

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Congressman Hoyer:

Thank you for your letter supporting my efforts to place the promotion of democracy at the centerpiece of U.S. foreign policy.

The world has changed substantially over the past several years and our policies must reflect those developments. You can be assured that my Administration will hold fast to the idea of democratization and pursue it vigorously as an integral part of our policies.

The Citizens Democracy Corps will play an important part in this effort. In Russia and in other countries undergoing democratic transitions, my Administration will rely heavily on independent organizations to promote greater private sector and citizen-to-citizen exchanges. I know that we will be able to count on the good work that you and your colleagues at the CDC perform to help us in this effort.

Thank you again for your support. I look forward to working with you on this and other issues.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Steny Hoyer
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-2005

THE WHITE HOUSE

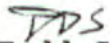
WASHINGTON

April 13, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a memo from Dave Barram of Apple (forwarded through Ron Brown and Christine Varney) in which he sets forth his extreme distress over Administration international tax proposals. Barram thinks the deferral and royalty proposals won't work and will hurt U.S. hi-tech companies.

Note that we recently forwarded to you a letter from Hewlett Packard CEO, Lewis Platt, also opposing the deferral and royalty proposals and setting forth HP's alternative approach -- to impose a \$10,000 excise tax on dislocated workers whose jobs were lost when a business moved abroad. HP and Apple are working together, although Barram's memo is not tied to the HP proposal. (Barram describes it as "probably too complicated, but at least an alternative".)


Todd Stern

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

93 APR 12 P7:21

April 12, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CHRISTINE A. VARNEY 
Secretary to the Cabinet

Secretary Brown forwarded the attached memorandum from Dave Barram last Thursday. In a cover note, he stated that you had requested this memorandum.

The memorandum outlines Mr. Barram's concerns regarding any international tax proposals being put forth by the administration.

The Proposed International Tax Provisions

1. Serious political issue

A. I don't think the Administration realizes what effect this issue is having

1. Our industry doesn't see ourselves as "asking" for anything except smart decisions
 - eg. Sculley supported the President's plan because we all had to sacrifice
 - many CEO's were strongly against the tax rate increase or other parts of the Plan
2. We made the case for the folly of the deferral and royalty proposals. It was rejected. The Administration's decision does not feel 'smart'
 - the proposals will not accomplish their objectives
 - raising revenue
 - keeping jobs in the USA
3. The President said his proposals were not intended to affect the "good guys".

B. I fear that BC will lose a chunk of the euphoric support he so beautifully built.

1. I am stunned; others had less faith that he would always do the right thing.
2. I hope none of the high tech CEO's actively oppose his Economic Plan
3. They have stopped working with the Administration and are now lobbying Congress, which I consider a terrible shame. That's they way it was before Clinton.

2. The subject is the proposed new international tax policies

A. Deferral

1. Global companies produce overseas and make profit (and cash)
2. Global companies (like us) have good deal of cash overseas, which we keep there "deferring" U.S. tax on it. Hundreds of companies are involved in this complicated international tax practice.
3. This proposal would tax that income at the current rate and tax the cash we already have
4. It won't work:
 - companies won't pay much tax; they'll invest overseas - unfortunately, maybe in assets that don't increase American manufacturing competitiveness

B. Royalties

1. Companies (like IBM, HP, movie companies) license intangible assets overseas.
2. This "royalty" has been treated as regular income and subject to deferral rules.
3. This proposal changes that and treats it as passive income (like interest).
4. This won't work, either ...
 - because it would behave like a disallowed expense, companies will put the real expense overseas and it will drive jobs offshore

C. The general principle

1. All the leading companies are global.
2. We decide on location for non-tax and non-expense reasons.
 - mainly local presence and efficient distribution
3. Any proposal that tries to use tax policy to keep jobs here is destined to failure.
 - requires too many rules that are anti-"commerce"; we'll figure a way around
 - the solution is a high skilled workforce that can compete in the world and a trade policy that leans on all economies to have a level playing field

3. Chronology

A. In the campaign .. BEFORE the high tech endorsement ...

1. The corporate tax folks heard BC speak about stopping companies from exporting jobs and they assumed that he would resurrect this languishing idea to tax profits overseas
2. I thought they were making up a crazy idea; that BC would never do that
 - I argued that all this concern and tax lawyer/lobbyist money was being spent for something that wasn't 'on the table.'
 - This was a new, centrist Democrat; not an anti-business Democrat
3. They were so insistent that I arranged a phone call with Rob Shapiro last fall
 - he said 'no promises'; they would look at it

B. After the election, the corporate tax people got feverishly working on it

1. I sent you a letter on January 13 ...
 - saying they were wasting lots of time and money and the Administration had a chance to show business it was serious about stopping foolish efforts
 - asking you to stop it before it got "legs"
2. The tax people kept their concern alive - in spite of my apparent lack of concern. I still did not believe the Administration would do this.

C. After the Inauguration

1. Tax folks looked to Apple to stop this
 - I refused to publicly join their angst (I look stupid in retrospect)
2. The State of the Union (written plan) apparently had these proposals in it.
3. John and I briefed BC on Air Force One on February 21 - on the way to the dinner.
4. BC mentioned it at the Silicon Valley dinner; said he wasn't aiming at the technology industry; he was concerned about other industries (Smith Corona ?)
5. After dinner, BC came up to Lew Platt and brought it up. He asked Lew to come up with a proposal to get the "bad guys" and spare the "good guys" - us.
6. Meanwhile, BC sent handwritten letter to John Sculley. "We're working at it."
7. And, Sculley talked with Altman. Roger said they were working at it.

D. Treasury came up with 25% of assets exclusion idea

1. Probably at Clinton's request
2. Rather than get rid of this whole idea, the tax proposal writers probably feel this is a good compromise

E. HP (with Apple help) came up with a proposal (met on March 12 with Altman)

1. It responded to Bill Clinton's request. It was designed to provide a surgical solution
 - \$10,000/employee excise tax for jobs moved offshore
 - mitigated if company provides extensive training, etc. benefits
2. Probably too complicated, but at least it was an alternative

F. John Young met with Bentsen and described why the Administration proposals would not accomplish their apparent goals (mid-March)

1. John Young believed he was presenting a completely logical argument
2. Bentsen listened without committing

G. Altman called Stu Eisenstat (the lobbyist the companies had) and said NO

1. They had taken it to the highest levels (everyone assumed BC) and it came back

4. Why the proposal in the first place?

A. Is it designed to raise revenue?

1. Treasury estimates deferral will raise \$700M over 5 years. That would be too low if it worked. It is probably too high because it won't.
2. We'll all be able to avoid it - by doing something that doesn't help US competitiveness
 - we will be compelled to invest offshore cash in offshore manufacturing and distribution facilities
 - or worse, in some other asset
3. Royalties would raise more. I don't know the amount; the Plan seems to show \$6B for both royalties and deferral over 5 years.
 - I got this from Table 6 - a line called International Tax Provisions

B. OR - Is it designed to stop companies from producing overseas?

1. Many reasons why this will not be the effect
2. In fact, it could have the opposite effect
 - this was what John Young told Bentsen - in great detail

C. Who is giving this Administration advice?

1. John Young is an experienced guy who gave his advice - directly to Bentsen
2. John Sculley's company has been leading the fight
3. Whose opinion is more astute than these two *friends*?

5. The Politics

A. Administration in a box?

1. Probably don't want to give in now; want to stand firm against lobbying efforts?
2. That's why I wanted to get it out of the mix early.

B. The high tech endorsement - unusual support for a Democratic candidate and President

1. We really weren't looking for anything but smart government that understood the importance of technology in the global economy - and was willing to act
2. Not for 'payback' - REALLY!
3. But not to get kicked in the teeth
4. We've all taken lots of heat; some criticism for so much visibility for John Sculley
5. My response has been that this Administration will do the smart thing.

C. Support for the Economic Plan

1. We probably have to oppose this provision and work on Congress
2. We can't deliver the high tech industry support
3. If the package eliminated the deferral and royalty provisions, we could probably get HP and IBM to support it
4. If not, we have a tough decision to make
 - HP and IBM will probably oppose without much debate
5. ... and that should be a big problem for BC
 - It puts John Sculley in a tough spot. He doesn't want to oppose BC on this. He also has the Apple shareholder's interest to weigh.
 - John Young has already begun to work on the alternative strategy of taking the issue to Congress.
 - Young waited 10 days after meeting with Bentsen - as a courtesy

D. The High Tech Opponents

1. A few high tech CEO's have recently become visible opponents
 - TJ Rodgers, CEO of Cypress Semiconductors, testified to Congress last week
 - He claimed others' support (eg. Scott McNally, Gil Amelio)
2. We know TJ, so we can let him rant and rave
3. But this episode has made it hard to speak out in support of BC
 - like how you don't feel like fighting after getting kicked in the stomach

6. What can you do?

- A. See this from your position as a close political advisor to BC**
- B. I just want to be sure BC knows what the high tech industry is feeling**
1. My own loyalty is unchanged! I still believe BC can be America's greatest president
 2. If BC knows the whole story and still wants it this way, I can accept that.
 3. I can't sell it, however, without some good reasons.
- C. Are there solutions?**
1. Maybe Bentsen and Altman could work out a solution with our industry
 - eg. call Young in and ask him to help them make a compromise
 2. Maybe forget the proposed new ITC (for large companies) and get rid of these 2 international tax provisions
 - The ITC is designed to cost \$9B, I believe.
 - Large companies don't want the large company Investment Tax Credit; they'd rather have a lower rate (although the numbers are nowhere near the same)
 - These international tax proposals together are designed to raise \$6B over 5 years

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 13, 1993

93 APR 13 A10:26

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 
HOWARD PASTER 
SUBJECT: Letter from Florida Congressional Delegation
RE: Future of Homestead AFB

Purpose

To respond to the Florida Congressional Delegation regarding the future of Homestead AFB.

Background

Since the Florida Congressional Delegation's letter was written on March 9 (received April 2), the Administration has done much to answer the Members' requests.

Although Homestead AFB was recommended for closure, DoD has released \$76 million of military construction funds to rebuild the Homestead AFB airfield for future contingency operations. You have announced a seven-point plan to expedite federal assistance to South Dade. This effort, coordinated by Secretary Cisneros, has also included recent visits by federal officials to assist in local economic development planning.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letters to Members of Congress
Tab B DoD Press Release on Homestead AFB MILCON
Tab C President's Seven-Point Plan
Tab D Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

012387

02:01:13 W0:50

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Peter:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the future of Homestead Air Force Base. I am deeply committed to helping the people of Homestead AFB and South Dade regain hope and move toward the long-term rebuilding of their community.

Since your letter was written, the Department of Defense has recommended to the Base Closure and Realignment Commission that Homestead AFB be closed. At the same time, I know you are aware of the release of the \$76 million of military construction funds to rebuild the Homestead AFB airfield to support future defense contingency requirements.

The seven-point plan that I announced last month reflects my Administration's long-term commitment to South Dade. I trust that the recent meetings with Secretary Cisneros, and representatives from several federal agencies, including the Office of Economic Adjustment, will prove helpful in developing necessary economic recovery plans.

I look forward to working with you in your united South Florida efforts to ensure that the people of South Dade have available the tools they need to regain the economic, physical and social vitality of their communities.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Peter Deutsch
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Alcee:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the future of Homestead Air Force Base. I am deeply committed to helping the people of Homestead AFB and South Dade regain hope and move toward the long-term rebuilding of their community.

Since your letter was written, the Department of Defense has recommended to the Base Closure and Realignment Commission that Homestead AFB be closed. At the same time, I know you are aware of the release of the \$76 million of military construction funds to rebuild the Homestead AFB airfield to support future defense contingency requirements.

The seven-point plan that I announced last month reflects my Administration's long-term commitment to South Dade. I trust that the recent meetings with Secretary Cisneros, and representatives from several federal agencies, including the Office of Economic Adjustment, will prove helpful in developing necessary economic recovery plans.

I look forward to working with you in your united South Florida efforts to ensure that the people of South Dade have available the tools they need to regain the economic, physical and social vitality of their communities.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Alcee L. Hastings
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Lincoln:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the future of Homestead Air Force Base. I am deeply committed to helping the people of Homestead AFB and South Dade regain hope and move toward the long-term rebuilding of their community.

Since your letter was written, the Department of Defense has recommended to the Base Closure and Realignment Commission that Homestead AFB be closed. At the same time, I know you are aware of the release of the \$76 million of military construction funds to rebuild the Homestead AFB airfield to support future defense contingency requirements.

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Sincerely,

The Honorable Lincoln Diaz-Balart
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the future of Homestead Air Force Base. I am deeply committed to helping the people of Homestead AFB and South Dade regain hope and move toward the long-term rebuilding of their community.

Since your letter was written, the Department of Defense has recommended to the Base Closure and Realignment Commission that Homestead AFB be closed. At the same time, I know you are aware of the release of the \$76 million of military construction funds to rebuild the Homestead AFB airfield to support future defense contingency requirements.

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I look forward to working with you in your united South Florida efforts to ensure that the people of South Dade have available the tools they need to regain the economic, physical and social vitality of their communities.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Bob Graham
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Shaw:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the future of Homestead Air Force Base. I am deeply committed to helping the people of Homestead AFB and South Dade regain hope and move toward the long-term rebuilding of their community.

Since your letter was written, the Department of Defense has recommended to the Base Closure and Realignment Commission that Homestead AFB be closed. At the same time, I know you are aware of the release of the \$76 million of military construction funds to rebuild the Homestead AFB airfield to support future defense contingency requirements.

The seven-point plan that I announced last month reflects my Administration's long-term commitment to South Dade. I trust that the recent meetings with Secretary Cisneros, and representatives from several federal agencies, including the Office of Economic Adjustment, will prove helpful in developing necessary economic recovery plans.

I look forward to working with you in your united South Florida efforts to ensure that the people of South Dade have available the tools they need to regain the economic, physical and social vitality of their communities.

Sincerely,

The Honorable E. Clay Shaw, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Ros-Lehtinen:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the future of Homestead Air Force Base. I am deeply committed to helping the people of Homestead AFB and South Dade regain hope and move toward the long-term rebuilding of their community.

Since your letter was written, the Department of Defense has recommended to the Base Closure and Realignment Commission that Homestead AFB be closed. At the same time, I know you are aware of the release of the \$76 million of military construction funds to rebuild the Homestead AFB airfield to support future defense contingency requirements.

The seven-point plan that I announced last month reflects my Administration's long-term commitment to South Dade. I trust that the recent meetings with Secretary Cisneros, and representatives from several federal agencies, including the Office of Economic Adjustment, will prove helpful in developing necessary economic recovery plans.

I look forward to working with you in your united South Florida efforts to ensure that the people of South Dade have available the tools they need to regain the economic, physical and social vitality of their communities.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Mack:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the future of Homestead Air Force Base. I am deeply committed to helping the people of Homestead AFB and South Dade regain hope and move toward the long-term rebuilding of their community.

Since your letter was written, the Department of Defense has recommended to the Base Closure and Realignment Commission that Homestead AFB be closed. At the same time, I know you are aware of the release of the \$76 million of military construction funds to rebuild the Homestead AFB airfield to support future defense contingency requirements.

The seven-point plan that I announced last month reflects my Administration's long-term commitment to South Dade. I trust that the recent meetings with Secretary Cisneros, and representatives from several federal agencies, including the Office of Economic Adjustment, will prove helpful in developing necessary economic recovery plans.

I look forward to working with you in your united South Florida efforts to ensure that the people of South Dade have available the tools they need to regain the economic, physical and social vitality of their communities.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Connie Mack
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Carrie:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the future of Homestead Air Force Base. I am deeply committed to helping the people of Homestead AFB and South Dade regain hope and move toward the long-term rebuilding of their community.

