insurance.

Implementation of such a plan would, of course, raise a number of questions. How much will it cost? How about those people who do not earn enough to pay an income tax and who would therefore not be able to obtain any advantage from such a proposal? How do we know the plan will work?

The item of cost is of tremendous importance. But it must be examined in the light of the reasonably foreseeable cost of the compulsory program. The Administration concedes that wage earners and employers will have to contribute approximately six billion dollars per year at the outset if the compulsory plan is to be effective. Moreover, additional billions will admittedly be required to administer the plan through a federal agency on a nation-wide scale. The best objective estimates of cost indicate that the compulsory plan will entail a cost of eight to ten billion dollars per year. Furthermore, as experience in England and other countries indicates, the cost may reasonably be expected to rise sharply once the plan is put into effect.

Tax Credit Would Eliminate Cost of Administration

A considerable part of the compulsory program cost would be that involved in organizing and maintaining the required federal supervisory agency. Estimates of the attendant expense have differed widely. On the basis of all the facts, the addition of several hundred thousand to the federal payroll may reasonably be expected. Some analysts, relying on the findings of the Hoover Commission with respect to operating costs of the Veterans Administration, believe that there will have to be one government employee for every hundred insured—or a total federal personnel of about 1,200,000. Regardless of the precise figure, however, it is abundantly clear that the administration of the compulsory plan would cost billions of government dollars. The elimination of this cost in the tax allowance proposal is itself a very considerable factor in its favor.

Furthermore, the actual tax loss to the Government by virtue of the tax credit program would obviously be under the direct control of the Government itself in setting up the plan. The type and size of the tax credit actually offered would have tremendous bearing on the total cost factor. In this connection, the authorized tax allowance or credit might well vary in the different tax brackets, making the greatest allowance—thereby offering the greatest inducement—to those in the lowest income classes. Thus, if John Dykes earns \$4,000 per year he might get a credit of \$75; if he earns \$3,000 the credit might be \$90; if he earns \$5,000, it might be \$60.

The success of the program in leading taxpayers to obtain insurance will also play an important part in the eventual cost, since premiums will be directly affected by the number of people covered. Under any circumstances, it can safely be assumed that the tax allowance plan could be effectively implemented at considerably less cost than that involved in the compulsory program.

How about the people who don't



Gold Tone Studio

Sol M. Linowitz practices in Rochester. A graduate of Hamilton College, he received his legal education at Cornell Law School where he was editor-in-chief of the *Cornell Law Quarterly*. He was a lieutenant in the Naval Reserve during the war and also served as Assistant General Counsel of the OPA in Washington.

pay taxes? Obviously, the tax allowance program would not meet the health insurance needs of those who are already exempt from paying an income tax. By the same token, however, and as the Senate Subcommittee on Health and Education recognized,³ no health insurance method would of itself be applicable to the unemployed or to the lowest income groups. The Administration's plan, therefore, makes separate provision for their care through public funds.

There have been introduced in Congress two bills—one by Senator Lister Hill,⁴ the other by Senator Robert Taft⁵—which would provide federal and state funds for medical care or health insurance for those unable to pay full cost. Both bills provide that the state shall be responsible for obtaining health insurance or other appropriate medical

3. Interim Report, Subcommittee on Health and Education, pursuant to S. Res. 62 (July, 1946).

4. The Voluntary Health Insurance Bill (S. 1456, 81st Congress) sponsored by Senators Hill, O'Connor, Withers, Aiken and Morse.

5. The National Health Bill (S. 1581, 81st Congress) sponsored by Senators Taft, Smith (N. J.) and Donnell.

care for such persons, but payment toward the cost may be demanded of those who are able to pay part, but not all, of the expense. A simple answer in connection with the program here proposed would be to combine the tax allowance plan with either the Hill Bill or the Taft Bill. All nontaxpayers could be deemed to be persons unable to pay the full cost of health insurance and therefore entitled to such insurance at public expense. Any nontaxpayer deemed financially able to do so, however, would be required to contribute toward the cost. Combining the tax allowance plan with the Hill Bill or Taft Bill would result in health insurance legislation truly national in scope yet entirely voluntary by nature.⁶

The suggestion that the income tax field be used to foster a governmental social purpose is by no means novel. Today we have, for example, deductions for charitable contributions, designed to encourage support of charities. In New York State, taxpayers are permitted to deduct up to \$150 paid for life insurance premiums. The purpose—to encourage life insurance. Our federal tax laws,

have, as a matter of fact, already taken the first step in the direction of the proposal here made: health insurance premiums may, under existing regulations, be included in determining the right to a tax deduction for extraordinary medical expenses.

