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[Memos and Correspondence] 5/92 [3]

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Office of the Republican Leader
United States House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-6537
May 21, 1992

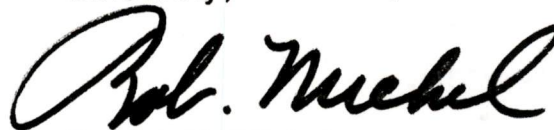
The Honorable Thomas S. Foley
Speaker
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Speaker:

I am appointing Vin Weber as the representative for Republican Members of the House of Representatives in the bipartisan effort to coordinate and enact legislation to aid our distressed inner cities. As a member of the House Republican Leadership, Vin will keep the Republican Leadership informed and will act as the chief spokesperson for House Republicans in this effort.

I would like to stress the importance of finding those areas where everyone can agree so that legislation can be enacted in a timely fashion. The American people do not want to see another situation of legislative gridlock that leads to total inaction. They want their belief that government can work for them restored.

Sincerely,



Robert H. Michel
Republican Leader

cc: The Honorable Richard A. Gephardt
Majority Leader, U.S. House of Representatives

The Honorable Bob Dole
Republican Leader, U.S. Senate

The Honorable George J. Mitchell
Majority Leader, U.S. Senate

The Honorable Samuel K. Skinner
Chief of Staff, The White House

Per SKS, cc sent to Calio : Dorman

SCC 5/26

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: May 21, 1992

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO: Sam Skinner

I thought you might be pleased to see the attached update sheet from Ohio's Governor Voinovich.

It's great when the Federal government responds in a constructive way.

Well done.



GEORGE V. VOINOVICH
GOVERNOR

STATE OF OHIO
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

COLUMBUS 43266-9601

May 21, 1992

The Bush Administration and Ohio

+ In the health care area, Ohio has benefitted from its negotiations with HCFA -- we were able to expand our **Medicaid program** by \$275 million. Also, the President recently signed legislation to permit the **Dayton Area Health Plan** to continue beyond April 30.

+ **Andy Card** and the **U.S. Department of Transportation** continues to be very helpful. For instance, the recent approval of a **Delta route** from Cleveland to London (the first direct overseas route in Ohio) will be an asset to Northeast Ohio. Also, approval of the **I-270 Interchange** is nearing completion; the Department has shown a real willingness to work with State officials to complete this project.

+ We are very pleased with the relationship we have established with both **Nancy Dorn** and the **U.S. Army Corps of Engineers**. Examples of this federal-state cooperation include the assistance we have received in securing a wetlands permit for the Buckeye Basin/Greenbelt Parkway in Toledo and a commitment from the Corps to reduce the amount of Toledo Harbor sediment dumped in Lake Erie.

+ We are working with **U.S. EPA** to improve our relations on a wide range of issues. Separately, **Sam Skinner** did a super job in helping save 2,800 jobs at Lorain's **KOBE** steel plant.

+ **Lamar Alexander** granted Ohio a special two-year waiver of a federal regulation that would have otherwise restricted the State's use of Social Security reimbursements to fund various programs that help disabled Ohioans remain in the workforce. This waiver saved the State \$3 million.

+ **Vice President Quayle** and the **Competitiveness Council** deserve a big pat on the back for standing up and fighting senseless government regulations that threaten jobs. In this regard, we were pleased with the Administration's decision to extend the regulatory moratorium.



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FEDERAL PRIORITIES -- STATE OF OHIO

DEFENSE

The Pentagon has requested proposals from interested communities for expanded **Defense Finance and Accounting Service (DFAS) Centers** in the next several weeks. This process affords Cleveland and Columbus the opportunity to expand their operations from 1,700 and 2,000 employees respectively to as many as 7,000 employees each. Although a final decision is not expected from the Pentagon on winning sites until 1993, some basic decisions will be made later this year about where to place the additional 18,000 jobs that DFAS will gain. Both the Cleveland and Columbus Centers are highly regarded and would make excellent sites for expansion.

Despite the fact that the Congress has authorized and appropriated \$5.67 million for the purchase of 16,000 acres for the **Muskingum Training Area**, the Pentagon has placed a moratorium on the acquisition of land blocking the release of this funding. Although other states have had their requests to waive this moratorium granted, the Pentagon has refused to waive the moratorium for Muskingum County. Because Ohio currently has no major training area, Ohio guardsmen must travel great distances at considerable expense -- \$1.1 million in 1991 --- to neighboring states for their training. Valuable training time is lost travelling, thereby reducing readiness and making Ohio units more vulnerable to future force cuts. The savings from keeping Guardsmen in-state for training would pay for this acquisition in less than 7 years. Regardless of the programmed force structure reductions for the Ohio Army National Guard, Ohio will continue to need a training area for the considerable National Guard force that will remain. Ohio has appealed the most recent Pentagon decision not to grant the waiver. This application has reached Deputy Secretary of Defense Atwood for final disposition with an unfavorable recommendation by his staff. As a result, we need the White House's help to ensure that this worthwhile project is approved. Procedurally, this is our last chance.

Due to programmed force reductions, the **Ohio Army National Guard's** medical and aviation capabilities, which are essential for performing state missions, will be eviscerated. While we recognize the need for force reductions as part of overall defense spending reductions, the complete loss of these assets would be devastating to Ohio. Consequently, Ohio seeks the Administration's assistance in retaining the 112th Medical Brigade, which has been identified for elimination despite the highest possible readiness rating, and for filling the second helicopter battalion of the 28th Armored Division in Ohio. Ohio already has helicopters, trained aviators, and airfield facilities paid for and available for deployment of this battalion.

EDUCATION

Ohio proposes to work in partnership with the Bush Administration and Secretary Alexander to **reduce federal over-regulation of the education system**. True systemic change in education cannot occur without substantial deregulation of the education system, which is more highly regulated than most U.S. enterprises. The majority of the Ohio Department of

Education's resources -- 75% -- currently are devoted to compliance activities. Under the direction of Governor Voinovich and Superintendent of Public Education Ted Sanders, the State is working to identify programs that have unnecessary and burdensome paperwork and reporting mandates and eliminate them. Unfortunately, many of these mandates are federal. Local schools in Ohio send well over 300 different forms totalling over 1000 pages to the State each year. Over 50% of this paperwork is required to receive federal funds that constitute only 5% to 6% of a local district's budget. Ohio needs the Administration's assistance in reducing burdensome reporting requirements. We view this proposal as beneficial for states and the Administration, since it is entirely consistent with the President's comprehensive deregulation initiative.

HUMAN SERVICES

States, like Ohio, that want to make comprehensive health care reforms cannot do so without **federal waivers from current Medicaid regulations**. Existing waiver authority is fragmented and narrow in scope (i.e. it simply is not an appropriate vehicle for statewide reform). For example, waivers have different -- sometimes conflicting -- criteria, time frames and administrative requirements, and the application/approval process takes too long. As a result, the Administration must provide states more flexibility through current and expanded waiver authority. In particular, **Ohio currently is seeking quick federal approval of a vent-tech waiver** that would substantially increase Ohio's ability to efficiently and adequately meet the pressing needs of vulnerable children in need of medical services. We are seeking to expand our vent-tech program for people with a tracheostomy or who are ventilator dependent. We are not asking for more federal money, but simply approval to boost the available slots by adjusting services and cost caps. Approval will allow us to expand services to medically fragile children at a cost below institutional care. We would like the White House's help in expediting the approval process.

Ohio and the National Governors' Association have been working with the American Public Welfare Association and state child support directors to develop a proposal to overhaul the **federal child support enforcement audit process**. As a majority of states can attest, the current audit process is cumbersome, inefficient and does not address the true performance of state child support programs. The group proposes the following changes in the audit process:

Audit Criteria - States are currently audited on the basis of bureaucratic administrative procedures and processes. Federal audits should instead focus on outcome-oriented performance measures such as paternity establishment and collections. The current system, under which more than 40 states have failed an audit, is obviously misguided. The Bush administration should ensure that children are receiving the support they deserve by using more reasonable and less bureaucratic audit criteria.

Audit Penalties - The very essence of an audit should be improvement not penalty. Yet states currently are penalized when their programs are found to be out of compliance with federal audit criteria. This loss of federal funds does little to improve state programs and ultimately hurts the children we are trying to help. Our proposal provides some financial relief to states by extending the current corrective action plan and suspending penalties for a certain period of time.

We are finalizing the specifics of the proposal and will forward it to Congress and the Administration later this month. Congressional staff from the House Ways and Means, and Senate Finance Committees have agreed to try to move the proposal through the legislative process this year. The Administration's support is essential to its passage.

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DCF HAS SEEN

6/1/92
TO CONNIE H.
See me
8

May 22, 1992

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

Dear Mr. Skinner:

Thank you for your letter of February 18, 1992 in which you informed me of employment opportunities within the Executive Office of the President. I have recently completed commencement exercises at Saint Mary's College and wish to pursue those options available to me in the Bush Administration.

I am interested in a position of advance work or another similar type of job in which I may put to use my skills a well organized and hardworking individual.

I will be available to begin working around the first of August. I would, however, like to visit Washington before June 15 or after July 7 to discuss job openings with you or someone you recommend I contact.

Thank you for your time and advice and I would greatly appreciate any further input you may have. I have enclosed my resume again in the event you need to contact me at my home in Champaign. I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Best Personal Regards,

Rachel I. Lamb

RACHEL I. LAMB

Current Address

973 LeMans Hall
Saint Mary's College
Notre Dame, IN 46556
(219) 284-5215

Permanent Address

1408 Waverly Drive
Champaign, IL 61821
(217) 352-5583

EDUCATION

Saint Mary's College
Bachelor of Arts Degree
Major in Political Science

Notre Dame, IN
May 1992

The American University
Washington Semester Program in National Government

Washington, DC
Spring Semester 1991

WORK EXPERIENCE

SAINT JOSEPH COUNTY PROSECUTING ATTORNEY'S OFFICE

South Bend, IN September 1990—December 1990, September 1991—May 1992

- Invited back as a permanent staff member after internship performance.
- Counseled and contacted 20—30 domestic violence victims per week.
- Prepared Deputy Prosecuting Attorneys for trials.
- Developed plea agreements for domestic violence defendants.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Washington, DC

Summer 1991

- Prepared research and briefing for Secretary Samuel K. Skinner.
- Assisted in the supervision of the Department's Drug Testing Program.
- Coordinated educational conferences for 2,000 industry participants.
- Edited regulations affecting over 5 million transportation workers.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION, FEDERAL HIGHWAY ADMINISTRATION

Washington, DC

January 1991—May 1991

- Drafted Federal Register notices affecting over 3 million interstate carriers.
- Interpreted drug testing regulations for 30—40 industry members per week.

CHAMPAIGN ASPHALT COMPANY

Champaign, IL

Summers 1988, 1989, 1990

- Elevated to the position of Engineer's Assistant.
- Developed and implemented company policy on drug testing.
- Estimated job costs for Illinois State construction bids.

ACTIVITIES

Political Science Club President
Dean's List
Theatre Performances
Professor's Assistant

she's taken a job in the prosecutor's
office in South Bend, Ind.
will volunteer on B/Q '92

REFERENCES

Available upon request.