Since your letter was written, the Department of Defense has recommended to the Base Closure and Realignment Commission that Homestead AFB be closed. At the same time, I know you are aware of the release of the \$76 million of military construction funds to rebuild the Homestead AFB airfield to support future defense contingency requirements.

The seven-point plan that I announced last month reflects my Administration's long-term commitment to South Dade. I trust that the recent meetings with Secretary Cisneros, and representatives from several federal agencies, including the Office of Economic Adjustment, will prove helpful in developing necessary economic recovery plans.

I look forward to working with you in your united South Florida efforts to ensure that the people of South Dade have available the tools they need to regain the economic, physical and social vitality of their communities.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Carrie Meek
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



NEWS RELEASE

OFFICE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
(PUBLIC AFFAIRS)
WASHINGTON, D.C. - 20301
PLEASE NOTE DATE

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

March 18, 1993

No. 110-93
(703) 695-0192 (media)
(703) 697-3189 (copies)
(703) 697-5737 (public/industry)

Aspin Outlines Program for Homestead AFB

Secretary of Defense Les Aspin said today that the Department will make \$76 million available for construction at Homestead Air Force Base, Florida, to support future defense contingency requirements there, consistent with the base closure criteria and threat assessment. The money had already been appropriated to the Defense Department for that purpose.

The decision follows preliminary discussions with community representatives from the Homestead Air Force Base area. As a result of those meetings, Secretary Aspin has also directed the Department's Office of Economic Adjustment to initiate a program to assist the community in developing a base reuse and conversion plan. The OEA will provide additional assistance and resources as well as work with other federal agencies to broaden the scope of support.

The need for this plan is especially pressing because of the devastation from Hurricane Andrew, but the effort also exemplifies the Department's new commitment to rapid reuse and reinvestment for all base closure communities. Homestead Air Force Base remains on the list of bases recommended for closure submitted by Secretary Aspin to the Base Closure and Realignment Commission on Monday.

Next week, representatives of the OEA will meet at Homestead with community organizations to begin preparing a detailed economic recovery plan. This plan would be done under the aegis of a White House task force and in coordination with the disaster relief adjustment program already underway. That program is supported by grants from the Commerce Department's Economic Development Administration.

The OEA's reuse plan, which should be developed within 90 days, would include a capital improvement program and a strategy for the community to acquire and operate the facilities. The plan would emphasize job creation and would consider government, commercial, industrial and possible residential uses of the base.

While design and construction to support defense contingency requirements at the facility would be funded from the \$76 million set aside for that purpose, most of the other capital improvements would come from private sources.

-END-

**President's Announcement of Federal Response
To Hurricane Andrew in South Dade**

Last August Hurricane Andrew devastated South Dade County. Approximately 180,000 homes were destroyed. Water, sewer, roads, electricity and communications were wiped out. Countless farms and businesses were lost. Homestead Air Force Base, which pumped \$480 million and 3,000 jobs into the region, was leveled.

Although six months later water, electricity and sewage services have returned and a new season of crops have been planted, redevelopment progress is minimal. Neighborhood after neighborhood remains devastated. Some 5,000 to 7,000 men, women and children are without permanent homes. Social services are either closed or stretched to the limit. Homestead Air Force Base is in ruins. Government leaders and institutions are tired, frustrated, and in need of support and coordination.

Yet, amidst the wreckage, there is hope. Community leaders and residents are unified in their commitment to rebuild. Individuals whose own homes and lives were destroyed in the disaster work tirelessly to restore the larger community. They and I see the hurricane as the turning point that will spark a rebuilt community of quality housing, functioning neighborhoods, thriving tourism, agriculture and jobs.

The Federal government can and must help South Dade recover, as well as the victims of the other recent natural disasters in Louisiana, Hawaii, and Guam. We are providing funding for these areas and delivering the leadership and coordination which will help bring the South Dade effort together, the area hardest hit.

As a result of a recent visit to South Dade by Secretary Cisneros, my designee to oversee the Federal relief effort, and discussions with the community, I am now prepared to announce a seven-point plan to ensure that the remainder of Federal funds dedicated to the hurricane relief effort be used for the long-term rebuilding of South Dade.

1. The Federal Emergency Management Agency will stay on the job in South Florida for as long as it takes to help the residents of South Dade. FEMA will expedite the removal of debris that litters the streets, will keep its trailers in place as long as people need housing, and will continue to promptly reimburse owners and assist renters.
2. The physical and mental health of South Dade residents is a critical concern to me. The people of this community need help to cope with the problems that have loomed large in the last six months and that are still ahead. To this end, the Department of Health and Human Services will accelerate efforts to inoculate

residents against disease. Additionally, HHS will fund crisis and counseling centers for the many children and adults now experiencing severe emotional problems as a result of the traumatic experience.

3. Housing continues to be the single largest need in South Dade today. Thousands are homeless, many more are living in tents, trailers, with friends and relatives, and other temporary quarters. The Department of Housing and Urban Development will put one hundred million dollars in reprogrammed funds in the most flexible programs available, such as HOME and the Community Development Block Grant Program, to rebuild housing in South Dade. Additionally, HUD will open an office in South Dade with community development, public housing and fair housing capabilities to facilitate rebuilding efforts.

4. I have requested the Department of Defense to release \$76 million to help facilitate the transition of Homestead Air Force Base.

5. Agriculture is a vital economic resource in South Florida. The Department of Agriculture will transfer several hundred million dollars to programs that will assist with emergency conservation, debris removal on farm lands, and housing for migrant farm workers.

6. Recognizing the need to provide assistance to property owners who must comply with the government's rebuilding requirements in flood areas, we have made this one of our highest priorities and are looking for ways to address this issue.

7. Finally, in order to effectively coordinate our efforts we need local leadership. As a result, we have selected Otis Pitts Jr., a highly respected, nonprofit developer of affordable housing in the Miami area, to coordinate our efforts in South Dade.

These actions are only the beginning of our long-term commitment to South Dade. Through the leadership of Secretary Cisneros and Otis Pitts and the coordinated efforts of the community, we will find resources, develop solutions and maintain spirits to ensure the economic, physical and social vitality of this important community.

007342
2132**United States Senate**

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0804

March 9, 1993

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your very supportive remarks at your Detroit "Town Meeting" and in your interview with Channel 10 regarding the future of Homestead Air Force Base. It is gratifying and uplifting to our community to know that you understand the tremendous importance to Dade County of regaining Homestead's 8,700 jobs. Your commitment to release funds for medical and commissary facilities for the 21,000 military retirees and their families in Dade, Monroe and Broward counties will take a tremendous burden from these men and women. By clearly stating that you will assist in developing resources needed to replace jobs lost at the Base, you have given hope to everyone. We look forward to working with Secretary Cisneros to focus on this and other Hurricane related issues.

Representatives of our community have been in continual discussion with the Air Force, the Department of Defense and the Base Closure and Realignment Commission's staff since well before Hurricane Andrew devastated the area. As a result of our discussion with them, and in recognition of the stated objectives of your Administration, there may be a unique opportunity for our community to rise above the hurricane's enormous devastation. We believe that a Base re-use concept must be developed which will meet the strategic and operational needs of the Air Force; the budget-reduction and economic-stimulus goals of your Administration; and, ultimately, the economic recovery and development needs of South Florida.

Unmistakably, our first priority would be to return the Base to its pre-storm level of activity. We feel this would be the most expeditious means to reinfuse the economic fabric of Community. However, if that option is not feasible, our Community believes that the long-term, best use for Homestead Air Force Base will be as a joint-use facility comprising important elements of both military and civil aviation. The Base can continue to provide militarily-significant support to the Air Force and other Government Agencies while, simultaneously, meeting needs of our region.

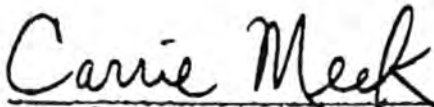
Therefore, Mr. President, we respectfully suggest that the Air Force's expected closure recommendation need not become another strain to the already-suffering people of our community if:

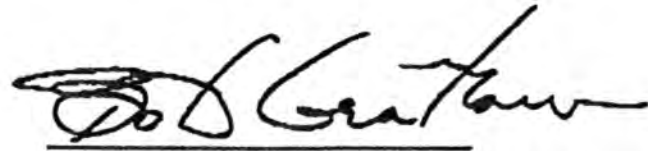
1. The Department of Defense submission to BRAC contains language returning the 482nd Fighter Wing (USAFR) and the 301st Rescue Squadron (USAFR) to Homestead Air Force Base. These units could be maintained in an segregated area so that the remainder of the Base property could eventually be used for other military or civilian purposes. (Similar language was contained in the Department of Defense 1991 recommendations to BRAC with respect to Bergstrom Air Force Base in Texas.) Additionally, recognizing the unique requirements of the Air Force Water Survival School, the 3613th Combat Crew Training Squadron should return to its Turkey Point location with administrative and logistics support to be provided from the Base.
2. The Air Force and the Department of Defense agree with the local community on an expeditious timetable for environmental cleanup, for providing ongoing health and commissary services for military retirees, and for a phased withdrawal of operational support for the Base (other than that required to support the Reserve units).
3. The Administration immediately release all of the Hurricane Andrew relief funds appropriated for Base recovery and for restoring airfield operations. With the airfield once again operational, we will work diligently to obtain the immediate return of the Florida National Guard, the United States Customs and the Base's other pre-hurricane tenants.
4. We wish to work closely with you and your Cabinet to develop a plan of action capable of meeting the multiple objective of each concerned parties. We realize that your acceptance of this program will only partially rectify the major economic dislocation experienced as a result of the hurricane and the base closure process. Therefore, we will continue efforts begun immediately after the hurricane to diligently evaluate all other reasonable, long-term, non-military, public/private uses for the remainder of the property, under the assumption that--other than the Air Force Reserve cantonment area and any other reserved military uses--the rest of the property will ultimately be controlled by, and be the responsibility of the local community under appropriate sponsorship. In this endeavor, we very much appreciate your proffered assistance in developing solutions and funding for the recovery of the remainder of Homestead's 8, 700 lost jobs.

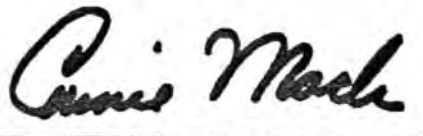
Specifically, we will look carefully at all opportunities available to us including civil aviation, technology development, atmospheric, oceanographic and other research as appropriate, and any other ideas deemed worthy of consideration.

Mr. President, with respect to this issue, our community speaks with one voice. We are grateful for and respectfully invite your continued participation in and support of this process. By combining your leadership with our United South Florida Efforts and the industrious Air Force evaluation procedures, we believe that a winning solution can be developed--one which will be advantageous to our region, our State and our Country's national defense.

Sincerely,


Carrie Meek


Bob Graham


Connie Mack


Lincoln Diaz-Balart


Ilsema Ros-Lehtinen


Alcee L. Hastings


E. Clay Shaw, Jr.


Peter Deutsch

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 13, 1993 93 APR 13 A9:43

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
HOWARD PASTER

SUBJECT: Talking Points for Congressional Telephone Calls

Attached are talking points on U.S. assistance to Russia for your calls with the leadership of Congress. We are suggesting you call Majority Leader Mitchell, Minority Leader Dole, and Sen. Byrd; and Speaker Foley, Majority Leader Gephardt, Minority Leader Michel, and Rep. Natcher. Other congressional leaders, including those who attended the recent dinners on Russia, will be called by others at the State Dept. and NSC.

Please note the additional talking points regarding Armenia for your conversation with Senator Dole.

Attachment

Tab A Talking Points

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

TALKING POINTS FOR CALLS TO CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS ON U.S. ASSISTANCE TO RUSSIA

April 12, 1993

- I am calling to discuss our efforts toward Russian reform. The advice I received from Congress was very important in the development of the proposals I carried to Vancouver, and I've appreciated the many expressions of congressional support since then. I know many Members have just returned from Russia, and I am eager to get the benefit of their insights.
- My meetings with President Yeltsin in Vancouver were excellent. I believe he is determined to prevail in his April 25 referendum, and he welcomed the \$1.6 billion in U.S. support we discussed.
- As I said during Vancouver, that \$1.6 billion package was the first of three steps in our efforts to bolster Russia's reforms.
 - The second step would be to work with our G-7 partners to assemble a package of multilateral assistance, which we are working on this week at the Tokyo meeting of G-7 foreign and finance ministers.
 - The third step would be to consult with Congress to develop further assistance efforts -- and that is why I'm calling today.
- After last week's preliminary G-7 meetings in DC, we are confident this week's Tokyo meeting will produce major new support for Yeltsin's reforms.
 - I understand the IMF/World Bank/EBRD are ready to announce measures as large or larger than the program announced in 1992.
 - This year's plan will be both more flexible and attainable for the Russians, as it emphasizes financing for pre-stabilization measures, as well as broader structural assistance in the long-term.
 - We have stressed to our G-7 partners that we must avoid repeating last year's mistake -- promising a great deal and then not delivering.
- A key element in our multilateral talks is likely to be the establishment of a special G-7 fund to help the Russians implement privatization and gain control over their monetary and fiscal policies during the next few months.
 - The Russians told us in Vancouver and since that this is what they need most during the next few months.
 - Based on talks with the Russians we are considering creation of a G-7 Privatization Fund capitalized at \$2 billion, of which we would contribute about \$500 million assuming our G-7 partners participate.

- This fund would give the Russians the resources to provide loans for job training, relocation, and other assistance to state enterprises undergoing privatization. It would address the health, education, and infrastructure needs of towns and regions hard hit by privatization.
 - We would structure the dispersal of funds to ensure efficient use. The funds would be targeted to specific enterprises, and should have sufficient "transparency" to monitor how the funds are being used.
 - We also would see it as essential to set up a G-7 office in Moscow to oversee the program. Finance Minister Federov supports this idea.
- I'd like to get your thoughts on such a Privatization Fund as part of our multilateral efforts, and on what additional bilateral assistance we should extend in the coming months. Let me tell you our thinking.
- A starting point for future efforts will be the funds proposed in the FY94 budget -- to continue current efforts on denuclearization (Nunn-Lugar), democratization, privatization, and humanitarian help.
 - But our talks with the Russians, our G-7 partners, and Congress all suggest we need to expand the scope of our efforts. I believe we need a second package of U.S. bilateral assistance to Russia, in addition to the \$1.6 billion package announced in Vancouver.
 - I believe we need to focus on areas where the Russians have told us they need more help now, and where you and others in Congress have suggested our efforts should be aimed:
 - Energy infrastructure: using U.S. equipment and technology.
 - Environment: to prevent future Chernobyls or Exxon Valdezes.
 - Housing & relocation: for military officers leaving the Baltics.
 - Exchanges: to bring Russians here to learn about our system.
 - My sense is that a package of such new efforts would be roughly the same size as the first package announced in Vancouver.
 - For maximum impact, I strongly believe we should announce our plans for such a package before the April 25 referendum.
 - This is obviously an ambitious idea. I know it is difficult to ask the American people for such support during hard times at home. But I believe it is necessary for our own future security and prosperity.
 - Contributing to the new multilateral fund and taking these additional bilateral steps would require a supplemental appropriation. I would welcome your ideas for how to structure such a request.

- Finally, I believe one of the most important efforts should be to get rid of obsolete Cold War laws, where appropriate, that were designed to economically isolate the Soviet Union.
- I believe we need to start a broad re-examination of Cold War arrangements, such as Jackson-Vanik; we will need to preserve some elements of some Cold War arrangements for national security and other US interests, but many provisions can now be repealed.
- The psychological importance of action on these laws cannot be overstated. Yeltsin termed them "irritants." I would like your thinking on what steps we could take to start a process of re-examining these laws, in a visible way, prior to April 25.

