

filed under

**WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON
BRIEFING MEMORANDUM**

TO: Secretary Donna Shalala
Geraldine Ferraro
Alexis Herman
Melanne Verveer ✓
Betsy Myers

FROM: Marilyn DiGiacobbe 

DATE: May 30, 1996

EVENT: "Celebrate the Empowerment of Women" luncheon for ethnic women
community leaders and activists.

DATE/TIME: Friday, May 31, 1996
11:30 a.m. - 1:30 p.m.

LOCATION: Room 474, Indian Treaty Room
Old Executive Office Building

PARTICIPANTS: 70 guests

PURPOSE: To convey the Administration's accomplishments in terms of issues
important to ethnic women and to energize and activate ethnic women
supporters.

BACKGROUND: This luncheon is focused at reaching ethnic American women of
European and Mediterranean heritage. The group includes women,
supportive of the Administration, active in the women's networks of
their ethnic communities. While the women come from different
ethnic backgrounds and different positions in their communities, (ie:
non-profit, business, media and organization representatives), they
share common experiences, values and issues.

Included are women of Albanian, Armenian, Arab, Czech, Croatian,
German, Greek, Irish, Italian, Lithuanian, Polish, Portuguese, Serbian,
Slovak and Ukrainian heritage.

AGENDA:

11:30 a.m.	Luncheon Buffet
12:00 p.m.	WELCOME Alexis Herman
12:05 p.m.	REMARKS Marilyn DiGiacobbe (3-5 min.) (Description of Ethnic Outreach efforts)
	REMARKS Betsy Myers (3-5 min.) (Description of the Women's Office Initiatives)
12:10 p.m.	REMARKS Melanne Verveer (5-10 min.) (First Lady's acknowledgement of the importance of the role of ethnic women on behalf of their families and communities)
12:20 p.m.	INTRODUCTION OF SEC. DONNA SHALALA Alexis Herman
12:22 p.m.	REMARKS Secretary Donna Shalala (10-15 min.) (Administration accomplishments as they pertain to women, i: health, children, family issues)
12:40 p.m.	INTRODUCTION OF GERALDINE FERRARO Alexis Herman
12:42 p.m.	REMARKS Geraldine Ferraro (10-15 min.) (Empowerment of women, the importance of the involvement of ethnic women in the political process)
1:00 p.m.	QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS Moderated by Alexis Herman

Attachments: Event program
Table seating
List of participants

"Celebrate the Empowerment of Women" Luncheon

Friday, May 31, 1996
Indian Treaty Room, Old Executive Office Building

WELCOME

Alexis M. Herman
Assistant to the President and
Director, Office of Public Liaison

REMARKS

Marilyn DiGiacobbe
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison

Betsy Myers
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Director, Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach

Melanne Verveer
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Deputy Chief of Staff to the First Lady

FEATURED SPEAKERS

Donna Shalala
Secretary, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Geraldine Ferraro
U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Human Rights Commission

QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS

Ethnic Women's Lunch
The Indian Treaty Room
Friday, May 31, 1996
Table Assignments

Table 1

Honorable Donna Shalala

Ms. Loula Alafgiannis (Greek-American), NY
Ms. Marie Chelli (Italian-American), DC
Dr. Najat Ararat Khelil (Arab-American), MD
Ms. Lisa A. Mierzejewski (Polish-American), CT
Dr. Edna Louise Saffy (Arab-American), FL
Ms. Ruta Susinskas (Lithuanian-American), IL
Ms. Anna Riska

Table 2

Geraldine Ferraro

Ms. Susan Pacheco (Portuguese-American), RI
Ms. Gassia Apkarian (Armenian-American), DC
Ms. Julia Clones (Greek-American), DC
Karen Crosby, (Irish-American), DC
Mrs. Anna Pavichevich Harkins (Serbian-American), VA
Ms. Christine Warnke (Greek-American)
Ann Targonski-Brown (Polish-American), CT

Table 3

Melanne Verveer (Ukrainian-American)

Ms. Jane Christo (Albanian American-American)
Ms. Anna Charuk-Kowblansky (Ukrainian-American), CA
Ms. Helen Cuning (Irish-American), NJ
Ms. Maria Efstratiades (Greek-American), NJ
Ms. Orysia Hewka (Ukrainian-American), PA
Ms. Claudette Schwiry (Arab-American), DC
Ms. Gina Cioffi (Italian-American), NY

Table 4

Betsy Myers

Ms. Shqipe Malushi (Albanian-American)
Ms. Victoria Collier (Italian-American), NJ
Mrs. Elizabeth Geannopoulos (Greek-American), PA
Ms. Elizabeth Wasiutynski (Polish-American), CT
Ms. Ann Goetz (Croatian-American), PA
Ms. Maureen Shea (Irish-American), DC
Ms. Pauline Bergert (Serbian-American), PA
Ms. Helen Hatab Samham (Arab-American)

Table 5**Marilyn Yager (German-American)**

Ms. Christine L. Harvey (German-American)
Ms. Dunaian (Armenian-American), CA
Ms. Stella Kokolis (Greek-American), NY
Ms. Nuala F. Moore (Irish-American), DC
Ms. Irene Wodkiewicz-Wheat (Polish-American), NJ
Ms. Vicky Mongiardo (Italian-American), DC
Dr. Elona Vaisnys (Lithuanian-American), CT

Table 6**Kimberly Marteau**

Ms. Berjouhi Habeshian (Armenian-American), MD
Ms. Nancy Morrison (Irish-American), MD
Ms. Minyon Moore, DNC
Ms. Janice Zarro (Italian-American), DC
Dr. Vita Vasaitis (Lithuanian-American), IL
Ms. Ilona Somogyi (Hungarian-American), NY
Ms. Marlene Stocks (German-American), NY

Table 7**Mary Anne Peters**

Ms. Jane Duffin (Irish-American)
Dr. Dorota Majewska (Polish-American), VA
Ms. Katherine Stella O'Leary (Irish-American), DC
Mrs. Nicki Stephanopoulos (Greek-American), NY
Mrs. Magda Ujvagi Bertalan (Hungarian-American), OH
Ms. Joan T. Moore (Irish-American)

Table 8**Marilyn DiGiacobbe, (Italian-American)**

Ms. Linda M.A. Rodrigues (Portuguese-American), NY
Ms. Dina Matos (Portugese-American), NJ
Ms. Karine Alemian (Armenian-American), DC
Ms. Barbara Woolley
Dr. Kaya Mirecka-Ploss, (Polish-American), DC
Ms. Catherine Collier (Italian-American), NJ

Table 9**Lisa Ross**

Ms. Helen Shipka (Ukrainian-American), OH
Ms. Lilly Straith (Ukrainian-American) OH
Ms. Marie Asatoorian (Armenian-American), MD
Ms. Carson Robbins (Serbian-American), PA
Ms. Maria Fernanda Miranda (Portuguese-American), CT
Ms. Laurel Karabian (Armenian-American)

Table 10**Sondra Seba**

Ms. Christine Panchuk-Fedynsky (Ukrainian-American)

Ms. Ulana Mazurkevych (Ukrainian-American), PA

Ms. Elizabeth Chouldjian (Armenian-American), DC

Ms. Fay Mpras (Greek-American), VA

Dr. Kathym Zunich (Italian-American) MD

Dr. Marija Dixon (Croatian-American), MI

Ida Castra

"CELEBRATE THE EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN" LUNCHEON
Friday, May 31, 1996

Participants

Hostesses

Honorable Donna Shalala
Secretary, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Honorable Geraldine Ferraro
U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Human Rights Commission

Honorable Melanne Verveer
Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff to the First Lady
Office of the First Lady

Dr. Laura D'Andrea Tyson
Assistant to the President for Economic Policy
National Economic Council

Betsy Myers
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Director of Women's Initiatives and Outreach

Marilyn Yager
Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy Director
White House Office of Public Liaison

Marilyn DiGiacobbe
Associate Director
White House Office of Public Liaison

Kimberly Marteau
Director of Public Affairs
U.S. Information Agency

Mary Anne Peters
Director for European Affairs
National Security Council

Guests

Ms. Loula Alafogiannis
Board Member, United Hellenic American National Council
Flushing, NY