The considerations here set forth led Representative Kenneth B. Keating to introduce a bill in Congress recently based on this proposal and providing a schedule of income tax credits for premiums paid in private health insurance programs. (H. R. 483, 82d Congress). Support from medical societies⁷ and other groups⁸ and expected endorsement by several legislators on both sides of the aisle should help to keep the plan moving through the congressional hopper when Congress is once more able to turn its attention to domestic matters.

Will the tax allowance plan work? The only way to find out is to try it. If it operates to induce widespread health insurance, the need for a compulsory system will be obviated. If not, resort can always be had to the type of program the Administration now seeks. The time is not yet; however, for plunging headlong into

a far-reaching compulsory health program which is in so many respects beset with so many dangers. Experience abroad demonstrates that compulsory medical care is no panacea, and that once the step is taken there can be no turning back.

To the factions engaged in spirited battle on the health insurance front, the tax allowance plan would seem to offer a simple, sensible middle road toward the common goal. To the millions of John Dykeses, it holds out the real possibility that the fight against the ravaging cost of ill health can yet be won on a voluntary nation-wide basis.

6. The Flanders-Ives-Herter-Javits Bill (S. 1970, H. R. 4918, 81st Congress) known as the *National Health Act*, proposed to attain a similar objective by federal-state subsidies to voluntary health insurance organizations with a view to encouraging enrollments and new voluntary plans. Subscribers would pay a percentage of income rather than flat premiums and a "yardstick of services" would be prescribed.

7. The proposal has been endorsed by three county medical societies (Monroe, Yates, and Broome) in New York State.

8. A similar recommendation was made by the Bureau of Health and Hospitals of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Conference of Catholic Charities and the Catholic Hospital Association. This proposal called for "a deduction of premiums up to \$75.00 for health insurance from the net income tax of all individuals in the lower income brackets, i.e. up to \$5000.00".

PRE-STATE OF THE UNION

Communications Strategy on Health Care Reform

The weeks preceding the Health Care Reform announcement are just as critical as those that follow and provide the opportunity to shape opinion on the principles and need for reform -- the "why" of what will be proposed. We should use this time to win support for the President's overall goals -- access, security, affordability and quality -- and develop a better understanding of what's at stake. This period should remain a general discussion while the details of the package remain secret.

In addition to speeches, meetings and interviews of Secretary Sullivan, the President could participate in the following:

- o January 17: At Clark University in Atlanta, announce FY'93 request for \$600 M increase in funds which will assist an additional 160,000 children. Once again, this is the single largest increase in the history of Head Start. (This increase will only get lost in the budget announcement).

Clark University is providing 1,900 low income children and their families with educational, health and social services. This visit could provide the opportunity to address the prevention aspect critical to health care reform, as well as parental responsibility.

- o January 21/22: In California, focus on the access and cost control aspects of health care reform. Possible audiences include: Hispanic groups, who make up a significant portion of the uninsured, or small business leaders, who reject pay or play and support small market reform.
- o January 23/24: Meet with broad coalition of constituency groups -- including medical, business, legislative, and intergovernmental leaders -- to discuss basic outline of reform initiative and to ask for their support. These meetings could be hosted by Secretary Sullivan with Presidential drop-by's.

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POST STATE OF THE UNION

Communications Strategy on Health Care Reform

- o Briefings: Key leaders will be invited to HHS briefings to build support for the Administration's proposals; invitees will include associations representing medical professionals, insurers, hospitals, business groups, minority health and other key constituency groups. (See attached preliminary list). Briefings would take place in Stonehenge or Room 450 OEOB, January 29 & 30, with presentations by Secretary Sullivan, Dr. Wilensky, Kevin Moley and tbd. Talking Points, fact sheets, and other related documents will be provided.