[FOR SEN. DOLE]:

- Thank you for your very constructive recent [March 31] letter on Russia.
- I know you also have a long-standing interest in Armenia.
- I want you to know we are following the developments in Armenia closely, and are concerned about the recent escalation of hostilities.
- This week, members of my Administration met with Azerbaijan's Foreign Minister and Armenia's Deputy Foreign Minister and urged them to return to the negotiating table.
- If it would be useful, I'd be glad to ask my Special Assistant on the region, Toby Gati, or Ambassador Strobe Talbott, to provide a briefing for you on this conflict.

[IF HE ASKS ABOUT SEC. CHRISTOPHER'S STATEMENT]

- Secretary Christopher last week condemned the offensive by ethnic Armenians in Azerbaijan and urged all parties to return to the CSCE-sponsored Minsk group negotiations, which remain the best hope for a peaceful resolution of the conflict.
- I believe this action is consistent with other aspects of our policies. We have condemned similar violations of sovereignty in other areas of the world such as Bosnia and Georgia. We also publicly condemned Azerbaijani offensives against exclusively Armenian-populated areas in August, 1992. We are concerned that the current Armenian offensive not only jeopardizes the CSCE process, but may create thousands of new refugees in the region and threatens to draw other regional powers, such as Turkey and Iran, in to the conflict.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 10, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 
HOWARD PASTER

SUBJECT: Letters to South Dakota Delegation Regarding
ICBM Silo Destruction

Purpose

To inform members of the South Dakota delegation of changes the Air Force has made in its plan for eliminating ICBM silos that will increase the degree of protection afforded wells and aquifers in the vicinity of these silos.

Background

Landowners in South Dakota have been concerned that if the Air Force uses explosives to destroy Minuteman II ICBM silos pursuant to the reductions requirements of the START I Treaty, wells and aquifers will be damaged. During a March 1 interview with South Dakota media, you were asked whether you would be willing to consider alternative methods of eliminating the silos, such as excavating them. The interviewer correctly noted that the excavation method is permitted under the Treaty but complained that the Air Force did not seem willing to consider any approach other than explosives. You replied that you would be happy to consider this alternative and that you would ask Vice President Gore to look into this matter.

Following meetings between the NSC staff, Defense Department and Air Force officials, and the South Dakota delegation and its staff, the Air Force decided to delay the issuance of the Request for Proposal (RFP) for the silo elimination to ensure that it was strictly neutral as between the explosives and excavation options. The revised RFP is now scheduled to be released next Thursday (April 15).

The attached letters (Tab A) to Senators Pressler and Daschle and Congressman Johnson report on these developments. The letters also emphasize that should a bid using the explosives approach

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

nonetheless win the contract, a number of restrictions have been built into the RFP to ensure that the wells and aquifers are not damaged.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letters to the three members of the South Dakota delegation.

Attachment

Tab A Letters to Three Members of the South Dakota Delegation

TAB A

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Tim:

I wanted to take a moment and bring you up to date on an issue I know is of great concern to you.

During my March 1 conference call with South Dakota media, I promised that Vice President Gore would look into alternatives to using explosives to destroy South Dakota-based Minuteman II ICBM silos pursuant to the START I Treaty. Following meetings between your delegation, officials from the Defense Department, and my National Security Council staff, I am pleased to report that the Air Force has modified its silo elimination plans in ways that the Vice President and I believe will fully satisfy your constituents' concerns about the level of protection afforded South Dakota's environment, including its invaluable water resources.

As you know, the START I Treaty allows the United States to use either of two options for dismantling these silos: explosives or excavation. Initially, the Air Force was focusing its efforts on the former, which it considered the preferred approach based on lower estimated cost and environmental impact. However, the Air Force has now delayed the issuance of the Request for Proposal (RFP) to ensure that it is strictly neutral between the two dismantlement methods.

When the RFP is released on April 15, it will provide full and equal opportunity for contractor bids using the excavation approach. Moreover, it will not restrict state or local authorities or the landowners from offering incentives that would enhance an excavation contractor's competitiveness in winning this contract. For example, the RFP would not

prevent landowners from agreeing to allow the contractor to use the land they own immediately adjacent to the silo for temporary storage of excavated earth. Such easements could significantly reduce the cost and environmental impact that otherwise would accrue from having to transport the soil by truck to more distant locations and then return it when the silo demolition was complete.

Should no bids be submitted involving the excavation approach, or should a bid involving explosives be determined to be the best qualified lowest bid contractor, I want to assure you that the explosive demolition will comply with all relevant Federal and State regulations. The contractor would also have to observe other restrictions designed to mitigate any potential damage to the environment. For example:

- The RFP will require that those bidding the explosives method restrict the explosive vibration to approximately one-third the minimum level at which any damage would occur to shallow wells, as established by the Bureau of Mines. As a result, the vibration a quarter of a mile away is expected to be no more than that which you would experience if you were standing by a roadway as a gravel truck passed by.
- The RFP will require that standard delays be used in the explosive charges to reduce vibration. The contractor will have to demonstrate that his demolitions do not exceed the prescribed limits on two separate silos before being authorized to proceed with the rest. Following each of these tests, the radius of possible damage will be recalculated, and all shallow wells within this radius from each silo will be surveyed before and after each explosion.
- For each new geology, the contractor will have to explode a calibration charge from which the radius will be recalculated. In this case also, all shallow wells within this radius will be surveyed, both before and after the explosion.

I believe that the revised RFP represents the best possible solution to meeting our obligations under the START I Treaty while also responding to valid environmental concerns. I very much appreciate the leadership you have shown on this important issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Tim Johnson
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Pressler:

Thank you for your kind letter following my March 1 conference call with South Dakota media.

As I promised in that interview, I asked Vice President Gore to look into alternatives to using explosives to destroy South Dakota-based Minuteman II ICBM silos pursuant to the START I Treaty. Following meetings between your delegation, officials from the Defense Department, and the National Security Council staff, I am pleased to report that the Air Force has modified its silo elimination plans in ways that the Vice President and I believe will fully satisfy your constituents' concerns about the level of protection afforded South Dakota's environment, including its invaluable water resources.

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I believe that the revised RFP represents the best possible solution to meeting our obligations under the START I Treaty while also responding to valid environmental concerns. I very much appreciate the leadership you have shown on this important issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Larry Pressler
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Tom:

I wanted to take a moment and bring you up to date on an issue I know is of great concern to you.

During my March 1 conference call with South Dakota media, I promised that Vice President Gore would look into alternatives to using explosives to destroy South Dakota-based Minuteman II ICBM silos pursuant to the START I Treaty. Following meetings between your delegation, officials from the Defense Department, and our staffs, I am pleased to report that the Air Force has modified its silo elimination plans in ways that the Vice President and I believe will fully satisfy your constituents' concerns about the level of protection afforded South Dakota's environment, including its invaluable water resources.

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I believe that the revised RFP represents the best possible solution to meeting our obligations under the START I Treaty while also responding to valid environmental concerns. I very much appreciate the leadership you have shown on this important issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Thomas A. Daschle
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 12, 1993

93 APR 12 PM 2:03

RECOMMENDED PHONE CALL

TO: Mayor John Nordquist of Milwaukee
414-286-5599

DATE: Monday, April 12, 1993

RECOMMENDED BY: Rahm Emanuel

PURPOSE: To express concern regarding the water contamination problem that the City of Milwaukee is experiencing. The Mayor is meeting with the (Republican) Governor later today and it would be very helpful if he were able to say he had spoken with the President.

In addition, we will use this unfortunate occurrence to push the stimulus package which includes wastewater treatment provisions.

BACKGROUND: As you know, the Milwaukee water system was contaminated with a bacterial virus. Many residents have become very ill as a result of drinking the water. This has become increasingly politicized.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION: 1. Express concern for the city and for the individuals who have been infected.

2. What steps are being taken to treat the individuals who have gotten sick? How serious are the illnesses?

3. How wastewater treatment measures included in the stimulus package will help prevent this from happening again.

CONTACT PERSON AND
TELEPHONE NUMBER: Rahm Emanuel
202-456-1125

DATE OF SUBMISSION: April 12, 1993

ACTION:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 12, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE ✓
HOWARD PASTER *HP*

SUBJECT: Response to Senator Robb on Bangladesh

Purpose

To respond to Senator Robb's letter urging support for democracy in Bangladesh.

Background

Senator Robb wrote you in February urging U.S. support for the democratic government in Bangladesh and consideration for inviting Prime Minister Zia to Washington this year. Your response notes we have a policy review on South Asia underway and that we will remain supportive of democracy in the region.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Senator Robb at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Senator Robb
Tab B Letter from Senator Robb

TAB A

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Chuck:

Thank you for your letter of February 10, 1993, concerning Bangladesh.

I share your concern for Bangladesh's attempts to pursue political and economic reforms, and I assure you that my Administration wants to help democracy flourish in Bangladesh.

I recently communicated our support for democracy to Prime Minister Zia in a letter to her marking the Id al-Fitr holiday. My Administration is in the process of conducting a review of our policies toward South Asia. As that review proceeds, we will keep in close contact with Prime Minister Zia's government to forward our mutual interests in peace, prosperity and democracy. I also look forward to meeting the Prime Minister at some point when our schedules permit.

I appreciate your interest in our policies toward Bangladesh and look forward to further discussions with you on this matter in the days to come.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Charles S. Robb
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

TAB B

1204

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 4, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM ITOH
NSC Executive Secretariat
FROM: HOWARD G. PASTER *HP*
SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence

Attached are copies of letters that were sent to the President from various members of Congress concerning Macedonia. We had originally sent these to Madeleine Albright's attention, since the letters address United Nations issues. However, having not received a response from her office we are seeking your assistance.

Also attached are additional letters which require NSC input.

Thank you very much for your assistance. If you have any questions, please feel free to call LeeAnn at 456-7500.

The following is a brief description of the letters attached:

- 1) Robert Torricelli (D-NJ), concerning Board for International Broadcasting;
- 2) Frank Wolf (R-VA), concerning Sudan;
- 3) Chuck Robb (D-VA), concerning Bangladesh;
- 4) Bob Michel (R-IL), concerning Bosnia;
- 5) Donald Payne (D-NJ), concerning Zaire;
- 6) Susan Molinari (R-NY), concerning Bosnia;
- 7) Larry Pressler (R-SD), concerning Vietnam;
- 8) Larry Pressler (R-SD), concerning Macedonia;
- 9) Sander Levin (D-MI), concerning Tibet.

Attachments

CHARLES S. ROBB
VIRGINIA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
Russell Senate Office Building
First and Constitution Avenue, NE Room 493
Washington, DC 20510
(202) 224-4024

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4603

003060

COMMITTEES:
COMMERCE, SCIENCE,
AND TRANSPORTATION
FOREIGN RELATIONS

February 10, 1993

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

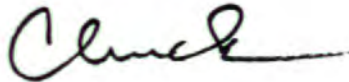
Dear Mr. President:

Recently I spoke with Mr. Ron Wahid, who serves as President of the RJ International Group, regarding Bangladesh's attempt to reform its economy and allow democracy to take root. Mr. Wahid noted the popular enthusiasm for change in Bangladesh, but indicated that serious obstacles remain.

Mr. Wahid explained to me that the Prime Minister has placed two telephone calls to you since the election but a response has not yet been forthcoming. My sense is a communication to the Prime Minister would be appreciated and well-received.

Mr. Wahid also told me that the Prime Minister looks forward to visiting Washington in 1993, and I assured him the new Administration and the Congress would welcome an opportunity to discuss important bilateral issues with her at that time.

Sincerely,



Charles S. Robb

CSR/pc

State Office:

Old City Hall
1001 East Broad Street
Richmond, VA 23219

Regional Offices:

Dominion Towers, Suite 107
999 Waterside Drive
Norfolk, VA 23510

1 Court Square
Suite 340
Harrisonburg, VA 22801

Dominion Bank Building
Main Street
Clintwood, VA 24288

Signet Bank Building
530 Main Street
Danville, VA 24541

Crestar Bank Building
310 First Street SW Suite 102
Roanoke, VA 24011

1204

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 4, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM ITOH
NSC Executive Secretariat

FROM: HOWARD G. PASTER *HP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence

Attached are copies of letters that were sent to the President from various members of Congress concerning Macedonia. We had originally sent these to Madeleine Albright's attention, since the letters address United Nations issues. However, having not received a response from her office we are seeking your assistance.

Also attached are additional letters which require NSC input.

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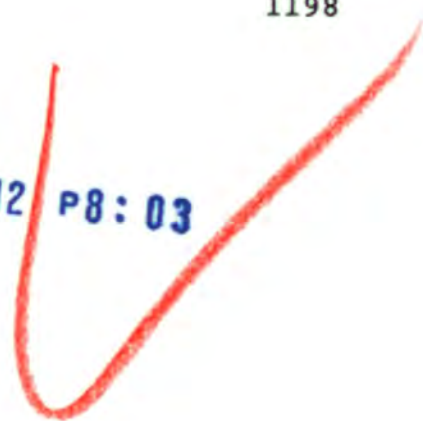
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- 7) Larry Pressler (R-SD), concerning Vietnam;
- 8) Larry Pressler (R-SD), concerning Macedonia;
- 9) Sander Levin (D-MI), concerning Tibet.

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 12, 1993

93 APR 12 P8:03



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 
HOWARD PASTER 
SUBJECT: Congressional Letter on Sudan

Purpose

To respond to the letter from Representative Frank R. Wolf regarding the situation in Sudan.

Background

Representative Wolf, who recently visited Sudan, has written you with a number of suggestions on how to deal with the situation there. The reply describes what we have been doing to ensure that relief is provided and what other steps we might take.

The rebels and the government have recently agreed to a cease-fire and renewed peace talks in Abuja under Nigerian auspices. If the cease-fire holds, relief efforts will become much more effective.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Representative Frank Wolf at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Representative Frank Wolf
Tab B Letter from Representative Frank Wolf

T
A
B
A

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Wolf:

I read with great interest and concern your letter about your trip to southern Sudan. I commend your efforts to gain first-hand knowledge of the situation.

The crisis in Sudan is also of deep concern to me. While drought has contributed to the tragedy, the government and various rebel factions are responsible for much of the death, destruction and malnutrition that has become all too commonplace in the region.

We have led the efforts to call attention to this problem by successfully pushing for a resolution in the UN General Assembly regarding human rights abuses and for a special rapporteur appointed by the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva. In addition, USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance is redoubling its efforts to reduce the logistical problems slowing the delivery of food and has taken steps to increase the amount of food being flown into Sudan.

Ambassador Petterson last month completed a four day visit to the area. Like you, he came away with a very grim assessment of the plight of many of the people he saw. The CDC team that recently completed a mission to assess the situation reached essentially the same conclusions.

We intend to press the UN to appoint a special representative of high stature who can devote full time to ensuring the adequacy of relief efforts, work with the government and rebel factions and keep a high level of media attention on the problem. We will support the

renewed peace talks being held in Abuja under Nigerian auspices with technical assistance and a special envoy or other observers as appropriate.

I look forward to staying in touch with you on ways we can do more to help the Sudanese people. You can be assured that we will continue to follow this situation closely and will maintain pressure on all the parties involved to ensure that relief reaches those in need of it.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Frank R. Wolf
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

T
A
B
B

FRANK R. WOLF
10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 CANNON BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-4610
(202) 225-5136

CONSTITUENT SERVICES OFFICES:

1851 OLD MEADOW ROAD
SUITE 115
MCLEAN, VA 22102
(703) 734-1500

19 EAST MARKET STREET
LEESBURG, VA 22076
(703) 777-4422
METRO NUMBER
(703) 478-1303

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

004057 1198
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-4610

February 18, 1993

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATION
SUBCOMMITTEE
TRANSPORTATION
TREASURY—POSTAL SERVICE—GENERAL
GOVERNMENT
SELECT COMMITTEE
ON CHILDREN, YOUTH
AND FAMILIES
SELECT COMMITTEE
ON HUNGER
COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE

Dear Mr. President:

I recently returned from a trip to the Horn of Africa, during which I spent two days in southern Sudan witnessing the horrible famine and civil war. I want to share with you some observations and recommendations and encourage your Administration to work to end the suffering in Sudan. I have enclosed several photos from my trip.