Bill

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5/22/92

To: Ede Holiday

From: Susan Slye

Sam Skinner asked that you find out
from HHS what the status is.

Thank you.



DCF HAS SEC

May 21, 1992

Sam,

What's the next step with Mary. What are we doing?
Check with Teeter. She wanted us to be aware of
Clinton's remarks this week; and really wants to help.

GB

A handwritten signature, possibly "GB", is written next to the typed name "GB".

FROM THE PRESIDENT

MARY DAVIS FISHER

I'm enclosing ² final versions of the Family Aros Network proposal - let me know what you think.

When I met with Sam Skinner I offered this to him... to the President as an avenue - a back door in a way. You see, it's my hope and vision that those who become involved not only are directly affected but are also those

MARY FISHER

MARY FISHER PRODUCTIONS, INC.

FAX # 407-241-6076

FOR PEOPLE TALK CALL ME AT 407-994-6534

PAGE COUNT IS 7 INCLUDING THIS SHEET

To: Patti Presock

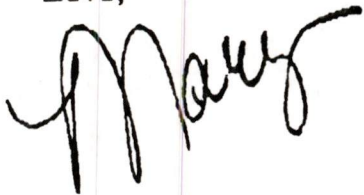
From: Mary Fisher

"Clinton's"

This is the actual speech/ I've marked sections.

He seems to take it all in - in one swoop. Will you forward to Ede? Should I send this to Teeter's office?

Love,



done 5/20

Bill Clinton

FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

"Let Us Rise to the Challenge"

Governor Bill Clinton

Palace Theater

Los Angeles, California

May 18, 1992

Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you very much my longtime friend David Mixner -- he's been making speeches in his mind for thirty years, he's about to get good at it -- for that wonderful statement. Thank you Roberta Achtenberg for your statement and for your friendship. Thank you Scott and Diane and Roberta and Bob, all the rest of you who were co-chairs and active in this event.

And I want to say a special word of thanks to ANGLE for their work on my behalf over the last several months. I want to thank John Garamendi, my state chair, for being here and all the others who are here in support of this event.

You know, I have said many times that a campaign for president has two purposes. One is for the country to get to know the candidate, and the other is for the candidate to get to know the country. If the candidate does not grow and deepen in understanding and compassion and feeling, then the race itself is already half lost.

There are people in this room today to whom I owe a great debt of gratitude, for you have helped me to get to know my country better than I did when I began.

We just finished the worst urban riots in our history in Los Angeles. And as the people here begin to pick up the pieces, I think it might be well for us to note where we are at this moment in our history as a nation. Not just here in Los Angeles, and not just in the cities of our great land, but all of us, all across America.

We should be dancing in the streets with joy today because the Cold War is over. If three years ago anyone had told any of you that within three years the Berlin Wall would fall, all of the governments in Eastern Europe would fade away, the Soviet Union itself would collapse and cut its defense budget by 50% in a year, and the threat of nuclear annihilation would begin to fall into the distance of history, no one would have believed it.

If anybody had told you that would happen and we would still be deeply divided and anxiety-ridden at election time, it would be difficult to believe. But we are. And we are because as we celebrate the triumph of our values around the world, we see them lying in tatters here at home.

A country defeated in so many ways economically...a country in the grip of political paralysis...a country under immense social strain practicing denial instead of responsibility, division instead of unity.

Today I have made three stops in which I have been able to now talk about three things that I care about a great deal. This morning I met with 4,000 workers at a shipyard in San Diego -- the only place in America where people, Americans, are still making ships. An employee-owned company with seven unions and management working together, against all of the odds, to make the leap from a defense to a domestic economy. And I talked to them about my vision to bring real job growth back to a peacetime America.

And then I went to the University of Oregon in Eugene where there were thousands -- I don't know how many, but at least 4,000 students. And I talked to them about the future that they have -- so much more ahead of them than I do -- and what I hoped it would be, and what role education should play in that.

Tonight, I want to talk to you about how we can be one people again -- without regard to race or gender or sexual orientation or age or region or income, how we can be one again.

This country has so often been divided, especially at election time. The pollsters and the political consultants tell people all the time how to cut the electorate up in just "this little slice and that little slice" so that we cannot be one again. And yet, it is against all our natures, against our basic values, against the statements of all our basic laws, and still we do it, over and over again.

This election is almost about the paradigm of Willie Horton on the one hand, and what Roberta Achtenberg and I went through on Mother's Day at the Glide Memorial Church in San Francisco on the other. All kinds of Americans, hundreds of them homeless, holding hands, worshipping, reaching out for their better selves.

And we're going to have to decide in this election, all of us, what kind of people we are and where we want to go. The American people are plainly going to be divided if this administration has its way, by gender over the choice issue.

Some of us are old enough to remember what it was like before there was a Roe v. Wade. I am. I am. I remember when I was a boy seeing someone who was running an abortion mill put into a police car and taken off to the jail and asking who that person was and why he was being arrested. And I tell you, it may be good politics at election time, but it would be a terrible mistake for this country to change the fundamental law of the land and repeal the right to privacy and the right to choose.

If we want to be...if we want to be pro-child and pro-family, let us embrace the cause of life. Let us aggressively seek to reduce unwanted pregnancies and thereby reduce the number of abortions. Let us give people the health care they need and birth and the

pre-school their children need. And let's provide for child-care and family leave and meaningful child support enforcement and supports that people need to raise their children. But don't criminalise a decision that belongs in the private recesses of a person's soul.

Let us not be divided again by race. I was so sad when Michael Woo and I were walking amid the ruins and when Maxine Waters took me through her district to see the tensions still there between African American and Hispanic and white and Korean communities and people looking at each other with great suspicions thinking that some of this that has happened was due to the color of their skins.

I grew up in the segregated South. But I lived long enough to see my daughter in a public school where she is in the racial minority, but where she learns every day intellectually, where she thrives and where she learns how to be a person in a multi-racial society and where she has the emotional space and freedom to do what Martin Luther King said he wanted for his children: to judge people, not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.

And the great passion of my life has been education and telling people we don't have a person to waste. The great heartbreak is seeing people wasted. Three years ago before it was fashionable, I was in south-central Los Angeles meeting with community groups, before I was a candidate for president. And I met with a dozen sixth graders in a public school -- all of them minorities, Hispanic and black -- who told me their greatest fear was being shot going to and from school. I had never heard such a thing before.

I later went to Houston and found eleven elementary schools where the children were walking through metal detectors every day so the guns and knives could be taken from the eight and nine-year-olds. And I wonder about those children now they're ninth graders. And when this riot occurred, my wife and I asked ourselves how many are in gangs now, who stayed home because their parents asked them to and who looted and whether they are all alive. We don't have a person to waste.

And those of you who are here tonight, you represent a community of our nation's gifted people whom we have been willing to squander. We can't afford to waste the capacities, the contributions, the hearts, the souls, the minds of the gay and lesbian Americans either.

For every day that we discriminate, that we hate, that we refuse to avail ourselves of the potential of any group of Americans, we are all less than we ought to be. You heard Roberta give my speech for me tonight better than I could have.

As soon as the Pentagon issued a study -- ironically by a spokesperson who himself was said to be gay -- which said that there was no basis in national security for discriminating based on the sexual orientation of Americans who wish to serve in the military, I said I would act on the study. It seemed to me elemental that if a person, a man or a woman, wanted to serve their country, they ought to be able to do it. The presumption should be in favor of doing it unless there is some reason not to.

The Pentagon had a study which said there was no reason not to. The Secretary of Defense, himself, obviously personally very uncomfortable at not changing the rules, said it was a "quaint little rule." Well, my fellow Americans, we have too much to do to endure "quaint little rules."

I want people like David Mixner and Roberta Achtenberg, Dr. Scott, some of you in this audience, to be a part of a Clinton Administration, not because of or in spite of your sexual orientation, but because America needs you. And if I become the President of the United States, I owe it to my country to find the best and most gifted and most knowledgeable people in the United States of America to solve the problems and embrace the challenges of this time.

* We cannot afford to do otherwise. I want to crack down on those who do not want to do otherwise, who now practice hate crimes that the Justice Department should move against. And perhaps more importantly than anything right now, I'd like, for a change, for there to be a real war on AIDS.

When children are shot going to and from school, are shot in their own schools as those two children were in Thomas Jefferson High School in Brooklyn not very long ago, a place where I spoke a month before the shooting, we can say, they are all our children, and we cry. But well over 100,000 Americans have died of AIDS, and they are all our children too.

Over a million people, over a million Americans are now HIV positive. And yet, the administration is still curiously silent until the famous fall. Until, like Magic Johnson, they come forward, or like Arthur Ashe, someone takes advantage of their privacy. Then someone says something appropriately touching.

But this administration ignores its own commission reports, underfunds research and treatment, leaves red tape binding science and drug trials and research, and says behavior modification is the issue. But then, unlike Dr. Koop, refuses to embrace the cause of sex education in our schools which would give our children the chance to save their lives.

When it comes to AIDS, there should be a Manhattan Project. One person should be in charge. One person who can cut across all the departments and agencies, who has the President's ear and the President's arm. One person who can make sure that we begin by implementing all those recommendations and those two commission reports now gathering dust in Washington, D.C.

One person who will launch a real national education campaign with someone just as forthright as Dr. Koop was, telling the American people -- starting with our children -- the hard truth and giving them a fair chance to save their lives and other people's lives as well. Someone who will see that women and people of color are included in the research and in the drug trials.

And, I might add, for women especially, that is a problem for general application, not just as it relates to AIDS, but as it relates to breast cancer and any other health problem. We have got to improve our approach to women's health. Someone who will fund the Ryan White Act fully, someone who will approach this problem with compassion and teach the American people what he has learned. That is what I will try to do.

There are two things that I would like to mention again to make sure you know I am serious. The first is that I want to make a major speech on AIDS to a non-traditional group of Americans, who may not cheer at every word but who need to hear the message.

* The second is, that I have pledged to see that someone who is HIV positive, but also has a positive attitude, come before the American people at the Democratic National Convention to speak about this issue.

And now, before I leave, I want to say something which is not part of a political program. I just want to thank the gay and lesbian community for your courage and your commitment and your service in the face of the terror of AIDS. When no one was offering a helping hand, and when it was dark and lonely, you did not withdraw, but instead you reached out to others.

And this whole nation has benefited already in ways most people cannot even imagine from the courage and commitment and the sense of community which you practice.

It was your community who created the first AIDS service organisation, who did the first important work in pioneering AIDS drugs, who sounded the alarm and created the first education program, who stood strong in the face of all the governmental opposition and discrimination and killing silence.

This nation owes you thanks for that, and I want to give you my thanks and my respect for that struggle today.

Finally, let me say again, this is not an election, or it should not be, about race or gender or being gay or straight or religion or age or region or income. What kills the country is not the problems it faces. There will be problems even until the end of time. What kills the country is to proceed day in and day out with no vision, with no sense that tomorrow can be better than today, with no sense of shared community.

MAY 19 '92 16:15 CLINTON FOR PRES. 501-372-5405

What I came here today to tell you in simple terms is I have a vision and you are a part of it. I believe tomorrow will be better than today if we act. And we are all a part of the same community, and we'd better start behaving as if we are.