The "political masters" should also be briefed (Charlie Black, Mary Matalin, Eddie Mahe, etc.) which could be held at the Capital Hill Club and sponsored by the RNC.

Legislative and Intergovernmental briefings must also occur.

- o Press background briefings, late pm on January 28, on an embargoed basis, and January 29.
- o Network Morning Show appearances on January 29.
- o Op-ed by Sullivan to appear in USA Today on January 29 describing reform initiative.
- o Subsequent large distribution of similar op-ed to small and mid-size daily and weekly newspapers.
- o Other major daily placements to be determined.
- o Articles will also be placed in appropriate medical and opinion journals.
- o Satellite Media Tours: In markets to be determined.
- o Editorial Board Meetings.
- o Presidential Event: Out of town event and site visit in week following SOU. Speech fully outlining reform and visit to "success story" that fits with reform package. (states as labs)

- **Legislative Strategy:** Key members of the House and Senate will be identified to build a coalition of support for the Administration's plan, culminating in a Hill press conference the day after the SOU to announce their support. Through briefings, meetings and phone calls -- to discuss overarching goals before the announcement and specific details after the announcement -- will occur to maximize Hill support. A similar approach should occur with Governor's as our plan will uniquely affect them as well.
- **Organized Press Conferences** by groups expressing their support for the President's Plan, including key Members of Congress, Governors, Experts, and Opinion Leaders.
- **Speeches** delivered by Secretary Sullivan and other top HHS officials will be mass mailed, or faxed as appropriate. Strategic scheduling will occur.
- **Video News Release:** Although there will be vast media coverage of the issue, we have had great success with health VNR's, reaching 50 million plus viewers, with our undiluted spin. A Hispanic version will also be produced. Audio News release also to be produced for distribution to radio stations nationwide.
- **Health Care Reform Media Kit** will be produced for mass distribution and future requests.
- **Hispanic Outreach:** A complimentary strategy will be implemented for the Hispanic media and constituency groups, as they make up a significant portion of the uninsured, particularly in states like California, Texas, and New Mexico.
- **Consumer Outreach:** The average consumer needs to be reached as effectively as the media and professional groups.
- **Strategic distribution** of talking points and q's and a's for Members of Congress, RNC activists and health care leaders will be faxed following SOU.
- **Mass Mailing:** Dear Colleague letters with accompanying fact sheet will be sent to thousands.

- o Ten HHS Regional Offices will mirror above outreach with their local constituency groups and policymakers.
- o Outside experts supportive of plan will be fully briefed and urged to actively articulate their support.

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- o Plan to Unveil Budget and Priority Highlights to follow.
- o Presidential Events TBD

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January 14 Town Meetings Counteroffensive

- o HHS produced Audio News Release sent to radio stations nationwide.
- o Presidential Remarks or "Curtain Raiser" Speech
- o Letter to the editor of all 200 local papers from Secretary Sullivan. Hill health care Leadership should be encouraged to do the same.
- o Talking Points provided to GOP Representatives in all 200 Districts.
- o NRCC paid for full page ads in local papers on "What you won't hear from the Democrats on Health Care Reform".
- o RNC mailing to political reporters on Democrats exploitation of health care reform.

(Note: NRCC and RNC have not yet been approached)

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HEALTH CARE REFORM TALKING POINTS -- Draft
Early January Period

I. We reject radical solutions

- The great majority of Americans receive excellent health care. It would be wildly irresponsible to put our accomplishments in health care at risk with radical proposals.
- When people talk about government taking over all health insurance ... who can seriously believe that that would be an improvement?
- Yes, we need health care reform: indeed, our system needs major surgery. But as in any surgery, we should be using the scalpel, not the guillotine.

II. We need to start by separating what works from what's broken. Then we need to sustain what works, and fix only what needs fixing.

- What's RIGHT about the unique system of American health care: pluralism and choice; innovation and research; strong capital and personnel infrastructure; and wide access to the very best care. These should not be jeopardized.
- What needs fixing: high costs; certain insurance practices; less-than-universal access to and use of primary services.