Overall, the situation is deteriorating rapidly. I visited Sudan previously in 1988 and 1989, but the destruction and despair I witnessed on this recent trip were far more severe than before. The tragedy of drought, plague and famine, worsened by the government's inhumanity to its own people, is beyond belief.

I flew in a small twin engine airplane carrying relief medical supplies into southern Sudan by the Norwegian People's Aid (NPA), the only non governmental organization with a permanent round-the-clock presence in Sudan. All other international relief groups have either partially or completely withdrawn their workers from Sudan since the murder by the Sudanese military of two U.S. Agency for International Development relief workers last September.

During my visit to two refugee camps, I saw relief efforts which seem, at best, to fend off starvation and sickness for the moment, but certainly fail to provide lasting sustenance to the refugees. Twice each day, infants and children holding their feeding bowls form a seemingly endless line to receive meager rations of food to prolong their existence until they again line up and repeat the process. Because few relief groups are operating in Sudan and because the government is disrupting humanitarian supply efforts, the need for food and basic medical supplies is especially acute.

I also visited a make-shift hospital where victims of recent bombing attacks on Kajo Keji -- a village with no military significance -- were brought. One woman, injured in the air raid, had shrapnel still buried in her head. She might be considered one of the more fortunate ones as she was not killed when government aircraft bombed a crowded marketplace.

During my trip I met with many people ranging from representatives of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), Catholic priests, local officials, and destitute, starving civilians, each with his or her own view about why this tragedy continues. But I was struck by the comments of one woman, a Dinka named Rebekka, who had lost her husband and three

The President
February 18, 1993
Page 2

children to starvation and war.

Rebekka believes that the world has been silent in this crisis because the victims are black; that race discrimination, which would not be tolerated elsewhere, has worsened the suffering. She also told me that she felt civilians were being persecuted, starved, bombed and killed because they were Christians. As you know, the Islamic fundamentalist government in Khartoum has shown absolutely no tolerance for those with different religious beliefs. I believe Rebekka's comments are right on target.

I understand the complexities of this issue; however, I believe bold, dramatic steps by your Administration could alter the present course in Sudan. Immediate action is critical as the dry season is rapidly approaching in southern Sudan and intelligence estimates suggest that the government will soon begin a major military offensive against the SPLA -- and against innocent civilians -- in the south.

I ask that you consider the following recommendations.

1. Immediately appoint a special envoy to Sudan, possibly someone such as General Norman Schwarzkopf.
2. The United States must use its influence in the United Nations to force the government of Sudan to stop its brutal pattern of human rights abuses. Most important, pressure must be put on the military junta ruling Sudan to stop the indiscriminate bombing of towns and villages in southern Sudan. Working with other nations, the United States must attempt to stem the flow of sophisticated military equipment to Sudan from Libya, Iran and the People's Republic of China.
3. The United States must work to ensure that private relief organizations are allowed to operate freely within Sudan to deliver and distribute food and medical supplies. Assurances from the government in Khartoum that relief workers may carry out their work without fear for their lives is essential to reducing the suffering.

This is a terribly difficult issue; a decade of civil war and famine cannot be reversed overnight. But your strong leadership, and the signal it sends to other nations, could truly be the difference between life and death for so many millions of people.

Sincerely,



Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

FRW:cjw

This is important. You can

THE WHITE HOUSE

0774

WASHINGTON

April 6, 1993

93 APR 6 All: 26

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE
HOWARD PASTER

SUBJECT:

Congressional Letter on International Peacekeeping

Purpose

To respond to Representatives Hyde and Michel.

Background

Representatives Hyde and Michel wrote you (Tab C) noting pending decisions on U.S. military presence in Somalia and Bosnia and the lack of Congressional consultation. In fact, Hyde and Michel are incorrect in stating that no consultations occurred prior to their letter being sent. Officials from this Administration had discussed with Congress on several occasions before February 12 the state of play and pending decisions regarding both countries. Since that time, consultations on Bosnia have been high-level, numerous, and bipartisan. That said, some in Congress are complaining that they are only being informed, not consulted, and Republicans, in their new opposition status, are particularly sensitive in this regard.

The response acknowledges the seriousness of the issues, the fact that decisions are still in process, and our willingness to consult. In particular, it states a willingness to engage in dialogue with Republicans as well as Democrats, a process which is already under way.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters to Representatives Hyde and Michel.

Attachments

Tab A Proposed Letter to Congressman Hyde
Tab B Proposed Letter to Congressman Michel
Tab C Incoming Congressional Letter

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Hyde:

I appreciate your thoughtful letter on the role of the U.S. government and U.S. military forces in international peacekeeping. Both Somalia and Bosnia pose complex and difficult questions in this regard.

As you are aware, this Administration is committed to consultations with the Congress, and we are actively discussing issues concerning both countries with members and staff on both sides of the aisle. State and Defense as well as White House staff have been and will be engaged in this process. Secretary Christopher, Secretary Aspin, and General Powell have spent a great deal of personal time on the Hill in this effort. My own conversations on these issues with the Republican leadership are also, of course, part of the effort.

With respect to Somalia, while timing is not firm, we do intend, in line with planning by the last Administration, to have some American presence as a transition into the UN peacekeeping effort, UNOSOM. That presence, however, will be modest, will decline rapidly during the remainder of this year, and will consist of logistic and helicopter transport forces. The new UNOSOM commander, General Bir from Turkey, is an excellent choice, on which we were consulted, and he will have a U.S. deputy, Army Major General Montgomery.

As we pursue the policy toward Bosnia announced in early February, we will continue to review our diplomatic, military, and humanitarian options in conjunction with the UN, our European allies, and Russia. It will be especially important that we also consult clearly with the Congress, and we look forward to doing so.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Henry J. Hyde
Chairman
Republican Policy Committee
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Leader:

I appreciate your thoughtful letter on the role of the U.S. government and U.S. military forces in international peacekeeping. Both Somalia and Bosnia pose complex and difficult questions in this regard.

As you are aware, this Administration is committed to consultations with the Congress, and we are actively discussing issues concerning both countries with members and staff on both sides of the aisle. State and Defense as well as White House staff have been and will be engaged in this process. Secretary Christopher, Secretary Aspin, and General Powell have spent a great deal of personal time on the Hill in this effort. My own conversations on these issues with the Republican leadership are also, of course, part of the effort.

With respect to Somalia, while timing is not firm, we do intend, in line with planning by the last Administration, to have some American presence as a transition into the UN peacekeeping effort, UNOSOM. That presence, however, will be modest, will decline rapidly during the remainder of this year, and will consist of logistic and helicopter transport forces. The new UNOSOM commander, General Bir from Turkey, is an excellent choice, on which we were consulted, and he will have a U.S. deputy, Army Major General Montgomery.

As we pursue the policy toward Bosnia announced in early February, we will continue to review our diplomatic, military, and humanitarian options in conjunction with the UN, our European allies, and Russia. It will be especially important that we also consult clearly with the Congress, and we look forward to doing so.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Robert H. Michel
Republican Leader
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

0777

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

February 12, 1993

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Your Administration appears to be making significant decisions on the use of United States military forces in both Somalia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The issues involved in deciding when and under what circumstances to introduce U.S. armed forces into potentially hostile situations overseas are complex and extremely grave in their implications.

In the case of Somalia, President Bush began a phased withdrawal of our forces just prior to your inauguration with the intent of turning over the operation to a United Nations peacekeeping force. However, we are now informed by the State Department that your Administration intends to make a major contribution of U.S. forces to that peacekeeping contingent -- perhaps as large as fully half of a force of 10,000 personnel. Furthermore, we are informed that the overall contingent would be under the operational command of a third country national.

With regard to Bosnia, Secretary of State Warren Christopher announced yesterday that in the event of the successful negotiation of a peace accord, the United States will join those enforcing it, "including possible U.S. military participation." We assume that any such force would vastly exceed the size of a Somalia peacekeeping force and involve a large number of American personnel.

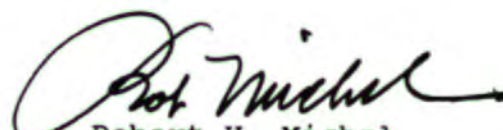
To the best of our knowledge, this magnitude of U.S. military participation in international peacekeeping activities is unprecedented. Moreover, we are not aware of any U.S. combat forces ever being used in this manner. Both Somalia and Bosnia are deeply troubled by endemic problems that defy easy solution. Therefore, today's decisions concerning our policy toward those countries could be pivotal in establishing the overall course of our foreign and defense policy for years to come.

We are not aware of any Administration consultation with Congress on these issues, but we are convinced of the necessity of exploring them with you and your senior policy advisors at the earliest opportunity. As a first step, we will invite Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell, and National Security Advisor Anthony Lake to meet with us and other Members of the House Republican leadership to discuss these matters.

We look forward to working closely with your Administration as our country continues to establish its role in the post-Cold War world.

Sincerely,


Henry J. Hyde
Chairman,
Republican Policy Committee


Robert H. Michel
Republican Leader

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 6, 1993

93 APR 6 P1:27

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE ✓

SUBJECT: Letter of Reply to Finnish President Koivisto

Purpose

To thank Mauno Koivisto, President of the Republic of Finland, for conveying to you his assessment of political and economic conditions in Russia.

Background

President Koivisto visited Moscow on March 4-5, 1993. In his letter to you of March 18, 1993, he stressed the importance of the reform process in Russia for the West, urged the international community to increase its aid to Russia, and called for greater coordination of assistance programs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachment

Tab A Letter of Reply

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear President Koivisto:

I am writing to thank you for your thoughtful letter of March 18, 1993.

Your analysis of the situation in Russia came at a very useful time -- just as I was preparing for the Vancouver summit with President Yeltsin. I share your assessment of the importance of the reform process and your concern about economic and political conditions in Russia. I am committed to building support both in this country and abroad for increased levels of assistance to Russia. I also agree that multilateral assistance programs need to be better coordinated.

I appreciate Finland's own contribution to the reform process in Russia and look forward to working with you on this matter of great concern to us all.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Mauno Koivisto
President of the Republic of Finland
Helsinki

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1654

1.

Helsinki, March 18, 1993

Dear Mr. President,

I made an official visit to Russia on March 4-5 as I indicated in my letter of January 20 to you. Since you are preparing for the Summit Meeting with President Yeltsin in Vancouver next month, I thought it might be of interest to you to share some observations I made during the discussions in Moscow with President Yeltsin as well as Premier Chernomyrdin, Foreign Minister Kozyrev and Speaker of the Supreme Soviet, Mr. Khasbulatov.

Before the visit I had discussions and correspondence with M. Michel Camdessus, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund. In this exchange of views we focused on the conditionality of western support to the Russian reform policy. M. Camdessus appealed to me to strongly underline the necessity of the implementation of the stabilization program already agreed by the Russian government.

I did that, and would have done so anyway as I am convinced that it is in Russia's own best interest to attain stability of its monetary and fiscal policies. I emphasised that the role of the IMF is rather to have a catalytic effect than to provide large credits.

The response to my viewpoints was somewhat ambivalent. It seemed to me that the Russian government is not quite capable of committing itself to such an economic policy that is required by principles of the IMF.

His Excellency
William J Clinton
President of the United States of America
Washington, D.C.

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I had a plenty of time to discuss privately with President Yeltsin in Moscow. He strongly underlined his determination to proceed with his reform policy and to find compromises with the Congress of Peoples' Deputies. He assured me that he is not going to resort to any extreme measures. Yeltsin and the Russian reform movement are, however, in a vulnerable situation. The package of the G7 last summer helped for some while. It created, however, an illusion of decisive support that soon disappeared.

I do hope that the hand extended would be met with a firmer grip. At this stage, it is question of finding resources. Perhaps, the west should now consider a strategy of modified conditionality. In a longer run, however, fundamental common interests are at stake.

Yeltsin told me that he very much looks forward to meeting you at the Summit Meeting. My wife and I have found him and Mrs. Yeltsin open, sociable and cordial people. I am convinced that you will have agreeable discussions in Vancouver.

I wish you every success in your forthcoming meeting with President Yeltsin and in your efforts to support his reforms policies.

Yours sincerely,

Mauno Koivisto
President of the Republic of Finland

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 9, 1993

93 APR 9 18:22

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *AL*
HOWARD PASTER *HP*

SUBJECT: Letter from Congressman Pete Peterson Concerning
Homosexuals in the Military

Purpose

To respond to a letter from Congressman Pete Peterson which recommends an approach for lifting the ban on homosexuals in the military.

Background

Congressman Peterson recommends the discontinuation of pre-induction screening for sexual orientation followed by the issuance of an executive order which includes the statement:

"No person will be involuntarily released from the military service except as necessary under a general reduction in force; failure to uphold the oath of office taken at enlistment or commission; failure to meet the professional standards required for individual specialty or for conduct unbecoming as measured by the provisions contained in the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ)."

The response at Tab A thanks Congressman Peterson for his proposal, and promises that it will be considered along with the recommendations due from DoD on July 15.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Congressman Peterson at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Congressman Pete Peterson
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Pete:

I greatly appreciate your recommendation on the issue of homosexuals in the military. I agree that our armed forces should be judged by their personal and professional conduct rather than their sexual preferences.

As you know, I have asked Secretary Aspin to provide his recommendations on the subject by July 15, and I will forward your suggestions to him. His review, together with the views and opinions expressed in ongoing Congressional hearings, will ensure that all possible approaches are considered.

Thank you for your thoughtful contribution to this effort.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Pete Peterson
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



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PETE PETERSON
2d DISTRICT, FLORIDA

COMMITTEE
ON
APPROPRIATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEES:
ENERGY AND WATER
RESOURCES
AGRICULTURE AND RURAL
DEVELOPMENT

2037

008347

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426 CANNON BUILDING
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(202) 225-5235

DISTRICT OFFICES:
930 THOMASVILLE ROAD, SUITE 10
TALLAHASSEE, FL 32303
(904) 581-3979

MARIANNA
(904) 526-7518

LAKE CITY
(904) 752-1088

30 WEST GOVERNMENT STREET
ROOM 203
PANAMA CITY, FL 32401
(904) 785-0812

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0902
March 18, 1993

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The emotional and somewhat militant uproar over your proposal to allow homosexuals to serve in the U.S. military seems to be subsiding now. I assume, however, you will soon address this issue again during the House and Senate hearings. I would like to recommend one approach that could potentially take to put this issue behind us.

My recommendation has two parts: one which has essentially been executed and another in the form of a policy statement.

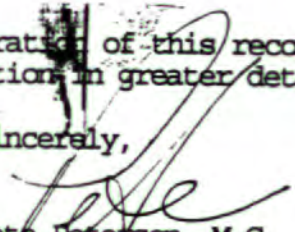
1. The Joint Chiefs of Staff issue an order to permanently discontinue the pre-induction screen for sexual orientation.
2. Issue an executive order containing the following statement:

" No person will be involuntarily released from the military service except as necessary under a general reduction in force; failure to uphold the oath of office taken at enlistment or commission; failure to meet the professional standards required for individual specialty or for conduct unbecoming as measured by the provisions contained in the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ). "

Taking the two actions recommended above would, I believe, address the concerns expressed by the U.S. military leadership. By not specifically listing homosexuals in the action, we do not officially designate that segment of our population a minority group. Furthermore, it directly responds to your initiative to make involuntary release from the service purely a professional or conduct question.

I appreciate your consideration of this recommendation. I would be happy to discuss the recommendation in greater detail should you be interested.

