

Friends

Gr PM - 4/22

Ex Room < Train
Sym
Cont

Recog → Stahl
Booria / Brad.
Trade

Legit G Conceal
Storage

Sp Survey - Arneis
↳ Byron Hill

CORE POINTS FOR MEETING WITH GREEK-AMERICANS

OVERALL

- THIS MEETING IS IMPORTANT TO ME. GREATLY APPRECIATE SUPPORT OF GREEK-AMERICAN COMMUNITY; YOU HAVE BEEN REAL FRIENDS; NATION BENEFITTED.
- GREECE AND U.S. HAVE BEEN FRIENDS AND ALLIES FOR A LONG TIME: TWO WORLD WARS, THE GREEK CIVIL WAR, THE COLD WAR. THIS FRIENDSHIP HAS A NEW RELEVANCE TODAY.
- ONE OF THE REASONS THE U.S. HAS INTENSIFIED EFFORTS TO STOP THE FIGHTING IN BOSNIA IS THAT THE INSTABILITY THERE CAN THREATEN FRIENDS AND ALLIES LIKE GREECE.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

DIFFERENCES WITH FYROM.

- WE VIEW THE ISSUE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH FYROM IN THIS CONTEXT.

GREEK-TURKISH ISSUES/AEGEAN TENSION

- CONCERNED OVER ESCALATION OF RHETORICAL TENSION BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY. DON'T BELIEVE TURKEY OR GREECE WANT CONFRONTATION, BUT MISINTERPRETATIONS OR MISUNDERSTANDINGS CAN GENERATE WORSE TENSION.
- U.S. HAS URGED BOTH GOVERNMENTS TO KEEP THIS IN MIND; TO AVOID PROVOKING THE OTHER ON SENSITIVE ISSUES. I RAISED THIS IN MY RECENT CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER CILLER.

- U.S. ABILITY TO EASE TENSIONS DEPENDS ON OUR CREDIBILITY IN ANKARA TOO. TURKEY IS A NATO ALLY. A STABLE, DEMOCRATIC AND SECURE TURKEY IS A BETTER NEIGHBOR FOR GREECE, TOO.
- ECUMENICAL GREEK ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE IN ISTANBUL. (IF RAISED). AWARE OF DIFFICULT CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THIS INSTITUTION FUNCTIONS. HOPE THESE IMPROVE; WE WILL UNDERSCORE OUR INTEREST TO THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT.

CYPRUS

- WELCOME RECENT AGREEMENT BY CYPRIOT GOVERNMENT AND TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADERS TO ACCEPT IN PRINCIPLE UN CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES (CBMS).

- o THESE INCLUDE REOPENING UNDER UN ADMINISTRATION NICOSIA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT AND THE CLOSED CITY OF VAROSHA.
- o THEY DO NOT CONVEY RECOGNITION OF NORTHERN CYPRUS ("TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS").
- CBM'S WON'T SOLVE ALL THE PROBLEMS; A FIRST NOT LAST STEP. PROSPECT OF SOME GREEK CYPRIOTS RETURNING TO HOMES AND BUSINESSES IN VAROSHA IS WORTH WORKING FOR.
- U.S. SUPPORTS THIS PROCESS. U.S. SPECIAL COORDINATOR LAMB HAS BEEN WORKING THIS ISSUE AND IS IN NICOSIA THIS WEEK.
- NOT ALL GROUPS IN CYPRUS SUPPORT CBMS PROCESS, BUT VERY PLEASED PRESIDENT CLERIDES DOES. WE

HAVE TOLD TURKEY WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT MAKING REAL PROGRESS ON CYPRUS THIS YEAR.

- (IF ASKED). WANT TO MAINTAIN CURRENT \$15 MILLION ASSISTANCE TO CYPRUS; BUDGETARY PRESSURES SEVERE, THOUGH.

ALBANIA

- ALBANIA JUST EMERGING FROM STALINISM. LONG WAY TO GO. WE ARE WATCHING TREATMENT OF MINORITIES THROUGHOUT BALKANS, INCLUDING GREEK MINORITY IN ALBANIA.
- GOA KNOWS OUR VIEWS THAT HUMAN RIGHTS IS KEY TO GOOD RELATIONS WITH U.S. PROBLEMS EXIST, BUT ALBANIAN GOVERNMENT OFF TO RELATIVELY PROMISING START.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(clay)

CP → EU
→ DMZ
→ WPM

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

CHIEF OF STAFF
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

3/17/94

John Podesta

94 MAR 17 P1:16

I thought you might be interested in the
attached.

Personally,

Mcl

Mack McLarty

John Podesta

To: THE PRESIDENT and Hillary Rodham Clinton

From: A friend

Re: How to Take the Initiative back

Date: March 10, 1994

As you may recall, my favorite quote about how to govern comes from Henry Kissinger in his *Years of Upheaval* in which he says that "a statesman's duty is to bridge the gap between his vision and the nation's experience. If his vision gets too far out ahead of his nation's experience, he loses his mandate. But if he hews too close to the conventional, he loses control over events."

This quote frames the following advice.

You need a three pronged offensive: paid media, regaining the domestic initiative, and a case by case Whitewater defense.

PAID MEDIA

Just as you faced all your crises in Arkansas with paid media in the backdrop to underscore your agenda and advance your popularity, so you need it now. Very badly.