III. Principles and parameters of health care reform:

- Do not jeopardize the strengths of our existing system, including quality of care. Most Americans are satisfied with their health care.
- Likewise, do not jeopardize small employers and the jobs they provide.
- Spend health care dollars more effectively.
- Every American should have access to quality medical care, not simply in emergencies, but also for the kind of basic primary care that often prevents emergencies.
- AVOID the one-size-fits-all approach to reform, especially regarding access. The problems vary, ranging from inability to buy private insurance at a reasonable cost, to inflexibility in public programs, to outright unavailability of health care services and

personnel in some areas. No single answer will work. We should strengthen the mix that is already in place.

(For example, all these should be part of the answer:

- Reduced barriers for private insurance, so more are covered through employment or directly;
- More rational and imaginative use of government-provided or government-assisted health insurance;
- Widely available health clinics and services.)

- At the same time, however, AVOID piece-meal reform. A comprehensive and coherent plan is needed, working toward clear goal.
- Examine the subsidies, the equity, and the incentives provided by our current tax system. If our tax laws are part of the problem, they should be revisited.
- Make greater use of managed care. This helps check perverse incentives, but it leaves decision-making at the lowest level.
- Provide for continued experimentation: we won't get all the right answers all at once.

IV. We've already undertaken changes in many areas:

- Medical effectiveness research
- Medicare reforms: hospital prospective payment, physician payment reform, capital payment reform
- Receptiveness to Medicaid innovation
- Increased emphasis on prevention: budget increases in PHS, expanded coverage in Medicare, greater emphasis on EPSDT
- Service integration improvements and experiments
- Revitalization of NHSC

HHS FY'93 Budget Highlights:

-- Children:

Biggest one-time increase ever for Headstart
Continuing immunization increases and initiatives
Infant mortality initiatives

-- Disease Prevention:

Significant increases, not only in '93, but over the entire '89-'93 period. A major goal and theme of the Sullivan administration of HHS.

-- Expanded access to health care for underserved populations, including minorities

Five point plan for expansion of existing programs, including Community Health Centers and the Corps of physicians trained with federal scholarships and in return practicing in needy areas.

Special initiative on minority males

-- Biomedical

Taking advantage of new scope of opportunities presented by molecular medicine

Carrying out PHS-wide plan on women's health

-- Drug Abuse

Increases for preventing and, especially, for treating drug abuse

-- Management and program plans and changes to improve HHS service to its "customers"

Sam,

The following are my views which I would ask you to include in your discussions with the President.

1. The Secretary of Treasury's role is to coordinate and develop economic policy. This role has been set forth by the President in several presidential directives. Obviously, this should be closely coordinated with the White House. This has not been possible in the last three years.

2. Economic policy cuts across most domestic and many international issues. Domestic policy deals with a wide range of issues such as abortion, environment, transportation, civil rights, labor issues, crime, health, etc. There are clearly some overlaps with economic policy. However, there are also significant differences. Economic policy, which should reflect the basic philosophy of the Administration, embraces, among other things, tax policy, currency market intervention, economic assessment, aspects of trade, international and domestic stock and bond markets, the Federal Reserve, commercial banks and financial institutions, and operates in a different way. Just as State and Defense have heavy international responsibility, so does economic policy in which there are daily negotiations and consultations with other countries through the G-7, World Bank and IMF. Because of all of the above, economic policy should not be overseen by a White House domestic policy czar.

3. In a period of intense focus on economic policy, the EPC or a pared down version of the EPC should convene more frequently. The smaller group should also be chaired by the Secretary of the Treasury, and consist of the Chief of Staff or his designate, the Director of the OMB, the chairman of the CEA, the domestic policy czar and depending on the issue other cabinet members. With the support of the Chief of Staff, this system will work.

What you want to avoid is fragmenting economic policy. The loser will be the President and his policies.

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Jan 20, 1992

DRAFT (2/18/92)

MEMORANDUM TO: SECRETARY BRADY
GENERAL SCOWCROFT
COUNSELLOR YEUTTER

FROM: THE PRESIDENT



With Clayt now having come on board as Domestic Policy Advisor, I'd like to state how I visualize the working relationship between and among the three of you.