If I could, if I could wave my arm for those of you that are HIV positive and make it go away tomorrow, I would do it, so help me God I would. If I gave up my race for the White House and everything else, I would do that.

Let us never forget, there are things we can and cannot do. But the beginning of wisdom is pulling together and learning from one another and being determined to do better. And this country is being killed by people who try to break us down and tear us up and make us be little when we have to be big.

This is a big time. Let us rise to the challenge.

Thank you and God bless you all.



Bill Clinton on AIDS

Fighting the AIDS epidemic will be a top priority of my administration. We cannot afford to have yet another President who is silent about AIDS or who puts the issue on the back burner. If we fail to commit our hearts and resources now to fighting AIDS, we will pay a far greater price in the future, both in deaths and in dollars. I will actively use the Presidency to focus national attention on AIDS, to encourage compassion and understanding, to promote education, and to speak out against intolerance. A Clinton administration will:

- Increase funding for desperately needed new initiatives in research, prevention and treatment.
- Appoint an AIDS czar and a high-level AIDS task force in the White House to coordinate a federal "Manhattan Project" to expand and improve our efforts to fight AIDS and HIV. This task force will rapidly review and implement the recommendations of the National Commission on AIDS.
- Work closely with individuals and communities that are affected by HIV to create a partnership between the federal government and those with knowledge and experience in fighting HIV.
- Promote legislation based upon sound scientific and public health principles -- not on panic, politics or prejudice.
- Fully fund the Ryan White CARE Act, enabling America's hardest-hit cities to provide desperately needed care and services to a rapidly growing patient population.

Prevention and Education

AIDS can easily be prevented. Yet, unless we take forceful action, hundreds of thousands of Americans will needlessly become infected with HIV. For this reason, I am committed to a comprehensive and coordinated AIDS prevention initiative.

The key to the fight against AIDS is education. My administration will launch a strong and effective national AIDS education campaign. I will reevaluate the AIDS prevention budget of the U.S. Centers for Disease Control to ensure that spending on education is a top priority, and to ensure that increased funding for prevention and services goes directly to community-based organizations that are on the frontline of the battle against HIV. I will also work to promote appropriate AIDS education in American schools.

MAY 15 1992 16:23 HARRY FISHER FUD CHITTED

Too many drug users are unable to quit because they cannot get treatment. The spread of AIDS through the use of injected drugs makes it imperative that we provide treatment on demand.

My administration will increase funding for behavioral and social science research so that we can better understand the behaviors that put people at risk for HIV.

I will also support local efforts to make condoms available in our schools.

Treatment and Care

We must focus on more than prevention and research; we must commit ourselves fully to helping the millions or more Americans who are living with HIV. Under my Presidency, all Americans, including those with HIV, will have access to quality health care through coverage they obtain either from their job or through government-mandated programs. No American will be denied health coverage because he or she loses a job or has a "pre-existing condition."

My program of universal health coverage requires all health plans to guarantee access to care to all Americans with HIV at all stages of disease, including:

- Inpatient and outpatient comprehensive services, including frequent diagnostic monitoring, early intervention therapies, and psychological care.
- Prescription drugs and improved access to experimental therapies. Because treatments are not accessible unless they are affordable, I support legislation that denies tax breaks to drug companies that raise the cost of drugs faster than the ability of American people to pay for them.
- Adequate options for long-term, home and community-based care that minimize unnecessary and wasteful hospitalizations.
- Voluntary confidential testing and counseling for AIDS and HIV for every American who wants it.

In a Clinton administration, the C.D.C. will periodically review its definition of AIDS to ensure that symptoms and infections that occur among women, people of color, and drug users are included in the federal definition. Those diagnosed with AIDS under the expanded definitions will promptly be made eligible for all federal benefit programs for people with AIDS.

In a Clinton administration, the Department of Health and Human Services will develop programs to ensure that America's health care professionals are kept fully and regularly informed about diagnosing and treating HIV. The N.I.H. will develop a formalized mechanism to ensure that state-of-the-art clinical information about HIV-related treatment and diagnosis is broadly and rapidly disseminated to health professionals and people with HIV disease.

Research and Drug Development

According to the National Commission on AIDS, AIDS will outstrip all other diseases in terms of years of life and productivity lost by next year. In the years that follow, the number of AIDS deaths will continue to multiply unless we make rapid scientific progress to develop a vaccine against AIDS and to find therapies that will destroy HIV, repair the immune system and prevent and treat AIDS-related infections. AIDS-related biomedical research will not only help people with HIV, but will also directly benefit people with a broad range of other medical conditions. As President, I will:

- Increase funding both for AIDS-specific and general biomedical research.

I will not tolerate a business-as-usual attitude towards AIDS research. We must expand clinical trials for treatments and vaccines, support new community-based trials, and raise the level of participation of under-represented populations. The N.I.H. infrastructure must also be reorganized to streamline its AIDS research efforts, and to increase planning, efficiency, and communication. I will work to promote a more rapid review by the N.I.H. of research grant applications and a speedier distribution of funding for approved studies.

- Facilitate greater access to drugs and work to speed up the drug approval process. I will make sure that the F.D.A. has the resources to assist in the efficient design of AIDS-related drug trials and to review their results rapidly. The F.D.A. will also make possible greater access to promising experimental therapies without compromising patient safety.

Discrimination

AIDS-related discrimination is cruel and immoral. Such discrimination increases the spread of AIDS by driving people away from prevention efforts, counseling and voluntary testing, and treatment. I pledge to fight all irrational AIDS-related discrimination as well as discrimination on the basis of race, gender, and sexual orientation that is directed towards those groups most closely associated with AIDS. A Clinton administration will:

- Fully implement the Americans with Disabilities Act and resist any efforts to weaken its provisions. The Department of Justice and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights must make it a high priority to monitor the occurrence of AIDS-related discrimination and the enforcement of the ADA with respect to HIV-related complaints.
- Forbid health insurance companies to deny coverage to people because they are HIV-positive. No health plan will be allowed to adopt discriminatory caps or exclusions that provide lower coverage for AIDS than for other life-threatening illness.
- Oppose mandatory testing in federal organizations such as the Peace Corps, Job Corps, and the Foreign Service.
- Lift the current ban on travel and immigration to the U.S. by foreign nationals with HIV.

May 23, 1992

To: Sam Skinner

From: Robin MacLean

cc: Rose Zamaria

The President plans to discuss this with you on Monday morning. He wanted you to have an advance copy to make sure you saw before then.

May 21, 1992

TO: President
Skinner
Teeter
Malek

FROM: George W.

SAM -

"W" has a good
point here. If he
doesn't know where out
front on this, who will?

Momentum is building for a Balanced Budget Amendment (BBA). Most insiders agree that there is a likely date of the Congress resolving the issue and that date is soon.

The American people want governmental reform. Why else would prickly personage Perot be at 30% in the polls?

Likewise, Bush supporters want the President to get a victory. They call it "leadership". I call it getting in the news with a conservative idea that gets enacted.

BBA is an opportunity.

I fear that waiting until the Congress picks up the issue is too late. I hope that the President can get ahead of the immediate P.R. game (I fully recognize GB has been for the issue for years).

Action Plan:

- Highlight the BBA in some upcoming speeches
- Hold a nocturnal press conference and have the BBA be the opening remarks
- Maybe talk to Rush Limbaugh about BBA
- Satellite feeds

Let us not let Congress take credit for our idea.

P.S. Quayle was right

I don't want my daughters
to think it is cool to
have a child out of wedlock

GB,
5-23

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SITUATION ROOM

1992 MAY 23 AM 10:14

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6350

May 22, 1992

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

Dear Sam:

I write in reference to a very unpleasant meeting I had with Mr. Nicholas Calio of your staff on May 13, 1992. I don't think I've felt so insulted by someone from my own government since 1980 when undercover FBI agents posing as Arab sheiks offered me \$50,000 in cash in return for official Senate action. Unlike then, it was instantly obvious to me that the person to whom I was speaking earlier this month should have known better. In this post-Keating era it is amazing to me that this kind of thing can still happen.

Mr. Calio called for an appointment for the purpose of discussing the President's urban aid package. I was on the phone when he arrived so the meeting was started in a room near my office. Subsequently, two of my staff members were present when I met with him.

The facts are not in dispute. Mr. Calio had previously told Senator Dole that he was about to do this. Senator Dole subsequently told me he had warned him not to do it. Urban aid was never discussed. Mr. Calio said that unless I promised to take official Senate action by supporting the nomination of Ms. Deborah Anderson for Maritime Commissioner, the White House would take very specific actions detrimental to me and to my state. The denial of specific appointments and other items important to my state were threatened in clear and unequivocal terms. This was heard and recorded by my staff after the meeting. There was no room for misinterpretation. It was a direct quid pro quo. All three of us heard the threat and all interpreted it as such.

Because we currently have a judicial vacancy to be filled in South Dakota, and other matters pending, I take these kinds of threats very seriously. But I will not stand for them. I very clearly told Mr. Calio that I would not place myself in the

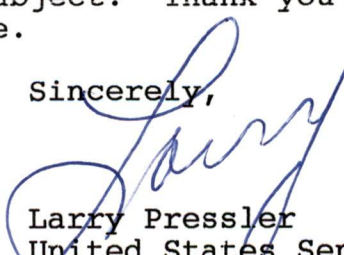
position of trading my vote for anything or anyone. If involvement in judicial appointments and other normal prerogatives accorded Senators are to be withheld from me, either now or in the future, I would appreciate knowing who sanctioned such action.

Particularly in light of these blatantly offensive threat tactics, it is impossible for me to support Ms. Anderson without leaving the impression that it was in reaction to pressure from the White House. I will not permit that to happen. Long established Senate precedent and my own personal principles make it impossible at this point.

I do not know whether Mr. Calio was acting on his own initiative or had direction from elsewhere. I do not believe this incident has reached your level. In all our dealings over the years I have found you to be honorable and straightforward. That is my reason for reporting this incident to you. Upon hearing the specifics, my Senate colleagues advised that it should be reported to the Attorney General. I am satisfied my duty is done by reporting it to you.

Sam, even as I sit here dictating it, I regret the tone of this letter. I am saddened by this whole affair -- which unfortunately you inherited from your predecessor. I have been and remain a strong supporter of the President and his policies, as my consistent voting record over the years will bear out. I do not want this misguided incident to interfere with our working relationship or the one you and I have established in your tenure as Chief of Staff. I respect and admire you, and want to work closely with you in the years ahead. I'll fall on the sword for you and my President whenever in good conscience I can do so. But this kind of treatment I cannot tolerate. I would appreciate your thoughts on this subject. Thank you in advance for your consideration and advice.

Sincerely,



Larry Pressler
United States Senator

LP:dms

cc: Senator Dole
Senator Thurmond
Senator Stevens
Senator Rudman

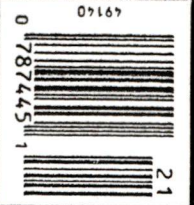
BERNARD KNOX: DEAD WHITE EUROPEAN MALES

MAY 25, 1992 • \$2.95

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Denial will soon set in. But what we have just witnessed in Los Angeles is a glimpse of a racial and urban crisis in this country that is steadily growing in intensity. Neither Republican neglect nor traditional Democratic liberalism comes close to solving it. It's time to start over.