Sincerely,


Pete Peterson, M.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 30, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM ITOH
NSC Executive Secretariat
FROM: HOWARD G. PASTER *HP*
SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence

Attached are copies of letters that were sent to the President from various members of Congress.

Since these letters address National Security issues, we would appreciate your assistance in having drafts written.

Thank you very much for your assistance. If you have any questions, please feel free to call LeeAnn Inadomi at x7500.

The following is a brief description of the letters:

- 1) Lee Hamilton (D-IN), concerning base closure in North Vernon, Indiana. Chairman Hamilton has forwarded a letter from his constituent, the mayor of North Vernon. I have sent an interim reply to the Chairman and have indicated that the President would be responding directly to the mayor.
- 2) ~~Pete Peterson (D-FL)~~, concerning gays in the military;
- 3) Tim Valentine (D-NC), concerning foreign aid.

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 9, 1993

93 APR 9 8:22

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 

SUBJECT: Letter from Representative Menendez re Cuban Nuclear Power Plant

Purpose

To assure Representative Menendez and other members of Congress of your continuing concern about the proposed nuclear power plant at Cienfuegos, Cuba.

Background

Representative Menendez wrote you on March 30, conveying his concerns about the proposed nuclear power plant at Cienfuegos, Cuba. Construction of the facility was suspended last year because the Cuban government could not afford Russian technical assistance and the high price of safety/control equipment needed to complete the project. However, a recently concluded economic agreement reportedly commits Russia and Cuba to completing the plant if safety and financial assistance can be obtained from Western sources. We are concerned both for safety and proliferation reasons. Cuba has signed neither the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) nor the Tlatololco Treaty on Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America.

Our proposed response at Tab A reiterates continued U.S. concern about the project, and informs Representative Menendez that you raised the issue with President Yeltsin in Vancouver during the weekend of August 4, 1993.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter attached at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Proposed Letter to Representative Menendez
Tab B Letter from Representative Menendez

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your letter of March 30, concerning the Juragua nuclear power plant near Cienfuegos, Cuba.

As you are aware, the United States Government opposes the construction of the Juragua nuclear power plant because of our concerns about Cuba's ability to ensure the safe operation of the facility and because of Cuba's refusal to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty or the Treaty of Tlatololco. We have repeatedly made our safety and non-proliferation concerns known to the Russians, to the Cubans, and to other governments which might consider issuing export permits for the shipment of nuclear energy technology to Cuba. Last week in Vancouver, I discussed this issue with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, underscoring the seriousness of our concerns.

The United States has also raised this issue directly with the Cubans and with international organizations such as the International Atomic Energy Agency. In 1989, we arranged an exchange of visits of Cuban and U.S. experts on nuclear safety.

I assure you that we will continue to raise our safety and non-proliferation concerns on every appropriate occasion with the Russians and with others who are or may be involved in this project.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Robert Menendez
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-3013

March 30, 1993

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to thank you for listening to my deep concerns in respect to the possible future operation of a nuclear power reactor near Cienfuegos, Cuba, and for agreeing to express these concerns personally to President Yeltsin during your upcoming summit meeting with him in Vancouver, Canada.

The reactor model VVER440 V318 (a 440-megawatt pressurized water reactor) was planned for export to other countries by the Soviet Union. One has been under construction in Cuba since 1983 in Juragua, Cuba, although a lack of funds and equipment has forced the Castro government to temporarily halt its construction.

Several serious concerns have been expressed by the United States Government, numerous international and U.S.-based organizations which monitor nuclear energy, and some of my colleagues in Congress, in respect to the operational safety of this plant. There may be important implications for both Cuba and the United States should an accident occur at this plant.

In a September 1992 report to Congress, "Concerns About the Nuclear Power Reactors in Cuba," the United States General Accounting Office (GAO) outlined a series of important concerns within the nuclear energy community about deficiencies in this plant. Following are some of the concerns expressed, which I share:

(1) a lack in Cuba of a nuclear regulatory structure; (2) the absence of an adequate industrial infrastructure in Cuba to ensure the plant's safe operation and maintenance; (3) the inadequacy of training of plant operators; (4) reports by a former Cuban technician who examined with X-Rays weld sites (believed to be part of the auxiliary plumbing system) and found that 10 to 15 percent of those were defective, as well as other welds; (5) exposure to the elements, including corrosive salt water vapor, of the primary reactor components; and, (6) a question as to the adequacy of the upper portion of the reactors' containment domes retention capability of 7 pounds of pressure per square inch.

An accident at the Cienfuegos plant could cause obvious damage not only to Cuba and its people, but also to the United States and its people. The GAO Report estimates that summer winds could carry radioactive pollutants over all of Florida, parts of the Gulf states, and travel as far as Texas, in four days.

The United States Geological Survey (USGS) claims that it does not have access to the information required to determine whether the site of the Cienfuegos plant is susceptible to earthquake activity. The USGS claims it was unable to answer some of the GAO's questions because the Cuban government was not forthcoming with information. However, the USGS did indicate that the Caribbean plate, a geological formation near the south coast of Cuba, may pose seismic risks. In fact, on May 25, 1992, this plate produced an earthquake numbering 7.0 on the Richter scale. A consulting group based in Munich, Germany estimated that the Cienfuegos area itself could produce an earthquake with a probable maximum magnitude of 5.0 on the Richter scale.

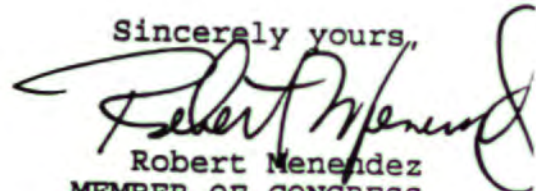
The United States continues to oppose the construction of this facility. I urge you to maintain the U.S. position that this plant should not be constructed. Cuba is a not a signatory nation to either the Non-Proliferation Treaty or the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which commit signatory nations to nonproliferation and permits the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to monitor the signatory nations' nuclear facilities.

Fortunately, for the moment, construction of the Cienfuegos facility has stopped due to Cuba's inability to pay for needed materials and equipment. However, I am concerned by a December 1992 report (Frank Gaffney, Jr., The Washington Times) that the Yeltsin Government -- already deep in debt and seeking U.S. financial assistance -- has decided to extend to Cuba supplier credits so that it may complete this project.

Mr. President, I appreciate your taking an interest in this important matter. Please do not hesitate to contact me with any questions or comments.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,


Robert Menendez
MEMBER OF CONGRESS

RM/ppp

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 9, 1993

93 APR 9 AIO: 27

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *AL*
HOWARD PASTER *HP*

SUBJECT: Letter to Senator Rockefeller, Resolution of Pan
Am 103 Bombing

Purpose

To assure Senator Rockefeller of your intent to vigorously pursue resolution of the Pan Am 103 tragedy.

Background

On February 10, 1993, Senator Rockefeller wrote to you urging that you take all steps available to resolve the Pan Am 103 tragedy.

Attached is a letter to Senator Rockefeller assuring him of your intent to vigorously pursue additional sanctions against Libya if Libya does not comply with UN resolutions. Finally, the letter informs Senator Rockefeller that your National Security Adviser met with family members on March 25.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter attached at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Presidential Letter to Senator Rockefeller
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter of February 10, 1993 regarding the bombing of Pan Am flight 103 and the need to resolve the outstanding questions regarding this tragedy. Let me assure you that my Administration is deeply committed to seeing that justice is served.

As I said during the campaign, the sanctions imposed on Libya last year are not enough. The international community must step up the pressure on Libya to surrender the suspects. My Administration is currently assessing how to achieve further sanctions, and we are consulting with our allies, particularly France and Great Britain, on this issue.

I also remain committed to the families of the victims of the Pan Am 103 disaster who have been instrumental in keeping this issue on the agenda. I am determined that they be involved as we develop our strategy for achieving Libyan compliance. My National Security Adviser, Anthony Lake, met with representatives of the families on March 25, and I appreciate their unique insights on this issue.

Again, thank you for bringing your concern and support to my attention. As we progress with our consultations, I will keep you informed.

Sincerely,

The Honorable John D. Rockefeller, IV
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4802

February 10, 1993

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

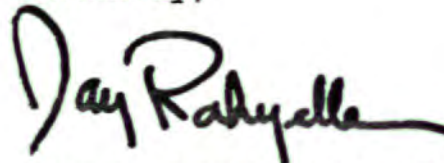
Dear Mr. President,

I have been contacted by Mrs. Loulie Canady of West Virginia concerning the case of Pan Am 103, the plane that exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland in 1988. I know of your interest in this case, and I wish to add my voice to those who have expressed an interest in seeing the outstanding issues surrounding this matter resolved.

I am aware that there are warrants outstanding for the two Libyans accused in this case, but there are other issues which I do not think have been fully explored in the past three years, the most important of which is the reported complicity of both Iran and Syria in the bombing. Geopolitical concerns may have prevented the past Administration from fully pursuing this allegation, but I am confident from the statements you and Ambassador Albright have made that you are committed to uncovering the full extent of crimes committed in this case.

I am grateful for anything you can do towards seeing these issues fully and finally resolved.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Jay Rockefeller", with a stylized, flowing script.

John D. Rockefeller IV

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 3, 1993

Dear Senator Rockefeller:

Thank you for your letter concerning the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103. I appreciate your notifying the President of your interest in this matter.

A copy of your letter has been forwarded to the National Security Council for further review. As soon as we learn any details, we will contact your office.

In the meantime, if I can be of any assistance to you, do not hesitate to contact my office.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Howard G. Paster
Assistant to the President
for Legislative Affairs

The Honorable John D. Rockefeller IV
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

507

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
March 3, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

FROM: HOWARD G. PASTER 
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: PAN AM FLIGHT 103

The following is a letter which was sent to President Clinton from Senator Jay Rockefeller (D-WV). I have also enclosed my acknowledgement to the Senator.

President Clinton has requested that he see and sign every letter being sent to Capitol Hill. We did not want to fully address the issues addressed in these letters without advice from your department. I would appreciate your office drafting a response for both of these letters as soon as possible. Please forward the response to our office located in Room 102-East Wing.

Thank you for your assistance with this matter. If you have any questions, please call Melissa Banks at (202) 456-7500.

Enclosures

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 9, 1993

93 APR 9 10:28

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 
HOWARD G. PASTER 

SUBJECT: Letter from Representative Hamilton RE: United Nations Conference on Environmental & Development (UNCED)

Purpose

To respond to the concerns of the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the United States demonstrate effective leadership on international environmental issues as a follow-up to the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED).

Background

NSC is currently conducting a policy review of global environmental affairs, including as a primary focus, follow-up to UNCED.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Representative Hamilton at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Representative Hamilton
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter of March 9, 1993 stressing the importance of effective leadership on international environmental issues as a follow-up to the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED).

I could not agree with you more. I strongly believe that international environmental issues are significant factors in national security and foreign policy and have reorganized the National Security Council staff to include a Senior Director for Global Environmental Affairs. I have also called for a comprehensive review of United States policy on a slate of global environmental issues, with a strong focus on the initiatives of UNCED. As you point out, assuming a leadership role in the implementation of UNCED will require a clear delineation of roles among agencies. The Department of State will coordinate the international aspects of UNCED follow-up, and the newly created Office of Environmental Policy will be the focal point for domestic implementation activities.

I fully intend to see that the United States exercises leadership in this area and look forward to working with you as we develop and implement sound environmental policies and programs.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Lee H. Hamilton
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

LEE H. HAMILTON, INDIANA
CHAIRMAN

SAM GEJDENSON, CONNECTICUT
TOM LANTOS, CALIFORNIA
ROBERT G. TORRICELLI, NEW JERSEY
HOWARD L. BERMAN, CALIFORNIA
GARY L. ACKERMAN, NEW YORK
HARRY JOHNSTON, FLORIDA
ELIOT L. ENGEL, NEW YORK
ENI F.H. FALEOMAVAEGA, AMERICAN SAMOA
JAMES I. OBERSTAR, MINNESOTA
CHARLES E. SCHUMER, NEW YORK
MATTHEW G. MARTINEZ, CALIFORNIA
ROBERT A. BORSKI, PENNSYLVANIA
DONALD M. PAYNE, NEW JERSEY
ROBERT E. ANDREWS, NEW JERSEY
ROBERT MENENDEZ, NEW JERSEY
SHERROD BROWN, OHIO
CYNTHIA A. MCKINNEY, GEORGIA
MARIA CANTWELL, WASHINGTON
ALCEE L. HASTINGS, FLORIDA
ERIC FINGERHUT, OHIO
PETER DEUTSCH, FLORIDA
ALBERT RUSSELL WYNN, MARYLAND
DON EDWARDS, CALIFORNIA
FRANK McCLOSKEY, INDIANA
THOMAS C. SAWYER, OHIO
(VACANCY)

MICHAEL H. VAN DUSEN
CHIEF OF STAFF

1828

00472

BENJAMIN A. GELMAN, NEW YORK
RANKING REPUBLICAN MEMBER

WILLIAM F. GOODLING, PENNSYLVANIA
JIM LEACH, IOWA
TOBY ROTH, WISCONSIN
OLYMPIA J. SNOWE, MAINE
HENRY J. HYDE, ILLINOIS
DOUG BERKEUTER, NEBRASKA
CHRISTOPHER M. SMITH, NEW JERSEY
DAN BURTON, INDIANA
JAN MEYERS, KANSAS
ELTON GALLEGLY, CALIFORNIA
ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, FLORIDA
CASS BALLINGER, NORTH CAROLINA
DANA ROHRBACH, CALIFORNIA
DAVID LEVY, NEW YORK
DONALD A. MANZULLO, ILLINOIS
LINCOLN DIAZ-BALART, FLORIDA
EDWARD R. ROYCE, CALIFORNIA

RICHARD J. GARON
REPUBLICAN CHIEF OF STAFF

One Hundred Third Congress
Congress of the United States
Committee on Foreign Affairs
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

March 9, 1993

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I write to underscore the importance of effective United States leadership on international environmental issues as a follow-up to the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED).

I commend you for establishing a White House Office on Environmental Policy. The creation of this office to coordinate environmental policies sends a positive message. It will provide the U.S. government with the capability to exercise leadership on environmentally sustainable development.

I feel strongly that the United States should lead international efforts to implement the commitments made at UNCED. I want to see the momentum of UNCED maintained and move to carry out its initiatives. Our government should, without delay, determine how best to implement both the domestic and international components of UNCED.

I urge you to designate a lead entity to coordinate the implementation of the initiatives of UNCED. Agency responsibilities must be clear, and coordination with appropriate House and Senate Committees carefully developed.

For the international aspects of UNCED implementation, I hope the Secretary of State or his designee will be the coordinator. U.S. interests will not be well-served if there is duplication or confusion among agencies in our overseas activities.

If the U.S. is to regain its position as a leader in international environmental protection, effective follow-up to UNCED by the United States is vital. I look forward to working with you and your administration on UNCED implementation and other environmental policy issues.

With best regards,

Sincerely,



Lee H. Hamilton
Chairman

LHH/NMC:ds

ETape

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 22, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM ITOH
NSC Executive Secretariat

FROM: HOWARD G. PASTER *HP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence

Attached are copies of letters that were sent to the President from various members of Congress.

Since these letters address National Security issues, we would appreciate your assistance in having drafts written.

Thank you very much for your assistance. If you have any questions, please feel free to call LeeAnn Inadomi at x7500.

The following is a brief description of the letters:

- 1) Lee Hamilton (D-IN), concerning the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development;
- 2) Jack Murtha (D-PA), concerning Balkan Peace Conference;
- 3) Joe Lieberman (D-CT), concerning Schneerson-Agudas Library in Moscow;
- 4) Chuck Robb (D-VA), concerning Macedonia;
- 5) Pat Leahy (D-VT), concerning aid program to Russia;
- 6) Frank McCloskey (D-IN), concerning Bosnia;
- 7) Larry Pressler (R-SD) and others, concerning Radovan Karadzic.