First, there will be times when the dichotomy between national security and domestic policy will be blurred, in which case it may be unclear as to whether a particular issue should come before the National Security Council or the new Policy Coordinating Group. In such instances, I will expect Brent and Clayt to work out the division, with the assistance of the Chief of Staff if necessary.

Once such delineations are made, national security issues will continue to be handled just as they are now.

All other issues, which heretofore have been divided between the EPC and DPC, will now come within the purview of the PCG. Clayt, as Domestic Policy Advisor, will be expected to administer the PCG in essentially the same manner as Brent handles the NSC. After consulting with the Executive Committee of the PCG, he will appoint whatever working groups or task forces are needed, and

name the appropriate Cabinet or sub-Cabinet official as chairmen of such bodies. All task forces and working groups will report their recommendations to the PCG, whose membership will vary depending on the issue. Clayt will determine the membership for each meeting, based on the agenda items for the meeting, after first consulting the PCG Executive Committee. He will staff the PCG as necessary to get the job done.

In view of the importance of all these issues in the coming months, I will look for strong, vigorous cooperation and leadership from each of you.

J Feb 1992

JAM,

This follows up on the recent discussions regarding domestic and economic policy.

As you know, the agreed upon memo stated: "The Secretary of the Treasury will continue to be the Administration's principal spokesperson on economic policy. He will continue to develop economic policy and will continue to chair economic policy Cabinet-level working groups established by the President through the PCG process."

To act on the above, the principal economic policy Cabinet-level working group would consist of the Secretary of the Treasury (Chairman), the Secretary of Commerce, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, the U.S. Trade Representative, the Counsellor to the President for Domestic Policy, and the Chief of Staff. Obviously, other Cabinet members and senior staff will be invited to meetings as appropriate.

In order to ensure proper coordination with Clayton, French Hill and the two people who work for him should continue to have a dual reporting relationship with the White House and Treasury. French will be the executive secretary of the economic working groups and principal day to day coordinator between the White House, Treasury, and other agencies.

I will ask Hollis McLoughlin to be my main point of contact between your office, Cabinet Affairs, the Domestic Counsellor and French Hill. I would ask that Hollis be designated as my representative on the PCG to attend those meetings which I cannot. This would go a long way in ensuring that we are all working to pull together domestic and economic policy.

The Treasury is continuing to work on about 15 economic issues with established Cabinet and Sub-Cabinet working groups. As soon as Clayton gets on board, we should sit down and bring him up to date on these issues.

I am also pulling together three new groups on corporate governance, review of credit crunch, and steel VRAs. As soon as Clayton arrives, I will get him up to speed on these topics as well.

It is important for the White House to have a written statement covering this and the rest of the domestic policy operation.

27th

I have told Clayton I would make his job as Domestic Counsellor work and I will. But the issue of economic policy is settled.

copy

1/20/92

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Cennie

lets revisit

Ray Ledinszawski

for Policy Jnl

at EPA instead

of Code.

S

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: January 21, 1992

TO: Connie Horner

FROM: SAM SKINNER

Please follow up.

December 16, 1991

Mr. George W. Bush
5950 Berkshire Suite 990
Dallas, Texas 75225

Dear George,

Before I get started on the intention of this note I wanted to let you know that I happened to see a few sketches of the new stadium a few months ago. I believe it was featured in the Post. Your group made a great choice. The facade reminded me of UT's Memorial from the north side.

George, I would like to be considered for a position under the Chief of Staff, for general duties relating to the operation of the Federal government, or liaison activities dealing with the '92 campaign. Please review my credentials and consider passing them along to Mr. Skinner's deputy in charge of staffing.

It has been fortunate to have been welcomed into several agencies during the last few years: the Treasury, Agriculture, and now at A.I.D. The time spent not only provided a good understanding of the functions at each agency, but of the Federal government process on the whole. In particular, the experiences have brought an appreciation for the various interagency relationships, the dialogue between the executive and legislative branches, and specific industries and interests.

I believe these understandings, along with a familiarity with campaign finance and operations, my commitment to this President, his ideas and the people he has asked to implement them throughout the Federal system, give me a legitimate chance of contributing to the challenges soon to be addressed by Secretary Skinner and his new staff.