(— THE EDITORS, CONTINUED ON PAGE 7.)



MAY 25, 1992

RACE AGAINST TIME

(continued from the cover)

We should start with a rejection of the crasser simplifications that have been aired over the past few weeks. The Rodney King verdict and the riots in South-Central Los Angeles do not necessarily reflect an utterly polarized country, or a society defined solely by differences of race. In many areas—most particularly in the workplace—American life is far more racially integrated than it was two generations ago. Our public culture is saturated with various racial and ethnic influences in which minority tastes are, if anything, dominant. Our major cities, once divided clearly into black and white, are increasingly a jumble of new ethnic groups in which the black-white divide is a fragment of a more complex immigrant drama. Black Americans constitute a smaller and smaller part of the racial mix in our major cities; and South-Central Los Angeles, as Harold Meyerson points out in this issue (see “Fractured City,” page 23), is a case in point: African Americans now make up some 55 percent of the population, compared with 65 percent a decade ago; whites have increased their presence slightly; those identified in the Census as Hispanic have jumped threefold. This social transformation has created ineluctable tensions, misunderstandings, and breakdowns; but these breakdowns have been a function of greater, not lesser, access of one kind of American to another. We are witnessing as much the wages of social nearness as the wages of social distance. And alienation from those nearby is especially combustible.

Moreover, these complexities operate within races as

well as among them. The emergence of a large and powerful black middle class, in some ways more horrified than its white counterpart by the pathologies of the inner city, has transformed the sociology of race. Thirty years ago James Brown performed on television to help defuse a race riot; in 1992 Hammer spent the weekend after the L.A. conflagration at the Kentucky Derby. For many blacks, the riots took place in another world. Similarly, what job you have and where you live are far more accurate predictors of racial attitudes among whites than they were thirty years ago. We do scant justice to the efforts and the experiences of millions of white Americans who have come a long way since the 1960s if we equate them all with the jury of Simi Valley.

The lessons of the Rodney King verdict, furthermore, are not reducible to the race of the jurors: fair and decent verdicts are to be expected even from “racially unbalanced” juries. The verdict was owed, rather, to a cultural and economic divide between the most secluded of suburbs and the inner city (see “Following Orders,” page 17). Moving the trial out of its original neighborhood turned the central meaning of the American jury on its head. The original point of the constitutional guarantees of trial by jury in this country was not to protect a defendant’s right to be judged by his peers (as in England), but to protect the right of local communities to be represented on popular bodies that could check overreaching by governmental officials. The Sixth Amendment requires a jury “of the district wherein the crime shall



have been committed," because many Anti-Federalists wanted an explicit guarantee that juries would be organized around local rather than statewide communities, which they thought would be more alert to abuses by central authorities. The result in the King case confirms this original republican insight: if the community's voice is not represented in the jury box, it will be heard in the streets. We hope the federal civil rights case against the police officers in the Rodney King beating is pursued vigorously, and in the district where the incident occurred, an area with a large black and Latino population.

Many, of course, will seize on the King verdict as a sign that American society must become more race-conscious, not less: that we should have more racially contrived juries and judges, more racially determined electoral boundaries, more "multicultural" political and cultural and educational arrangements. Republicans have a history of cooperating on this front, happy to exploit whiter and whiter ghettos as their permanent political power base, and cynically accepting the permanence of racial prejudice and suspicion. Right now the Supreme Court is deciding a case that will determine whether criminal defendants can strike prospective jurors simply because of their race. In a related case, Justices Rehnquist and Scalia recently argued in a dissent that a defendant has a right to be judged by a jury of his own race but has no right to object to the exclusion of jurors of another race. (In other words, the government can't exclude black jurors from the trial of a black defendant, but it can automatically exclude white jurors.) Scalia and Rehnquist would recognize the "undeniable reality" that all racial groups tend to be sympathetic to members of their own race, and hostile to members of others. The separatist assumption of their logic—that justice is inseparable from race—is, of course, shared by many on the political left. Caught in the pincers of this strange political alliance, the cause of colorblind justice will have a hard time surviving.

We do not mean to argue, of course, that the American criminal justice system is not prone to racial bias, or that in general American society does not display lingering and intense signs of racism. We simply believe that the positive developments of the last thirty years suggest that, with time, these elements are superable; that the complex racial dynamics of our society are not easily summed up by blanket assertions of racism; that immigration is continuing to transform the racial—and social—balance of this country, often for the better; that the answer to the problem of racism, in any case, is not to compound it with more racist assumptions.

Moreover, the notion that a civil rights agenda is always the solution to a race-based problem is profoundly faulty. It wasn't even true in the 1960s, when race riots followed civil rights legislation rather than preceded it. Today the disjunction is even more acute. At the root of much of the disturbance in Los Angeles

is not an inherently corrupt criminal justice system, but a phenomenon that underpins much of the discussion of race in this country: the black underclass. We say black underclass, because for all the elaborate statistical arguments that can be made, it is still a predominantly black phenomenon. In 1980 blacks constituted some 58 percent of those living in neighborhoods with extreme social problems, and over 60 percent of those on welfare for a long time. The levels of family breakdown are, moreover, far higher among blacks than whites. Even Andrew Hacker (see "The Myths of Racial Division," *TNR*, March 23) concedes that 56.2 percent of black families are headed by single women, compared with 17.3 percent of white families.

The black underclass perpetuates racial division in this country in several ways. It has helped weaken the American city, speeding up white flight to the suburbs and decreasing the level of black-white geographic contact. Where black-white mixing does occur, the powerful image of the black underclass—underscored by the events of the last week—has served to stigmatize the vast majority of middle-class blacks, and to powerfully perpetuate the racism of whites.

Any analysis of race in this country has to grapple directly with this problem. It did not emerge yesterday; nor is it, as some Democrats would have it, a simple creation of the Reagan-Bush era, although, heaven knows, neither Reagan nor Bush showed much interest in alleviating it. We do not believe that even the proposals we make here will fundamentally change life in South-Central Los Angeles within the next generation. But we are equally convinced that they cannot be postponed any longer.

We should begin by recognizing that even the underclass is not monolithic. Within its ranks there are both the truly disadvantaged and the truly deviant. We have seen plenty of both groups in the last week. The former are quite often—and most typically—the victims of the latter, and no attempt to break underclass culture can ignore the presence of this black-on-black violence. When black civil rights leaders said the lesson of the Rodney King case was that no black man was safe on the streets from white policemen, they revealed just how out of touch they are. The real person the black inner-city inhabitant has to fear is another black inhabitant. The vast majority of inner-city crime is black-on-black, and the scope of it is terrifying. In the District of Columbia, some 42 percent of black males between 18 and 35 are enmeshed in the criminal justice system.

Since the 1960s the progressive response to these thugs has been to develop new alternatives to incarceration (or, as probation and parole are now called by academic faddists, "intermediate sanctions"). Today more than 3 million convicted criminals are serving their sentences on the streets, not behind bars. We've tried this approach every which way (intensive supervision, community service, boot camps), and it simply doesn't work. The data on all such probation and

parole programs are now in, and they're damning. Whatever you call it, "community-based corrections" spells higher crime and higher social costs than you get from incarcerating street criminals for all or most of their sentences.

The answer, however, is not to lock up the truly deviant and throw away the key. With 42 percent of the young black male population in the inner city involved in crime, the prisons simply aren't large enough. Rather, the answer is more aggressive community policing. Real community policing means lots of cops on the streets working with community leaders, talking to residents, and living in the neighborhoods they patrol. The federal government should provide the funds and training necessary to increase the manpower of all major big-city police departments by at least 20 percent. All of the additional cops should be deployed in the inner cities, and all should be trained, retained, and promoted according to the precepts of community policing. The cost of such a program, according to John DiIulio of Princeton, would be about \$2 billion.

Second, the federal government should promote and pay for first-rate prison-based drug treatment programs. In prison or out, the key to successful drug treatment is staying with the program. All the data show that certain types of prison-based programs work very well, especially when there's an after-care, post-release component. The federal prison system is developing a full menu of drug treatment programs for federal prisoners. The feds should mandate, fund, and provide the technical assistance necessary to implement such programs in every state prison system in the country. Just as important is making drug treatment available for those members of the underclass who have managed to stay out of prison.

A far more powerful governmental weapon in the battle to break underclass culture, however, is already in the hands of the federal government. It's the welfare system. The coup de grace last week in L.A. was the sight of lines forming to receive welfare checks the Friday after the meltdown. This, for many, was the return to normal. We don't believe, as some conservatives do, and as Marlin Fitzwater continues to assert, that welfare created the underclass crisis in these communities. Nor do we believe that family breakdown was created by welfare or that fiddling with monetary incentives could put those families back together. We merely hold, as TNR senior editor Mickey Kaus argues in his forthcoming book, *The End of Equality* (New Republic Books), that at this point welfare is the critical sustaining element in the life of the underclass. If we are to break through this culture of idleness, poverty, illegitimacy, and crime, we have to cut off its lifeline.

This does not mean a perpetuation of Republican neglect. The panaceas of "empowerment"—homeownership, tenant-management schemes, and the like—however beneficial in themselves, fail to address the gravity of the situation. Even Jack Kemp, the only

member of this administration who shows the slightest empathy for the inner-city poor, admits that it is hard to pull yourself up by your bootstraps when you don't have any boots. Enterprise zones are illusionary in the best of circumstances, and the inner city is not the best of circumstances (see TRB, page 6). Trickle-down economics has never trickled down this far. The culture of dependency is so great that even times of economic boom, such as the mid-1980s, have left the structures of unemployment and despair largely intact.

Our alternative proposal—and Kaus's—is a radical one: to return to Franklin Delano Roosevelt's commitment to "preserve not only the bodies of the unemployed from destitution but also their self-respect, their self-reliance and courage and determination." We propose replacing all financial payments to the able-bodied poor (including Aid to Families with Dependent Children, "general relief," Food Stamps, and housing subsidies) with a simple offer of a government-provided job. This radical shift from the welfare model is the only proposal with a hope of changing the way the underclass thinks and acts; shifting the paradigm of people's lives; relating actions—such as childbearing—to their immediate costs. It has the benefit of not merely encouraging responsibility, but of making it the only option available.

Such a proposal would cost a great deal of money and be an administrative headache. Kaus's best estimate of the cost is somewhere between \$40 billion and \$60 billion. That's a sum beyond the imagination of today's Washington establishment, but one that could be raised by a simple hike in the gas tax to levels Europeans would dream about, or a claw-back of middle-class entitlements, or a combination of both. In a sane government, given the events of the last week and the developments of the last two decades, it would be approved with dispatch.

It's no panacea, of course, and it requires greater elaboration than we have space for here. The point of the proposal, however, is extremely simple: that only the experience of work can integrate the underclass poor back into our society; that only government can accomplish this task; that, without this effort, we are not only committing more generations to misery and violence, we are poisoning the rest of our society as well.