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 9, 1993

93 APR 9 AIO: 27

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE
HOWARD PASTER

SUBJECT:

Response to Representative Benjamin Gilman on
MacedoniaPurpose

To respond to a letter from Representative Gilman.

Background

Representative Gilman has written you regarding the UN application of the Republic of Macedonia. We have drafted a response for your signature at Tab A.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the draft response at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A	Draft Response
Tab B	Incoming from Gilman

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Gilman:

Thank you for your letter regarding the admission of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to the UN.

I am familiar with and take seriously the concerns raised by Greece on this issue, and my Administration has been working closely with Athens as this matter has progressed in the United Nations. You may know that the UN Security Council and General Assembly have approved Macedonian UN membership while putting in place a mechanism to resolve permanently the issue of the name under which this republic will be formally recognized.

With this important step, it remains our hope that outstanding issues will be resolved quickly in order to remove yet another source of potential instability in the troubled Balkans.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Benjamin A. Gilman
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

BENJAMIN A. GILMAN
220 DISTRICT, NEW YORK

FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SUBCOMMITTEES:

EUROPE AND MIDDLE EAST

(RANKING MINORITY MEMBER)

INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS

1824

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-3222

March 17, 1993

POST OFFICE AND CIVIL
SERVICE COMMITTEE
(RANKING MINORITY MEMBER)

SUBCOMMITTEE
INVESTIGATIONS

SELECT COMMITTEE ON
NARCOTICS ABUSE AND
CONTROL

SELECT COMMITTEE ON
HUNGER

VICE CHAIRMAN,
TASK FORCE ON
AMERICAN PRISONERS AND
MISSING IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

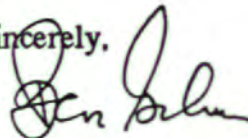
Dear Mr. President:

As the United Nations Security Council considers the application of the "Republic of Macedonia," for United Nations membership I request that you consider carefully and fully take into account the concerns over Macedonia's official name that have been raised by the government of Greece. I believe that Greece has some legitimate concerns on this issue, and that as a close ally, Greece deserves such support.

Macedonia has long been a focal point of conflict in the Balkans, and I believe that it is critical to our interests that any steps by the international community which give effect to the legitimate aspirations for national self-determination of the people of Macedonia in the former Yugoslavia need to be carefully considered so as not to reignite that conflict.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



BENJAMIN A. GILMAN
Member of Congress

BAG/jh

PLEASE REPLY TO:

WASHINGTON OFFICE:

2185 RAYBURN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3222
☒ TELEPHONE: (202) 225-3776

DISTRICT OFFICE:

44 EAST AVENUE
P.O. Box 358
MIDDLETOWN, NY 10940-0358
☐ TELEPHONE: (914) 343-6666

DISTRICT OFFICE:

223 ROUTE 59
MONSEY, NY 10952-3498
☐ TELEPHONE: (914) 357-9000

DISTRICT OFFICE:

32 MAIN STREET
HASTINGS-ON-HUDSON,
NY 10706-1602
☐ TELEPHONE: (914) 478-5550

Stajin

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 22, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM ITOH
NSC Executive Secretariat

FROM: HOWARD G. PASTER *HP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence

Attached are copies of letters that were sent to the President from various members of Congress.

Since these letters address National Security issues, we would appreciate your assistance in having drafts written.

Thank you very much for your assistance. If you have any questions, please feel free to call LeeAnn Inadomi at x7500.

The following is a brief description of the letters:

- 1) Pat Roberts (R-KS), concerning Russian aid;
- 2) Ben Gilman (R-NY), concerning Macedonia;
- 3) Claiborne Pell (D-RI), concerning Vietnam.

Attachments

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

March 26, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM:  EILEEN CLAUSSEN

SUBJECT: Letter from Representative Lee Hamilton RE: U.N
Conference on Environmental & Development (UNCED)
Follow-Up

At Tab B Representative Lee Hamilton, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, expresses his concern that the U.S. demonstrate leadership on international issues as a follow-up to the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). He suggests that the President designate the Secretary of State as the lead entity to coordinate the implementation aspects of UNCED implementation. He also commends the President for establishing the Office on Environmental Policy at the White House.

At Tab A is a letter from the President which underscores his commitment to effective UNCED follow-up and highlights the NSC policy review on global environmental affairs currently underway.

Concurrences by: Randy Beers, Richard Clarke, Susan Rice,
Jeremy Rosner

RECOMMENDATION

That you send a joint memorandum with Howard Paster to the President recommending his signature at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Letter to Lee Hamilton
Tab B Incoming correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 8, 1993

POTUS 012128
In
Roy N
Mack
Geo 5
93 APR 9 P1:32
File

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK MCLARTY

From: Barbara Chow
SUBJECT: Little Rock Courthouse

I. SUMMARY

The Little Rock Courthouse is one of 11 courthouse projects funded in the fiscal 1994 budget request. It was ranked highly by the General Services Administration and the amount requested is consistent with levels proposed by the Bush administration but lower than authorized levels.

II. DISCUSSION

Funding for the Little Rock Courthouse will pay for the renovation of a dilapidated General Services Administration building until recently inhabited by the University of Arkansas law school but subsequently returned to the government. It will be used to house the bankruptcy court, thereby alleviating overcrowding problems in the other courthouse. It was selected for funding because it ranked high on the GSA and court priority list (although it would be difficult to distinguish it from other courthouse projects on substantive grounds.)

The amount of funding requested in fiscal 1994 (\$14.1 million) represents a \$6 million reduction from the authorized level and is consistent with levels proposed by the Bush administration. This project was of special interest to Representative Hammerschmidt but has also been followed closely by Senator Pryor.

To put this project in context, it should be noted that it is one of 16 new GSA construction projects (11 courthouses) approved in the \$750 million fiscal 1994 budget in the GSA new construction account. It was included in the list you saw because it was significantly reduced from the authorized level and is politically sensitive. The other courthouse projects on the list were all considered low priority by the GSA.

612131

Mac
to the President ✓

Dear President Clinton;

Congratulations and best wishes for a successful four years in the White House. Arkansas is praying for you and your family to do everything you said you wanted to accomplish while in office.

The enclosed is a pamphlet I thought you might like to keep for your scrapbook or frame. It is of Miss Marie Purkin's kindergarten. Since you and Mr. Mac met there, I thought you might like to have this. Know it was printed before you were born, but I was my aunt's inspiration for beginning a school for little folks and she really began in her back bed room in 1938 when I was four and a half years old. Those first pupils all got together at our 40th reunion in Hope and had a ball.

Have written an article to the new magazine Reminisce about my aunt and her kindergarten so hope they want to publish it in their next issue. You are mentioned as the most famous but I have the distinction of being her first pupil since she helped raise me.

Also your mother and my oldest sister, Marie Williams Tipton graduated from Hope High School together.

Just wanted to send this to you for a keep sake and give my congratulations. Plan to send Mac one too.

Sincerely;

Nannette W. Elsass
920 Canterbury
Fayetteville, AR
72701

Show to Mac
then back to me

(Show to Mac)
then back to me

Thank you for sending to me —
You do indeed handle your
paper well — I'm impressed

pamphlet Brought Back not
1 good ^{memories} ~~memories~~ —
Mac

ROUTING SLIP

93 APR 9 P1:32

FROM: Mack McLarty
Chief of Staff

DATE: 4/9

TO:

The President _____
Sandy Berger _____
Rahm Emanuel _____
Marcia Hale _____
Alexis Herman _____
Nancy Hernreich _____
Anthony Lake _____
Bruce Lindsey _____
Regina Montoya _____
Roy Neel _____
Bernie Nussbaum _____

Vice President Gore _____
Howard Paster _____
John Podesta ✓ * _____
Carol Rasco _____
Bob Rubin _____
Eli Segal _____
George Stephanopoulos _____
Christine Varney _____
David Watkins _____
Maggie Williams _____
OTHER _____

FOR YOUR:

Action _____

Information _____

See me _____

* For the President

March (GS)

it's about time to do this
it's about time to do this

Mr. President

I fully agree

How Long Must Jim Brady Wait?

IS THERE anybody in Congress who still doesn't know what the Brady bill is? It has now been 12 years since those gunshots hit President Reagan and his press secretary, Jim Brady—and it is Mr. Brady who waits, not the handgun purchasers. A five-day waiting period and mandatory background check for handgun sales from dealers is hardly a tough proposal, given the insane, murderous traffic in firearms that is terrorizing cities, suburbs and even the rural areas these days. Every substantive poll in the land shows overwhelming voter support for the Brady bill, including from most gun owners. President Clinton is ready to sign it; it has been debated for six years—during which 138,000 Americans were killed by handguns. That's more than were killed in combat in World War I, the Korean War and the Vietnam War combined. What is anybody waiting for?

Is it more statistics they want on Capitol Hill? How about these, from Handgun Control Inc. for first three months of this year:

- Five people shot outside CIA headquarters.
- Thirteen law enforcement officers killed with guns during February alone.
- Gang activity reaching new levels in Little Rock and Wichita.
- Three students killed at Bethune-Cookman College in Florida.
- A standoff of arsenals in Waco.

No, the Brady bill alone won't bring an end to the slaughter. It is, in fact, the mildest kind of action that Congress can take. It doesn't restrict any law-abiding citizen from buying a handgun. It doesn't even limit the number of handguns an individual may purchase in a given time period—a proposal that is winning strong bipartisan support in state legislatures as well as in Congress. But it would bring a measure of common sense to a stop-and-shop-and-kill system, and it might just save a life or two. Or more. Congress should pass the proposal—on its own merits—before the next recess.

School's Out in Kalkaska

"IT'S NOT like we're going around with black armbands. We're not dying. We simply have a problem. This is small-town America."

That's what one resident told the Detroit Free Press about the scene in Kalkaska, Mich., where schools closed 10 weeks early after the district ran out of money. The home of the National Trout Festival and 2,300 students decided neither to borrow funds (there are prohibitions against deficit spending) nor to raise taxes (voters rejected a hike three times over). Rather than cut to the bone a school system that had already eliminated sports, increased class size and shortened the school day, the school board opted for an early end to the school year.

This much-publicized event has been characterized as a showdown between Kalkaska and the state, as an intergenerational conflict between fixed-income elderly and youth and as an object lesson in school finance. It's all these things—but it's also something else. It's a case of a town unwilling to pay a little more to keep kids in school. According to reports, few complained about the impending closure.

It's not unusual for schools to close a bit early or open a bit late. Weakened economies and bad bookkeeping have forced similar crises from Richmond, Calif., to Central Falls, R.I. Trouble is especially likely in districts such as Kalkaska that depend almost entirely on property tax revenues. (Kalkaska schools receive some categorical but no general state aid.) States usually come to the rescue, however. In Michigan, receivership is still a possibility—bills are moving through the legislature. But state officials aren't keen on a takeover; there's nothing in state law, they point out, that compels a district such as Kalkaska to remain open.

The teachers—and in particular National Education Association President Keith Geiger—are using Kalkaska for their own purposes. All this is a result of antiquated state financing, they say. While Michigan contributes less than most states to its schools, it is considering changes in the school aid formula. But it's unclear how any equalization provisions or other revisions would have changed the arithmetic in middle-class Kalkaska. This is a community that looked at its own numbers and decided to close the books.

ROUTING SLIP

FROM: Mack McLarty
Chief of Staff

DATE: 4/9

93 APR 9 P1:32

TO:

The President _____
Sandy Berger _____
Rahm Emanuel _____
Marcia Hale _____
Alexis Herman _____
Nancy Hernreich _____
Anthony Lake _____
Bruce Lindsey _____
Regina Montoya _____
Roy Neel _____
Bernie Nussbaum _____

Vice President Gore _____
Howard Paster _____
John Podesta ☒ _____
Carol Rasco _____
Bob Rubin _____
Eli Segal _____
George Stephanopoulos _____
Christine Varney _____
David Watkins _____
Maggie Williams _____
OTHER _____

FOR YOUR:

Action _____

Information _____

See me _____

☒ For the President

012134

Maell

F4I.

Maell

White House stalls on receiving ambassadors

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

✓A1

Annoyed diplomats here are muttering among themselves — diplomatically, of course — that White House gridlock is blocking 20 of them from presenting credentials to President Clinton.

The 21st died waiting.
Mr. Clinton, 2½ months into his

term, has not formally received the credentials of any newly appointed ambassador.

"The diplomatic community is upset because he has not been seeing ambassadors," said one diplomat, asking that his name not be used.

"They want to be accredited so they can start work. Perhaps he doesn't have enough experience in this," the diplomat said yesterday.

Nations whose ambassadors are waiting to make the ritual journey to the White House include Israel, Jordan, Mexico, Canada, Peru and the Philippines.

George Bush held his first credentials ceremony 18 days after he became president when he received ambassadors from eight countries.

The White House and State Department yesterday attributed the

delay to the need to decide on a format for the meetings and the fact that Mr. Clinton has been too busy for protocol formalities.

"Now, with the U.S.-Russian summit behind us, the White House is hoping in the near future to receive credentials from some of the ambassadors. There are a number of them; they can't all be done at once," acting Chief of Protocol Richard Gookin

said.
"They have not been excluded," he added.

Although many private events are not disclosed, Mr. Clinton's public schedules do not fully support that argument. Today, for instance, he has nothing scheduled all day. On Thursdays, he routinely makes time

see ENVOYS, page A6

ENVOYS

April 8/93



CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. President:

Per our discussion, we do need to get this matter resolved in the near term. I'll follow w/ Maell for our visit and get it on your schedule. URGENT

Desk

and five days later one of them, Jo Suarez of the Philippines, died of a chronic illness at Providence hospital.

Now there are 20 "ambassadors-appointed" waiting to present credentials. Another 15 have been red with the State Department have not yet arrived in Washington. They include the new Chinese ambassador, who arrives tomorrow. Virtually all embassy officials declined to be quoted on the record or identified by country. The only who would put his remarks on record was Terry Colli, director of public affairs for the Canadian embassy, who also was one of the to be understanding about the

you do get times when the presidential schedules get backed up and resident indicates he has a priority for the domestic items on his agenda," said Mr. Colli, who represents John de Chastelain, ambassador-designate.

It's a sink if it weren't every ambassador who had arrived, it would send a signal of disapproval," Mr. Colli said. "I think every ambassador

would like to get it out of the way and get the 'appointed' out of his name."

An official in one embassy was uncharacteristically snide, saying: "Apparently someone at the White House doesn't know what it means to present credentials. They must not see too many ambassadors in Arkansas."

At another embassy, an official said: "We're waiting, there's a couple of ambassadors who are waiting. It's just a matter of them getting a time and that's it. Don't quote us by name, please. You didn't talk to anybody from this embassy."

By protocol, some such ambassadors avoid formal government-to-government contacts until credentials are accepted, shun on-the-record press interviews and sometimes avoid social appearances.

An exception is Mr. de Chastelain, Canada's "ambassador-appointed," who feels unencumbered enough to have done a stint on CNN's "Larry King Live" and to have accompanied Prime Minister Brian Mulroney on a visit to former President Reagan in California on Monday.

ROUTING SLIP

93 APR 9 P1:32

FROM: Mack McLarty
Chief of Staff

DATE: 4/9

TO:

The President _____
Sandy Berger _____
Rahm Emanuel _____
Marcia Hale _____
Alexis Herman _____
Nancy Hernreich _____
Anthony Lake _____
Bruce Lindsey _____
Regina Montoya _____
Roy Neel _____
Bernie Nussbaum _____

Vice President Gore _____
Howard Paster _____
John Podesta ☒ _____
Carol Rasco _____
Bob Rubin _____
Eli Segal _____
George Stephanopoulos _____
Christine Varney _____
David Watkins _____
Maggie Williams _____
OTHER _____

FOR YOUR:

Action _____
See me _____

Information _____

☒ For the President

Mr. Thomas F. McLooney
White House Chief of Staff

5 April 1993
Personal

012133

Mac -



Barry - I too
enjoyed working
w you and
agree w your positive
assessment

Enjoyed working with your team at the Summit.
Believe it was a superb outcome.