If it is your decision to reject this idea then hold on to the resume. I have decided that the post here at A.I.D. will be the last. I miss my home. If someone walks into your office in need of a bright young guy with an interest in developing trade relationships with Mexico, Central, and South America, please share my name and telephone number.

I hope this letter finds you in great health, and that you and your family have a peaceful holiday.

In addition to the fax, I've gone ahead and put this in the mail. Waiting for a response or something like this would have distracted from my work all week long. Please get back to me with your thoughts.

Sincerely,

Michael A. Mendoza

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

Sam - good
follow if
your body for
staff
gum

Michael A. Mendoza
P.O. Box 7209
Washington, D.C. 20044
(703) 533-2874

**PROFESSIONAL
EXPERIENCE**

March 1991
Present

**Program Analyst, United States Agency for International
Development, Latin America and Caribbean Bureau, Policy
Coordination and Outreach Division, Washington, D.C.**

The Agency for International Development is the U.S. government's principal foreign assistance organization whose primary emphasis is to provide long-range, sustainable, economic and social development assistance to over 80 developing countries around the world. The \$1.4 billion assistance program for Latin America and the Caribbean includes efforts to strengthen democratic institutions, promote policy reform, meet basic human needs, and provide assistance during times of natural disaster. Responsibilities range within three areas: congressional relations; outreach activities; and donor coordination. In preparing the bureau's Assistant Administrator for Congressional hearings tasks include drafting and finalizing oral and written statements. Congressional follow up requires preparing position papers on various amendments and legislation, drafting policy statements and responding to Q&As in a manner that accurately presents the Bureau's position. Outreach activities include writing speeches, and talking points for the Assistant Administrator, and preparing other presentation materials for Agency and presidential initiatives. Donor coordination requires developing bureau comments on World Bank and Inter American Development Bank loan proposals. Bureau comments contribute to the formation of the U.S. government position on bank programming. Tasks involve reviewing country specific loan proposals, for municipal and industrial projects, with country desk officers, Agency economist and technical officers, to formulate a bureau position. Donor activity also includes coordinating the bureau's submission of issue and pledging statements to the World Bank's Consultative Group meetings. Other duties include maintaining contacts and liaison activity with the U.S. mission to the Organization of American States, and the U.S. Information Agency.

July 1989
March 1991

**Confidential Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for
Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.**

The Office of Economics directs activities of several USDA agencies: the Economic Analysis Staff; the Economic Research Service; the National Agricultural Statistic Service; the Office of Energy; and the World Agricultural Outlook Board. The Assistant Secretary provides economic analysis to the Secretary of Agriculture on USDA programs, proposals, and all domestic and international agricultural issues. Duties include: Assigning, editing and writing priority correspondence; monitoring congressional movements involving USDA programs and other areas of concern to the Administration; completing department and Administration initiatives; assimilating material for speeches, congressional testimony and policy discussions.

March 1989
July 1989

**Staff Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Enforcement,
U.S. Department of the Treasury, Washington, D.C.**

The Office of Enforcement directs activities of the U.S. Customs Service, the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms, and the U.S. Secret Service. Assigned to the Office of Financial Enforcement. Counseled financial institutions on the interpretation of the Federal laws governing large sum cash transactions and other domestic and international monetary movements. Drafted private rulings. Researched and recommended cases for civil litigation.

November 1988
March 1989

**Special Assistant, Treasury Division, American Bicentennial
Presidential Inaugural Committee, Washington, D.C.**

The committee coordinated activities and movements of the inauguration of President George Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle. Supervised thirteen controllers maintaining expenditures for over thirty events with combined budgets totaling \$15,000,000. Reviewed contracts and settled payments.

June 1988
November 1988

**Assistant Systems Manager, Bush-Quayle'88 (National Staff),
Treasury Division, Washington, D.C.**

This organization developed policy positions, directed movements, and coordinated the funding of the campaign to elect President Bush and Vice President Quayle. The Treasury Division was responsible for budgeting, accounts payable, accounts receivable, and compliance with the regulations executed by the Federal Election Commission. Implemented a DEC 3500 and DEC MVII supporting 35 workstations. Trouble-shot systems problems. With the general ledger team, prepared daily and weekly financial statements. Previously assigned as the state youth director during the 1988 Texas Primary.