Our conviction that something this drastic must be attempted is motivated by a belief that what is at stake in the events in Los Angeles is the entire notion of a common American citizenship that can transcend race and class and connect one civic obligation to another civic need. The liberal welfare state, for all its good intentions, has done much to undermine this notion of citizenship. The liberal obsession with purely racial paradigms has weakened it still further. Conservative cynicism has compounded its demise. If the flames of Los Angeles do not spur us to recover it, nothing will. •

SSS

Rio
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William D. Ruckelshaus
Chairman of the Board
Chief Executive Officer

May 26, 1992

CONFIDENTIAL

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

Dear Sam:

This letter is a follow-up to our previous conversation about the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro.

Now that the President has decided to attend that Conference, he has the unique opportunity to deliver a message to the world community and, more importantly, to a domestic audience that helps redefine the environmental equation in the world and at home, and put the United States in the forefront of a new age of economic growth and environmental protection.

Like the first international conference on the environment held twenty years ago in Stockholm, what is likely to emerge from Rio is a new framework for approaching these potentially serious global environmental problems. We have the chance to define that framework and to set the agenda for how the world will begin to craft solutions.

Rio provides an unusual opportunity for the President to establish his international leadership on an issue of great importance to the countries of the world, and at the same time, enhance his stature at home through a vision of new economic growth.

There are two key issues: what does environmental protection mean in the world today, and what is the role of the United States and the developed nations? With regard to the first, it is time to throw out the dated construct that economic growth and environmental protection are at odds, that if one is enhanced, the other is diminished, and that policy should be aimed at achieving a "balance" between the two. What is needed today is an understanding that it is synergy, not balance, that will drive environmental protection and economic growth.

The Honorable Samuel K. Skinner
May 26, 1992
Page Two

The theme of the Rio Conference is environment and development, and it grows directly from the concept of sustainable development made prominent by the World Commission on Environment and Development (The Brundtland Commission) of the mid 1980's. The work of that group established once and for all that environmental protection and economic growth are inextricably linked, that especially in underdeveloped countries, you simply cannot have one without the other.

This is a message of economic growth, prosperity, jobs, expanding markets and free trade that has been the hallmark of the Bush Administration, and should be delivered unapologetically and with force in Rio. That such growth is necessary and vital to environmental protection is a recognition of the new equation that defines environmental protection. This message badly needs to be delivered in the United States as well.

The overriding environmental issue facing the world, and the leaders about to assemble in Rio, is to reconcile the legitimate aspirations of four-fifths of the world's population to share in some measure the economic prosperity the industrialized world has known without unacceptable environmental damage. The material and social aspirations of the world's poor must be met as a necessary precondition to environmental protection and stability. That is the message of sustainable development. It is a message of growth.

The second issue is potentially more troubling, that of the role of the U. S. and other industrialized countries in dealing with global environmental problems occasioned by growth in the undeveloped world. There is concern that the Rio Summit will degenerate into a third-world clamor for massive aid from the developed countries to "buy" environmental protection. Certainly, that has been one of the themes of some in this country as they have advised the President not to go to Rio.

It is here that the President can show real leadership, both internationally and domestically, and dominate the agenda of the Rio Summit. His response to demands for environmental "protection" money must be forceful and direct. The industrialized nations will not fund these environmental programs or "bribe" these countries into environmental responsibility.

The key to environmental protection in the third world depends primarily on investment by the private sector. Such investment will bring capital, jobs, technology and the prosperity necessary for environmental protection. That investment will not occur because it is demanded, it will occur where there are free markets, stable governments and functioning environmental programs. Such private investment, not multilateral aid, will be the backbone of development in the less developed countries, and they will have to promote policies that encourage it.

The Honorable Samuel K. Skinner
May 26, 1992
Page Three

The implication is that we will benefit economically as we invest in and supply the growing markets that will serve 80% of the world's people. Growth, investment and development will be good for the world environment and good for our own economy. Sustainable development, and the environmental protection that accompanies it, will be a fertile source of jobs internationally and in our country as well.

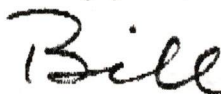
Rio allows the President to deliver important international and domestic messages. It presents him with a unique forum to put to rest once and for all the outmoded and politically destructive notion that environmental protection requires excessive economic sacrifice. In doing so, he can redefine the terms of the environmental debate in this country to his advantage with a message that is completely consistent with his other domestic pronouncements.

Rio becomes an important platform for the President, one that will attract enormous attention to his address. He has the chance to confound his critics and reinforce his stature as a visionary world leader.

I would, of course, be happy to help in any way in the preparation of such an address, if it would be useful. If you would like to discuss this further, let me know and I will make myself available.

With best personal regards.

Sincerely yours,



William D. Ruckelshaus

WDR:dc

xc: Bob Teeter

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/26/92

TO: SAMUEL K. SKINNER

FROM: PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

The attached has been forwarded
to the President

su 5/26

[Handwritten signature]



Bobby Holt
National Finance Chairman

5-14-92

02 MAY 26 P2:01

GB-

Know you are considering
going to TEXAS STATE REP PARTY
convention in Dallas - June

I sure support you going
to it - Think it's damn important

Hang in
Bobby

SCC 5/26

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 26, 1992

file

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL SKINNER
MARLIN FITZWATER
KATHY SUPER
ED MURNANE

FROM: DORRANCE SMITH

SUBJECT: LA TIMES INTERVIEW

As a follow-up to the attached correspondence, the President has agreed to meet with:

Robert R. Erburu, Chairman & CEO,
The Times Mirror Corporation

David Laventhol, Publisher & CEO,
The Los Angeles Times

Shelby Coffey III, Editor & Executive V.P.,
The Los Angeles Times

The meeting (approx. 20 minutes) will take place aboard Air Force One from L.A. to Fresno on Saturday, May 30. I have informed Mr. Erburu that the physical arrangements will be handled through Marlin's office.

F.Y.I. -- Mr. Erburu served as head of the American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA) via teleconference on May 6th.

The Los Angeles Times traditionally does not endorse Presidential candidates. The last time they did was in 1964 when they endorsed Lyndon Johnson. If they decide to endorse in 1992, these 3 men will make the decision.

In addition to hearing the President's views on L.A., they want to brief the President on their own perspectives.



Times Mirror

Times Mirror
Times Mirror Square
Los Angeles, CA 90053
213 237-3814

May 18, 1992

Robert F. Erburu
Chairman of the Board
and Chief Executive Officer

Mr. Samuel Skinner
Chief of Staff to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Skinner,

I would like to invite President Bush on his forthcoming visit to California to meet with me and a small group of my fellow CEO's from some of the major business organizations in the community and my colleagues, the Publisher and Editor of The Los Angeles Times.

The purpose would be to discuss with The President current conditions here in an informal way that I believe would be useful. We would meet in the Directors' Suite of the Times Mirror Building at whatever time would best suit The President's schedule, including a breakfast or lunch.

I realize, of course, that The President's schedule is very full, but I wanted to pose this possibility to him. From my experience this type of exchange with senior leaders from the business community in a small group - perhaps 6 or 8 persons whom I will invite personally - can be very informative and productive.

I appreciate very much your consideration. Please express to The President my best wishes.

Sincerely,

RFE:bfm
bcc: J. Dorrance Smith

SCC 5/26

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/26/92

File

NOTE FOR: SAMUEL K. SKINNER AND
SECRETARY WATKINS

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

Information

☐

Action

☒

Thank you.

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:



AIR FORCE ONE

5-21-

Sam

Tim Watkins

Gov. Voinovitch raised
the attached
letter with me.

Tim please call
me on this -
then call the
Governor.

I had not seen this
letter before



GEORGE V. VOINOVICH
GOVERNOR

STATE OF OHIO
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
COLUMBUS 43266-0601

May 6, 1992

The Honorable George H. W. Bush *file*
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The enclosed article from Inside EPA was of great interest to me. During discussions with you sometime ago, I stated my belief that the acid rain provisions of the Clean Air Act were being promoted by western coal interests, led by our good buddy Alan Simpson.

Mr. President, I am very concerned that the Midwest is being sold out for western coal interests. The queuing system being used to grant allowances is anti-Midwest, anti-Ohio. We must get to the bottom of what is going on with the EPA and the Clean Air Act.

I've asked on a couple of occasions if you would speak to Secretary Watkins regarding the acid rain provisions of the Clean Air Act. I understand from Secretary Watkins that you have not yet had an opportunity to speak with him.

Mr. President, we are hurting in Ohio. We need your help and involvement in this matter.

Sincerely,

George
George V. Voinovich
Governor

GVV:ld

Enclosure

*I really think that because
we 2 D. Senators we are
not getting a fair shake. My
concern is hurting. It's
important to me and my voters.
that we know the Bush administration
cares. Your team is really working but
your E.P.A. is going to shut down our economy*

support the use of reformulated gasoline in nonattainment regions and areas wishing to opt in, some state air officials charge. "The ink is not even dry on the reg neg and an oil company has crafted a white paper at a time when 12 governors have already opted in" to the reformulated gas program, an agitated state air official says, adding "[the governors] are completely chagrined." This source charges it is a "totally disingenuous action" since Marathon Oil had signed the reg neg. "The governors are quickly learning they're getting criticized," this source says, adding, "many states are furious." This source predicts small business interests will soon get wind of this action and realize that absent a reformulated gasoline program, states will have to turn to "mom and pop operations" to crank down on air pollution, and "there will be a tremendous backlash" against the oil companies.

A Marathon Oil Company source defends the white paper as "factually accurate," and argues "there is nothing in the reg neg agreement that prevents anyone from 'telling it like it is'." This source also emphasizes that the company has not received complaints as to the accuracy of the white paper. But another petroleum industry source calls Marathon's "Fools Rush In" pitch "terrible," arguing that "the tone of the document is not very helpful." This source notes, however, that "every company has its own unique personality" and that Marathon has a right to voice its concerns, adding, "obviously, Marathon has company-specific concerns in Ohio." This source notes that Marathon raised specific concerns during the reg neg process that other companies did not support.

Marathon's white paper argues that "while a number of states have rushed to opt into the federal reformulated gasoline and in some cases to the California [Low-Emitting Vehicle] LEV program, far too little is known at this time to justify such action on any reasonable basis. Some parties have supported a 'get in line first' theory based on the erroneous idea that supplies will run out if you get in line too late. On the contrary, if the market is free to act, supply will meet demand."

Marathon's paper makes several points, including: 1. future costs of and post-2000 standards for reformulated gasoline are unknown, thereby making the cost-effectiveness of the program difficult to gauge; 2. the program is targeted at reducing volatile organic compound (VOC) emissions, despite a recent National Academy of Sciences report which concluded that nitrogen oxide emission controls might be more effective than VOC controls in certain areas; and 3. no "conditional" opt-in is available, that is, once a state opts into the program, it remains in and "opting out is almost impossible (due to both regulatory and political impediments). Consequently, with both the costs and the benefits of reformulated gasoline largely unknown, a hasty opt-in would be extremely imprudent."

WESTERN SENATORS UNITE TO SUPPORT EPA ACID RAIN ALLOWANCE CREDIT SYSTEM

A group of western senators has joined forces to support a hotly disputed EPA proposal for using a telephone queuing system to distribute "bonus" allowances under the Clean Air Act acid rain program. The queuing system is one of the most controversial proposals in EPA's regulations for implementing the market-based acid rain program.