Please be assured that our President has my
absolute support and personal admiration. We know

U/R

I and appreciate
your support.

BARRY McCaffrey M.I.



CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

Barry,

4/8/93

Thanks so much for your note of April 5th. I, too,
enjoyed working with you and agree that we had a very
successful summit meeting. Everyone did their part and
more.

Your words of assurance about your support and
admiration for the President are noted and very much
appreciated. We are proud to have you on our team.

Personally,

Mac

bc: The President
Tony Lake

ROUTING SLIP

FROM: Mack McLarty
Chief of Staff

DATE: 4/9 93 APR 9 P1:32

TO:

The President _____
Sandy Berger _____
Rahm Emanuel _____
Marcia Hale _____
Alexis Herman _____
Nancy Hernreich _____
Anthony Lake _____
Bruce Lindsey _____
Regina Montoya _____
Roy Neel _____
Bernie Nussbaum _____

Vice President Gore _____
Howard Paster _____
John Podesta ✓ *
Carol Rasco _____
Bob Rubin _____
Eli Segal _____
George Stephanopoulos _____
Christine Varney _____
David Watkins _____
Maggie Williams _____
OTHER _____

FOR YOUR:

Action _____
See me _____

Information ✓

* For the President

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 04/14/93

NOTE FOR: HOWARD PASTER

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

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

93 APR 13 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ALAN S. BLINDER *ASB*

SUBJECT: State Unemployment Rates in February, Labor
Department Release, Today, 10:00 a.m.

Meeker
cc Howard Baker Fyfe

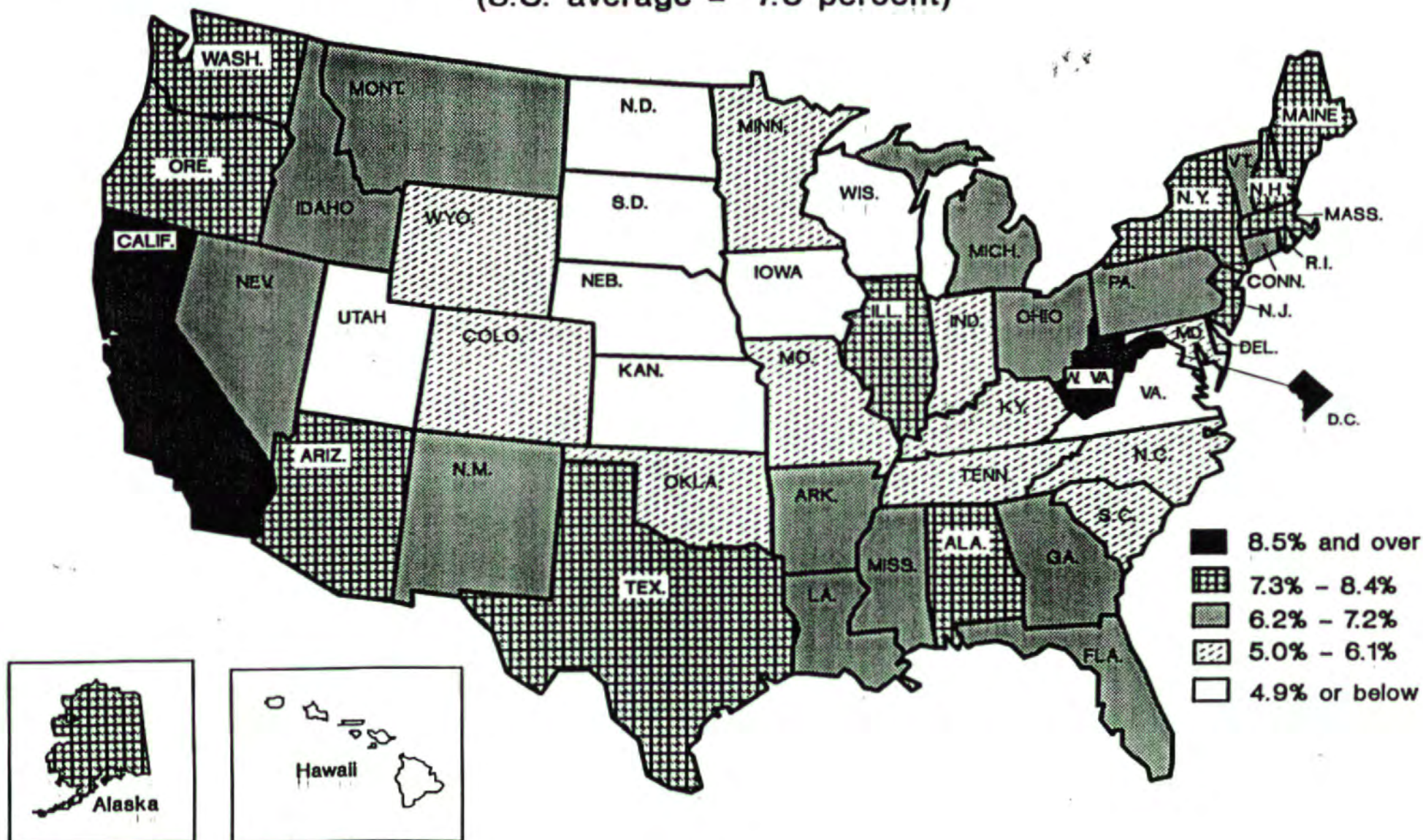
Today the Labor Department released State and metropolitan area employment and unemployment data for February 1993. The attached map shows ranges of unemployment rates by State. Unemployment rates in February were highest in California, the District of Columbia, and West Virginia. The lowest unemployment rates were found primarily in the Midwest. A listing of unemployment rates by State--ranked from lowest to highest--is on the back of the map.

Monthly estimates of State unemployment rates can be volatile because of small sample sizes. The second chart shows changes in unemployment rates by State over the past 12 months--ranked from largest decline to largest increase (New Hampshire). Despite the national recovery, unemployment rates are actually higher in many states than they were a year ago.

Attachments

Unemployment rates by state, seasonally adjusted, February 1993

(U.S. average = 7.0 percent)



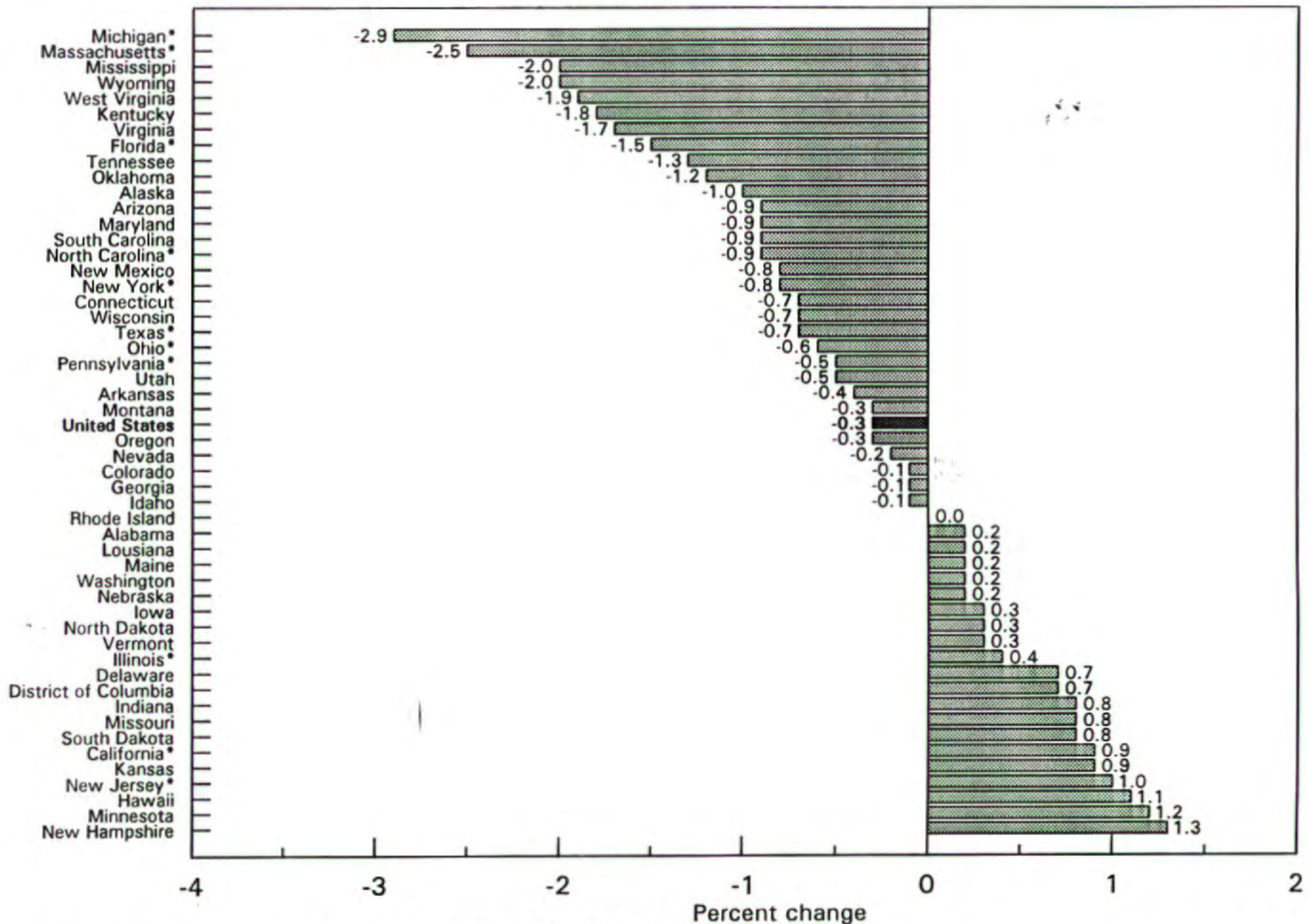
Unemployment Rates by State, Seasonally Adjusted

February 1993

Nebraska	2.7	Ohio*	6.5
South Dakota	3.9	Vermont	6.5
Utah	4.0	Arkansas	6.7
Iowa	4.3	Connecticut	6.7
Kansas	4.5	Nevada	6.7
North Dakota*	4.5	New Mexico	6.7
Wisconsin	4.6	Texas*	6.8
Hawaii	4.7	Florida*	6.9
Virginia	4.8	Pennsylvania*	6.9
Oklahoma	5.1	Louisiana	7.0
Wyoming	5.1	Montana	7.0
Delaware	5.2	New York*	7.3
North Carolina*	5.3	Oregon	7.3
Kentucky	5.4	Arizona	7.4
Colorado	5.6	Alabama	7.6
Minnesota	5.7	Rhode Island	7.7
South Carolina	5.9	Washington	7.7
Tennessee	5.9	Alaska	8.1
Indiana	6.1	Maine	8.2
Maryland	6.1	New Jersey*	8.3
Missouri	6.1	Illinois*	8.4
Mississippi	6.2	New Hampshire	8.4
Michigan*	6.3	District of Columbia	8.6
Idaho	6.4	California*	9.4
Massachusetts*	6.4	West Virginia	10.6
Georgia	6.5		
		United States	7.0

For the 11 largest states (indicated by *), unemployment rates are for March 1993.

Change in Unemployment Rate by State: February 1992 to February 1993



Note: For 11 largest states (*), change is from March 1992 to March 1993.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 04/14/93

NOTE FOR: BOB REICH

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

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:





They
As requested
CC: Bob Reich
I think it's a
real point -
see exp. p. 2

February 11, 1993

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

Your interest in developing strategies to help this country regain a leadership position in manufacturing is gratifying. I was particularly pleased by your appointment of Robert Reich as Secretary of Labor since I agree with his philosophy of investing in improving the knowledge and skills of our workers.

However, I am concerned, from what I have read, that we may be missing a critical point. My experience with Arkansas companies which have successfully made the transition to world-class competitor status points out that it does little good to increase the knowledge and skills of the work force (assuming competency in basic skills) until management restructures the work in such a way as to demand the higher knowledge and skills.

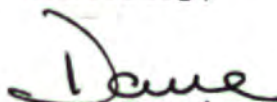
The National Advisory Commission on Work-Based Learning made some recommendations for the changes that need to occur in America's workplaces to increase the competitiveness of the nation's products and services. The Commission concluded that higher skills and more training have to be coupled with substantial changes in how employers utilize employees. The Commission went on to recommend that we discard current management practice and replace them with "total quality" or "high-performance work practices".

The problem is, not many managers really understand total quality. A recent on-site survey of Arkansas industries by AIDC staff found that 30 percent of Arkansas' manufacturers have heard of total quality but only 7 percent are practicing it. I doubt that these percentages are much different at the national level.

Letter to President Clinton
February 11, 1993
Page Two

*
*
Any plan to raise the knowledge and skills of America's work force must be preceded by extensive management education. Unfortunately, this involves cultural change as well as education, and the process can take one to two years. It cannot be done in a one-week course. Without in-depth management education, I fear our companies will not become world-class competitors and much of our investment in training will be lost.

Sincerely,


Dave Harrington
Executive Director

DH/lp

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 4/14

NOTE FOR: Tom Lake

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

Information

☒

Action

☐

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

Boonyalai
Ryk

GV: Why has violence between Palestinians and Israelis escalated in recent weeks?

But the PLO does not have its head in the sand. We share with the Israeli people their concern about the recent confrontations leading to a renewed cycle of violence. In reaction to the frustrations of the Israeli people, the Rabin government deported over 400 Palestinians, members of Hamas, and homes are being destroyed **even now** as part of the retaliation. The mutual anger and hostility has once again ratcheted upward at a time when, after the progress made since the Madrid peace conference, many of us hoped things would be otherwise.

What impulse lay behind the renewed violence?

In Madrid we agreed that a settlement would be reached in two stages, an interim stage of self rule and then negotiations based on UN Resolutions 242 and 338 about a final settlement.

In the first stage it is understood that statehood itself is not an issue. The heart of the issue at this stage concerns the substance of self-government for those years prior to statehood itself. We have been in sometimes intense disputes with the Israeli negotiators on matters of legislation, territoriality, land administration, and other issues [ed--need more specificity here. Give one example of the nature of the dispute].

In the second stage of a settlement, scheduled to begin in the third year of the interim period, statehood will be on the agenda.

And, of course, a critical element of negotiations involves coming to an agreement on the necessary measures to protect ~~ensure the safety of?~~ both Israelis and Palestinians, including those living in the settlement areas.

Some critics allege that Palestinian negotiators have been demanding too much for the interim period while the Israelis are willing to give too little.

With all the uncertainty surrounding these questions, the frustrations and angers of the Palestinian people have led to violence by individuals more intense but also more uncontrollable than what has been seen before.

Many of these people are too impatient to move on to the questions regarding statehood, that is, the second stage of negotiations, because they see so little progress in negotiations for the interim stage.

If only we could move quickly to the interim stage of self-governance the Palestinians could begin to attend to their own affairs such as health and

education. These activities in themselves would go some distance toward satisfying the yearning for democracy in the territories.

The Palestinian people had hoped to start this interim period a year after Madrid, but this has obviously not happened. Human rights violations by the Israeli army not only continued, but escalated with the deportations last December.

Even the promise of halting settlements has not been totally fulfilled. All of these factors have heightened the frustration and are among the chief explanation for the rise of violence.

In turn, that very violence is creating a tinderbox within Israel, with demands for retaliation that make movement toward peace all the more difficult.