Ms. Karine Alemian
Armenian Relief Society, Inc.
Washington, DC

Ms. Gassia Apkarian
Armenian Embassy
Washington, DC

Ms. Marie Asatoorian
Vice-President, Armenian Relief Society, International Board
Potomac, MD

Ms. Colleen L. Barry
Legislative Associate, David Vienna and Associates
Alexandria, VA

Ms. Pauline Bergert
Member-at-large, American Serbian Information Center
Pittsburgh, PA

Ms. Anna Charuk-Kowblansky
President, AK Pharmacy Consultants
Santa Barbara, CA

Ms. Marie Chelli
Director of State and Local Policy, Joseph A. Seagram & Sons, Inc.
Washington, DC

Ms. Elizabeth Chouldjian
Armenian National Committee
Washington, DC

Ms. Jane Christo
General Manager, WBUR-FM
Boston, MA

Ms. Gina Marie Cioffi
National Executive Director, Cooley's Anemia Foundation
Flushing, NY

Ms. Julia Clones
Political Chair. Hellenic-American Women's Council
Washington, DC

Ms. Catherine Collier
Rocky Hill, NJ

Ms. Victoria Collier
Whitehouse Station, NJ

Ms. Karen Crosby
Federal Housing Finance Board
Washington, DC

Ms. Helen Cuning
Seton Hall University
South Orange, NJ

Dr. Marija Dixon
Bloomfield Hills, MI

Ms. Jane Duffin
Editor, The Irish Edition
Wyndmoor, PA

Ms. Flora Dunaian
Treasurer, Ladies Auxiliary, Armenian Church Western Diocese
Pasadena, CA

Ms. Maria Efstratiades
Former Director of Ethnic Affairs for Governor Florio
Cherry Hill, NJ

Mrs. Elizabeth Geannopoulos
Member, United Hellenic American National Council
Pittsburgh, PA

Mrs. Teresa Gecys
Member, Board of Directors, Lithuanian American Committee
Huntington Valley, PA

Ms. Ann Goetz
Croatian Fraternal Union
Pittsburgh, PA

Ms. Berjouhi Habeshian
Secretary, Maryland Chapter, Armenian Relief Society
Gaithersburg, MD

Mrs. Anna Pavichevich Harkins
Public Affairs Liaison, Serb Net
McLean, VA

Ms. Christine L. Harvey
Editor, The Steuben News
Ridgewood, NY

Ms. Orysia Hewka
Executive Director, Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center
Jenkintown, PA

Ms. Laurel Karabian
Los Angeles, CA

Dr. Najat Arafat Khelil
President, Arab Women's Council Research and Education Fund, Inc.
Potomac, MD

Ms. Stella Kokolis
Brooklyn, NY

Dr. Dorota Majewska
Board Member, Federation of Polish-Americans, Inc.
Annandale, VA

Ms. Shqipe Malushi
Editor and Publisher Company
Cliffside Park, NJ

Ms. Dina Matos
Director of Patient and Public Relations, Columbus Hospital
Newark, NJ

Ms. Ulana Mazurkevych
President, Ukrainian Human Rights Committee
Elkins Park, PA

Ms. Lisa A. Mierzejewski
Secretary, Connecticut Federation of Polish Americans
Middletown, CT

Ms. Maria Fernanda Miranda
Principal, Multi-Cultural Center Magnet School
Bridgeport, CT

Dr. Kaya Mirecka-Ploss
Director, American Center of Polish Culture
Washington, DC

Ms. Vicki Mongiardo
Former Director of Ethnic Affairs for President Carter
Washington, DC

Ms. Joan T. Moore
Hyattsville, MD

Ms. Minyon Moore
Political Director, Democratic National Committee
Washington, DC

Ms. Nuala F. Moore
Irish American Unity Conference
Washington, DC

Ms. Nancy Morrison
Bethesda, MD

Ms. Fay Mpras
Annandale, VA

Ms. Katherine Stella O'Leary
Washington, DC

Susan Pacheco, Esquire
President, Portuguese-American Women's Association
East Providence, Rhode Island

Ms. Christine Panchuk-Fedynsky
Rocky River, OH

Ms. Anna Riska
Board Member, United Hellenic American National Council
New York, NY

Ms. Carson Robbins
President, ISTR
Georgetown, PA

Ms. Linda M.A. Rodrigues
Trustee, Portuguese Heritage Foundation
New York, NY

Dr. Edna Louise Saffy
Duval County Democratic Executive Committee
Jacksonville, FL

Ms. Helen Hatab Samhan
Director, Arab American Institute
Washington, DC

Ms. Claudette Schwiry
Arab American Institute
Washington, DC

Ms. Maureen Shea
Director, Office of Women's Outreach, Democratic National Committee
Washington, DC

Ms. Helen Shipka
Member, Board of Directors, Ukrainian Heritage Foundation
Parma, OH

Ms. Ilona Somogyi
Hungarian Communion of Friends
Brooklyn, NY

Mrs. Nikki Stephanopoulos
Public Relations Officer, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America
New York, NY

Ms. Marlene Stocks
United German-American Committee of the USA
Rockledge, PA

Ms. Lilly Straith
Senior Vice President, Society-KeyCorp
Cleveland, OH

Ms. Ruta Susinskas
Member, Board of Directors, PLC Center
Lemont, IL

Ms. Ann Targonski-Brown
Polish American Congress
New Britain, CT

Mrs. Magda Ujvagi Bertalan
Hungarian Folk Dance Group of Toledo
Toledo, OH

Dr. Elona Vaisnys
Baltic, Central and East European Coalition of Connecticut
North Haven, CT

Dr. Vita Vasaitis
Vice President, Lithuanian World Community
Palos Park, IL

Ms. Christine Warnke
President, Hellenic American Women's Council
Washington, DC

Ms. Elizabeth Wasiutynski
Oakville, CT

Ms. Irene Wodkiewicz-Wheat
Clark, NJ

Ms. Amy Wojslawowicz
Bayonne, NJ

Ms. Janice Zarro
Chair, Board of Trustees, National Italian American Foundation
Washington, DC

Dr. Kathryn Zurich
Potomac, MD

File
ethnics

WHY ARE SO MANY POLISH AMERICANS VOTING FOR DEMOCRATS THIS YEAR?



It's not just because the Administration and Democratic leaders are working hard for NATO expansion and a secure and prosperous Poland.

It's because the Democrats are standing up for the values we learned from our parents and grandparents. Hard work. Personal responsibility. Educational opportunity. And respect for senior citizens.

The Democrats' priorities are our priorities. Medicare for retired people. Welfare reform that requires work and protects children. Education. Tax breaks for college tuition. Cops on the beat. Job opportunities for our young people. Lower interest rates on home loans. And drugs off the streets and out of our schools.

This year, we must keep the dreams of our parents and grandparents alive for our children and our grandchildren.

WIN
IN
'96

Paid for by the Democratic National Committee

WHY ARE SO MANY IRISH AMERICANS VOTING FOR DEMOCRATS THIS YEAR?



It's not just because of the Administration and Democratic leaders' commitment for peace in Ireland.

It's because the Democrats are standing up for the values we learned from our parents and grandparents. Hard work. Personal responsibility. Educational opportunity. And respect for senior citizens.

The Democrats' priorities are our priorities.

Medicare for retired people. Welfare reform that requires work and protects children. Education. Tax breaks for college tuition. Cops on the beat. Job opportunities for our young people. Lower interest rates on home loans. And drugs off the streets and out of our schools.

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WHY ARE SO MANY ARAB AMERICANS VOTING FOR DEMOCRATS THIS YEAR?



It's not just because the Administration and Democratic leaders are working hard for a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East and to end discrimination and exclusion of Arab Americans and Muslim Americans.

It's because the Democrats are standing up for the values we learned from our parents and grandparents. Hard work. Personal responsibility. Educational opportunity. And respect for senior citizens.