Utilities have already banded together to oppose EPA's proposal, arguing that it would restrict the number of utilities able to receive bonus allowances, consequently diminishing the potential for them to use scrubbers and high-sulfur coal to comply with emissions control standards. The utilities have mounted a major political campaign to see that EPA instead opts for a "pro rata" approach, which allows allowances to be distributed among all utilities that apply (*Inside EPA*, Jan. 17, 12).

An April 10 letter to President Bush, initiated by Sen. Alan Simpson (R-WY) and signed by a total of 18 senators, is intended to communicate to EPA that its proposal has strong support, explains a staffer. Simpson had previously given kudos to EPA's plan, but wants to broaden his effort to show the agency in the face of opposition that "there's a differing view," this source says. The letter argues that EPA's plan "correctly interprets the clear intent of the statute that these allowances be distributed on a first-come first served basis." The law precludes EPA from straying too far from that approach and adopting a pro rata system, though it could allow for a lottery method, the letter states.

The senators explain that the first-come first served approach was the product of a "carefully considered compromise" intended to "resolve intense regional conflicts" in the acid rain program. The letter alludes to attempts by utilities to "undo that compromise" by pressing for a pro rata approach, calling the system a violation of the law. The senators conclude by applauding Reilly for following the intent of the statute and lending support to ensure that first-come first served is adopted.

EPA has promised that the rules will be issued by mid-May. Sources privy to negotiations believe that EPA has gotten sufficient heat over the telephone queuing system and will likely go with a lottery, which

CORRECTION: An article on Washington state's effort to regulate indoor air pollution (*Inside EPA*, April 17, p1) described a 1,000 parts per million cut-off for carbon monoxide as an indicator of air quality problems. The number applies to levels of carbon dioxide.

seems to be a compromise position. In addition to being mentioned as an option in the recent letter, the plan was endorsed by utilities over first-come first served. Sen. Christopher Bond (R-MO) at a March 26 Appropriations hearing grilled EPA administrator William Reilly on EPA's selection of first-come first served and a congressional source explains that some senators are deeply concerned about the approach. If EPA decides on first-come first served, the Appropriations Committee has the option of attaching a rider to the Appropriations bill prohibiting funds for implementing the system in the event that a majority are unhappy with EPA's approach.

SENATE PREPARES NEW RCRA BILL, MAY NARROW REAUTHORIZATION SCOPE

The Senate Environment & Public Works Committee at presstime was preparing to introduce a new draft Resource Conservation & Recovery Act bill that is expected to be the vehicle for an April 29 markup. While details of the bill's contents were being closely held, several sources say they expect the committee to drop some large portion of the previous draft bill either in the new draft or in markup in order to speed its passage.

At presstime the new Senate bill was expected to be available April 23 or 24. Several sources say the bill is being assembled by majority staff member Cliff Rothenstein following several meetings of Senate staff in recent days. One Senate source says staff made a variety of recommendations for changes to the last draft, released by the committee March 27 (*Inside EPA*, April 3, p5) but that it was unclear at presstime exactly which changes would be incorporated into the new bill. One source suggests that it is possible the bill will drop an entire title from the previous draft in order to make the bill easier to handle in the one day of markup the committee has scheduled.

Several sources say they would not be surprised to see the committee drop the provisions requiring industry to report uses of toxic materials given the vehement opposition those provisions have raised from industry groups, and the strong opposition some Senators have lodged as well. A Republican staffer says there is "a theoretical difference" among committee members, with some pressing for a "RCRA-lite" bill that does not attempt to address a host of controversial hazardous waste issues that have been offered, while others still hope to pursue a more comprehensive bill. An industry source agrees that the committee is likely to "drop at least one title," but this source does not expect Baucus to accept the RCRA-lite approach. This source says it is still "too early" to make that decision, because there is still time to deal with some of the complex issues before moving to the Senate floor.

Senate and industry sources expect that some of the recycling language will change in the new Senate bill, taking into account industry-wide recycling averages when setting mandatory material recovery rates. An industry source suggests that the draft is unlikely to include regulations for industrial non-hazardous waste, despite efforts by Republican staff to draft language for these wastes.

Congressional sources say the outcome of the Senate bill may also guide the House Energy & Commerce committee deliberations on their version of the bill, which is scheduled to go to full committee markup by mid to late May. The House transportation & hazardous material subcommittee approved a RCRA bill March 26 with many of the most controversial issues left out, pending further negotiations among committee members. House sources say none of those issues have yet been resolved, and only the regulation of used oil has been the topic of in-depth negotiations since the markup. With legislative days dwindling in this session, several House staffers suggest that the committee may narrow its bill to match the scope of the Senate bill, in order to limit the number of issues that will have to be hammered out in conference.

Several House staffers have expressed frustration that the House has made little progress on the outstanding issues, suggesting that this makes it more likely that Congress will try to pass a "RCRA-lite" bill, dealing only with solid waste issues and avoiding controversial topics such as industrial non-hazardous wastes, oil and gas production and toxic use reduction. But other staffers warn that a bill that does not include some of those topics will not have the strong support of either industry or environmentalists, making it no more likely to pass than a comprehensive bill.

PRESIDENT BUSH TO 'SOON' MAKE DECISION ON 'EARTH SUMMIT' ATTENDANCE. Bush said in an April 21 press conference that he will decide whether to attend the United Nations Conference on Environment & Development in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil "soon," perhaps in the next several days as the White House wrestles with the merits of his attendance. Bush emphasized that he wants to go to Rio for UNCED, also referred to as the "Earth Summit," but noted that potential negative impacts on the U.S. economy will be a major deciding factor. UNCED will feature a variety of worldwide environmental accords that have been under negotiation for some time, the most important of which could be the convention on climate change to control emissions of greenhouse gases.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 26, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR KATHY SUPER

FROM:

SAMUEL K. SKINNER *SS*

Please set up 30 minutes for the President with Dick Darman and Nick Calio re the balanced budget amendment. This needs to be done in the next couple of days.

May 23, 1992

To: Sam Skinner

From: Robin MacLean

cc: Rose Zamaria

DISCUSSED
with
POTUS

The President plans to discuss this with you on Monday morning. He wanted you to have an advance copy to make sure you saw before then.

May 21, 1992

TO: President
Skinner
Teeter
Malek

FROM: George W.

SAM -
"W" has a good
point here. If he
doesn't know where out
front on this, who will?

Momentum is building for a Balanced Budget Amendment (BBA). Most insiders agree that there is a likely date of the Congress resolving the issue and that date is soon.

The American people want governmental reform. Why else would prickly personage Perot be at 30% in the polls?

Likewise, Bush supporters want the President to get a victory. They call it "leadership". I call it getting in the news with a conservative idea that gets enacted.

BBA is an opportunity.

I fear that waiting until the Congress picks up the issue is too late. I hope that the President can get ahead of the immediate P.R. game (I fully recognize GB has been for the issue for years).

Action Plan:

- Highlight the BBA in some upcoming speeches
- Hold a nocturnal press conference and have the BBA be the opening remarks
- Maybe talk to Rush Limbaugh about BBA
- Satellite feeds

Let us not let Congress take credit for our idea.

P.S. Quayle was right

I don't want my daughters
to think it is cool to
have a child out of wedlock

GB/
5-23

May 23, 1992

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GB/
5-23

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: June 8, 1992
DCF HAS SEEN

TO: Sec. Skinner

SHOW
FOCUS

FROM: **CLAYTON YEUTTER**
Counsellor to the President for
Domestic Policy

The attached listing provides the story on the Reilly memo. As you can see, Chris Sheehan sent it to three locations within the White House complex--CEO, OST and the Council on Competitiveness--as well as making a copy available to Ed Goldstein of our staff since Teresa Gorman was out of town.

Chris said that Eric Melby and Bob Grady called later to complain that they had not been on the original distribution list, but both said they had gotten the memo from other sources.

As you can also see, Warren Maruyama of my staff, who was working with Chris, faxed copies to six other departments--USTR, Treasury, State, Interior, Energy, and Commerce.

So nine locations received the document from Chris and Warren, and at least two others became recipients somehow.

CF

The classified document on Biodiversity was delivered either by hand or secure fax on Thursday morning, no later than 10:00 a.m. to the staff and agencies listed below.

White House Staff

Hand delivered by Chris Sheehan of your staff to the following people:

Center For Environmental Quality
Mike Deland

Office of Science and Technology Policy
Dr. Allan Bromley
(received by Damar Hawkins for A.B.)

Office of Policy Development
Ed Goldstein for Teresa Gorman

Council on Competitiveness
Jonathan Tolman

* It should be noted that both Eric Melby (NSC) and Bob Grady (OMB) received copies of the classified document but not through the Office of Policy Development.

Outside Departments

Sent via secure fax by Warren Maruyama and Cathy Mays of your staff to the following agencies:

U.S. Trade Representative

Carmen Suro-Bredie
Asst. USTR

Department of Treasury

Olin Wethington
Asst. Secretary for International Affairs

Department of State

Sarah Alexander
Mark Foulon
Assts. to Under Secretary Bob Zoellick

Department of Interior

John Schrote
Asst. Secretary for Policy, Management, and Budget

Department of Energy

John Easton
General Counsel

Department of Commerce

Mike Kirk
Asst. Commissioner

Wendell Wilkie
General Counsel

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

sec 5/26

DATE: May 26, 1992

TO: Sec. Skinner

FROM: **CLAYTON YEUTTER**
Counsellor to the President for
Domestic Policy

File

See attached re biodiversity. What happened here was that the chairman of this negotiation was determined to get an agreement, almost irrespective of content. Apparently he felt he'd be considered a failure if the chairman of global warming achieved a consensus prior to Rio, whereas he did not--on what was perceived by many as an easier issue.

So he wrapped up an agreement, but one that we'll likely conclude to be a sellout to the Third World. State is now analyzing it since the final negotiations in Nairobi were chaotic, but all indications are that we should not sign it. In fact, this should be an easy decision for us, particularly if some of the other developed countries also refuse to sign.

I do not see a decision on our part not to sign as causing the President any trouble in Rio, particularly if he goes mid-week.

Cy

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 18, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR CLAYTON YEUTTER

FROM: TERESA GORMAN

SUBJECT: State Department Announcement on Biodiversity

The State Department has decided not to make a statement today on the Biodiversity Convention. Instead, State would like to wait until later in the week. This will allow time for other donor countries to respond to a State Department demarche requesting information on whether they also intend not to sign. If, as the attached New York Times piece suggests, Japan and others decide not to sign, State could then signal this fact when it makes the announcement.

Attachments

David S. Broder

Bob Michel's Challenge

The only real way to ensure accountability is to end divided government.

House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) is one of those familiar Washington figures who usually draws more affection than deference. Since he came to Congress from Peoria in 1956, he has been known to colleagues as a great companion for a songfest or a round of golf. But as one of the permanently outnumbered Republicans, he rarely put his stamp—and never his name—on a major piece of legislation.

So there was great surprise last week that it was old-shoe Bob Michel, 69, who defined the political, constitutional and institutional crisis facing this country in 1992 more bluntly than anyone else in either party has done.