In the past, I have urged paid media for you to help your health care reforms. Now I urge it so that your health care reforms can help you. Both of you should be on the screen every night urging health care as a basic right, attacking cancellation of coverage, and pushing for portability.

It would be unwise to advertise or, within Washington to insist upon, the details of the alliances in your splendid proposal. That is just "too far out ahead of (your) nation's experience." But by framing your proposal in its essentials and pushing it, you articulate the real reason that you should be President.

Please abandon the fiction that others will do the health care advertising for you. They may, but they won't do YOUR advertising for you -- and that must now be the goal.

Also, please abandon the notion of "efficiency" by not duplicating messages other advertisers, like the AFL, may be using. You need all the best arguments to be coming from your mouths on TV every night, not only for the package, but for you both personally and politically.

So just pick up the phone and raise the money you need for a sustained media barrage, now on health care, next season on something else. But use paid media as your aid. You can't emerge alive from this environment without it.

REGAINING THE DOMESTIC INITIATIVE

During the disasters of the past week, nothing so symbolized the problem as that you were interrupted during two press conferences with former Soviet leaders to get Whitewater questions. That not only symbolizes the power of Whitewater, as the press noted, but it symbolizes a period of no domestic agenda.

In Kissinger's construct, you "hued too close to the conventional and lost control over events."

You must do bold domestic things to show why you should be President.

When Bush needed backing, Atwater said to talk always of foreign policy. Your needs are the opposite. Talk about domestic policy. Not just old policy, but new initiatives the press must cover and the public must love. If the public demands that the press cover these new topics, they will and there is only so much ink and paper space to go around.

Use a compelling alternate agenda to ghettoize Whitewater to a box on the front page and limited space inside.

Specifically, the nation is undergoing an issue upheaval. The economy is solved, so it has faded. Same with the debt and deficit. Same with abortion. Same with trade. Same with education, in their eyes. And almost the same with health care (look at declining mentions of it as a problem and how many people, on their own, are joining HMOs and how cost inflation is dropping).

The issues of the day are all Republican. You have solved the Democratic issues.

Now you must take away their issues.

(1) Come up with the world's toughest gun control program. This is how you take crime back for your party and make it your issue. Don't worry about offending the rural NRA base. They've begun to switch on this issue. Ban possession of guns by people under 21. Mandatory federal crime to have an unlicensed handgun with mandatory jail. No guns for anyone subject to an order of protection. A total ban on all assault weapons. Ban anyone from buying more than one handgun a year. Computerize mental patients, ex offenders, etc. and require store based computer checks before selling guns with automatic closure and prosecution if the dealer errs (the NRA plan) etc.

(2) To dominate the press on a daily basis now, set up a "turn in your guns program" with cash payments for guns (a la St Louis, Norwalk Ct, and a host of other cities). The photos of people turning in guns with lines around the block will compel free media coverage. Declare war on guns. Set a national goal of cutting by over half the number of handguns on the street.

(3) Get moving, fast, on welfare reform. You need it on the agenda now. While it ranks only fourth or fifth in open ended issue mentions, welfare reform proposals outstrip all others in the poll numbers. You're too mired in the details of how to pay for public sector jobs for welfare recipients. Get off it. Pick up some of the Republican proposals and go with them: no welfare for more than 2 children, no separate welfare households for teen mothers, IRS enforcement of child support, and fingerprinting to cut fraud. Welfare is a right wing issue and use right wing stuff to win the issue. It was your most popular promise during the campaign and go with it now. You need it.

(4) The cigarette companies have opened the door with their day of lobbying on the tax. Go through it. Demand and end to cigarette advertising, ban on cigarette vending machines (to stop sales to minors), Licenses to sell cigarettes which get revoked if any sales are made to minors (like alcohol). I know it will cost you votes on health care, but you're not going to win your plan anyway. You'll win some plan, embrace it and love it, but, in the meantime, you need this issue for your offensive

These are all issues the press cannot ignore. Voters cannot ignore. They will seize the public's imagination and compete, effectively, with Whitewater for public attention. Your health care and NAFTA initiatives played key roles in beating back the early shots on Whitewater because they competed for attention. Now use these issues to combat this round.

MANAGING WHITEWATER

You must grasp what an essential threat this is to your Presidency and your historical reputation. You must act with appropriate ruthlessness in dealing with it.

You need to be like a Civil War surgeon. Cure by amputation. When you learn that people went to meetings they shouldn't have gone to, fire them. Cut them off. Don't let the gangrene spread to the body itself. It means getting rid of key people, people you love. It means governing with a group of strangers. It means letting them out there to hit at you (but they won't. They like you too much). But you've got to do it.

And you've got to do it before the press makes you do it. Nixon got nothing from getting rid of Haldeman and Erlichman because it was reactive, not proactive.

When revelations come out in the papers, defense them. Place your knowledge at the disposal of your remaining staff and personally lead them in articulating the defense. Your friends are helpless because we don't know what went on and what didn't go on. You do. Construct "line of the day" defenses as the stories appear and preventative lines of defense to stories you know are coming.

You're being too passive and immobilized.

Don't look for one big kill. Just mitigate that day's disaster and use the first two parts of this memo to gain back the ground. Defense the stories one at a time.

Above all, be sure that as vigorous as you are in spinning your public defense, that you are totally passive in coping with the regulatory and investigative process itself. It is these actions, not the original sins, whatever they may have or not have been, that are the key legal threat to your administration.