The Democrats' priorities are our priorities. Medicare for retired people. Welfare reform that requires work and protects children. Education. Tax breaks for college tuition. Cops on the beat. Job opportunities for our young people. Lower interest rates on home loans. And drugs off the streets and out of our schools.

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Printed for the Democratic National Committee

WHY ARE SO MANY UKRAINIAN AMERICANS VOTING FOR DEMOCRATS THIS YEAR?



Photo by the Democratic National Committee

It's not just because the Administration and Democratic leaders are working hard to secure an independent and prosperous Ukraine.

It's because the Democrats are standing up for the values we learned from our parents and grandparents. Hard work. Personal responsibility. Educational opportunity. And respect for senior citizens.

The Democrats' priorities are our priorities. Medicare for retired people. Welfare reform that requires work and protects children. Education. Tax breaks for college tuition. Cops on the beat. Job opportunities for our young people. Lower interest rates on home loans. And drugs off the streets and out of our schools.

This year, we must keep the dreams of our parents and grandparents alive for our children and our grandchildren.

WIN
IN
'96

Ukrainian Weekly
7 1/4 tall x 9 7/8" wide

WHY ARE SO MANY GREEK AMERICANS VOTING FOR DEMOCRATS THIS YEAR?



Photo by AP of a Democratic National Convention

It's not just because the Administration and Democratic leaders are working hard to secure peace and justice for Cyprus.

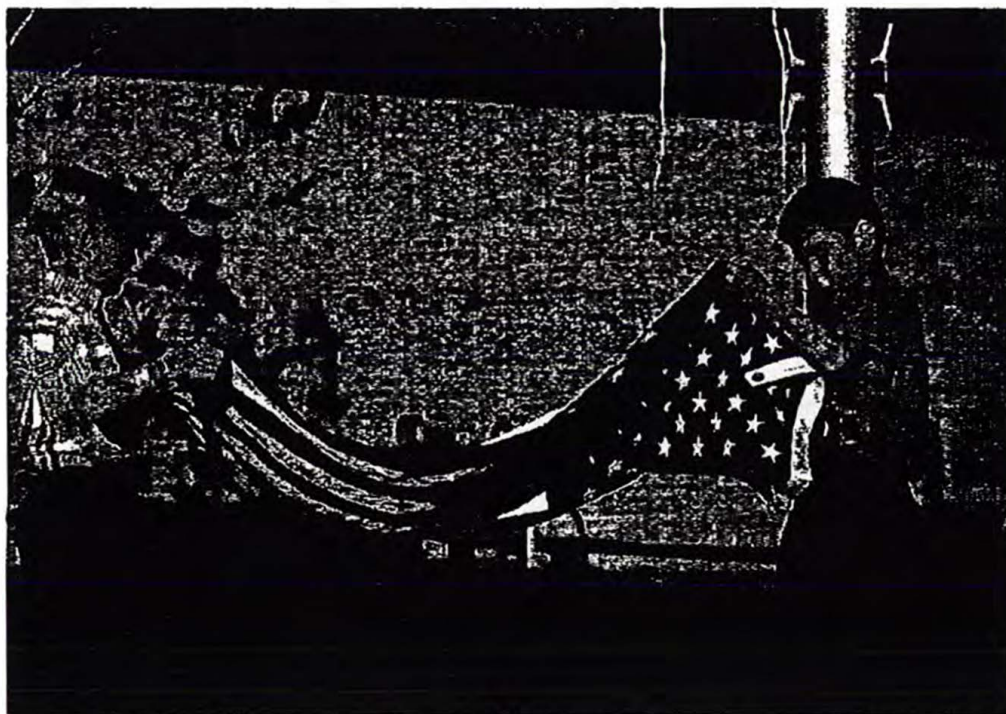
It's because the Democrats are standing up for the values we learned from our parents and grandparents. Hard work. Personal responsibility. Educational opportunity. And respect for senior citizens.

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This year, we must keep the dreams of our parents and grandparents alive for our children and our grandchildren.

**WIN
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'96**

WHY ARE SO MANY GERMAN AMERICANS VOTING FOR DEMOCRATS THIS YEAR?



1992 by The Democratic National Committee

It's because the Democrats are standing up for the values we learned from our parents and grandparents. Hard work. Personal responsibility. Educational opportunity. And respect for senior citizens.

The Democrats' priorities are our priorities. Medicare for retired people. Welfare reform that requires work and protects children. Education. Tax breaks for college tuition. Cops on the beat. Job opportunities for our young people. Lower interest rates on home loans. And drugs off the streets and out of our schools.

This year, we must keep the dreams of our parents and grandparents alive for our children and our grandchildren.

filed notes

Prospective Hungarian-American Leaders

1. Edith Lauer, President, Hungarian American Coalition
Shaker Heights, Ohio
2. Hon. Peter Ujvagi, City Council Member and
Board Member, Hungarian American Coalition
Toledo, Ohio
3. Eva Voison, President, Hungarian-American Chamber of Commerce and
Hungarian Honorary Consul
Redwood City, California
4. Andrea Stetz, Activist among Hungarian-American younger groups
Chicago, Illinois
5. Hon. Laszlo Papp, City Council Member and
President, American Council of the World Federation of Hungarians
New Canan, Connecticut
6. Representative of
William Penn Fraternal Association
7. Representative of
Hungarian Reform Federation
8. Representative of
Hungarian Communion of Friends

Prospective Polish-American Leaders

1. Delphine Lytell
President, Polish Women's Alliance
Chicago, Illinois
2. Representative
Polish Roman Catholic Union
3. Representative
Polish American Congress (perhaps a strong state chapter)
4. Deborah Majka, President
American Council for Polish Culture
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
5. Marilyn Piurek, President, Connecticut Division
Federation of Polish-Americans
New Haven, Connecticut
6. Teresa Abick, Vice President, Polish National Alliance
Chicago, Illinois

7. AFL-CIO - Polish-American

8.

9.

10.

T.W.

(Pie)-
pres

involved in Alonzo Spellman's "American's All" Foundation, working to promote multi-cultural understanding among school children. Met with the First Lady in February.

10. Fred Schwartz
New York

Involved in building Auschwitz educational center;
very close to Michael Lewan's Commission for the Preservation of America's
Heritage Abroad.

Simunaria - Chicago festival
July 6

— Report

Hungary - (n F.W. stills to
Romania w/o
tolerance)

Czech Rep.

Shorhei

1. Walter Reich
Director
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum
Washington, D.C.

2. Dr. Ruth Mandel
Vice Chair
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum
Child Holocaust survivor
New Jersey

3. Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Former President
 Union of American Hebrew Congregations
born in Poland
Connecticut

4. Patricia Kenner
Chair
New York Council to build a Holocaust Museum in New York
New York

5. Susan Manilow
Chair
Chicago Jewish Federation

6.

7.

8.

9. Fritzie Fritzshall
Auschwitz survivor;
involved in Alonzo Spellman's "American's All" Foundation, working to promote
multi-cultural understanding among school children. Met with the First Lady in
February.

10. Fred Schwartz
New York
Involved in building Auschwitz educational center;
very close to Michael Lewan's Commission for the Preservation of America's
Heritage Abroad.