This is tragic, but the renewed bloodshed cannot be allowed to impede the progress of peace talks.

I therefore call upon ~~the people of Israel~~ and the incidents of violence now so as not to strengthen those ~~who are~~ opposed to the peace process, and so that there will be no excuse for ~~Israel~~ not to move forthrightly to a strong interim self-government. ~~FOR ANY PARTY~~

OUR PEOPLE
AND THE ISRAELI
PEOPLE TO EN

GV: Do you still believe that the peace process started in Madrid after the Gulf War can lead to a settlement?

Arafat: No doubt the deteriorating dynamics between the Israelis and the Palestinians has made the kind of comprehensive agreement envisioned in Madrid all the more elusive. But we simply cannot let it unravel the momentum toward a settlement that has been building for years.

For at least five years, both sides of this conflict, in their different ways, had been moving in the direction of reaching a settlement.

In December 1988, despite internal opposition, we in the PLO recognized Israel and disavowed terrorism. These positions still stand even though opposition on both sides has continued to work against our commitment. Over these same years, even under the Shamir government, opinion polls in Israel consistently revealed a greater openness on the part of many Israelis, culminating in the election of a Labor government under Yitzhak Rabin, with however slim a majority, committed to negotiating a peace settlement.

No doubt the use of Scud missiles against Israel during the Gulf War drove home the point that only a comprehensive peace for the whole region could meet the security needs of us all -- including on issues such as water and refugees. Without comprehensive accords, it likewise became clear, the economic development of the region could not be accomplished.

As has been clear in recent times, however, dissident groups will work against the peace process as a means of gaining momentary political advantage....

GV: Including on the Palestinian side.....

Arafat: Yes. Palestinian rejectionists in their frustration continue to engage in

acts that violate what we of the PLO have been trying to accomplish. Within Palestine today fundamentalists and other groups describe themselves as rejectionists in order to win the support of other Palestinians in the territories. I am sure they will fail, however, since most Palestinians today believe that self-government and ultimately statehood cannot be achieved without a peaceful, negotiated resolution with the Israelis.

But understandably frustrated Palestinians are not the only spoilers. After he was voted out of office, Yitzhak Shamir admitted that he would have spent ten years placing obstacles in the way of a peace settlement. His legacy continues in Israeli politics today, of course.

GV: How do you propose to rescue the momentum of peace from the grips of the renewed cycle of violence?

Arafat: To stop all this risks must be taken by both sides. We all must understand that the greatest risk for our respective peoples is if the peace process grinds to a halt. Then the cycle of violence would be unstoppable.

Elections are the way out. The PLO has been accused of being afraid of elections in the territories. On the contrary, not only do we welcome elections, but have proposed them at the negotiating table. So far, the Israelis have rejected our proposal.

Only if the PLO can demonstrate its sole authority to the Israelis can they confidently move forward with negotiations on our future.

Negotiations between hostile neighbors are never easy. There is not now a Palestinian state, and the PLO is not a government. We ache for the day of self-governance when we will have a system of laws and even a structure of discipline, including jails, so that vigilante courts are precluded. The course of negotiations will then be more under control, and less subject to being derailed by irresponsible elements.

Anyone who then acts in the name of the Palestinians will do so with responsibility or will be held accountable.

GV: On what conditions will the Palestinians return to the peace talks?

Arafat: Just as we are putting the issue of elections on the table to break the logjam in the negotiations, so too are we hoping and expecting similar and or reciprocal moves both by the US and the Israelis to keep the process moving.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 4/14

NOTE FOR: *Gena Sperling*

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

Information ☐

Action ☒

*see note about Floyd
Flake*

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
WASHINGTON

4.14.93

April 14, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a brief memo from Gene Sperling and Bruce Reed on community development bank and enterprise zone proposals.

I asked for a memo reflecting the gist of these proposals, but meetings with principals and deputies are occurring this week, and Gene and Bruce were reluctant to provide a synopsis before having a chance to hear and incorporate comments. They anticipate sending you decision memos within the next few days.

John

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
04.14.93

April 10, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: Bruce Reed and Gene Sperling

Subject: Status of Community Development Proposals

John Podesta thought that you would like a short note to simply let you know the status of the community development and enterprise zone proposals.

Bob Rubin and Carol Rasco asked us to co-chair a joint NEC-DPC working group on community development and empowerment. The first projects that we organized were two interagency processes to come forth with proposals for the main aspects of your economic development policy for economically depressed communities: community development banks/CRA reform and enterprise zones. In devising proposals, we asked the working group not simply to rush out status quo proposals, but to come forth with the most innovative proposals they could under the time constraints we faced.

We believe that this effort is leading to innovative and comprehensive proposals in the lending and enterprise zone areas. We have now drafted detailed and fairly lengthy proposals for enterprise zones and community development banks/CRA reform. We have circulated these proposals to the Secretaries and relevant deputies of the NEC and DPC and will be meeting with them on Tuesday and Wednesday. Once their comments have been incorporated, we will send you decision memos on both areas by the weekend -- April 17. If possible -- and if you feel it is necessary -- we will ask Bob and Carol to notify Marcia about setting up a meeting where you could discuss these matters with members of the working group as well as the relevant members of your cabinet.

We have also notified several key Congressional members and invited them to share their ideas with us. So far, Bob Rubin and two of us have met only with Chairman Rostenkowski, but we have invitations out to Maxine Waters, Gonzales, Rangel, Moynihan, Riegle, Sarbanes and Bradley. Most of them are very interested but are out of town due to the Congressional recess.

Meetw/-
Clay Feunf Fealer

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 4/14

NOTE FOR: MACC

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

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 14, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Mack asked me to forward the
attached from Governor Blanchard

The NEC deputies are meeting
on this issue this week and
will forward a recommendation
to you next week. Rubin, et al
are keenly aware of the strong
position you took on this
issue in the campaign.

Alcee

John Podesta

John Podesta

B

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4.14.93

Mark
thought you
might want to
see this
memo sent to Mark
last week.
Tim Blanchard
MKE

① POTUS/7/10/2
 ③ Rahm Qbes S.

Handwritten signature
 APR 13 1993
 17:15

⑤ Dool

MEMORANDUM

March 29, 1993

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
 4.14.93

I cannot emphasize enough the importance of President Clinton following up on his campaign statements on the MPV issue. This issue has taken on incredible political symbolism, well beyond its economic importance.

By making sure that Treasury reverses Secretary Brady's foolish ruling, which overturned Customs, our Administration will not just bring Treasury into line with EPA, DOT and the IRS on ruling that MPVs are not cars, but:

1. the President will live up to an implied campaign promise; we ran campaign ads on this issue!
2. the President will show that his trade policy is different than George Bush's;
3. the Great Lakes region will see a trade toughness with the Japanese that they will applaud;
4. the President can change the dynamics of the trade issue in one fell swoop;
5. the Democratic members of Congress from the Great Lakes states and the industrial belt will have a specific example to show that President Clinton is their friend, is tough and is different than Bush. In short, that the election really made a difference;
6. this ruling could soften the rhetoric and political opposition to NAFTA on the part of some auto state members of Congress (Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri).

Conversely, if the President refuses to reverse the Brady ruling, he will:

1. appear to have broken a campaign pledge;
2. clearly appear to have caved into the Japanese;
3. prove he can be rolled by the Japanese public relations machine;
4. miss a great opportunity to unite the Great Lakes Congressional Delegation;
5. miss a great opportunity to pave the way for a NAFTA vote;
6. miss a great opportunity to please the unions before NAFTA gets finalized against their wishes;
7. miss a great opportunity to demonstrate to the Japanese that we are going to be tough bargainers on trade and

that they should expect President Clinton to live up to his campaign statements. Also, it will demonstrate to them that they cannot buy U.S. policy through their PR minions and editorial sympathizers.

My sense is that the President should have Treasury move fast, before the upcoming meeting with the Japanese. This way it will be relatively easy to explain the decision to the Japanese. The President can tell them, "I had to keep my campaign pledge." Such a decision will be much harder to explain if it occurs after meeting with the Prime Minister. Also, this will make it easier to work out other issues now that we have shown that we are different than Bush.

A quick, early decision will also help us, I predict, in getting swing votes on NAFTA. Any Member on the fence or who supports the President on NAFTA but is afraid to publicly say, "I trust President Clinton on trade issues. He will be tough with the Mexicans and fair with our workers. Look what he did on the MPV issue."

By taking action on MPV early, the President can change the dynamics of the trade issue in one fell swoop. He will be dealing with Congress from a position of strength and toughness, which will aid in the passage of NAFTA. The President can also head off an incredible lobbying campaign which will grow dramatically in the next few weeks. Presidential action on MPV will also give the Administration a lot of room to maneuver on trade issues in the future, since his first big decision will be different than the previous Administration. Conversely, failure to follow through on the MPV issue, when he has followed through on gays in the military, will send the wrong message on his priorities (i.e., that jobs and the economy are secondary to social issues).

Finally, I think it is important for the President to not let the career holdovers in Treasury box either he or Secretary Bentsen in on this issue. Treasury overruled Customs for political reasons in the first place! Their politics should not become ours. Also, the substantive law and truck design qualities favor the President's position anyway. In addition, there are good ways to handle the Europeans on this issue or handle any GATT problems (red herring). Finally, the consumer cost issue is easily dealt with if we want to do that. The key is to move early, swiftly and strongly. We should not let this opportunity slip away. It will not come again.

Let me know how I can help.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 4/14/93

TO: JOHN GIBBONS
KATIE MCGINTY
KATHY ATERNO (COS to Secy
Browner)

faxed
202-260-
0279

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

Could the three of you coordinate
a response to Lisa Crawford
before this becomes an embarrass-
ment to the President.

F.R.E.S.H., Inc.

Fernald Residents for Environmental Safety and Health

April 13, 1993

ATT: JOHN PODESTA, STAFF SECRETARY

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

In a letter dated April 2, 1993, I requested a brief meeting with you and Vice-President Al Gore while we're in Washington, D.C. for the 5th Annual Military Production Network's D.C. Days event. As of today, April 13th, I have yet to get a response from your office. But...once again, I'll ask for your aide and assistance!

Would you, or a member of your staff, please!!! put in calls to Carol Browner, Dr. Gibbons and Katie McGentle offices on behalf of the MPN. We're only 5 days away from beginning our event, and we still don't have meetings with them or their key staff. We have been unsuccessful in getting meetings with them, after many requests, and it leaves us to wonder if they really care!

Please contact me as soon as possible and let me know if you are able to assist us with this request. I can be reached at the following numbers thru Friday, April 16th:

(513) 948-3779 - work - 7:30 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.

(513) 738-1688/8055 - home - after 4:30 p.m.

I look forward and eagerly await hearing from you or your office in the very near future!

Sincerely,

Lisa Crawford
FACE OF HOPE
President, F.R.E.S.H., Inc.

LC:eac

cc: files

GS
Reubin
Lieberman
March

This is actually quite good. Shows
why we have to give more attention
to other economic issues → trade, technology
and other issues

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1993

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WASHINGTON POST

Robert J. Samuelson

Plan? What Plan?

We in the press have helped foster a massive public deception. President Clinton calls his program for tax and spending changes an "economic plan," and we duly adopt his phrase. Yet, it isn't an economic plan—at least not as it's advertised. Its immediate effect on the economy would be, at most, modest. We ought to label Clinton's proposals what they are: a "budget program." Although the choice of a few words may seem trivial, it isn't.

Our phraseology reflects what we expect of government. By and large, Americans have unrealistic expectations. The president is held responsible for all the economy's gains or setbacks, as if any president should be able to engineer expansion, prevent recession and raise living standards. No president has ever been so powerful, but our vocabulary says otherwise. The president is supposed to have a "plan" to accomplish these fabulous feats.

The debate over Clinton's economic "stimulus" symbolizes public confusion. You should not be fooled. The political struggle—Senate Republicans oppose Clinton's proposal—is more about public perceptions than the economy. The White House desperately plays down the strength of the economic recovery, so that Clinton can claim that his "stimulus" ignited job growth. The Republicans strive to deprive him of this political pleasure. As originally proposed, the "stimulus" would involve about \$30 billion of spending increases and tax cuts over two years.

On substance, the Republicans are correct. It's hard to accept the White House contention that the stimulus would create 500,000 jobs by the end of 1994. In 1993 and 1994, the economy's output (the gross domestic product, or GDP) will total about \$13 trillion. The "stimulus" isn't big enough to change that much. Clinton's program wouldn't "significantly affect the number of permanent jobs," says the Congressional Budget Office. Nor is it true—as the White House suggests—that the recovery is sputtering.

From the recession's low point, GDP is up 4 percent. As for jobs, the government has two surveys. From recession lows, one survey shows an increase of 1.1 million jobs and the other of 2 million. True, job growth (whichever survey is correct) is weak compared with past recoveries. But this is misleading for two reasons. First, the job loss during the recession was modest; second, fewer new workers are entering the labor force than in the past, because the huge "baby boom" has already been absorbed.

A better indicator of the job situation is the unemployment rate. By this measure, the economy's performance doesn't look so bleak. In March, the unemployment rate was 7 percent, down from a peak of 7.7 percent in June 1992. The jobless rate has now been 7 percent or higher for 16 months, since December 1991. Although that's not great, it's a lot better than the experi-



BY JOHN OVERMYER

ence of the mid-1970s or early 1980s. The recessions then were harsher, and it took longer recoveries to reduce unemployment. Consider:

- Between December 1974 and June 1977—31 months—the unemployment rate exceeded 7 percent.

- Between May 1980 and October 1986—78 months—the jobless rate was, with the exception of one month, more than 7 percent.

In short, we have a steady recovery that's slowly lowering unemployment. The larger point is that a lot of what spurs economic growth—or triggers a recession—has little to do with government. The recession was caused by rising inflation, overborrowing by consumers and businesses and excess investment by some industries. Now, spending is increasing, because businesses and consumers have cut their debt. Homeowners have refinanced an estimated \$575 billion of mortgages in the past two years, estimates economist David Lereah of the Mortgage Bankers Association. All this has occurred without a "stimulus."

Still, Clinton may win the public relations battle. Americans have conditioned themselves to believe that nothing ever happens unless the government makes it happen. Every recession or recovery must be assigned to someone, as opposed to being seen as part of a business cycle. Clinton's good fortune is to have arrived in a period of recovery; he will get credit although he had little to do with the recovery. We in the press mirror and deepen popular misconceptions. Many of our stories presume that the president is to blame for whatever's wrong with the economy and must, therefore, be responsible for whatever goes right.

Of course, the government does affect the economy. But its impact is more muted than most Americans

think. The Federal Reserve (which regulates short-term interest rates) affects inflation and the business cycle. But the president doesn't control the Fed, and his influence on it is indirect. And when a president proposes new spending programs or taxes, the full impact usually emerges only many years later. To take one example: President Johnson had Congress create Medicare and Medicaid in 1965; yet, it took more than a decade to recognize that these programs would dramatically increase health spending.

The harm of calling Clinton's proposals an "economic plan" is that it perpetuates the mythology that the budget is a tool for "fixing the economy." It isn't. The budget serves mainly as the dividing line between public and private responsibilities. Budget debates ought to focus on the wisdom and practicality of using government to solve various problems. Is the problem a truly public concern? Can government effectively do anything about it? What are the long-term consequences of trying or not trying? Is the public sufficiently aroused to pay for new programs with higher taxes? If so, who should bear those taxes?

The budget is a mechanism by which society helps some groups at the expense of others. The ultimate question is whether our decisions advance the collective good or merely the private welfare of favored constituencies. The failure, over the years, to debate these issues has led to undisciplined government and huge budget deficits. It would be a great leap of political maturity to see the budget as a definition of government and not as an instant economic cure. The press could take a small step in that direction. We could ditch Clinton's self-serving, public relations language. His proposals are not an "economic plan."