In a speech that reflected more of Michel's own reactions than any outside advice, he made four basic points:

■ The candidacy of Ross Perot could very possibly throw the choice of the next president into the House of Representatives, by denying any one of the three candidates—Perot, George Bush and Bill Clinton—an electoral-college majority. The inside-the-House politicking, with each state delegation casting a single vote, no matter its size—would be “an utter disaster” for the country, an outrage to the whole concept of popular sovereignty.

■ Perot as a possible president is a scary prospect, not only because “he doesn't have a clue how to solve even one major issue,” but because—to Michel's eye, at least—he has “the demagogue's gift for oversimplification” and could, if elevated to power, prove that “authoritarianism . . . can happen here.”

■ More important than Perot himself is the fuel that is powering his undeclared candidacy—“the frustration of the American people when all they see when they look to Washington is squabbling, partisanship, media hype and legislative gridlock.”

“If Ross Perot never existed,” Michel said, “those grievances would be real.”

■ The source of the frustration—the real reason the grievances exist—is “the fact of divided government in Washington. We have come to the point in American history where a president of one party simply cannot lead if the Congress is dominated by the other party.”

That is the ugly secret of American politics and Washington's failure. But it has been a long time since any major politician in either party stood up on his hind legs and said it to the people.

Back in 1960, John F. Kennedy campaigned by saying that it made no sense to elect Rep. Jones or Sen. Smith, good Democrats both, to Congress “and then put Richard Nixon in the White House.” He won—barely. Party loyalties, though weakened by the six years of divided government and the spread of ticket-splitting under Dwight D. Eisenhower, still meant something then.

But for 20 of the past 24 years we have had divided government—a Republican in the White House and Democrats controlling at least one and usually both houses of Congress. A whole generation has grown up thinking this is natural and normal.

The members of that “permanent” Democratic congressional majority certainly did not tell their constituents that they were wrong to split their tickets. They wanted to pretend that they would be “effective” no matter who was in the White House. Maybe they are bringing home the bacon, but they are not dealing with national problems.

Still less did Republican presidents and presidential candidates want to say, plainly, that it made no sense to elect them unless they had enough allies on Capitol Hill to pass their programs. Ronald Reagan came closest to doing it in 1980—and the results showed: a Republican Senate and a conservative-controlled House. But only for two years. He retreated into the usual Republican tolerance of divided government when the recession swamped the GOP in 1982.

Now Michel has broken the code of silence and showed the guts to plead for a Bush campaign that would say “the only way” to break the impasse that is so frustrating to the voters is to end divided government. Give one party—he'd prefer it were the Republicans—control of the White House and Congress and if they fail to deliver, “kick us out” in the next election.

Will Bush take the challenge? At the moment his campaign is so desperate and defensive, in the face of the Perot surge, that no one knows.

Will a leading congressional Democrat step forward to say what Michel has said—that the voters are simply courting more frustration if they reelect Democratic congressional incumbents and then split their tickets for Bush or Perot?

What is needed is a steady drum-fire of messages from the leaders of both parties at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue informing the public of the lesson that has been forgotten: that the collective responsibility that results from giving one party at a time “a chance to govern,” as Michel put it, is the only real way to ensure accountability in a representative government.

What Bob Michel said is true. You can either vote for further frustration in the form of divided government, or you can pick a party to trust and hold to account, or you can put your country's future in the hands of Ross Perot and his promise to take charge—with all that is unknown about his real goals and all that is untested about his self-restraint in the exercise of vast power.

SHOW
POTUS

May 26, 1992

The Compassion Of Jack Kemp

JACK KEMP, the forgotten man of the Bush administration, suddenly has become the man of the hour in the aftermath of the Los Angeles riots. So it seemed appropriate to reporters querying him over breakfast that the first question put to the secretary of housing and urban development was this:

"Haven't recent events positioned you beautifully for a run at the presidency in '96?" To which the man President Bush has selected to shape and lead the administration's response to the L.A. riots reacted quite negatively:

"For me to talk politics is an insult to the people I have told I would try to help. To even think about '96 is repulsive when you view the pain and tragedy – the incredibly bad economic and social conditions – in urban America."

Secretary Kemp talked about a "window of opportunity" for Democrats and Republicans to come together to deal with this immense problem. He said that job must be done within two months. "To mix this opportunity with politics," he said, "would be a historic mistake."

It was an impassioned Jack Kemp who was holding the stage at this morning breakfast session, revealing a philosophy that he said made him "the most radical, the most populist" person to hold the leadership of HUD.

So it was that all hour long Kemp was talking like this: "We must give people in the inner cities a stake in their community. We must get these areas flooded with capital. It is absolutely necessary to bring about a growing economy in the inner cities by injecting growth and jobs into areas that have been left out. There is a fundamental right to own property, irrespective of race, color, and religion."

This isn't a "new" Jack Kemp. He has been talking along these lines – promoting tax-incentive-primed enterprise zones for the inner cities and opportunities for the poor to buy their own homes – but only now is he being heard.



"You've been preaching this sermon to the administration for three years," one reporter broke in to say. "But it took riots in Los Angeles to awaken the White House. Why?"

"I don't share that premise," said Kemp. "There is no doubt in my mind that the president and Jack Kemp haven't done everything they should have done. If you want me to grovel and say we haven't done enough, I will say that. But if we haven't done enough, Congress has done even less."

Kemp added: "At least we are trying something new, and we want to get it through by the end of June."

The HUD secretary had a warning for the Republican Party: "Our party missed the first civil-rights revolution, and now I see this new revolution as the last chance for the Republican Party to be morally acceptable to the majority of the American people."

Some news developed at the breakfast. Kemp said that the president and he had agreed that all cities in America which qualified – because of high joblessness and their general economic plight – would be granted enterprise zones that included tax incentives and other benefits.

Proposed administration legislation appears to call for the program to be available to just 50 cities. Kemp said that the proposal will be "changed."

But it was the "passion" and the "liberalism" of Kemp that the reporters were talking about after the breakfast. The final questioner had probed for an answer to "how you came to this point of view," and this was Kemp's answer:

"My mother was a social worker in the '30s. My father was a small-businessman. I have a great belief from my parents of the obligation we have: When we've been blessed to try to be a blessing to other people."

Kemp spoke of being "captain on every team I played on." As such, he said, "you quickly come to this conclusion: If the team is to go forward, you can't leave anyone behind."

"The Good Shepherd," said Kemp, "proved his love for the 99 [sheep] by saving the stray lamb. I think the Good Shepherd model is the only way a society can function in a democracy such as ours."

■ Godfrey Sperling Jr. is the Monitor's senior Washington columnist.



THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

MAY 27 1992

DCF HAS SEEN

The Honorable Clayton Yeutter
Counsel to the President
for Domestic Policy
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Clayton:

Just a quick note to express my appreciation to you for your eloquent remarks at our senior staff retreat last week. I am especially grateful that you were available on such short notice.

As we approach the election, and hopefully a second term for the President, there are abundant opportunities for this administration to bring about positive changes on the domestic front, and I continue to look forward to working with you toward these goals.

Again, many thanks to you for taking the time to share your insights with us.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

Louis W. Sullivan, M.D.

copies:

S. Skinner

H. Moore

G. Wilensky

R. Porter



see 5/27

Sent copies to
Damen
Yentler
Moore
Barr

To: Roger Porter

May 27, 1992

cc: Sam Skinner

Re: Immigration - California.

This is a frightening situation. We must do something. Thanks for your interesting paper. Be sure to let me know what action we can take. We **must** do something.

GB

✓

5/28- Copies sent to Damen
Yentler
Moore
Barr

FROM THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 22, 1992

MAY 22 16:56

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*
SUBJECT: Illegal Immigration and Los Angeles

When I was in Los Angeles with you, we repeatedly heard concerns expressed about the level of illegal immigration from Mexico. Thursday evening, after the task force meeting, I helicoptered down to the border and spent two and a half fascinating hours visiting with border patrol officers along the 14 mile strip between the ocean and the foothills, talking with senior INS officials, and interviewing detainees.

I returned with four strong impressions:

1. The problem is serious and deteriorating.

The average daily apprehension rate in this 14 mile section of the border is roughly 1,500. This represents approximately half of those apprehended along our entire border with Mexico.

As the figures in the attached document illustrate apprehension rates are climbing steeply. For the first six months of FY 1992, 336,065 individuals were apprehended, almost double the annual rate in 1989.

INS officials estimate that for every apprehension, approximately two individuals make it through. If their estimates are accurate, this means more than a million will illegally immigrate through the San Diego sector during this fiscal year. The freeway numbers in the far right column are those who make it to the median strip of the freeway. Safety concerns prevent actions to apprehend them.

2. Narcotics seizures are soaring.

Especially disturbing is the dramatic increase in drug smuggling along the San Diego section of the border. As the figures in the attached document illustrate, marijuana and cocaine seizures are sharply up. The FY 1992 figures are for the first six months only, and have not been annualized.

3. The composition of those apprehended is changing.

Border patrol officers uniformly reported that those

apprehended are more aggressive, difficult, and rougher looking than in the past. Fewer are migrant farm laborers; more have traveled considerable distances from urban areas far into Mexico.

4. Economic motives remain the driving force behind the illegal immigration and underscore the need for a successful NAFTA negotiation.

The detainees I interviewed, who had no idea where I was from, were overwhelmingly male and under 30 years of age. Most (85-90 percent) indicated they were headed for Los Angeles. Approximately twenty-five percent said they had relatives in Los Angeles.

Slightly fewer, perhaps twenty percent, said they thought they had a job waiting for them. The average salary: \$25-30 a day. When I asked how that compared with what they could make in Mexico, the room of about fifty erupted into laughter.

Since returning I have met with Bill Barr to discuss a range of alternatives for reducing the flow. We are working with other senior officials to develop a series of options for your consideration.

Attachments

DAILY APPREHENSIONS - May 1992

DATE	DAY	TOTAL	OTM's	FREEWAY
May 1	Friday	1461	0	
May 2	Saturday	2049	0	454
May 3	Sunday	1541	4	730
May 4	Monday	1216	2	740
May 5	Tuesday	1039	5	621
May 6	Wednesday	1312	4	389
May 7	Thursday			
May 8	Friday			
May 9	Saturday			
May 10	Sunday			
May 11	Monday			
May 12	Tuesday			
May 13	Wednesday			
May 14	Thursday			
May 15	Friday			
May 16	Saturday			
May 17	Sunday			
May 18	Monday			
May 19	Tuesday			
May 20	Wednesday			
May 21	Thursday			
May 22	Friday			
May 23	Saturday			
May 24	Sunday			
May 25	Monday			
May 26	Tuesday			
May 27	Wednesday			
May 28	Thursday			
May 29	Friday			
May 30	Saturday			
May 31	Sunday			

**TOTALS:	APPS:	8,618	OTM's:	15	FREEWAY:	2,934
					DAILY AVG	587

1992 TOTALS:	APPS: 336,065	OTM's: 2,193
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1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
629,656	500,327	431,592	366,757	473,323	540,347

U.S. BORDER PATROL
SAN DIEGO SECTOR
NARCOTICS SEIZURES

FY 1986

MARIJUANA	2,789 LBS.
COCAINE	1,285 LBS.

FY 1991

MARIJUANA	8,495 LBS.
COCAINE	682 LBS.

FY 1992

MARIJUANA	23,147 LBS.
COCAINE	6,427 LBS.