1. Walter Reich
Director
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum
Washington, D.C.

① ✱ 2. Dr. Ruth Mandel
Vice Chair
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum
Child Holocaust survivor
New Jersey

② ✱ 3. Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Former President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
born in Poland
Connecticut

4. Patricia Kenner *has extensive bus interest in Ark.*
Chair
New York Council to build a Holocaust Museum in New York
New York

5. Susan Manilow
Chair
Chicago Jewish Federation

④? ⑥ ✱ 6. Jona Goldrich
Escaped Poland in 1942. Speaks Polish.
Parents died in Holocaust-second generation survivor
homebuilder-construction
310-204-2050

⑦ 7. Arnold Lorber
Holocaust survivor, strong supporter and contributor to Holocaust Museum
310-275-1568

⑧ 8. Fred Court
One of the few living survivors of Treblinka.
213-275-3077 h
212-489-2120 w

③ ✱ 9. Fritzie Fritzshall
Auschwitz survivor;

- Chicago

write:
Jim Brener
Melene Marks

file ethnics

CENTRAL AND EAST EUROPEAN ETHNIC POPULATION

STATE	ETHNICS	%	STATE	ETHNICS	%
United States	21,262,029	8.55%	Missouri	228,215	4.46%
Alabama	53,940	1.33%	Montana	52,251	6.54%
Alaska	33,344	6.06%	Nebraska	194,773	12.34%
Arizona	160,376	4.37%	Nevada	84,402	7.02%
Arkansas	39,906	1.70%	New Hampshire	87,338	7.87%
California	1,931,758	6.49%	New Jersey	1,368,364	17.70%
Colorado	236,190	7.17%	New Mexico	52,507	3.47%
Connecticut	605,527	18.42%	New York	2,582,440	14.35%
Delaware	66,743	10.02%	North Carolina	140,966	2.13%
D.C.	35,691	5.88%	North Dakota	63,393	9.92%
Florida	1,040,481	8.04%	Ohio	1,362,059	12.56%
Georgia	168,448	2.60%	Oklahoma	76,609	2.44%
Hawaii	30,565	2.76%	Oregon	153,808	5.41%
Idaho	33,884	3.37%	Pennsylvania	2,175,477	18.31%
Illinois	1,767,634	15.46%	Rhode Island	84,944	8.47%
Indiana	367,722	6.63%	South Carolina	68,116	1.95%
Iowa	136,800	4.93%	South Dakota	42,481	6.10%
Kansas	109,420	4.42%	Tennessee	84,092	1.72%
Kentucky	56,729	1.54%	Texas	644,826	3.80%
Louisiana	60,793	1.44%	Utah	42,985	2.49%
Maine	51,999	4.23%	Vermont	35,960	6.39%
Maryland	459,986	9.62%	Virginia	291,931	4.72%
Massachusetts	699,473	11.63%	Washington	275,921	5.67%
Michigan	1,419,636	15.27%	West Virginia	71,947	4.01%
Minnesota	478,348	10.93%	Wisconsin	803,721	16.43%
Mississippi	29,298	1.14%	Wyoming	25,764	5.68%

COMPILED BY THE WASHINGTON OFFICE OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, INC.

UNITED STATES

248,709,873

ETHNIC GROUP	PEOPLE	RANK
Albanian	47,710	17
Armenian	308,096	11
Bulgarian	29,595	18
Carpathian Russian	7,602	23
Croatian	544,270	8
Czech	1,300,192	5
Czechoslovakian	315,285	10
Estonian	26,762	19
German Russian	10,153	21
Hungarian	1,582,302	4
Latvian	100,331	15
Lithuanian	811,865	6
Macedonian	20,365	20
Polish	9,366,106	1
Rom	5,693	24
Romanian	365,544	9
Russian	2,952,987	2
Serbian	116,795	14
Slavic	76,931	16
Slovak	1,882,897	3
Slovene	124,437	13
Soviet Union	7,729	22
Ukrainian	740,803	7
Yugoslavian	257,994	12
Others	259,585	
TOTAL	21,262,029	
PERCENT OF POPULATION	8.55%	

✓ 4

✓ 3

✓ 5

✓ 1

✓ 2

CENTRAL AND EAST EUROPEAN COALITION

American Latvian Association, Inc.
Armenian Assembly of America
Belarusian Congress Committee of America
Bulgarian Institute for Research and Analysis
Congress of Romanian Americans, Inc.
Czechoslovak Council of America
Estonian World Council, Inc.
Hungarian American Coalition
Joint Baltic American National Committee
Lithuanian-American Community, Inc.
National Federation of American Hungarians
Polish American Congress, Inc.
Slovak World Congress
Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc.
Ukrainian National Association, Inc.
US-Baltic Foundation

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE BRIEFING PACKET

March 1995

1625 K Street, N.W. Suite 505
Washington, D.C. 20006

CALIFORNIA

ETHNIC GROUP	NUMBER	PERCENT
IRISH	3,425,089	11.5%
ITALIAN	1,439,778	4.8%
POLISH	578,256	1.9%
PORTUGUESE	356,495	1.2%

CONNECTICUT

ETHNIC GROUP	NUMBER	PERCENT
ITALIAN	628,232	19.1%
IRISH	613,765	18.7%
POLISH	312,587	9.5%
OTHER CEE (Slovak, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian)	164,857	5.0%
PORTUGUESE	43,098	1.3%
GREEK	26,646	0.8%

*Information compiled from 1990 Census Data. Number and percent are of total population.

ILLINOIS

ETHNIC GROUP	NUMBER	PERCENT
IRISH	1,860,989	16.3 %
POLISH	962,827	8.4 %
ITALIAN	729,000	6.4 %
OTHER CEE (Czech, Slovak, Lithuanian, Hungarian)	429,759	3.36 %
GREEK	93,046	0.8 %

MICHIGAN

ETHNIC GROUP	NUMBER	PERCENT
IRISH	1,320,458	14.2 %
POLISH	889,527	9.6 %
ITALIAN	409,573	4.4 %
OTHER CEE (Hungarian, Slovak, Ukrainian)	237,956	2.6 %
GREEK	42,678	0.5 %

*Information compiled from 1990 Census Data. Number and percent are of total population.

NEW JERSEY

ETHNIC GROUP	NUMBER	PERCENT
ITALIAN	1,457,013	18.8%
IRISH	1,415,489	18.3%
POLISH	626,506	8.1%
OTHER CEE (Hungarian, Slovak, Ukrainian)	333,124	4.3%
PORTUGUESE	63,188	0.8%
GREEK	60,899	0.8%

NEW YORK

ETHNIC GROUP	NUMBER	PERCENT
ITALIAN	2,837,904	15.8%
IRISH	2,800,128	15.6%
POLISH	1,181,077	6.6%
OTHER CEE (Hungarian, Ukrainian, Slovak)	426,056	2.4%
GREEK	159,876	0.9%

*Information compiled from 1990 Census Data. Number and percent are of total population.

OHIO

ETHNIC GROUP	NUMBER	PERCENT
IRISH	1,896,231	17.5%
OTHER CEE (Slovak, Hungarian, Czech, Croatian, Slovene, Ukrainian)	711,395	6.5%
ITALIAN	637,143	5.9%
POLISH	442,226	4.1%
GREEK	49,496	0.5%

PENNSYLVANIA

ETHNIC GROUP	NUMBER	PERCENT
IRISH	2,255,867	19.0%
ITALIAN	1,372,904	11.6%
OTHER CEE (Slovak- 3.8%, Hungarian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Croatian)	912,022	7.8%
POLISH	882,348	7.4%
GREEK	55,158	0.5%

*Information compiled from 1990 Census Data. Number and percent are of total population.

Ethnics Resurging

Now that they've joined forces, advocates for former Iron Curtain nations are speaking with greater authority. Washington's policy makers and politicians are listening.

BY DICK KIRSCHTEN

President Clinton hit the road earlier this year for some stump oratory in America's heartland. In Cleveland on Jan. 13, he addressed the bread-and-butter concerns of middle-class workers, but with a special spin.

"From Tallinn to Tiranë," he exhorted, "people must have good jobs so that they can provide for their families and feel... self-confidence." The alliterative sweep of his rhetoric—from Estonia's capital in the Baltics southward to Albania's in the Balkans—was custom-tailored for an audience of Central and Eastern European ethnic leaders.

On the same day, back in Washington, Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole, R-Kan.—a possible Clinton rival in 1996—scored points with advocates for former Iron Curtain nations by introducing legislation opposing blockades of humanitarian shipments, such as that being imposed by Turkey against Armenia.

In the House, the national security plank of the Republicans' Contract With

America was amended during floor debate on Feb. 16 after lobbyists for the new Central and East European Coalition objected to the wording of its provision on the expansion of NATO.

Formed in late 1993, the coalition is made up of 16 U.S. ethnic associations with Washington offices that look out for the concerns of a dozen newly free European nations. Organized with a push from well-established Armenian-American and Ukrainian-American operatives, the alliance also speaks for citizens of Belarusian, Bulgarian, Czech, Estonian, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Romanian and Slovak heritage.