May 1984
May 1988

**Marketing Staff, INFOMART - Trammell Crow Interest Company,
Dallas, Texas.**

INFOMART is a market center dedicated to information processing, office and manufacturing automation. INFOMART provides permanent product centers with access to potential buyers through a comprehensive marketing strategy that includes executive briefings, vertical industry programs, user meetings, tradeshow, and technology education centers. Completed marketing projects for the vice president of corporate systems and services. Developed and issued marketing surveys. Managed telemarketing sessions. Assisted with focus groups. Recommended systems purchases. Programmed internal database systems (DBASE). Previously assigned with the vice president of marketing. Drafted report and presentation formats. Provided primary and secondary research.

CIVIC INVOLVEMENT

Delegate, Representing the State of Texas at the 7th Annual Border Governors Conference. Saltillo, Mexico. 1989.

At-Large Alternate Delegate, Representing the State of Texas at the 1988 Republican National Convention. New Orleans, Louisiana. 1988.

Board Member, Dallas/Fort Worth International Airport Assistance Center. A United Way Organization. Dallas, Texas. 1986-1988.

EDUCATION

**Southern Methodist University, B.A. Economics 1988.
University of Texas at Dallas, June 1987 to August 1987.
University of Texas at Austin, August 1983 to January 1985.**



January 21, 1992

Sam:

Democrats in NH and press will say we are just discovering HEAD START.

Let's get the message out, as contained in my remarks, that Head Start has been going up. Will have double spending over 3 years etc.

GB

We have major coverage going on regarding this. Alexander, Sullivan, on Nat. T.V. - local TV later today other outlets out.

il will reinforce message regarding
Doubt of Sperry.

FROM THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: January 21, 1992

TO: Bobbie Kilberg

FROM: SAM SKINNER

Please follow up.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 20, 1992

Close-hold
CONFIDENTIAL
THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen
Bozell
follow up

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY SKINNER

FROM:

BOBBIE KILBERG *BK*

SUBJ:

NFIB AND NAWD BUSINESS COALITION BUILDING FOR THE
STATE OF THE UNION

10

In response to the meeting in your office on January 17 with Dirk Van Dongen of NAWD and John Motley of NFIB, Dirk and John had long conversations with me. Both shared a substantial concern about their ability to form a broad-based winning business coalition around our economic growth package. It should be kept in mind that they thought they had been invited in to learn the specifics of the growth package and to comment on its salability. Both noted that the specifics were not shared with them and that it is hard to hypothesize about coalition building when you are working with maybes.

Based on what they think will be in the economic growth package, Dirk and John believe they can build a coalition around the budget agreement (caps stay in place on spending). The conservative business groups will rally around deficit reduction, specifically the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Citizens for a Sound Economy, NFIB, NAWD, and, to a certain extent, the Business Roundtable. In their opinion, however, this, in itself, does not forge a broad-based winning coalition which needs to include many more trade associations, groups and individual companies. In order to excite a broader base, they feel strongly that the President needs to state that he will not raise rates or taxes. John believes that the President could get away with making an exception for a millionaires tax as long as the Administration is not its author. Dirk is less certain of this and, as you know, Secretary Brady believes that would damage the President's credibility on this issue again.

In regard to the provisions designed to help the real estate sector of the economy, John thinks that the homebuilders, commercial developers and realtors will respond positively but will also complain that we are not going far enough and will look to the Democrats for a counteroffer. My reading is the same. As for capital gains, it will be a mixed bag as it was in prior years, with NFIB supportive and NAWD concerned that a capital gains reduction will have to be accompanied by an increase in

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
PER E.O. 12958, SEC 3.3 (C)

rates. In regard to depreciation vs. investment tax credit, NFIB will support depreciation, since an increase in expensing and write-off in the first year is positive for the typical NFIB company. Investment tax credit would be their second choice.

On health care reform, NFIB is very concerned, as a political matter, that a limit on employer deductions for health care will catch small employers in a hard way since they pay more per employee for coveratge than do larger employers. John is concerned that his members will call it a tax increase.