Document No. _____

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/27/ 92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BUSH/QUAYLE '92 VETERANS COALITION
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

SUBJECT: THURSDAY, MAY 28, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	HORNER	☐	☒
SKINNER	☐	☒	MCBRIDE	☐	☒
SCOWCROFT	☐	☒	MOORE	☐	☒
DARMAN	☐	☒	PETERSMEYER	☐	☒
BRADY	☐	☒	PORTER	☐	☒
BROMLEY	☐	☐	ROGICH	☐	☒
CALIO	☐	☒	ROLLINS	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☐	☒	SMITH	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	YEUTTER	☐	☒
GRAY	☐	☒	FINDLAY	☐	☒
HOLIDAY	☐	☒	KAUFMAN	☐	☒
			MCGROARTY		☒

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2 MAY 27 P5:44

May 27, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST *mdh for DD*
FROM: CURT SMITH *CS*
SUBJECT: BUSH-QUAYLE VETERANS COALITION

On Thursday, May 28, at 5 p.m., you will address an audience of 300 at the American Legion, Luke Greenway Post in Phoenix, where you will announce the formation of the Bush-Quayle '92 Veterans Coalition. Your remarks are eight minutes in length, and will be on cards.

(Smith/Aarhus)
Draft Three
May 27, 1992
PHOENIX

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BUSH/QUAYLE '92 VETERANS COALITION
PHOENIX, ARIZONA
THURSDAY, MAY 28, 1992

Thank you, Senator McCain. Great to see Everett Alvarez;
[additional acknowledgements to come]. And let me thank all of
you here today who represent our nation's veterans -- more than
26 million strong. First, it's great to be back in one of my
favorite cities. ((I was sorry last year that Phoenix got passed
over for a major-league baseball team. Of course, someone in
Cleveland told me he feels the same way about his city.)) //

An old saying goes, "Save the best for last." Today, we're
saving the best for first: The first campaign coalition to be
announced for our campaign. / Barry Goldwater is its Honorary
Chairman -- John McCain and Everett Alvarez its National
Chairmen. I am proud to present the Bush/Quayle '92 National
Veterans Coalition. ///

All of you know why I insisted the Veterans be first to be
unveiled. You know how service has preserved the values that
make -- and keep -- us strong. / You know how veterans have
given of themselves, and often of their lives, in places named
Argonne / Normandy / Da Nang / and the Persian Gulf.

Think of our kids and grandkids. They have inherited your
bequest of faith in country / family / in democracy / in God.
They can never repay you for all you've done for freedom. From

CHOSIN
Reversion

2

the time the torch of liberty was first lit in America, you have shed your blood to make sure it will never go out. //

That is what this campaign must be about -- what we must fight for / enlist our hearts and minds for. / To ensure for people, choice; for society, pluralism; for God's children, the freedom to go about their daily lives free from fear. //

Freedom can let us vote as we want, and pray as we choose. Freedom can ensure the legacies for our kids of family, peace, and jobs. Above all, freedom can secure what we fought for at Guadalcanal and Inchon -- at Hue City and Kuwait City: A world where liberty's tide is running in -- just as tyranny's is running out. // I renew my pledge to do all that's humanly possible to account for our comrades missing from past wars. As long as I am President, we will never forget our POWs and MIAs. /

Let us also pledge that as we move to a post-cold war defense force, we won't forget to take care of our military and civilian men and women who worked and fought so hard to ensure that freedom and democracy would prevail. // For them, we will continue to work together to make sure American veterans receive quality health care that is second to none. //

One clear benefit of the end of the cold war is the substantial defense savings possible in this new environment. However, this transition must be managed in a rational manner. First, we must achieve an orderly reduction in our forces of about 25 percent over the next five years. Some have called for far deeper cuts. I reject this approach. As I told the

3

graduating Midshipmen yesterday, "never in the history of man has the world been a benign place. There is no substitute for America's strength and sense of purpose." //

Next, Secretary Cheney and I are mindful of our obligation to treat defense and uniform employees and their communities fairly. Our plan already includes spending more than 7.1 billion dollars to address defense transition over the next two years. // Today, I am proposing a number of additional programs, including new G.I. Bill benefits and an expansion of job training, employment and educational opportunities. We will dedicate more than one billion additional dollars through 1996 on these vital defense transition activities. Whether working as a teacher in an elementary school, or as an environmental engineer, I am committed to ensuring that the vast talents of former defense personnel can be put to productive use in private life.//

With us today are talented and capable men and women who believe in the new world of freedom. No one needs to tell them about the inhumanity of war. Instead, they know that only a strong America can preserve the humanity of peace. / I am proud of these men -- and proud that they have agreed to help me. I thank you for your support. I hope to be worthy of your prayers.

Thirty years ago, Douglas MacArthur said it best. Returning to the Plain at West Point, he gave a speech to the cadets. "The soldier," he told them, "above all other people, prays for peace for he must bear the deepest wounds and scars of war."

4

You have all been soldiers in the crusade for freedom. This year, I ask you to re-enlist -- and help keep America what Lincoln called "this last best hope of earth." / For 200 years our veterans have fought for what is right, and good. For joining me this year to defend those values -- I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

God bless you, and God bless America.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

see 5/28

DATE: 5/28/92

NOTE FOR: SAMUEL K. SKINNER

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

Information

☒ XXX

Action

☐



Thank you.

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

324572

Shirley Green
cc T Hecht



The Redskins

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 5/18

P.O. BOX 17247, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20041, PHONE 703-471-9100

OFFICES: 13832 REDSKIN DRIVE, REDSKIN PARK

CD
N

May 18 1992

Dear President and Mrs Bush

Pat and I had a memorable time being guests at the White House. The food was great and the activities were a big hit with everyone. I wish we could have you experience the high we all enjoyed. The Redskin families are still talking about one of the highlights of their lives, spending an evening with "George and Barbara."

If there is something Pat or I can do for you on your campaign, please allow us to help.

You truly are special people and Pat and I are honored to be your friends.

Sincerely

SCC 5/29

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

May 29, 1992

To: Sam Skinner
From: Michael Boskin
Re: This morning's GDP Report

FYI. This is what I am saying to the press.

Sent to
POCUS

Michael J. Boskin
Chairman



THE CHAIRMAN

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

Statement by Michael J. Boskin
Chairman
President's Council of Economic Advisers
on this morning's GDP report

The GDP report is good news, further demonstrating the return to a pattern of more solid economic growth since the start of the year. The upward revision was a little less than most analysts had expected. This was due to a lower estimate of auto inventories, and this augurs well for increased production and employment in the second and third quarters. [In fact, the auto companies are already increasing overtime]. Concerns remain about the slow pace of money growth and credit availability.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

see 5/29

DATE: May 29, 1992

TO: Sec. Skinner

FROM: **CLAYTON YEUTTER**
Counsellor to the President for
Domestic Policy

Clayton
lets talk
[Signature]

Sam, Eric Melby of the NSC staff just brought over this first draft of a proposed Rio trip schedule.

The June 11 part looks fine to me. For June 12 I told him I thought we should see if we could arrange for the President to speak that morning, rather than mid-afternoon. He'll not want anyone to be demanding, and the President shouldn't go first. But it would be highly desirable to have him speak sometime during the morning when the chairs are full and the audience attentive. Three P.M. is about the worst possible time; people are sleepy after lunch, they are slow returning to the conference center, and if it is a good day they'll go to the beach and leave their seats empty. All of that will show up on TV and in the news coverage if we're not careful.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: _____

TO:

FROM: **CLAYTON YEUTTER**
Counsellor to the President for
Domestic Policy

I also told Eric they might wish to consider an afternoon event with the U.S. business community of Rio. Since he presumably will lunch with the environmental groups it would be desirable to balance the day with a business related event. It should be easy to have the Brazil-American Chamber of Commerce or some such group serve as the sponsor for a reception or similar affair. An event like this would also give him a basis for turning down bilaterals with his fellow chiefs of state.



Draft 177

JUNE 11, 1992

7:00 a.m.	Depart Andrews AFB Flying Time 4 hours 40 minutes) (Time Change -1 Hour)
10:40 a.m.	Arrive Panama
11:30 a.m.- Noon	One-on-One
Noon - 1:15 p.m.	Working Lunch
1:15 - 1:30 p.m.	Depart Lunch for Speech Site (TBD)
1:30 - 2:00 p.m.	Speech
2:00 p.m.	Depart Speech Site enroute airport
2:30 p.m.	Depart Panama City enroute Rio (Flying Time 6 hours 25 minutes) (+2 hours)
10:45 p.m	Arrive Rio RON Rio

JUNE 12, 1992

9:00 - 10:00 a.m.	Breakfast with U.S. Briefers
10:00 - 11:00 a.m.	Meeting with USNGO'S
11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.	Attendance at Conference for Kohl/Major Addresses
12:30 - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch with Environmental Groups
3:00 p.m.	President Speaks at Conference
3:45 p.m.	Press Conference (Site TBD)
7:00 p.m.	Possible Dinner with Collor
9:30 p.m.	Depart Rio for Andrews AFB (Flying Time 9 Hours 10 Minutes) (Time Change -1 Hour)

JUNE 13, 1992

6:30 a.m. (Approx)	Arrive Andrews AFB
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

see 5/29

File

DATE: 5/29/92

TO: SAMUEL K. SKINNER

FROM: PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

The attached has been forwarded
to the President



THE DIRECTOR

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

02 MAY 29 P1:33

May 29, 1992

NOTE FOR THE PRESIDENT

In response to your question this morning, attached are statistics re: education expenditures. These include statistics for literacy programs (as requested), the Department of Education as a whole, and total federal education expenditures (across all Departments).

You will note that there are spending increases in all three categories.

Richard Darman

C.C.: Sam Skinner
Marlin Fitzwater
Ede Holiday

1989 <u>Actual</u>	1992 <u>Enacted</u>	1993 <u>Proposed</u>	% Change <u>'89-'93</u>
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(Budget Authority, \$ in millions)

(1) LITERACY PROGRAMS IN THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT**Adult Literacy Education**

State grants.....	136	236	261	+92%
National programs.....	2	9	9	+350%
Workplace literacy.....	12	19	19	+58%
Literacy for homeless adults.....	7	10	10	+43%
State literacy resource centers.....	--	5	5	NA
Other Adult Literacy Programs.....	14	23	8	-43%
Subtotal, Adult Education.....	171	302	312	+94%

Family Literacy Programs

Even Start.....	15	70	90	+500%
Family English Literacy.....	5	6	6	+20%
Subtotal, Family Literacy Programs..	20	76	96	+380%

Libraries (Literacy Programs).....	5	11	35	+600%
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TOTAL, LITERACY PROGRAMS.....	195	389	443	+127%
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(2) TOTAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

FUNDING.....	22,956	29,441	32,339	+41%
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**(3) TOTAL FEDERAL RESOURCES SUPPORTING
THE NATIONAL EDUCATION GOALS**

(Amounts shown are reported by

26 Federal agencies.).....	56,404	75,225	81,305	+44%
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Includes \$5 million for library literacy grants in 1989 and \$8 million in 1992 and an estimate by State library directors of Federal funds spent on literacy activities in 1992. All 1993 funds reported would be spent on literacy activities.