Loosely lumped together as the Captive Nations Lobby during the Cold War decades, these militantly anti-Communist ethnic populations were largely taken for granted in national elections as surefire Republican majorities. But in 1992, angered by President Bush's hesitancy in recognizing breakaway Soviet republics, these voters abandoned the GOP in droves.

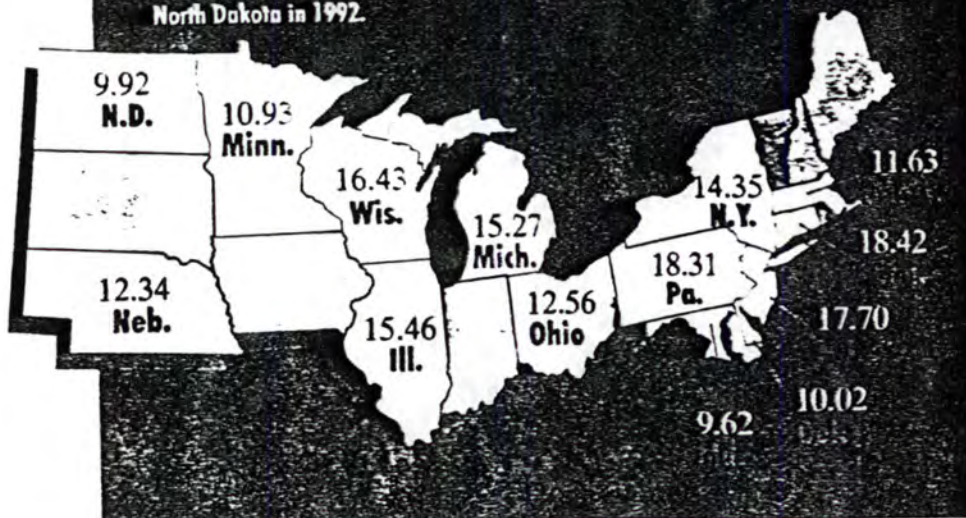
Although Central and Eastern European ethnics make up only 8.5 per cent of the population, according to the 1990 census, they are concentrated in the Northeast and Midwest in sufficient numbers to be a potential swing vote. They also tend to be older than the general population and have an above-average voter turnout rate.

Against Bush and independent Ross Perot, Clinton carried 12 of the 14 states with the highest concentrations of such ethnics. Those dozen states produced 186 electoral votes, more than half his winning total. (See map.)

By Election Day 1996, of course, seven years will have passed since the fall of the Berlin Wall, nearly five since the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Barring a cataclysmic turn of events in Russia, it's

UP FOR GRABS IN 1996?

Of the 14 states with the highest percentages of Central and East European ethnics, President Clinton won all but Nebraska and North Dakota in 1992.



not at all clear that the onetime Captive Nations bloc—many of whose members now are first or second-generation U.S. citizens—will vote on the basis of foreign policy concerns.

"When your country is imperiled and under foreign domination, you have an exile instinct," said Adrian Karatnycky, an American-born foreign policy analyst of Ukrainian descent. "But, at this point, the Central Europeans have a diaspora instinct. They are Americans now. They aren't turning to see what the U.S. aid package for Poland is; I think they'll basically be voting on issues like crime on the streets and Joycelyn Elders."

Some ethnic politicians disagree. One of them is former Rep. Edward J. Derwinski, R-Ill., who served in Bush's Cabinet after a long stint in Congress as a high-profile leader of the Polish-American community, by far the largest of the country's Central European nationality groups.

Ethnic movements "have been revitalized by a continued flow of immigrants and by the newfound pride" that came with the independence of their homelands, Derwinski, who is now a business consultant with offices in Alexandria, Va., and Chicago, said in an interview.

Nor should Eastern Europe be ruled out as a campaign issue next year, Derwinski said: "As you see the growing chaos in Russia, the economic mess in Ukraine and Belarus, the situation in Yugoslavia, the NATO issue—that part of the world is back in front of us again."

Zbigniew Brzezinski, the Polish-born academic who was chief White House national security adviser in the Democratic Carter Administration, added that the newly unified ethnic lobbying alliance in Washington should not be underestimated. "For the first time, the Polish-American community, which is fairly large, but also the Balts, who are well-organized and motivated, the Ukrainians, the Hungarians, are working together, and that's rather unusual." (See *NJ*, 12/30/89, p. 3096.)

Clinton, Brzezinski said, has a problem in deputy secretary of State Strobe Talbott, widely identified as the architect of the Administration's policy toward the former Soviet Union and "extremely unpopular among these groups."

Brzezinski, a consultant (Z.B. Inc.) and a counselor to the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a Washington think tank, added that "whether the



Former Rep. Edward J. Derwinski, R-Ill.
Eastern Europe is once again "back in front of us."

Administration moves hard or doesn't move hard for NATO expansion is going to have some bearing on how these people vote." He predicted that "as the election gets closer, the bells at the White House will start ringing more loudly."

A short time later, the Administration leaked word of a decision to sell arms to 10 former Soviet Bloc nations to help ready them for NATO membership.

REACHING OUT

Before Alexis M. Herman was hired as the White House's director of public liaison, she recalled in an interview, Clinton reminded her of his "wide support from ethnic communities in 1992" and made her promise to maintain an open-door policy toward its leaders.

Clinton opportunistically campaigned for ethnic votes that year by ridiculing Bush's August 1991 "Chicken Kiev" speech urging the Ukrainian parliament not to break from the Soviet Union and for his delays in recognizing the Baltic states and de-recognizing Yugoslavia.

Clinton's efforts to seize the international affairs initiative from the more-experienced Bush peaked just weeks before Election Day in front of an audi-

ence laced with ethnic leaders in Milwaukee. In a well-received speech, Clinton outlined a "pro-democracy foreign policy" to advance America's interest in a more just and peaceful world.

As President, Clinton arranged to return to the site of his Milwaukee success on Jan. 6, 1994, to try to ameliorate the concerns of ethnic leaders unhappy that the Administration's Partnership for Peace proposal failed to set firm deadlines for granting NATO membership to Central Europe's so-called Warsaw Pact nations.

The event was scheduled on the eve of the President's departure for a NATO leadership summit in Brussels. When Clinton had to cancel at the last moment because of the death of his mother, Vice President Albert Gore Jr. delivered his speech for him.

From Herman's perspective, the speech was less important than the staff work that preceded it. The White House lined up a roster of 20 ethnic leaders—primarily from the Czech, Hungarian, Polish and Slovak communities—and arranged for them to meet at length with Clinton's deputy national security adviser, Samuel R. (Sandy) Berger.

"What I remember," Herman said, "is the meeting we held in Milwaukee the day before the Vice President's arrival when Sandy Berger spent more than three hours in a dialogue on issues ranging from NATO expansion to the war in Bosnia."

Clinton's performance in Cleveland last month was backed up by an even more star-studded cast of Administration notables. Billed as the White House Conference on Trade and Investment—with the Commerce Department and the Agency for International Development (AID) each asked to chip in \$250,000 toward its cost—the two-day forum provided information for potential investors and providers of services to the region.

Participants in the conference, besides the President, included Commerce Secretary Ronald H. Brown, assistant secretary of State for European and Canadian affairs Richard C. Holbrooke and R. Nicholas Burns, a former White House specialist on the former Soviet republics who is now the State Department's chief spokesman.

On the opening day of the conference, Herman said, Administration officials held extensive discussions with 30 U.S. community leaders of Central and Eastern European heritage who had been invited. The ethnic leaders met with Clin-

ton the next day, she said, noting that the meeting sent "the message that we are talking to the domestic middle class."

Zdenka Gast, a Croatian-American activist who helped Herman line up conference attendees, said in an interview that "every one of the nationalities [represented at Cleveland] was concerned about the new emergence of a Russian Cold War mentality." She added that the Administration officials, including Clin-

brooke has emerged as an advocate of expeditious expansion of NATO. "He's the good cop, as far as the East Europeans and Balts and so forth are concerned," Karatnycky said.

Foreign aid is also a cause of friction between the Administration and leaders of the European ethnic communities. Clinton gets credit for the boldness of the \$2.5 billion post-Soviet aid package that won approval in 1993, but not for assign-

But frustration runs high among ethnic leaders such as Eugene Iwanciw, chief Washington lobbyist for the Ukrainian National Association, who contends that the AID bureaucracy doesn't understand the region's problems. "Tom Dine and Brian Atwood can't go through each [AID] proposal," Iwanciw said in a recent interview. "They are trying to manage this, but it is a big problem."

CHALLENGING CLINTON

At the Cleveland conference, Clinton issued his first public condemnation of the brutality of Russia's offensive against secessionist Chechnya and called upon Moscow to end "the spilling of blood." But he argued that it would be a mistake to withdraw U.S. support for the "forces of reform" in Russia represented by the beleaguered government of President Boris N. Yeltsin.

At the root of Clinton's policy is the conviction that European security in the post-Cold War world depends upon Russia's becoming a stable democratic nation that's not isolated from its neighbors. As NATO is expanded, he has said repeatedly, "it should not be seen as replacing one division of Europe with another one."

Washington's newly unified ethnic lobbyists think Clinton has got it backward. In a white paper on U.S. foreign policy prepared for the opening of the 104th Congress, the Central and East European Coalition firmly rejected what it referred to as the "Russian-centered path" chosen by the Clinton Administration.

While agreeing that it's in America's interests to support democratic institutions and market reforms in Russia, the alliance unabashedly argues that the top priority should be to "invest heavily in the political and economic development" of Russia's western-oriented neighbors. The alliance's position paper declares that "political and economic liberalism must take root in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe first if Russia is to have any hope of following along the path."

The glue that binds the alliance is mistrust of Russia. And the Russian bear—withstanding the inept performance of its army against the badly outmanned and outgunned Chechens—appears ever more menacing as the nation appears to be lurching toward a post-Yeltsin era of increasing antagonism toward the West.

"Russian expansionism was the main concern when we first got started," explained Iwanciw, who lobbies for one of the two largest Ukrainian-American groups. That remains the concern today, he said, although the coalition also weighs in on other issues. It issued an eight-page briefing memorandum on foreign assistance issues on Jan. 20, and its



Croatian-American activist Zdenka Gast

There's growing concern about "the new emergence of a Russian Cold War mentality."

ton, "put in a lot of time" addressing those concerns.

Gast, the owner of a Buffalo (N.Y.) bridge-building firm, is a veteran Republican fund raiser and a likely Dole supporter in 1996. She said, however, that Holbrooke gave a particularly eloquent defense of the Clinton Administration's NATO policy during the Cleveland meeting. "He pulled out all the stops in reassuring the [ethnic] leaders that the United States will not stand by if Russia tries to hassle any of those countries, she said.

The Croatian-born construction executive added that when pressed about why the Warsaw Pact nations must wait to gain the security protection of full NATO membership, "Holbrooke, to his credit, gave a lot of good reasons for the waiting."

When informed that Holbrooke, rather than Talbott, took part in the Cleveland event, Karatnycky, who is head of Freedom House, a pro-democracy advocacy group based in New York City, remarked that the Administration "chose wisely."

Since taking over the State Department's European desk last August, Hol-

ing the preponderance to Russia. More money is now allocated to non-Russian republics, but it will take time for it work its way through the foreign assistance pipeline.

As pressures have mounted to reduce international spending in general, Clinton has proposed cutbacks in popular programs such as the 1992 Freedom Support Act, the National Endowment for Democracy and pro-democracy radio broadcasting. His 1996 budget request, according to a Feb. 13 statement issued by the Central and East European Coalition, falls short of the region's need.

Such complaints require AID administrator J. Brian Atwood and Thomas A. Dine, his assistant for Europe and the newly independent states, to spend time assuring ethnic leaders that available funds are being distributed efficiently.

Although Dine's job requires extensive travel in Europe, his aides note that he has also met with Polish and Ukrainian groups in Chicago and Armenian-Americans in Los Angeles to explain AID's programs and discuss ideas for improving them.

members have spoken out against a Republican welfare reform proposal to permanently deny benefits to immigrants.

Wartan said the idea for the coalition began to take shape four years ago when a few lobbyists—"basically the Armenians, Balts and Ukrainians"—informally worked together to push for early recognition of republics seeking to break away from the foundering Soviet Union. After the Soviet collapse, they split apart to help establish embassies and build contacts with their newly independent mother countries.

In 1993, he continued, the informal predecessor group "got back together and realized that we had a lot in common with countries like Hungary and Poland, which were a couple of years ahead in dealing with these issues." Russian-Americans were not invited to join the coalition, however, "because many of the issues that brought us together were concerns about Russian foreign policy," he said.

"The object is not just to win the Cold War, but to win the post-Cold War," explained Ross Vartian, who heads the 17-employee Washington office of the Armenian Assembly of America, a shop that he said functions in the same manner as "the tobacco lobby or any other high-quality lobby in this city."

Vartian described the coalition's membership as "not as avowedly anti-Russian" as the "Cold War warriors" of the Caritative Nations Lobby. But he emphasized that the alliance will press Congress "to give as much aid as possible to the former Soviet states, particularly the non-Russian ones."

Linas J. Kojelis, a founder of the Washington-based U.S.-Baltic Foundation, traces the coalition's roots to the late 1970s and early 1980s, when "the first generation of people of East European ethnic heritage" began coming to Washington to take political jobs on Capitol Hill and in the executive branch. "They figured out how Washington worked and took that knowledge back to some of the mainline ethnic groups or created new organizations."

The coalition and its member organizations have strong allies on both sides of the aisle on Capitol Hill. Its older constituents tend to come from blue-collar backgrounds and send Democrats to Congress. House Minority Whip David E. Bonior, D-Mich., for example, is of Ukrainian background; Rep. Anna G. Eshoo, D-Calif., is the only Armenian-American on the Hill. But younger ethnics and post-World War II immigrants tend to vote Republican.

The successful effort to amend the NATO expansion language in the Republican-sponsored National Security Revitalization Act was led by in the House by

the bipartisan quartet of Richard J. Durbin, D-Ill.; International Relations Committee chairman Benjamin A. Gilman, R-N.Y.; Joseph Knollenberg, R-Mich.; and William O. Lipinski, D-Ill.

The amendment adds support for "other countries that are emerging from Communist domination" to language boosting NATO membership for Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia and softens wording that calls for NATO to cooperate closely with Russia, substituting the statement that expansion of the alliance should increase stability for European nations, "including Russia."

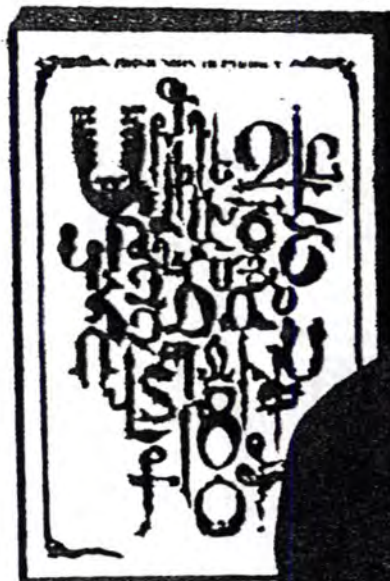
The coalition, which has steered away from the issue of the fighting in the former Yugoslavia, has no members representing the Balkan nations. But many of its Capitol Hill champions have emerged as severe critics of the Clinton Administration's position on Bosnia.

Among the likely 1996 presidential contenders, no one has been more vigorous than Dole in pushing legislation to force the United States to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia. Dole aide Mira

Dole's most personal tie is to the Armenian-American community, a relationship that dates back to 1947, when an Armenian-born surgeon, Hampar Kelikian, helped Dole recover from the serious wounds he suffered in World War II combat. "The relationship has been mutually beneficial," Armenian Assembly of America lobbyist Vartian noted. Dole, as a public official, has shown compassion for Armenia, and "the thank you for the Senator has come in the form of hundreds and hundreds of people making contributions to his various efforts."

Roger J. Stone, a Republican partner in the Alexandria (Va.) political consulting firm of Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly, said in an interview that he believes the ethnic voters who abandoned Bush in 1992 will return to the GOP fold next year. Stone views Central and Eastern European voters as an important part of "the single most important element of the Republican presidential constituency: the blue-collar Catholic vote."

Stone said that Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, "could reach them, too, but till now he's been an inside-the-Beltway phe-



The Armenian Assembly of America's Ross Vartian
His goal: More American aid for the former Soviet states, "particularly the non-Russian ones."

Baratta, whose father is a Croat from Sarajevo, has worked tirelessly on the issue, building strong sympathy for Dole among Croatian-Americans, though alienating Serbian-Americans.

Over the course of his Senate career, coalition leaders say, Dole has paid close attention to the concerns of the Central and East European communities and has included on his staff advisers with Ukrainian and Latvian backgrounds.

nomenon, a cipher to the blue-collar masses." Dole, on the other hand, is "a known commodity" to these voters, he said.

The bad news for Clinton is that if Russia is still on the track toward democratic reform in 1996, European ethnics may vote their discontent with him over social issues. And if Russia backslides, they'll vote their anger over his foreign policy.

file email

OE03 100

**WHITE HOUSE MEETING WITH
THE CENTRAL AND EAST EUROPEAN COALITION
MAY 14, 1996 - 1:00 P.M. - ROOSEVELT ROOM**

Coalition Participants

Mr. Martin Zvaners, Director of Public Affairs
American Latvian Association

Mr. Ross Vartian, Executive Director
Mr. Tim Jemal, Director of Congressional Relations
Armenian Assembly of America

Mr. Russell Zavistovich, President
Belarusian Congress Committee of America

Mr. Radi Slavoff, Vice President
Bulgarian Institute for Research and Analysis

Mr. Armand A. Scala, President
Congress of Romanian Americans, Inc.

Dr. Otakar Horna, President, Washington D.C. Branch
Czechoslovak National Council of America

Mr. Mati Koiva, Vice President
Estonian American National Council, Inc.

Mr. Vello Ederma, Director
Estonian World Council, Inc.

Mr. Frank Koszorus, President
Hungarian American Federation of Metropolitan Washington, DC

Dr. John Genys, Chairman
Ms. Aija Straumanis, Director of Public Information
Joint Baltic American National Committee, Inc.

Ms. Asta Banionis, Director, Public Affairs Office
Lithuanian American Community

Mr. Laszlo Pasztor, National President
Ms. Leslie Megyeri
National Federation of American Hungarians

*Melanne,
FYI, we're meeting
with this group
today on foreign
assistance. It's
a follow-up to
the February
meeting w/ the
President. @.*

Ms. Myra Lenard, Executive Director
Mr. Stanley Glod
Polish American Congress

Dr. John J. Karch, Executive Vice President
Slovak World Congress

Mr. Linas Kojelis, President
Mr. Jeff Nelson
U.S. Baltic Foundation

Mr. Michael Sawkiw, Jr., Director-Washington Office
Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

Mr. Eugene Iwanciw, UNA Representative to the CEEC
Ukrainian National Association

Administration Participants

Chip Blacker, NSC
Dick Morningstar, State
Jim Holmes, State
Carlos Pascual, NSC
Philip DuSault, OMB
Marilyn DiGiacobbe, OPL

> Identified as POTUS point people
for CEEC on foreign assistance

Tony Gambino, State
Anne Johnson, State
Christa Capozzola, State

Oleg's note

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**Office of the President-Elect
and Vice President-Elect**

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
December 9, 1992**

**CONTACT: Dee Dee Myers
(501)399-7175**

**STATEMENT BY WARREN CHRISTOPHER
ON THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S ETHICS "PLEDGES"**

Last month, the American people voted for change. They made it clear that they want to take their government back, and that they want to end business as usual in Washington. In recent years, too many former top officials began to sell their access and influence almost the day after they left office. That saps public confidence in our political process.

During his Presidential campaign, Governor Clinton promised the American people that he would seek to "stop the revolving door" by requiring his top appointees to refrain from lobbying their agencies for five years. Today, we are announcing rules that keep that promise to the American people. Top officials will be required to sign a pledge agreeing to these new standards. These rules seek to change the climate in Washington, and usher in a new era of public service.

These pledges go well beyond existing ethics rules, and are designed to signal a clear break with existing practice. In drafting these pledges, we have sought to balance the need for reform with the desire to attract the best people into government. We believe that these new rules properly reconcile these goals.

The pledge has three key parts:

First, approximately 1100 of Gov. Clinton's top appointees will pledge that they will not lobby their former agencies for five years after leaving the government. This provision goes well beyond the current one year ban on such representation. Let me make clear that this ban includes a very broad range of activities, including representations before administrative agencies, as well as private lobbying conversations. The officials covered include Governor Clinton's most senior officials, those paid over \$104,000, and range as deep into the government as deputy assistant secretaries and general counsels. Those excluded are primarily career civil service personnel, foreign service officers and uniformed military personnel. Top White House aides, in addition to being banned from lobbying the Executive Office of the President for five years, will be banned from lobbying any department over which they had substantial personal responsibility.

There are some limited exemptions. The pledge will not apply to former officials who

go to work for the federal, state or local governments. Scientists and other technical personnel who are employed by non-profit organizations will continue to be able to seek grants. And representation in criminal or civil litigation will also be excluded. We will continue, of course, the existing ban against any representation where the former government official had personal and substantial involvement with a matter while in government.

Second, these same top officials will pledge never to become registered foreign agents for any foreign government or foreign political party.

Finally, trade negotiators will be required to pledge that they will not lobby for foreign governments or foreign business entities for five years following their participation in a negotiation.

For example, under these pledges, the former General Counsel of the Federal Communications Commission would not be able to return to the agency and represent clients in license and rulemaking proceedings. The former Deputy U.S. Trade Representative would be barred for five years from lobbying for the Canadian government or for Volkswagen. And all top officials would be barred from activity that would now cause them to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

The Clinton administration will vigorously enforce these pledges. Upon taking office, Gov. Clinton will sign an executive order making these pledges the policy of the government, and laying out some of the ways to enforce them. If a former official breaks his or her word and lobbies in violation of this pledge, several remedies will be available. The administration will sue to enjoin the improper activity, and will sue to recover the income for U.S. taxpayers. And the former official will be barred from lobbying the agency for up to an additional five years. Most important, Gov. Clinton's appointees will know that he will hold them personally accountable for any violation of the public trust.

No doubt, these rules will make some people unhappy. That's not surprising. For Governor Clinton intends to change the way business is done in Washington. That means changing old ways. But we believe a dramatic step is necessary to show we are serious about making government work.

By asking his top officials to sign these pledges, Gov. Clinton seeks to keep his pledge to the American people. Taxpayers need to know that the public servants whose salaries they pay will work for them, not for special interests.

These are the strongest standards any president has asked of his employees. But they are just the beginning of Gov. Clinton's effort to give the government back to the people. As he said following his election, he intends to propose campaign finance reform and lobbying reform legislation. Most important, he will appoint men and women of high caliber who will see public service as a public trust.

- 30 -

December 9, 1992

FIVE-YEAR NO-LOBBYING BAN

"We will require all top appointees to . . . refrain from lobbying government agencies within their responsibilities for five years after leaving office." (Putting People First at 26.)

1. Who are the "top appointees" to whom the new rule applies?

Covered by the ban are approximately 1100 employees of the Executive Branch and the various independent agencies who are paid at or above Executive Schedule V (currently \$104,800), including:

- o approximately 700 employees who are presidential appointees subject to Senate confirmation;
- o approximately 300 additional employees who are political appointees not subject to Senate confirmation (including officials at the level of Deputy Assistant Secretary and agency General Counsel); and
- o approximately 100 political appointees in the Executive Office of the President ("EOP").

This pledge will not cover any career officials.

2. What communications are prohibited by the term "lobbying"?

For purposes of the "revolving door" pledge, "lobbying" will be defined as follows:

"Lobbying" means knowingly communicating to or appearing before any Executive Branch Department or agency (including an independent agency) on behalf of another with the intent to influence official action, except that the term "lobbying" does not include:

- (a) communications or appearances with regard to judicial proceedings, or criminal or civil law enforcement inquiries, investigations or proceedings (but not administrative proceedings);
- (b) communications or appearances made as an officer or an employee of any federal, state, or local governmental unit; or
- (c) communications or appearances with regard to any government grant, contract or similar benefit made as an officer or an employee of an institution of higher

education; a not-for-profit hospital or medical, charitable, scientific, or environmental research or educational institution; or an international organization in which the United States participates.

This definition would prohibit, for example, a former FCC Commissioner from appearing before or communicating with the FCC in either a rulemaking proceeding or adjudication for five years. This rule would not prevent a former local United States Attorney from representing an individual or business in court or on criminal or civil law enforcement matters that do not involve administrative rulemaking or adjudication. Former officials will continue to be subject to the existing one-year prohibition against appearing before their former agencies on any matter.

This definition also allows for certain very limited exceptions for governmental and nonprofit employees. For example, a university professor who had served in government could apply for a federal grant on behalf of the university to engage in scientific research. This exception recognizes that such contacts are not "lobbying" and are often in the public interest.

Finally, when this rule is implemented by Executive Order, provision will be made for the grant of waivers in exceptional circumstances. This will allow, for example, former officials to give testimony under oath, engage in communications solely for the purpose of furnishing scientific or technical information, and to make other communications determined by the President or the head of a Department or agency to be in the national interest. Current government ethics law allows comparable communications.

3. Does the ban apply only to one's former "agency"?

In general, the current federal law practice of defining a "former agency" will be used for the purposes of this pledge. In an extension of current law, however, the most senior appointees within the EOP will be barred for five years from lobbying any department or agency with respect to which they had substantial personal responsibility. ✓

REPRESENTATION OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS AND ENTITIES

"We will require senior officials to pledge never to become registered agents on behalf of any foreign government." (Putting People First at 26.)

1. Who are the "senior officials" to whom the new rule applies?

The same personnel covered by the 5-year no-lobbying ban will be covered under this pledge.

2. What activities are precluded?

Any activity that currently is registrable under the Foreign Agents Registration Act will be precluded. Because the reach of FARA is limited in some respects, the new Administration will support appropriate legislation to reform FARA and extend its reach.

3. Which clients are covered?

Foreign governments and foreign political parties will be covered.

TRADE NEGOTIATOR PROHIBITION

We will ban "trade negotiators from cashing in on their positions by serving as representatives of foreign corporations or governments. We will rededicate the Office of the Trade Representative to serving the country -- not selling out for lucrative lobbying paychecks from foreign competitors." (Putting People First at 158.)

1. Who are trade negotiators?

The ban against representing foreign governments, political parties, and businesses will apply to all political appointees in the EOP, Executive Branch departments and independent agencies who personally and substantially participate in trade negotiations.

2. What types of activities are prohibited?

Trade negotiators will be prohibited from representing, aiding or advising a foreign government, foreign political party or foreign business entity with the intent to influence any action of an Executive Branch Department or agency or an independent agency.

3. What is the duration of the prohibition?

The duration of the prohibition will be five years from the termination of substantial personal involvement in a trade negotiation.

ENFORCEMENT

The pledge will be enforceable to the fullest extent possible within the power of the President and under contract law. Upon taking office, the Administration will issue an Executive Order encompassing the terms of the pledge. Among the remedies for breach of the pledge, the following will be used:

- (1) Debarment. A former employee who breaks his or her pledge will be subject to debarment for an additional 5 years from representing clients before the Executive Branch.
- (2) Injunction. The pledge and the executive order will provide the basis for a suit to enjoin the offending behavior for 5 years.
- (3) Constructive Trust. Provision will be made to require that any gain realized from prohibited activity be recovered and placed in a trust for the benefit of the U.S. Treasury.

Finally, the Administration will consider such legislation as is necessary and appropriate to enforce the pledge.

PLEDGE

As a condition, and in consideration, of my receiving an appointment to serve in the employ of the United States government in a position invested with the public trust, I commit myself to the following obligations, which I understand are binding on me and are enforceable under law:

1. I will not, within five years after the termination of my employment with any federal department or agency in which I am appointed to serve, lobby any officer or employee of that department or agency.

2. In the event that I serve as a senior appointee within the Executive Office of the President ("EOP"), I also will not, within five years after I cease to be a senior appointee, lobby any officer or employee of any other federal department or agency with respect to which I had substantial personal responsibility.

3. I will not, at any time after the termination of my employment with the United States government, engage in any activity on behalf of any foreign government or foreign political party which, if undertaken today, would require me to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended.

4. I will not, within five years after termination of my substantial and personal participation in a trade negotiation, represent, aid or advise any foreign government, foreign political party or foreign business entity with the intent to influence the official action of any federal department or agency.

5. I acknowledge that Executive Order _____ issued by the President on _____, 1993, which I have read before signing this document, defines certain of the terms applicable to the foregoing obligations and sets forth the methods for enforcing them. I expressly accept the provisions of that Executive Order as a part of this Agreement and as binding on me.

Signed _____

Dated _____

Name _____

Address _____

**Office of the President-Elect
and Vice President-Elect**

Excerpts from "PUTTING PEOPLE FIRST"

Stopping the Revolving Door:

We will require all top appointees to sign a pledge that, if they work in our Administration, they will refrain from lobbying government agencies within their responsibilities for five years after leaving office. We will require senior officials to pledge never to become registered agents on behalf of any foreign government. We will then challenge members of Congress to do the same. (page 26).

Reform the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative:

A Clinton-Gore Administration will issue an executive order banning trade negotiators from cashing in on their positions by serving as representatives of foreign corporations or governments. We will rededicate the Office of the Trade Representative to serving the country--not selling out for lucrative lobbying paychecks from foreign competitors. (page 158).

I. FIVE-YEAR NO-LOBBYING BAN

CLINTON/GORE ADMINISTRATION PLEDGE

Approximately 1100 most senior non-career employees will be barred from "lobbying" their former Department or agency for five years.

Senior EOP employees will be banned for five years from "lobbying" any employee any federal Department or agency with respect to which they had substantial personal responsibility.

CURRENT FEDERAL LAW

18 U.S.C. Section 207(c) -- An estimated 3500 "senior" employees, including career employees, prohibited from "lobbying" their former Department or agency for one year. This rule will continue to apply to all "senior" employees, including those not covered by the five-year ban.

Section 207(d) only bans certain senior employees for one year and only from "lobbying" certain other top employees (i.e., those in Executive Schedule Levels I-V) in any Department or agency.

II. LIFETIME BAN ON REGISTERING UNDER FARA

CLINTON/GORE ADMINISTRATION PLEDGE

Approximately 1100 most senior employees will also be subject to a lifetime ban on acting as a foreign agent on behalf of foreign governments and foreign political parties.

CURRENT FEDERAL LAW

Section 207(f) bans all "senior" and "very senior" officials from representing, aiding, or advising a foreign political party or foreign government for one year in any matter before any Department or agency of the federal government.

III. FIVE-YEAR BAN FOR TRADE NEGOTIATORS

CLINTON/GORE ADMINISTRATION PLEDGE

Top non-career trade negotiators will not, for five years, represent, aid, or advise foreign political parties, foreign governments, or foreign business entities in any matter before the federal government. Applies not only to the officials in the USTR but also to any other officials in a Department or agency with substantial personal responsibility for trade negotiations (e.g., the Commerce or State Departments).

CURRENT FEDERAL LAW

Section 207(f) bans the next USTR from representing, aiding, or advising a foreign political party or foreign government for three years in any matter before any Department or agency of the federal government.

Section 207(b) prohibits for one year only any former official, who personally and substantially participated in any ongoing trade negotiation on behalf of the United States, and who had access to non-public information concerning that trade negotiation, from knowingly representing, aiding, or advising (on the basis of that non-public information) any other person concerning such ongoing trade or treaty negotiation.